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THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND FROM 1935 TO 1970

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

This study traces the evolution of secondary education in New Zealand from 1935 to 1970, with special reference to questions of curriculum and control. Within the framework of contemporary social, political, and economic developments, it describes the transformation of a system comprising sixty-five schools offering a restricted, specialised curriculum to a mainly selected and limited clientele into one with 210 multilateral schools each catering for an entire age-range of pupils.

Data were obtained from official documents and reports, journals, school histories and magazines, newspapers, and other published sources; from unpublished material, especially university theses; from interviews with prominent educationists of the period; and from personal observation and experience. Except for some reference to the Maori denominational boarding schools, the study is confined to state post-primary schools. It includes an examination of the literature related to the topic, and puts forward some theoretical considerations.

In 1936, the newly-elected Labour Government set about promoting its ideal of providing equality of educational opportunity for all. However, the post-primary schools were slow to change, even though they were now enrolling increasing numbers of pupils for whom their existing curricula were totally unsuitable. The raising of the school leaving age to fifteen, the introduction of accrediting and the transferring of University Entrance to the sixth form, the release of the *Thomas Report*, and the inauguration of the new School Certificate

all contributed to jolting the post-primary schools from their conservative stance. By the late 40's, the system was contending with massive roll increases, completely inadequate facilities and resources, and a drastic shortage of teachers.

No radical changes in educational policy occurred in the 50's. The post-primary schools continued their struggle to adjust to the post-Thomas era, with its emphasis on catering for individual differences, advancing the social education of pupils, and encouraging greater pupil participation in school affairs. The decade also witnessed the emergence of post-primary teachers as a political force, a revival of the controversy over state aid to private schools, the beginnings of the demise of the technical high school, and the setting up of a Commission on Education in New Zealand to enquire into a wide range of educational issues.

As well as ushering in the age of educational technology, the 60's were characterised by constantly expanding pupil numbers, an increasing need for counselling services in the schools, persistent teacher shortages, the growth of teacher militancy, the rise of 'pupils' rights' movements, the establishing of the Curriculum Development Unit, forward moves in rural education, the general acceptance of the concept of the comprehensive school, and the appearance of the first complete consolidation of the law on education since 1914.

These events, trends, and issues provide the raw material of this thesis. Also, at four stages of the period under review, the study examines, in some detail, the policies, practices, and characteristics

of the schools themselves, and attempts to present a picture of what it was like to be a principal, a teacher, or a pupil at a New Zealand post-primary school at that time.

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PART ONE : INTRODUCTORY

1

THE TOPIC DEFINED

Introduction

Almost all of the post-primary schools of New Zealand underwent a profound transformation between 1935 and 1970. Codd held that "the knowledge explosion, the unpredictability of the future, the emergence of an adolescent subculture, an acceptance of moral pluralism, multiculturalism, and a re-awakening of community awareness"[1] all contributed, in the post-war years, to a basic shift in people's beliefs about the fundamental nature and purpose of education. This re-orientation of outlook was reflected in major changes in the schools themselves. By far the most significant of these was the recognition of the importance of the individual pupil in the educational enterprise. Acknowledgement of this principle was largely responsible for the substantial reshaping of curriculum content, teaching methods, and teacher-pupil relationships, as well as for the increasing emphasis on the pastoral care of pupils, which took place in the 50's and 60's. At the same time, the role of the principal was also changing, with the old authority based on position giving way to an authority dependent on demonstrated competence in all aspects of school administration and professional leadership. Teacher power was another new phenomenon which emerged at this time. By 1970, the teachers' professional organisation,[2] the Post-primary Teachers' Association, had developed into a powerful pressure group, ready to intervene in any aspect of school affairs whether it had a legal

mandate to do so or not. A further change was the growing involvement of the community in the life and work of the schools, and a reciprocal expansion of school participation in community matters. Finally, a different pattern of control took shape in the course of these years, with the powers of local boards of governors being steadily eroded as the centralised Department of Education became more and more dominant.

It is against this background that the writer proposes to trace, in this study, the development of secondary education in New Zealand from 1935 to 1970, with special reference to questions of curriculum and control.

The study

Significance

The writer has chosen to research this particular topic for a number of reasons. First, he can bring to the task a long association with secondary education, including experience as a pupil, a classroom teacher, a head of department, a first assistant, a principal, and a board member. Over the years, he has developed a particular interest in the administration of schools and the government of school systems, issues which constitute one of the major thrusts of this study. Second, the field of secondary education in New Zealand has received little attention from researchers. There are only two major works devoted entirely to the post-primary sector, and both were published over forty-five years ago.[3] The student who wishes to learn more about the development of secondary education in New Zealand since the second world war must rely on a variety of sources, including references to this sector in a small number of general texts on New

Zealand education.[4] Specific aspects of secondary education are also covered in unpublished university theses, while critical commentaries and assessments are to be found in one text, in particular,[5] as well as in scholarly journals and the *Journal* of the New Zealand Post-primary Teachers' Association. There is plainly a need for a reasonably complete and detailed account bringing together the many strands which have contributed to the evolution of secondary education in New Zealand since 1935. Finally, the writer is particularly intent on providing a well-documented resource base, which will be useful to future researchers working in this area.[6] As indicated in the 'Suggestions for Further Research' section (volume III), there is considerable scope for further investigation into many aspects of secondary education in New Zealand. It is hoped that the availability of a study such as this may encourage others to enter the field.

Historical perspective

In this thesis, the writer has tried to view history not only as a record of past events and trends arising from the policies and practices of governments, departmental officials, school communities, and the wider community in respect of post-primary education in New Zealand, but also as a means of illuminating contemporary and possible future directions and issues in that field.

Methodology

Since complete objectivity is neither possible nor desirable in a survey of this kind, the writer makes no apology for expressing opinions, and passing judgments, on a number of issues, especially those of a more controversial nature. Nevertheless, the study is

primarily descriptive. An attempt has been made to set the secondary educational scene within the framework of contemporary social, political, and economic developments, but no claim is made that these developments, or the relationship of education to them, constitute a major emphasis of the study.

Sources of data

Data were obtained from official documents, especially the Reports of the Minister (later, the Department) of Education to Parliament (E.1 in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*) and the *Education Gazette*; from journals, such as *Education*, and the *New Zealand Post-primary Teachers' Association Journal*; from the *Report on the Post-primary School Curriculum* (Thomas Report) and the *Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand* (Currie Report); from school centennial and jubilee histories; from other published sources, including newspapers; from unpublished sources, particularly university theses; from a small number of interviews with prominent educationists of the period; and from personal observation and experience.

Delimitations and assumptions

This study is confined to the state post-primary schools of New Zealand, except that some reference has been made to the Maori denominational boarding schools, in view of the significant part they played in the education of Maori adolescents between 1935 and 1970. Pacific Island secondary schools under the control or supervision of the New Zealand Department of Education have not been considered.

It was assumed that the records, documents, reports, articles, newspaper items, and other printed materials consulted in the course of this study were accurate, and that the opinions and judgments of the people interviewed were given in good faith.

Definition and explanation of terms

The 'core (curriculum)' means the compulsory subjects for study in post-primary schools, as set out in the Education (Post-primary Instruction) Regulations 1945.

'Upper school' means forms 6 and 7 of a post-primary school, while 'lower school' covers forms 3-5. However, 'senior school' normally means forms 5-7, while 'junior school' refers to forms 3 and 4. Note that the first-year classes in New Zealand post-primary schools are called form 3.[7]

In July, 1967, decimal currency was adopted in New Zealand. Before that, money amounts were stated in pounds (symbol £), shillings (s), and pence (d). One pound was equivalent to two dollars. In this study, the monetary system current at the time of reference is used.

Between 1935 and 1970, some educational terms in common use were changed. From 1948, the term 'Native' school, etc. gave way to 'Maori' school, etc. From October, 1965,[8] the Director of Education became the Director-General of Education, and the term 'post-primary' was replaced by 'secondary'. Teachers' training colleges were renamed teachers' colleges in 1959. Second-year sixth-form classes at secondary schools, formerly called 'upper sixth', were designated 'form 7' from 1970.

Observations regarding format

With one or two exceptions (e.g., the apostrophe has been retained in expressions like 'the 60's'), the format of this thesis follows the recommendations set out in the fourth edition of Turabian's *A Manual for Writers*. In matters of spelling, and the use of capital letters and hyphens, the writer has accepted the authority of *The New Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1987 edition). Note, in particular, that words like 'school' and 'government' are written with a capital letter when they refer to a specific institution; and that compound words like 'sixth form' are hyphenated when they are used as modifiers ('a sixth-form textbook'), but not when they are used postpositively ('a pupil in the sixth form'). In quotations, and in references to the titles of books and articles, the spelling and punctuation of the original have been retained, even though they may observe different conventions from those used in the body of this study.

Organisation of the remainder of the study

This thesis is divided into four parts, each containing a number of chapters. The first part (chapters 1-3) includes this introduction, a chapter devoted to related literature and some theoretical considerations, and a chapter describing New Zealand and its post-primary schools, teachers, and pupils as they were in 1935. Part two (chapters 4-6) covers the period from 1936 to the end of the Second World War. Part three (chapters 7-11) deals with the immediate post-war years and the fifties. Part four (chapters 12-15) examines the decade of the sixties. Parts two, three, and four all conclude with a major chapter on the life and work of the schools of the day. A separate volume contains a number of appendices, some suggestions for further research, the references, and a bibliography.

2

RELATED LITERATURE AND SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature relating to post-primary schooling in New Zealand from 1935 to 1970. Some theoretical considerations pertinent to the objectives, organisation, and operation of the post-primary schools of the time will also be discussed.

Between 1935 and 1985, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research published nearly thirty research-based studies having at least some bearing on the theme of this investigation. However, only three of these works surveyed a total field of post-primary education, and all three had appeared by 1950. J. Nicol's *The Technical Schools of New Zealand* (1940), a mainly descriptive book, traced the development of technical education in New Zealand from the 'isolated beginnings' to the establishing of Horowhenua Technical College in 1940.[1] Throughout, Nicol stressed that "... the history of New Zealand's technical schools is the history of an attempt to adapt education to life", the function of such schools being "... to give to the non-academic pupil a pre-vocational training in keeping with his needs, these needs being widely interpreted".[2] Nicol's picture was one of schools which, in almost every case, had "some special quality to exemplify or some distinctive contribution to make towards social development",[3] and of a system which aimed "to develop in the country's workers the qualities of self-reliance, initiative, and

intelligence".[4] Further references to Nicol's book will be made throughout this study. In *The High Schools of New Zealand* (1943), J.H. Murdoch considered New Zealand's thirty-nine secondary and seven combined schools.[5] He divided his text (453 pages) into three sections: an historical introduction; a description of the schools as they were in the early 40's; and a long philosophical statement (69 pages). In his second section, Murdoch covered, in great detail, curricula and teaching methods, the corporate life of the schools and their extra-curricular activities, the teachers, and "the work of the other educational institutions, formal and informal, which interact with the high schools".[6] In particular, his treatment of the individual subjects of the curriculum and of the methods of teaching them was thorough, well-documented, and enlivened by frequent references to practices in specific schools. The *High Schools of New Zealand* was a significant and timely contribution to the literature on secondary schooling in this country. C.L. Bailey claimed that "no comparable picture of the secondary schools of any other country has been attempted", and praised Murdoch for promoting a clearer understanding of "the tremendous pressures upon the traditional concept of secondary education that are developing from a number of different directions within the fabric of society".[7] This book will also be cited on a number of occasions in this study. A.H. Thom's *The District High Schools of New Zealand* (1950) was a comparatively slight volume, since the author elected not to deal at any length with topics (such as curricula and teaching methods) already covered by Nicol or Murdoch. Almost one third of the text was given over to an historical survey; the author then dealt with the administration and material conditions of the district high schools, their curricula (in broad terms), and their teachers. Thom's approach was chiefly descriptive,

though critical commentaries were not infrequent. For example, he was quite outspoken about the state of many district high school libraries (p.43), the difficulty of obtaining teaching materials (pp. 47-48), school committees which "rarely represent adequately the parents of pupils in the secondary department" (p.53), and that "most depressing feature of the schools" - the agricultural course (pp. 87-88). Further reference will be made to Thom's book in the course of this study.

The remaining relevant works in the 'Education Research Series' of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, nearly all of which will be cited later in this investigation, covered, in each case, a discrete aspect of secondary education, such as the teaching of a particular subject. There are also a number of other books and articles which form part of the literature related to this thesis. It is proposed to examine these writings under six headings: educational history; New Zealand society and the secondary schools; experimentation; towards the multilateral school; administration and control; and school climate.

Educational history

The sixties marked the beginning of a new era in educational historiography. Credit for spearheading the new movement belongs to an American historian, Bernard Bailyn, whose *Education in the Forming of American Society* (1960) challenged educational writers to think of education "... as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations", and to see it "... in its elaborate, intricate involvements with the rest of society".[8] Those who

subscribed to Bailyn's way of thinking (usually known as 'revisionists') condemned what they called 'celebratory' or 'rise and triumph' histories of education, which, as Harold Silver showed in the British context, were invariably "written from the viewpoint of the winners",[9] and presented the growth of an educational system "... as a victory for progress against the forces of reaction".[10] The revisionists were equally critical of "the 'acts and facts' tradition of assuming that events speak for themselves".[11] In this connection, Eric Midwinter claimed that, in the United Kingdom, educational history was "often studied as a series of legislative enactments, with its students jumping from one Act of Parliament to the next, like mountain goats from peak to peak".[12] Followers of the new approach set out to displace these "received images of educational history"[13] and a technique focusing on "the institutional level of education and the official rhetoric of policy makers"[14] in favour of a historiography which recognised "the importance of social and cultural factors in examining educational phenomena".[15] In the late 60's and early 70's, a much more radical group of writers, including Michael Katz,[16] Colin Greer,[17] Samuel Bowles, and Herbert Gintis,[18] appeared in the United States. Completely rejecting liberal values, they maintained that schools were "consciously designed as undemocratic instruments of manipulation and social control";[19] they saw education as little more than "a vehicle for teaching conformity and complacency".[20]

In New Zealand, the writings of A.G. Butchers and the Cummings conform to the liberal-progressive, non-analytical pattern of educational historiography, presenting the reader (especially in the case of the Cummings) with a well-nigh impenetrable forest of facts.

However, the trend evident overseas towards "probing beyond educational legislation and educational institutions in an endeavour to find and understand the social forces which have shaped both legislation and institutions"[21] was discernible in this country by the mid-60's. McLaren, in a study written in 1965, set out "... to describe and explain developments in secondary education not in isolation from, but in relation to, the evolving social and political order of nineteenth-century New Zealand".[22] By the early 70's, Arnold was demonstrating "... how vital an understanding of [the] larger social context is to a proper appreciation of our educational history",[23] while Barrington and Beaglehole, in their 1974 examination of the Maori school system, were elaborating on "the part it was believed education could and should play in promoting social change".[24] More recently, writers like McCulloch,[25] McKenzie,[26] Openshaw,[27] and Shuker[28] have continued to treat educational history as "inseparable from other social, political, and cultural processes".[29]

Shuker's *The One Best System?* [30] is the only full-scale revisionist history of state schooling in New Zealand to have appeared so far. The basic argument of this study is that New Zealand schools, far from promoting the principle of equal opportunity in education, "have essentially served to reproduce existing social and economic divisions within society".[31] Vital to Shuker's theory is the concept of a dominant, middle-class hegemony, though he concedes that this hegemony has been 'contested', in the course of New Zealand's educational history, by such factors as gender, ethnicity, religion, and location.[32] These features of *The One Best System?* emphasise Shuker's revisionist perspective, as does his concern "to situate

schooling within the changing context established by the interaction of state, class, and the economy",[33] and to utilise social theory "to produce an account of greater explanatory power".[34] His study, with its strong emphasis on analysis and interpretation, makes a useful contribution to New Zealand's educational historiography, and paves the way for a more detailed account of secondary schooling in the twentieth century examined in relation to the social, intellectual, political, and economic values and constraints within which it has its being.

New Zealand society and the secondary schools[35]

Schools inescapably reflect the fundamental values of the society and wider community of which they are a part. Many of the mores which characterised New Zealand society in the period from 1935 to 1970 were derived from Victorian England; they cast a particularly long shadow on the policies and practices of the secondary schools of that time. A.E. Campbell struck at the heart of the matter when he stated that "... the historical principle of maintaining cultural continuity [with nineteenth-century England] played a greater part in forming the education system of New Zealand than did the geographical principle of adaptation to a new environment".[36] These early influences in the formation of New Zealand's national values manifested themselves most noticeably, as far as the schools were concerned, in the areas of curriculum and discipline. They explained the reluctance of the secondary schools in the first fifty years of this century to abandon their conservative stance, and reshape their narrow curricula to meet the needs of their changing clientele. They also accounted for the fact that, even in the 50's and 60's, many post-primary schools were still

> pronouncedly authoritarian in tone and control, like the English grammar schools, designed to serve an hierarchical society, on which they had modelled themselves, and in contrast to the growing egalitarianism of the New Zealand community from which they drew their pupils.[37]

W.B. Sutch, an influential commentator on educational matters in the 60's, contended that "New Zealand's educational institutions still had more of nineteenth-century Britain in them than of twentieth-century New Zealand". In his view, this was especially true of the secondary schools, "which reflect the turn-of-the-century approach that those who are not going into the professions need little education". Further, he maintained that New Zealand's school system "illustrates the unspoken thesis that education for its own sake is not one of the priorities of this country".[38] Earlier, in his submission to the Commission on Education in New Zealand, Sutch had claimed that the hopes of the Thomas Committee had been largely unrealised, because social attitudes, as well as institutional barriers (especially the School Certificate examination), had combined to block significant educational change.[39] Most New Zealand people, he considered, had little respect for the content of education, with relatively few of them looking on schooling as something which would "enrich a child's future life". He held that the attitude of the public to the schools and to education was coloured by their social outlook, which tended to be characterised by an absence of deep-seated beliefs, a lack of interest in non-physical things, and a devotion to the pursuit of short-term and material aims,[40] all of which were inimical to the development in the schools of programmes leading to a "richer and better balanced education".[41] In a major text published in 1966, Sutch extended his critical analysis of New Zealand's secondary schools, condemning their preferential treatment of 'higher

status' groups (and the concomitant downgrading of opportunities for Maoris and for girls);[42] their perpetuation of colonial attitudes; and their "intellectual and moral anaemia".[43] He further insisted that "the heavy inheritance of nineteenth-century ideas" continued to enslave many parents and teachers, so that they exhibited "strong cultural anxieties about educational innovation".[44] Although Sutch's strictures were not as valid in the 60's as they would have been ten or fifteen years earlier, he was an effective gadfly, whose prominent position and sound academic background[45] ensured that he was listened to.

I.L. Kandel, in an essay published by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in 1937, drew attention to the readiness of the general public to confuse genuine educational values and education for status. He believed that this tendency, strengthened by "the doctrine of formal discipline", saw to it that

> ... the form and values [of the secondary school curriculum] remained the same despite the facts that the number of pupils attending the secondary schools has everywhere increased, and that the clientele is no longer as ... select as it was in the nineteenth century.[46]

Kandel also raised the question of the value of uncompleted courses, claiming that the validity of the education being offered, especially to the early leaver, was a more crucial issue than that of certificate requirements - "a type of education which has been and will continue to be valuable for the few is useless for the majority".[47] Kandel's solution to the problem of 'inverted snobbery' ("the result of an educational tradition in which the public is impressed by the successes [of the secondary schools] and rarely informed on the

failures"[48]) was an inverted curriculum, beginning with a common core of general studies, and proceeding slowly to the more specialised subjects, a proposal which was mirrored in the major recommendations of the Thomas Committee. For Kandel, the fundamental problem - which, he contended, was "as much a social as an educational one" - remained that of ensuring a "proper distribution of education" according to individual abilities.[49]

A major tenet of Phoebe Meikle, a thoughtful interpreter of how national values were reflected in New Zealand's secondary schools, was that "... the strengths and weaknesses of a system of education in which state-controlled schools staffed by state-trained teachers cater for almost all a nation's children, must be those of the nation".[50] Meikle's analysis of this situation, contained in two significant articles, one published in *Landfall* in 1960,[51] and the other in *Education* in 1959,[52] led her to believe that the nature and the expectations of New Zealand society had a profound and, usually, limiting effect on the life and work of the secondary schools. She maintained, first, that, largely as a result of the advances of science and technology, and of post-war prosperity, the outlook of many New Zealanders had, by 1960, become excessively materialistic.[53] In the schools, this attitude was reflected in a tendency to overvalue 'materialistic' subjects, especially the pure sciences, to the detriment of the humanities and the arts. As well, it encouraged an exaggerated respect for physical prowess. Meikle also considered that the pursuit of egalitarianism had made a high proportion of New Zealanders aggressive and even vain, to the point that they were unwilling to admit to ever being wrong, or to concede that others were better than they were. One manifestation of this trait in the schools

was a "... reluctance to face the fact that teachers and pupils vary widely in quality, and that subjects vary in difficulty and value".[54] In sport, it resulted in the common practice of attributing defeat to the incompetence of the referee, or the devious tactics of the opposition. A third characteristic of New Zealand society which Meikle identified was its emotional and imaginative inadequacies. This factor influenced all aspects of pupil-teacher relationships, resulting in school practices, especially in the matter of punishments, which "too often infringe human dignity in an unjustifiable way".[55] Meikle also argued that the New Zealander's propensity to conform to a standard social pattern promoted the acceptance of a "national, utilitarian, standardised view of education", which set the School Certificate examination on a pedestal, and constrained teachers "... to concentrate on facts as an end in themselves and not as the raw material of thought".[56] Finally, Meikle drew attention to the extent to which a changing social environment had been responsible for the creation of an adolescent subculture, which the commercial world had fostered and catered for, to augment adult profits. The schools found that this adolescent group consciousness nurtured a desire on the part of young people for status and for recognition of their 'rights', coupled with an increasing dislike of compulsion and restrictions. Above all, the older pupils, in particular, wanted to be accepted as young adults, and treated accordingly, instead of which many teachers - albeit benevolently - "still [tried] to push them back into childhood" by declining to allow them any effective say in school affairs, and refusing to give them any responsibility for regulating their own conduct.[57]

At one with Meikle on many of her conclusions about New Zealand society was the American educational psychologist, David Ausubel, who spent a year in New Zealand (1957-58) as a Fulbright research scholar. Ausubel recorded his views on the character and social attitudes of New Zealanders in a number of journal articles; he also reported on his research into education, delinquency, and race relations in New Zealand in two books, both published in the early 60's.[58] Ausubel shocked and infuriated many New Zealanders in the late 50's with his trenchant criticism of the secondary school system, which he considered to be "... the most authoritarian, tradition-bound, and hierarchically organized institution in New Zealand society".[59] In particular, he censured the perpetuation in secondary schools of corporal punishment, the compulsory wearing of school uniforms, the prefect system, the segregation of the sexes, the emphasising of social distance between pupils and teachers, and the treating of adolescents as children. Ausubel found these features of the New Zealand secondary school all the more difficult to understand in view of "the near adult status enjoyed by working teenagers no longer in school, the quite democratic discipline of the primary schools, and the generally egalitarian tone of business and social relations".[60] For many New Zealanders, the most unwelcome of all Ausubel's claims was that the repressive discipline which characterised the secondary schools had contributed to the antisocial behaviour indulged in by so many adolescents in their post-school years, and could even have been one of the causes of bodgieism. This assertion, as well as a number of Ausubel's comments on race relations, caused widespread resentment, especially among Pakeha intellectuals,[61] even though much of what he had said could undoubtedly be justified.[62] In the event, Ausubel did the schools and New Zealand society a service by bringing into the

open issues and situations which had for too long been swept under the carpet. In was no coincidence that, following the publication of his books and articles, changes in the secondary schools began to take place "steadily if unspectacularly",[63] especially in respect of pupil-teacher relationships and internal school government. Above all, writers like Ausubel and Meikle gave credence to the hypothesis advanced at the time by the editor of the *New Zealand Post-primary Teachers' Association Journal* that "... the school is, in large measure, the residuary legatee of neglected social obligations".[64]

Experimentation

From the mid-60's, many secondary schools began trying out new ideas in a wide range of areas, including discipline, the curriculum, school government, and community relationships.[65] In stark contrast, the preceding thirty years saw very little change of any kind taking place in the post-primary schools. The dead hand of examination requirements (at first, University Entrance, and then School Certificate), the pressure from parents and employers for examination passes, and the conservatism of the schools themselves ensured that differences among the schools were minimal. Even the district high schools and the technical schools were caught up in the relentless pursuit of examination results. Two schools, however, stood out from the others because of their adoption of distinctive patterns of operation. Both schools described their innovations as experiments, although one lasted for thirty years, while the other, introduced in 1922, is still in place. In the case of Feilding Agricultural High School, it was an experiment in self-government; at Rangiora High School, it was an experiment in social education.

The architect of the Feilding venture, L.J. Wild, described in his book, *An Experiment in Self-Government*, how the School became "something of a working laboratory for the teaching of the principles of self-government".[66] Wild's text was not a philosophical document, since self-government at Feilding was not a carefully pre-planned concept; rather, it grew "... from the simple need to establish ... an orderly community in which the individual might develop his own special abilities".[67] The one thing which Wild required of self-government was that it should provide pupils with opportunities "... for getting the respective rights, duties and claims of the individual and the community in proper relationship".[68] Much of the book was taken up with transcriptions of the minutes of meetings, details of the constitution and operational procedures of the School Council, accounts of enquiries into the work and progress of various classes, notes on the conduct of form meetings, specimen annual reports of the Council and its various sub-committees, and an explanation of the judicial system. Rarely did Wild allow his own views, or even reactions, to intrude into the text, though he was unable to forbear, right at the end, from identifying "the weak point in the system" - not the antisocial pupil at all, but "the self-centred pupil who ... is a perfectly tractable, docile, law-abiding citizen, but not interested in anything but his own affairs". Aligning himself with Pericles, Wild held that such people (in the school, as in society) "should be regarded not as 'quiet' but as 'useless'".[69] Fifty years after it was written, *An Experiment in Self-Government* still attracts interest, which is itself a testimony to its significance as a resource book on internal school government. As a record of the manner in which pupils came, and successfully continued, "to control the finance and public business of the [Feilding Agricultural High]

School ... to exercise general supervision over all sports, literary, and social clubs",[70] and to operate their own judicial system, the book is unique.

J.E. Strachan's experiment in social education, carried out over a period of thirty years at Rangiora High School, has been described as "the most courageous break from tradition"[71] ever made in a New Zealand post-primary school; it was also the most far-reaching. In *The School Looks at Life*,[72] Strachan explained his theory in detail, and described how it was translated into practice at Rangiora. At the heart of Strachan's educational philosophy was his conviction that, in all things, "the welfare of the child ... [must] be the determining consideration";[73] to this theme he returned constantly. He was also in no doubt that a school's physical and social setting constituted its essential learning environment. So, he laid great stress on the school maintaining a close relationship with the life of its community,[74] as well as acknowledging that "the sources of knowledge and the power of achievement are still to be found in nature".[75] For Strachan, the whole purpose of education in its widest sense was not to prepare pupils for examinations, or to encourage the acquisitive side of their natures, but to promote both their capacity to adapt themselves to a rapidly changing world,[76] and their readiness to accept some responsibility for the control of their environment.[77]

Strachan's plan for realising these goals centred on a school curriculum consisting of "an interpretative general course of studies" to be taken by all pupils, and what he called "functional developments" (i.e., pre-vocational, cultural, and public examination

subjects). The related subjects of the general course of studies (known as the 'organic course', and taking as its theme the life of mankind) were science (a study of nature), technology (a survey of the world at work), sociology (a survey of human society), and fine arts (a creative and recreative component).[78] Strachan emphasised that "... there must be unity of theme and unity of purpose"; a liberal course in history served to correlate the various elements of the 'organic course'.[79, 80] This programme, which was fully implemented by 1927, underwent constant modification and refinement in the light of experience. In the early 30's, the sociological component of the 'organic course' was extended in response to the "social and political upheaval and ferment evident both in New Zealand and overseas", while, from 1941, girls were offered a home-centred course in place of technology, reflecting the strongly sexist outlook of New Zealand society in the 1940's.[81]

In 1925, Frank Tate had endorsed Strachan's plans, and advised the Department to support their development;[82] sixteen years later, A.E. Campbell described Rangiora High School as a model of "the general kind of transformation one would expect to take place in the secondary schools of a democracy that was concerned with the deepening of its intellectual and spiritual foundations".[83] The Rangiora experiment, with its emphasis upon "cooperative service [to school and community] rather than upon competitive self-seeking",[84] embodied many of the educational principles which were to guide the authors of the *Thomas Report*, a factor which provided a measure of Strachan's pervasive and lasting influence.[85] Those who came into contact with him remembered, above all, the force of his convictions, and his capacity to fire other people with his own enthusiasm. It was these

qualities which made Strachan "... an unforgettable figure in the lives of his pupils, and in the history of New Zealand education".[86]

Towards the multilateral school

For much of the period covered by this study, New Zealand had a parallel school system at the post-primary level, with technical schools and secondary (academic) schools operating side by side in a number of areas. From the time the first technical day schools were established (1905), the two types of school "were perceived in terms of the social class origins of their populations and hence their vocational destiny".[87] Dakin reported that, in the 1920's, boys attending an academic high school chanted to their technical school neighbours:

> With the hob-nailed boots and the unwashed neck,
> They don't come here, they go to the Tech.[88]

That this class feeling was still evident in the 30's, notwithstanding the establishment, by that time, of a number of combined schools, was revealed in a comment by the centennial historian of Wellington Technical College: "Yet, in spite of the teachers' ability, [the principal's] reputation as an administrator and an educationist, and the students' general reliability, there was still, for some outsiders, a taint about the word 'technical'."[89] Sutch considered that this development of parallel post-primary education systems was simply perpetuating economic as well as social inequality in New Zealand. He held, further, that it was to overcome this "threat to social unity", as much as for administrative reasons, that the Labour

Party favoured the setting up of combined schools.[90] McKenzie *et al.* confirmed this view: "[... the technical high school] was regarded with much suspicion by the rising New Zealand Labour Party sensitive to the dangers of education for the working class being reduced to premature vocational training."[91]

Such dangers were not taken very seriously by F.H. Spencer, who produced a report on technical education in Australia and New Zealand following a visit to the two countries in 1938.[92] His preference was for separate academic and technical schools, except in the smaller centres, where the existence of combined schools "is justified, indeed, probably dictated, by common sense".[93] Spencer went further than this in claiming real advantages for a system of selective entry, though even his brief stay in New Zealand had been sufficient to convince him that such a scheme would have "no consonance with fundamental national ideas".[94] In general, Spencer's report appeared to be rather bland; he considered the art room at the new Wairarapa College to be excellent, but found that, at Auckland Technical College, "the treads of the staircases are in a state of deplorable decay".[95] Not surprisingly, he considered that the short school-life of many technical pupils was a major drawback; a full three-year course "would allow a sounder basis of mathematical and other theoretical work to be laid".[96] Spencer's one major adverse criticism of the New Zealand technical college system was the tendency of the principals to devote most of their energy to the operation of the day school, a trend which inhibited a very necessary building up of the vocational evening classes. He was full of praise for the work being done at Feilding Technical [Agricultural] High School, and also at Stratford Technical High School, which, although it had no specific

agricultural course, had "managed to create an atmosphere of interest in agriculture".[97] No doubt, the Government and the Department were pleased to be told by such a distinguished authority that New Zealand had "confronted the problem of technical education valorously and successfully",[98] and even happier when Spencer suggested that schools similar to the New Zealand technical high school could well be set up in some parts of Britain. As Campbell remarked, such an outcome "... would be an interesting climax to a movement that began as a protest against the traditional secondary school imported from Britain herself".[99]

By the mid-50's, it was clear that the days of the technical schools, originally established "to bring the school back into touch with life",[100] were numbered. Both the Minister and the Director, by this time, were linking the development of technical education with the economic and social progress of the country,[101] but, in so doing, they were already thinking of technical education as essentially a tertiary level activity. The absorption of the technical high schools into the multilateral school network will be discussed later in this study. McKenzie and his associates, in a scholarly and thorough analysis of the history of the technical high school movement in New Zealand,[102] put forward a number of theories to account for the demise of the technical high school. They believed that these schools had "a less distinctive educational role available to them" from the time of the raising of the school leaving age and the introduction of a common core curriculum. In particular, the new situation reduced their monopoly of offerings with market potential, such as commercial office skills. As a result, "the price of social inferiority which technical high school pupils seemed to have to pay offered little return".[103]

McKenzie *et al.* also suggested that the rise of the comprehensive school concept in New Zealand was an outcome of long-term historical trends, including the appeal which the common school made to egalitarian ways of thinking, and the preference of the Labour Party for this type of school.[104] In addition, McKenzie *et al.* held that the phasing out of the technical high schools "owed much to the demographic and social structure in which New Zealand schooling took place".[105] Sufficient of New Zealand's population remained scattered to ensure that, in many localities, there were enough pupils for only one post-primary school, which, of necessity, was comprehensive. Further, New Zealand society had come to favour non-selective and open entrance to post-primary schooling, with a good measure of pupil (and parent) choice in the matter of study programmes.

An interesting overseas development was described by Richardson in her research report on a Schools' Council project on change and innovation in an expanding British comprehensive school.[106] Richardson's account of Nailsea's transition from a smallish grammar school to a large multicourse school serving a relatively restricted area had much in common with the kind of change undergone by many New Zealand secondary schools consequent upon the introduction of the *Thomas Report* recommendations and the raising of the school leaving age. A major difference was that, whereas the New Zealand experience (at least, initially) was largely a matter of providing the necessary resources, in terms of teachers, buildings, and equipment, in Britain, according to the Nailsea report, the central issue became "the search for new patterns of management", with particular reference to the authority of principals to lead, and the authority of teachers to

influence the way principals exercised leadership.[107] Richardson found herself concerned, fundamentally, with issues such as changes in the quality of pupil-teacher, parent-teacher, and, above all, teacher-teacher relationships; pupil power; leadership roles; consultation patterns; and ambivalent attitudes towards growth and change - all matters, which, to one degree or another, had become significant in New Zealand post-primary schools by the 60's. Further study of English models similar to that described by Richardson could lead to a better understanding of the process and outcomes of like developments in New Zealand.

Administration and control

There is a considerable body of overseas literature on educational administration,[108] which it is not possible to review here.[109] Significant contributions to the study of the administration of education in New Zealand were made by Webb,[110] Kandel,[111] Parkyn,[112] and the Educational Development Conference Working Party on Organisation and Administration.[113] Webb's book became something of a classic in its time, though it largely pre-dates this study. Webb advocated a considerably less centralised form of control, with district boards assuming responsibility for all sectors of education below the university. However, he held that local control should be based on "a revocable delegation of powers"[114] by the central Department, an arrangement which would still have left the Department in a strong position, since district boards would be unlikely to risk having their powers reduced by arriving at decisions known to be against departmental policy. Webb was emphatic that the restoration of the capacity for self-criticism was the greatest benefit that

decentralisation could confer. For this reason, his plan required that the chief local education authority officers should be employed by, and answerable to, the local body, not the Government or the Department.[115] Webb believed that such a scheme of control would result in a more varied, lively, and questioning system of educational governance.

In the course of the New Education Fellowship Conference, Kandel severely criticised what he considered to be New Zealand's over-centralised system of educational administration. He maintained that schools and teachers were too ready to seek direction from the central Department, and that the Department, because it had become excessively bureaucratic, was prone

> to perpetuate what is, because it has at one time been successful, to refuse to believe that anything can be learned from the outside, and through paper regulations and mechanical devices and records to militate against the effective operation of free personalities.[116, 117]

This judgment has, however, been challenged, directly by Openshaw, and indirectly by Campbell. Openshaw held that Kandel "... overemphasized the rigidity of the New Zealand education system, and, as a result, discounted the latitude it permitted for dissent".[118] Campbell declared himself to be "... very sceptical of the common belief that this or that [administrative] form - central control, let us say - inevitably produces certain educational consequences". He also remained unconvinced "that this or that proposed administrative change would, in fact, have the educational results claimed for it".[119]

Parkyn argued (in 1954) that the major problem in educational administration in New Zealand was to determine how much central control and how much local control was appropriate in respect of any given aspect of education, bearing in mind that the solution depended "upon the time, the historic process, the place, and the nature of the community".[120] Difficulties standing in the way of resolving the problem equitably included striking a balance between the claims of the individual and the claims of the community; the continual conflict generated by the location of control; the fact that most aspects of the educative process involved several different and constantly changing groups of people; the complexity of the concept of community; the regular shifting of the point of balance consequent upon social and educational changes; and the need to acknowledge frankly, and grapple with, a diversity of aims. Parkyn's conclusions were that decision making should not be concentrated too narrowly at the top, that pupils, teachers, parents, and official personnel should be involved in the planning and executing of educational policy to increase their stature as persons, and, finally, that "... efficiency in [the] process of 'growing' ... should be the ultimate standard of judgment of administration in a democracy".[121] An important contribution to the debate on the locus of power and other aspects of educational administration was made by the Educational Development Conference Working Party on Organisation and Administration in their report, published in 1974. The writer has reviewed this publication in detail elsewhere.[122]

Ewing made two important points about the overall control of education in New Zealand. First, he maintained that basic educational decisions, though made centrally, were not influenced to any great

extent by party politics.[123] There have been few, if any, recorded instances in the history of New Zealand education of a political party on assuming office deliberately dismantling educational legislation put in place by their opponents; party disagreement has been confined to a new Government making relatively minor policy alterations, or pursuing unwelcome innovations less than enthusiastically. This is not to deny that education is, to quote McKenzie, "an intensely political activity".[124] As Clark pointed out, when resources become limited, and competition for them intensifies, and when people begin to question, and argue about, the products of education as well as the processes, political considerations are bound to influence decisions affecting education.[125] However, Ewing's point was that this politicising of education was rarely part of the "abrasive conflict on national issues" engaged in by the country's two main political parties.[126] The second thesis advanced by Ewing was that, notwithstanding the centralised nature of New Zealand's education system, "increasing negotiation and consultation has resulted in a workable and generally acceptable balance of power between the Department of Education ... and local educational organizations and interests". Ewing believed that such a situation could well, in the long run, "constitute a preferable alternative to decentralization".[127]

At the school level, Etzioni's dictum has particular significance: "The success of an organization is largely dependent on its ability to maintain control of its participants."[128] Etzioni postulated three discrete modes of control: coercive power, which is based on the use of physical sanctions; utilitarian power, which uses material means for control purposes; and normative power, which

depends for its effects on the use of such symbols as prestige, esteem, love, and acceptance.[129] In New Zealand post-primary schools, between 1935 and 1970, the earlier dependence on coercive power to maintain control gave way gradually but positively to the use of various forms of normative power. The chief impediment to the complete abandonment of coercive power measures was the presence in schools of reluctant learners. Snook and Lankshear put the matter graphically: "Faced with conscripts, the school is forced to adopt the model of the labour camp. Rules multiply and have to be enforced; and the energy of staff is diverted from education to discipline."[130] Meikle categorised reluctant learners as pupils whose "real lives begin as they walk out the school gates each day". For them, "school is an annoying interruption whose demands and compulsions they resent and resist .... Their hands grown strong to an extent undreamed of [earlier] are against the adult world".[131] It was these pupils who continued to thwart the desire of many schools to renounce the exercise of all forms of coercive power.

School climate

A great deal of research was carried out in the United States in the 60's into the determinants of a school's effectiveness (What makes a good school?). A factor which came to the fore consistently was that of school 'climate', something which has been variously defined as the 'personality', 'tone', or 'atmosphere' of a school.[132] Halpin stated that "personality is to the individual what organizational climate is to the organization".[133] Postulating that school climate was intimately connected with the perceived behaviour of teachers and principals, Halpin and Croft devised an instrument, the Organizational

Climate Description Questionnaire, for assessing and describing the organisational climate of schools. From the test scores, a profile for each school could be constructed. Halpin and Croft then used the profiles to identify six climate types, ranging from open (characterised by democratic, permissive, and differentiated procedures) through autonomous, controlled, familiar, and paternal to closed (characterised by autocratic, directive, and ritualistic procedures).[134] This descriptive technique provided objective feed-back for principals and teachers, encouraging principals to seek, where appropriate, more effective administrative methods, and teachers to adopt measures leading to improved organisational wellbeing. It suggested, further, that the actions and attitudes of teachers and principals contributed very substantially to the making of a good school.

In the 70's, another group of researchers conducted an extensive investigation in the United Kingdom into secondary schools and their effects on children.[135] This team found that consistency of school values played a large part in school effectiveness:

> The 'atmosphere' of any particular school will be greatly influenced by the degree to which it functions as a coherent whole, with agreed ways of doing things which are consistent throughout the school and which have the general support of all staff.[136]

The research findings also suggested that the chief factors contributing to a successful school were not the buildings, the grounds, the equipment, the staff-pupil ratio, or the way classes were organised, so much as the quality of the teachers, the degree of cooperation and power sharing in and around the school, the

expectations that teachers and pupils had for themselves and for each other, and the need for the school's pupil population to have a normal range of ability.[137]

Other researchers and commentators appear to agree with Rutter and his associates that nothing is more significant in developing and maintaining a productive school climate than the professional skill and ideals of the teachers, and how well they combine as a team. Campbell believed that a good school "... grows to a distinctive shape as it learns ... to use to the full the particular abilities and enthusiasms of all the members of its staff".[138] Beeby warned that this did not mean that there was one best way of teaching: "Good teaching cannot be identified with any particular outlook, theory, or method." The actual teaching style employed was much less significant, in Beeby's view, than the kind of educational experience the pupils were getting; in particular, whether or not they were being given the opportunity to develop whatever skills and powers they possessed.[139]

The contribution made by the principal (and, in larger schools, other members of the management team) to the quality of the educational opportunities made available to pupils is, likewise, of prime importance in creating a good school. Within the field of educational administration, the development of theories of leadership has received a great deal of attention from researchers over the past thirty years or so, with more recent studies concentrating on a behavioural approach to the question. The Ohio Leadership Studies team, in the 50's, developed a Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire,[140] which was later refined by Stogdill (1962-63). Two

dimensions of Stogdill's twelve sub-scales seemed to be most highly related to the whole: initiating structure (defining the relationship between the leader and members of the workgroup, and establishing patterns of organisation, channels of communication, and methods of procedure) and consideration (developing a relationship between the leader and staff members based on friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth).[141] The researchers concluded that effective leadership could be considered to be that behaviour which manifested both of these dimensions to a marked degree.

Clearly, if a school is to be effective, its curriculum must provide for the educational needs of all of its pupils, as well as offering the teachers professional satisfaction. Somerset believed that pupils should find the school's curriculum interesting (or they will not contribute of their best); it should also challenge and stimulate their imagination and ability, and lead them on to new knowledge and new skills.[142] In 1964, Parkyn expressed the hope that New Zealand secondary schools would (as had already happened in the primary schools, both in New Zealand and England) become places of education, instead of remaining places of instruction, and that they would see their "growing charges as whole persons being prepared to build a democratic society".[143] At the same time, he cautioned that "... to say that the whole child must be considered is not the same as saying that the school is charged with the complete education of this whole child". Other agencies shared in this total responsibility.[144] Many years earlier, Murdoch had taken a similar stand: "We have now reached the state where the legitimate field of school activities should be defined."[145] What the general public considered that 'field of activities' should be was spelled out very clearly at the time of

the Educational Development Conference of 1973-74. When Shallcrass invited readers of the *New Zealand Listener* to respond to a widely-used questionnaire on the tasks of secondary education,[146] he received nearly 2,600 replies from right across the social spectrum. The respondents put considerable emphasis on intellectual development (desire for knowledge; creation of knowledge; communication of knowledge), though the task which received the greatest support was that of developing a feeling for other people, and the ability to live and work in harmony.[147] The New Zealand secondary school curriculum (which will be discussed in some detail in the course of this study) has been criticised on a number of counts over the years, especially for being too examination-oriented. Searle, writing in 1958, lamented that "... the dominance of examinations is so well established that the great majority of teachers show few signs of any other purpose than that of equipping pupils to pass them"; as a result, "the teacher tends to substitute examination success for the realisation of educational ideals".[148] Searle was referring principally to the School Certificate examination, which had come to wield the same tyranny over the curriculum that had previously been exercised by University Entrance, an examination which Sutch claimed was often taken not so much for genuine educational reasons as for "its cash value in the commercial and business world".[149] Nevertheless, it is not without significance that a workshop sponsored by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in 1970, and attended by representatives of fourteen O.E.C.D. countries, reached this conclusion:

> There seems to be only one possible way of resolving [the] acute tension between the needs of specialization, of common understanding, and of individual development. It lies in designing a basic core curriculum for all students, ... and

> supplementing this with a range of options which are as wide as the school and its surrounding community can provide. These options must help the individual to develop his own special interests and abilities, whether they happen to lie in the intellectual or practical sphere, or both. They must help equip him to earn his living, and to spend his leisure profitably, just as the core curriculum must enable him to play a full part in the human society to which he belongs.[150]

This prescription bears a striking resemblance to that drawn up by the Thomas Committee in 1943, and put into practice in New Zealand post-primary schools from 1945 onwards.

To these three fundamental determinants of a good school -teachers, leadership, and curriculum - must be added the principle of shared responsibility, and the factor of school-community relations. Rutter *et al.* considered that, as pupils "are able to take responsible roles, and achieve satisfaction from them, ... they may become more likely to identify with educational objectives".[151] So it is with pupil involvement in school affairs. As will be shown later in this study, New Zealand secondary schools have come a long way in this respect since Minogue, discussing, in 1965, "the perennial conflict between the principles of freedom and authority in school life", asked: "Why is it that the social climate of our schools is so seldom deliberately democratic?"[152] By the 70's, many secondary schools had succeeded, in large measure, in fulfilling Parkyn's hope that they would contrive "to strike such a balance between freedom and authority that pupils may learn through practical experience the democratic art of exercising freedom responsibly".[153] The significance of school-community relationships in developing an effective school also has a prominent place in the literature. The example set by Rangiora High School under J.E. Strachan has already been cited. Campbell held that a school would acquire stature as it came "... to respond to the

demands and opportunities of its local environment",[154] while Somerset, who achieved an international reputation for his work with community centres, believed that "... in a good school, the larger community is never far away", and that, "since the chief characteristic of man is his ability to form a community, the school is falling short of its teaching duty if it fails to relate it to the community of men".[155] Given that the changing needs of society provide the catalyst for much of the curriculum development which takes place in schools, meaningful school-community contacts are indispensable if such development is to meet its objectives. In the absence of these contacts, the school "loses touch with reality, and can do little more than preserve a tradition".[156]

The last word on school climate belongs to a Te Awamutu College sixth-form girl, who contributed an article to a series appearing in *Education* under the heading 'What Makes a Good School?' She said, of a good school: "It gives the incentive, but does not force the action."[157]

3

SETTING THE SCENE : NEW ZEALAND AND ITS POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN 1935

New Zealand

Since it is generally accepted that the historical, demographic, sociological, economic, and political patterns of a country have a considerable impact on the characteristics of its education system, it would seem appropriate to begin this study with a brief sketch of what New Zealand was like in 1935, a year which, in many respects, marked a turning point in its development.

Until late in the year, New Zealand was governed by a United-Reform Coalition.[1] However, on 27 November, a Labour Government was swept into power, with a thirty-seat majority[2] and a clear mandate to carry through an extensive programme of social reforms which was destined to have a profound effect on the country as a whole and on its social services, including education, in particular.

In 1935, New Zealand had an estimated population (1 April) of 1,559,624, of whom 74,578 (4.8 per cent) were Maoris.[3] More significant, however, than the totals themselves was the fact that the provenance of the country's population was changing. Using information supplied by the Government Statistician, and based on the census figures for 1936, Rogers established that immigrants no longer dominated the older age groups, "to which belong the managerial class, the heads of families, the party leaders, and so on". The figures showed that 52 per cent of New Zealand residents aged fifty-five and

over in March, 1936 had been born in New Zealand, compared with only 32 per cent ten years earlier.[4] The 1936 census further revealed that 38.5 per cent of the population (excluding Maoris) lived in the four principal cities of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin, while other urban areas accounted for a further 21 per cent. So, although 'urban drift' was well under way by 1935, at least 40 per cent of Pakeha New Zealanders still lived in rural areas. The proportion of Maori rural dwellers was considerably higher than that for Europeans, standing at over 80 per cent.[5] Moreover, New Zealand was, at that time, still a relatively isolated country, even internal communication being somewhat restricted. Radio was not long out of its infancy, and, although a trans-Tasman airmail service had been introduced in 1934, and commercial flights across Cook Strait began operations in 1935, the first overseas commercial air services were still two years away.[6]

The world-wide economic depression which had hit New Zealand in the late 20's was, by the mid-30's, slowly giving way to renewed economic growth. Oliver summed up the changing situation succinctly: "By 1935 the country was in a much improved condition. The revenue was buoyant, the deficit was overcome, and unemployment was lower than at any time since 1931. Above all, prices for exports were climbing."[7] Nevertheless, unemployment did remain a serious problem, with the October, 1935 level only marginally lower than it had been a year earlier (39, 681 compared with 39,738). However, there were many signs that the economy was recovering. Big increases were recorded in the amount spent on importing motor vehicles (£2.66 m. compared with £1.67 m. in 1934) and cigarettes (£283,746 compared with £186,961 in 1934); mortgages registered and discharged between 1 April and 31

October were up by approximately 30 per cent on the 1934 figures; while bankruptcies were down from 326 in 1934 to 257 in 1935. Further, nominal wage rates were up (though, admittedly, not by very much), whereas reported industrial disputes were down from seventeen in 1934 to eight in 1935. A partial restoration (7½ per cent of existing rates) of the salaries and wages of public servants was also effected in 1935, and pension payments were returned to their pre-1932 levels.[8] From 1 October, the special unemployment tax was cut to eight pence in the pound. Additional evidence of an improving economy could be seen in increased spending on education. Expenditure in this area in 1935 was £2.87 m., of which £598,000 went to secondary education and technical instruction. By way of comparison, total spending on education in each of the four previous years had been £4.1 m. in 1931; £3.4 m. in 1932; £2.8 m. in 1933; and £2.7 m. in 1934. In the mid-30's, the mainstay of the New Zealand economy was still its primary produce, most of which went to the United Kingdom. The Labour Party's election plan included the encouragement of secondary industry in order to create a more balanced economy;[9] however, for various reasons, it was to be some years before there was any significant development in this area.[10]

Compared with the standards of today, the living conditions of 1935 seem almost primitive. In the home, labour-saving devices were still largely unknown. Few families could afford a refrigerator (or even an ice-box); gas was still widely used for lighting, water-heating, and cooking; outside toilets were common; while the weekly washing was boiled clean in a copper, put through a hand-operated wringer, and pegged out on a line to dry. In the cities, trams were the principal means of transport; motor cars were still looked on as

something of a luxury. Entertainment was largely self-provided, though Saturday night public dances were popular, most homes possessed a radio, and talking films had almost entirely superseded the silent movies.

Against this background, the study now looks at the post-primary schools of New Zealand as they were in 1935.

The schools[11]

Number and size

The two most striking features of the New Zealand post-primary schools of 1935, compared with those of 1970, were that the 1935 schools were fewer in number, and very much smaller than their 1970 counterparts. In 1935, there were only sixty-five state post-primary schools in New Zealand.[12] Of these, thirty-eight were secondary schools, six were combined schools,[13] and twenty-one were technical schools.[14] All of the technical schools were mixed, while, of the forty-four secondary and combined schools, thirteen (29.5 per cent) were single-sex boys' schools, fifteen (34.1 per cent), were single-sex girls' schools, and sixteen (36.4 per cent) were mixed.[15] The largest of the thirty-eight secondary schools was Auckland Grammar School, with a roll (on 1 July, 1935) of 912.[16] Of the others, only Wellington College (731 pupils), Otago Boys' High School (696), Christchurch Boys' High School (653), Mount Albert Grammar School (603), Epsom Girls' Grammar School (601), and Otago Girls' High School (541) had rolls in excess of 500. There were eleven schools with rolls of between 401 and 500; six had from 301 to 400 pupils; a further ten had rolls of between 201 and 300; while four had fewer

than 200 pupils.[17] The average size of all the secondary schools in 1935 was 392 pupils. The technical schools tended to be larger, with very big schools (for those days) in Auckland (1,219 pupils), Christchurch (1,068), and Wellington (878), and sizable ones in Dunedin (721), Wanganui (647), Invercargill (606), and Hamilton (501). Three of the remaining fourteen technical schools had rolls of between 301 and 400; seven had from 201 to 300 pupils; and four had fewer than 200 pupils.[18] The average size of all the technical schools in 1935 was 431 pupils. Overall, nearly 80 per cent of all the post-primary schools in New Zealand in 1935 had fewer than five hundred pupils.

Age

Of the forty-four secondary and combined schools in operation in 1935, nineteen were more than fifty years old. By contrast, the technical schools (with the exception of the two Schools of Art) had almost all been opened, or had become technical day schools, in the thirty years before 1935.

Courses offered

The regulations governing the holding of free places in post-primary schools in 1935 required that

> the programme of each free pupil shall consist not of a number of disconnected subjects but of a group of subjects duly arranged in accordance with the pupil's capacities, surroundings, and probable future calling, as far as such a programme can be provided for with regard to the general circumstances of the school.[19]

In terms of this requirement, all New Zealand post-primary schools were organised on a 'course' basis, with pupils, on entry, choosing one or other of these courses as their field of study. The courses typically offered were: professional (two foreign languages, usually

Latin and French); general (one language, usually French); industrial; commercial; agricultural; homelife; and, in some schools (mainly technical), art. A few schools (mostly secondary) also taught university degree work and other advanced studies. Table 1 sets out the courses offered at all types of post-primary school in New Zealand in 1935, and gives the numbers of pupils following the various courses in each type of school.

TABLE 1

COURSES OFFERED AT ALL TYPES OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL IN NEW ZEALAND IN 1935, AND NUMBERS OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN THOSE COURSES

Courses	Secondary	Schools Combined	Technical	Total	Percentage of Total
Professional	5,515	560	599	6,674	25.5
General	4,484	647	697	5,828	22.3
Industrial (all boys)	424[20]	203	2,596	3,223	12.3
Commercial	2,826	460	2,875	6,161	23.6
Agricultural (all boys)	607	115	465	1,187	4.5
Homelife (all girls)	946	141	1,385	2,472	9.5
Art	12	21	425	458	1.8
University degree work	97[21]	29	7	133	0.5
Totals	14,911	2,176	9,049	26,136	100.0

Source: E.2, 1936, pp.40-41

Table 1 shows that over 70 per cent of all post-primary pupils in 1935 chose professional, general, or commercial courses. Industrial and homelife were the most popular of the minor courses, accounting for nearly 22 per cent of the remaining pupils. Fewer than one pupil in twenty entered on an agricultural course, in spite of the prolonged and determined efforts of the Department of Education and other agencies to promote the teaching of agriculture in New Zealand post-

primary schools. On the other hand, a small number of schools persisted in giving instruction in university degree and other advanced work, even though the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools regularly condemned this practice in his Annual Reports.[22] Finally, as Murdoch pointed out, "[the] numbers taking any particular course may be expected to reflect the economic circumstances and social structure of the particular areas".[23]

Subjects taught

The regulations covering the holding of free places in post-primary schools referred to in the previous section also required all pupils to study a number of specified subjects for set minimum periods of time. These subjects, which had to be included in the programmes of all post-primary school pupils in their first and second years, were: English (four to six hours per week); history and civics (one and a half to three hours per week); arithmetic (two and a half to three hours per week) or mathematics (four to six hours per week); a science (two to four hours per week); and physical training (one hour per week). The regulations further provided that, for girls, the science must be home science. District high schools with rolls below seventy were required to teach agriculture and dairy science. In technical high schools, drawing replaced the compulsory science, and, in general, pupils in those schools were required to follow a vocational course. Once they reached their third year at school, pupils had to continue to study English for at least four hours a week, and spend a similar amount of time on each of at least two other subjects from a prescribed list. At that stage, they could drop history or science, but not both.[24] Table 2 lists the main subjects studied in 1935 by pupils attending New Zealand post-primary schools,

TABLE 2

MAIN SUBJECTS TAKEN BY PUPILS ATTENDING NEW ZEALAND POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN 1935, AND NUMBERS OF PUPILS STUDYING THOSE SUBJECTS

Subjects	Number of Pupils	Percentage of Total (N = 26,136)
English	25,803	98.7
History	24,029	91.9
Arithmetic	22,785	87.2
Singing	17,182	65.7
Mathematics[25]	16,587	63.5
French[25]	14,954	57.2
Geography	13,407	51.3
Freehand Drawing	12,765	48.8
General Experimental Science[25]	10,024	38.3
Bookkeeping	9,855	37.7
Home Science[25]	8,925	34.1
Chemistry[25]	8,380	32.1
Needlework	7,142	27.3
Instrumental Drawing	6,578	25.2
Latin[25]	6,565	25.1
Woodwork	5,662	21.7
Shorthand	5,107	19.5
Design and Crafts	4,963	19.0
Cookery	4,905	18.8
Typing	4,878	18.7
Elocution	4,037	15.4
Metalwork	3,494	13.4
Hygiene and Physiology	3,026	11.6
Magnetism and Electricity	2,031	7.8
Agriculture	1,931	7.4

Source: Calculated from E.2, 1936, p.42

and gives the number of pupils studying each of those subjects. In addition to the twenty-five subjects listed, fifty-five others were offered, including many (such as dressmaking, trade drawing, engineering, music, physics, housecraft, economics, art, biology, accountancy, horticulture, applied mathematics and German) which, under the same or a similar name, are prominent in the programmes of many post-primary school pupils today. However, it is doubtful whether any post-primary schools are still teaching oil engines (taken

by 86 pupils in 1935); live-stock (83 pupils); steam (57); salesmanship and advertising (52); typography (47); commercial science (34); saddlery (33); bee-keeping (29); blackboard drawing (25); handwriting and correspondence (10); quantities and estimates (3); radio (1); or education (1).

Teaching methods

The outlook of many (if not most) post-primary school teachers in the mid-30's was still narrow, formal, and authoritarian. For them, 'teaching' meant preparing pupils to pass examinations by presenting them with, and requiring them to learn by heart, a body of factual material relating to each separate subject. There was a heavy emphasis on dictated notes,[26] coupled with a good deal of dependence on equally formal, and often dull, textbooks. The pupil's role was to accept the teacher's word passively, and get on with the task of rote learning, with the test in the short term, and the school and public examinations in the long term, very much in mind. Only minor concessions were made to the principle of learning by doing, or even by seeing.[27] In science, for example, junior school pupils were rarely given the opportunity to conduct experiments for themselves. They simply watched the teacher carry out the 'experiment' (the purpose of which was usually to demonstrate the truth of a pre-determined conclusion), and then copied down notes on it from the blackboard. These notes, recorded initially in a science scribbler,[28] would then be carefully and neatly transcribed into a hard-covered science notebook at home. Senior school pupils generally had more frequent access to the laboratory, but even they would be unlikely to spend more than one or two periods a week there. In mathematics, a short explanation of a topic by the teacher would be followed by the

working of seemingly endless examples, with even more examples being set, for good measure, as a homework exercise. Teachers of history spent most of their time dictating notes, even though much of the material they transmitted to pupils in this way was contained in the class textbook. Pupils taking French were fortunate if they had a teacher who encouraged them to speak the language (or, indeed, whose own level of oral proficiency was adequate for such a task). Rather, the teachers concentrated on imparting the rules of grammar, with the aim of reaching that pinnacle of grammatical achievement - an understanding of the intricacies of the subjunctive mood - by the beginning of the third year of instruction. They also placed considerable emphasis on teaching their pupils the art of translation from and into French. In English, much time was devoted to writing essays, to mastering the complexities of figures of speech, to performing feats of parsing and analysis, to learning the difference between a spondee and a trochee, and to reading (but rarely acting) scenes from Shakespeare plays.

The textbooks in use had to be selected from an approved list issued by the Department of Education.[29] Amendments to this list by way of additions or deletions were regularly advised in the *New Zealand Education Gazette*. Admittedly, the choice of textbooks was reasonably wide, with ten to fifteen titles being listed in most of the main subject areas. Some of these books contained enough material for two or even three years' work, so that it was not uncommon for pupils to be 'finishing' in their third year at high school a textbook which they had begun to use in their first year. Into this category came a number of poetry anthologies, as well as such warhorses of mathematics teaching as Hall and Stevens's *Shorter School Geometry* and

Baker and Bourne's *Elementary Algebra*. A few textbooks in regular use, written by New Zealand teachers,[30] took some account of New Zealand conditions. For the most part, however, the books used were produced in England, and simply had to 'fit where they touched' as far as the New Zealand post-primary school pupil was concerned. Pupils of the day were required to buy their own textbooks. There was no provision then for post-primary pupils to receive free textbooks, no matter how needy their parents might be.[31]

Facilities and resources

Very few of the post-primary schools erected in the eighty years before 1935 had been designed to take advantage of the sun, with the result that many classrooms were cold and uninviting. Central heating (or, for that matter, any form of effective heating) was the exception rather than the rule in New Zealand post-primary schools of the 30's. The classrooms also tended to be drab, with an occasional picture (those depicting sailing ships were common) providing the only decoration. Natural lighting was often inadequate; in the case of some of the older, stone buildings, this situation was aggravated by the fact that, in the course of its onward climb, the ivy plant was no respecter of window spaces!- Not infrequently, electric lighting was totally absent in school classrooms in the mid-30's. Typical classroom furniture included the three-seater desk with detached forms for seating, and the solid, one-piece wooden desk with hinged lid. The desks were provided with grooves for holding pens and pencils, and with holes for ink-wells, steel-nibbed and (for the more affluent) fountain pens being the typical writing instruments of the day. There would usually be a teacher's desk on a platform at the front of the

room, with a blackboard fixed to the wall above the platform.[32] Bookshelves, even for the teacher, were largely conspicuous by their absence.

Specialist rooms for subjects like mathematics, geography, and even art were far and few between, though all schools had some special accommodation for teaching science. However, in most cases, what was available fell far short of what was needed.[33] The provision of suitable teaching spaces for practical subjects, such as woodwork, typing, and housecraft, was generally at a better level. The Superintendent of Technical Education, in his Report for 1935, was able to state that, at Gisborne High School, a workshop block "giving facilities as for a technical high school" had been erected, while at Nelson Boys' Combined School (sic) a similar block had been built "providing accommodation for metalwork, woodwork crafts, agriculture, etc.".[34] Nevertheless, not all schools had even reasonably adequate facilities for teaching practical subjects. Rangiora High School (established in 1884) had to wait until 1946 for suitable workshops to be provided, after what the School's centennial historian described as "a long struggle, lasting thirteen years in all".[35] The same writer acknowledged, however, that "... though not over-supplied with equipment - there were always far too few typewriters, for instance, or sewing machines - the Commercial and Home Science electives were, by 1940, at least tolerably well set up".[36] Takapuna Grammar School (opened in 1927) did not get proper facilities for teaching engineering shopwork, technical drawing, and woodwork until 1957.[37] In 1935, many post-primary schools, including some which had been opened in the previous century, still had no gymnasium or swimming pool. Even assembly halls were by no means universal. At that time,

the Department of Education, apart from providing some subsidies, accepted no responsibility for the provision of such facilities. Where they did exist, they had often come about largely as a result of fund-raising efforts made by past pupils' associations, by the community, by the parents, and by the pupils themselves.

A similar situation obtained in respect of school grounds. At Takapuna Grammar School, in 1935, the grounds were still only partially developed; in his Annual Report for that year, the headmaster referred to "wet playing fields which refused to dry out, smelt badly, lacked topsoil, and caused poisonous sores on boys' legs".[38] Nor was Takapuna Grammar School the only post-primary school in that position. At both Wellington Girls' College and Timaru Girls' High School, in the 30's and 40's, the Parent-Teacher Association was active in appealing to the public for funds to have areas levelled for sports fields, while many schools would have still been very badly off for playing fields in the mid-30's had it not been for the good work done during the depression years by men employed on the different government relief schemes.[39] It is not without significance that many of the post-primary schools with well-laid out grounds had boarding establishments, which could provide a steady supply of the labour needed to maintain the grounds in good order and condition.

The position in regard to post-primary school libraries in 1935 also left a good deal to be desired. Murdoch quoted the Munn-Barr Report (1934), which noted that:

> With one or two exceptions, library facilities in both secondary and technical schools are extremely meagre, and in

> no case do they reach an approved standard of library service. In only three or four cases is the stock of books reasonably adequate to the needs of students;[40]

while the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools had this to say on the issue in his Annual Report for 1935: "A matter for sincere regret is the starved state, or the total absence, in some cases, of the school libraries in many of our schools.... School libraries should be regarded as an essential part of the equipment for teaching."[41] On the other hand, the Superintendent of Technical Education was able to state, in his Report, that, during 1935, "greater activity [has been] displayed by Technical School Boards in making provision for school libraries".[42] Once again, some of the libraries which did exist (such as at Palmerston North Boys' High School and at Auckland Grammar School) had been provided largely by past pupils, usually as a memorial to their fellows who had died in the Great War.

Parental involvement

Although most post-primary schools had well organised and helpful past pupils' associations in 1935, there was relatively little parental involvement in the affairs of the schools. With only half of the post-primary schools then in existence having established parents' associations, the Minister, in his Report for 1935, urged schools which were without such groups to make every effort to bring them into being.[43] The absence of parents' associations in so many post-primary schools can be partially attributed to the fact that many parents had not themselves had a post-primary education, and were quite unfamiliar with the content of the courses their children were following at school. As a result, they felt uncomfortable in the school environment, and were, for the most part, reluctant to engage

in any sort of dialogue with the school about the education their children were receiving. No doubt, many parents in 1935 also subscribed to the widespread belief (still prevalent, in some quarters, today) that any criticism of the school or its teachers would be taken out on the critics' children. Where there were parents' associations, they tended to concentrate on various kinds of fund-raising activities for purposes some of which have already been mentioned.

Evening classes

All of the technical schools and a few of the secondary schools conducted evening classes, which offered instruction in a wide range of vocational and cultural subjects at minimal cost to the students.[44] A good many teachers in technical schools also taught evening school classes, but hobby-type classes, especially in the secondary schools, were often in the charge of local people (usually without formal teacher training) who had special expertise in the areas concerned. In 1935, there were 10,362 students attending evening classes offered by technical schools alone, with higher enrolments in commercial and general subjects than had been the case in any of the six previous years.[45]

Control

In 1935, post-primary schools were controlled by boards of governors in the case of secondary and combined schools,[46] and boards of managers in the case of technical schools (although, nominally, the latter were under the control of their district education boards). The powers of the boards of governors and the boards of managers were substantially the same, in spite of their different names. Post-

primary school boards typically consisted of nine members, three of whom were elected by parents of pupils attending the school (though such members did not have to be parents of current pupils themselves). Of the other six members, two were appointed by the Governor-General (usually on the recommendation of the local Member of Parliament), one was nominated by the local borough or county council, and three were appointed by the district education board.[47] There was no provision made at that time for school principals to attend board meetings as of right. In city areas, one board sometimes controlled more than one school. The Auckland Grammar School Board was responsible for five schools in 1935. In one centre - Palmerston North - one board controlled two secondary schools and the local technical school. Board membership tended to be heavily weighted in favour of professional and business men and (in country districts) farmers. Women were grossly under-represented, even on boards controlling girls' schools and mixed schools.[48] Then, as now, boards were statutory bodies with quite wide powers covering the control and management of their school(s). These powers included the appointment and dismissal of principals as well as teaching and non-teaching staff; the responsibility for the allocation and proper spending of grant monies received from Government through the Department of Education; and the making of by-laws relating to the operation of the school(s) for which they were responsible.[49] In practice, from the point of view of teachers and pupils, boards in the mid-30's were almost invariably remote and virtually unknown bodies whose members put in a solitary annual appearance at the school on the occasion of the end-of-year prize-giving ceremony.

Finance

Post-primary school boards derived their income, in 1935, from three main sources: fees paid by pupils; reserves vested in the boards; and grants from Government covering teachers' salaries, and incidental expenses. Of these sources of income, the amount derived from fees paid by pupils was negligible. Only 1 per cent of the pupils attending post-primary schools in 1935 were not receiving free education; those who were liable for fees had to pay only a few pounds per year.[50] With respect to income from reserves vested in post-primary school boards, the total amount received by boards from this source in 1935 was £42,197, of which two boards received just over half between them. Boards which received more than £1,000 from reserves income in 1935 are listed in table 3.

TABLE 3

INCOME RECEIVED BY POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL BOARDS IN 1935 FROM RESERVES VESTED IN THE BOARDS, AND THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL RECEIVED BY EACH BOARD

	Reserves Income	Percentage of Total
Vested in Wellington College Board	£10,682	25.3
Vested in Auckland Grammar School Board	10,489	24.9
Vested in Christchurch Boys' (sic) High School Board	4,444	10.5
Vested in Otago High School Board	4,005	9.5
Vested in Timaru High School Board	2,074	4.9
Vested in Southland High School Board	1,899	4.5
Vested in Gisborne High School Board	1,753	4.1
Vested in Waitaki High School Board	1,347	3.2
Vested in Rotorua High School Board	1,275	3.0
All other Boards - less than £1,000 each.[51]		

Source: E.2, 1936, p.70

The income boards received from reserves had to be used to offset the cost of teachers' salaries, so that it no longer represented a net

income gain for boards. Under the third heading - grants from Government covering teachers' salaries, and incidental expenses - the total amount paid to boards for incidental expenses in 1935 was £30,186. The only schools to receive more than £1,000 were Auckland Grammar School (£1,642); Otago Boys' High School (£1,578); Wellington College (£1,528); Christchurch Boys' High School (£1,336); Auckland Girls' Grammar School (£1,039); and Epsom Girls' Grammar School (£1,003). The post-primary schools of 1935 were relatively inexpensive institutions to run, compared with their latter-day counterparts.

The post-primary education of the Maori

In 1935, Maoris had the same rights as Europeans to attend secondary, combined, and technical schools - if they could get to them. But a substantial proportion of the Maori population of New Zealand at that time still lived in rural (and, not infrequently, quite remote) areas. For those Maoris who were so placed, the Government provided a restricted number of scholarships covering the cost of two years of post-primary education at certain boarding schools run by various church groups. There were ten of these schools in operation in 1935, only one of which - Te Aute College - had a post-primary roll of over forty.[52] The curricula of the church boarding schools (especially the boys' schools) were constantly criticised for being over-academic. There was widespread concern that pupils in these schools were receiving a very artificial training, based on programmes which were largely irrelevant to what their needs would be in later life. A further criticism levelled at the Maori boarding schools was that, for the most part, they made little or no provision for their pupils to learn the Maori language. On the other

hand, the inspectors were often loud in their praises of the tone of the schools themselves. For example, in his Report for 1933, the Chief Inspector recorded: "The tone of these schools was excellent, and their organisation was suitable for the development of pupil responsibility and pupil government."[53]

The teachers

Number and certification

In 1935, there were 616 teachers working in secondary schools, 97 in combined schools, and 404 in technical schools. Approximately one teacher in five in the secondary and combined schools was uncertificated, while an even higher proportion of teachers in technical schools had had no pre-service teacher training.[54] Furthermore, in-service refresher courses were still ten years away, though a ten-day Teachers' Summer School covering world affairs, drama, economics, English, folk-dancing, and music was scheduled to be held in Timaru in January, 1936.[55]

Classification and salaries

Although the Education Amendment Act 1920 had provided for the introduction of a New Zealand-wide scheme of teacher grading and an organised salary scale for post-primary school teachers, the application of these provisions as they affected teachers in secondary schools on the one hand, and in combined and technical schools on the other, was not uniform. Secondary school teachers were classified annually by inspectors operating only in secondary schools into four personal categories, of which grade A was the highest and grade D the lowest. The bases of the classification were academic qualifications;

efficiency in teaching; and service. In technical and combined schools, however, teacher grading was a very different and much more complex matter. In those schools, teachers were classified annually by inspectors operating only in technical and combined schools into one of six classes (of which the highest was class VI) in one of two divisions, general (for those without university degrees - mainly the technical teachers proper) and professional (for university graduates employed to teach academic subjects). The bases of this type of classification were, once again, academic attainments; ability in teaching; and service (which, in this case, could encompass experience in a trade or profession, as well as teaching service); plus an additional category - professional or trade qualifications. Fewer marks were required to enter a given class in the 'general' division than were needed for entry to the corresponding class in the 'professional' division, while women required fewer marks than men to enter any class in either division.[56]

As to salaries, teachers in technical and combined schools were paid strictly on the basis of their personal grading, whereas, in the secondary schools, teachers had to contend with a situation where teaching positions were also graded (once again, from grade A to grade D). The number of teachers each school was entitled to have in a given grade (based on roll numbers) was regulated by the Department of Education. Under this system, teachers in secondary schools, whatever their personal grading, could not be paid a salary higher than that justified by the grade of the position they held in the school. For example, a teacher in a secondary school whose personal grading was C, but who held a D grade position in the school, could not receive more than the maximum salary payable to a D grade teacher, a bone of very

considerable contention among secondary teachers of the time, the more so as no such restrictions applied to teachers in technical and combined schools.[57] The average salaries paid in 1935 to teachers in secondary schools were slightly lower than those paid to teachers in technical and combined schools; women in both types of school were paid at a much lower rate than men. (See table 4.) A small number of payments over and above the standard salary were made. Married principals received a house allowance of £60 a year, and married men teachers could qualify for a married allowance of £40 a year. A special allowance of £30 a year was also payable to some heads of departments, as well as to senior lady teachers (referred to, officially, in 1935, as 'chief female assistants') in the larger coeducational schools. Finally, it must be noted that all salaries and allowances payable in 1935 were subject to the 10 per cent cut prescribed by the Finance Act 1931, and the further cut (varying from 5 per cent to 12½ per cent) imposed by the National Expenditure Adjustment Act 1932. The reduced rate thus arrived at was increased by 5 per cent in terms of the Finance Act (No. 2) 1934, and further increased by 7½ per cent on existing rates by the Finance Act 1935.[58]

TABLE 4

AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES PAID TO TEACHERS
IN ALL TYPES OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL IN 1935

	Secondary Schools			Technical & Combined Schools		
	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both
Principals	£734	539	672	£682	-	-
Assistants	£384	265	332	£394	255	340

Source: E.1, 1936, p.17

Length of service

A feature of the post-primary schools of the period was the marked tendency for teachers to stay for long periods in one school. It was not uncommon, particularly in the older-established, more academic-type schools, for teachers, especially men, to remain in one school for all, or the greater part, of their teaching lives. The centennial histories of Auckland Grammar School and New Plymouth Boys' High School recorded that twenty-two and seventeen teachers respectively had served on the school staff for more than thirty years. An analysis carried out in respect of fourteen post-primary schools revealed that, on average, a significant proportion of the teachers on staff in 1935 had been teaching in their present schools for ten or more years.[59] Details of this analysis are set out in table 5.

Another tradition which survived well beyond the 30's, and was certainly very common then, was for men and women to return as teachers to the schools where they had been pupils. When C.M. Littlejohn assumed the headship of Auckland Grammar School in May, 1935, he found that twenty-one of the thirty-three teachers then on staff were old boys of the School.[60] Also, in the girls' schools, almost all of the teachers at that time were single women.

Tenure

In spite of what has been said in the previous section about length of service, there were, nevertheless, some aspects of teacher appointments in the mid-30's which indicated a degree of insecurity as far as tenure was concerned. For example, in technical and combined schools, every new appointment, including that of principal, was

TABLE 5

LENGTH OF TEACHING SERVICE OF TEACHERS ON STAFF IN FOURTEEN POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN 1935

	PERIOD OF SERVICE						
	More than 20 years	15-19 years	10-14 years	5-9 years	3-4 years	1-2 years	Total staff
Auckland Grammar School	6	5	8	9	2	3	33
Napier Boys' High School	-	3	2	7	5	3	20
Waitaki Boys' High School	3	2	4	7	-	6	22
Rangiora High School	1	2	2	5	-	2	12
Nelson College for Girls	1	3	2	8	-	2	16
Christchurch Girls' High Sch.	3	3	4	7	1	8	26
Wellington Girls' College	2	5	3	8	1	3	22
Christchurch Boys' High Sch.	3	3	9	10	1	-	26
New Plymouth Boys' High Sch.	3	6	5	5	1	1	21
New Plymouth Girls' High Sch.	-	-	2	10	1	4	17
Napier Girls' High School	-	1	2	3	2	5	13
Timaru Girls' High School	3	1	6	5	1	3	19
Wellington Technical College	4	6	9	14	5	4	42
Waitaki Girls' High School	-	2	7	4	2	3	18
Total	29	42	65	102	22	47	307
Percentage of total	9.4	13.7	21.2	33.2	7.2	15.3	(100)

44.3%

Source: School histories

subject to departmental approval. In the case of the appointment of a principal, the regulations contained a clause stating specifically that "... if the Minister does not approve of the candidate selected by the Board, ... he may himself select and appoint one of the applicants, and notify the Board of such selection and appointment".[61] Further, in terms of the Education Law Amendment Act 1934-35, married women teachers could be dismissed by their boards at three months' notice for no other reason than that they were married.[62] Boards were also able to appoint teachers for limited 'trial' periods, and sometimes did so, as the following note added to an advertisement for an assistant teacher illustrates: "First appointment will be for one year only : thoroughly satisfactory service may ensure permanent appointment."[63]

Qualifications

In the mid-30's, teachers in secondary schools, and those who taught academic subjects in technical and combined schools, tended to have bachelors' or masters' degrees in arts or science. The only other degrees or diplomas which were at all common among post-primary school teachers were the B.Com., the B.H.Sc., and the Dip. H.Sc. Specialist qualifications in subjects like art, music, or physical education were encountered only occasionally. Teachers who worked in the main centres could (and did) improve their qualifications by taking degree courses part-time at a university. For those not so conveniently placed, the notes provided by coaching colleges frequently acted as a more than adequate substitute for attendance at university lectures.[64] An analysis (table 6) of the qualifications of the teaching staff of the same fourteen post-primary schools referred to above showed that just on 50 per cent of the teachers had masters'

TABLE 6

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS ON STAFF IN FOURTEEN POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN 1935[65]

	QUALIFICATIONS								
	No degree or diploma	Diploma or Professional Qualification	Bachelors	Double Bachelors	Masters	Masters and Bachelors	Double Masters	Masters and Ph.D.	Total staff
Auckland Grammar School	2	1	7	2	16	4	1	-	33
Napier Boys' High School	3	2	3	-	11	-	1	-	20
Waitaki Boys' High School	6	-	6	-	9	-	-	1	22
Rangiora High School	2	3	1	-	5	1	-	-	12
Nelson College for Girls	3	1	4	-	8	-	-	-	16
Christchurch Girls' High School	7	3	5	1	10	-	-	-	26
Wellington Girls' College	6	1	6	1	7	1	-	-	22
Christchurch Boys' High School	1	-	3	1	17	3	-	1	26
New Plymouth Boys' High School	8	2	3	-	6	1	1	-	21
New Plymouth Girls' High School	4	2	3	1	7	-	-	-	17
Napier Girls' High School	2	2	5	-	4	-	-	-	13
Timaru Girls' High School	4	2	5	1	7	-	-	-	19
Wellington Technical College	13	7	8	-	10	3	1	-	42
Waitaki Girls' High School	3	1	4	-	9	1	-	-	18
Total	64	27	63	7	126	14	4	2	307
Percentage of Total	20.8	8.8	20.5	2.3	41.0	4.6	1.3	0.7	(100)

49.9% (Double Bachelors through Masters and Ph.D.)

Source: School histories

or double bachelors' degrees, or even higher academic attainments, while almost another 30 per cent had at least a bachelor's degree, a diploma, or some professional qualification. To all appearances, therefore, most of these teachers were well qualified for their work. However, the B.A. degree of those days was not particularly demanding, requiring a pass in six subjects, only one of which had to be studied at a level higher than Stage I.[66] Further, many of the M.A. degrees held by post-primary school teachers in the 30's had been earned in subjects not taught at post-primary schools. M.A.'s in mental science, philosophy, education, and, particularly, economics were common, while the number of M.A.'s in history was out of all proportion to the need for teachers of that subject. It is significant that, of the eighteen teachers at Auckland Grammar School in 1935 who had M.A. degrees, only one had an M.A. in English, though three had M.A.'s in economics, and a further four had graduated in history.

Professional associations

In 1935, there were still two separate national associations, one for secondary teachers (New Zealand Secondary Schools' Association), and one for technical teachers (New Zealand Technical School Teachers' Association), though the two organisations did have a common *Journal* (called *S.T.A.* (Secondary Teachers' Association)). Neither organisation was yet a force to be reckoned with, politically. Local teachers' subject associations were still at least ten years away.

General

Outside of the largest schools, the head of department position

was virtually unknown in 1935, and, in most schools, teachers received little or no professional help from their colleagues, or, for that matter, from the principal. It was very much up to themselves whether they swam or sank. Also, in those days, there were no support services available in schools; such pastoral care and guidance assistance as pupils might require had to be provided by ordinary classroom teachers. Even school secretarial services were severely limited, to the point that it was not uncommon for teachers to be expected to type their own examination stencils, and run off their own test papers on a jelly pad.[67] Many post-primary school teachers of the 30's, especially men, were also heavily involved in extra-curricular activities, particularly sports coaching and cadet work. In schools with hostels, teachers of both sexes were often required to act as housemasters or housemistresses. Involvement in such activities was a condition of appointment at the time; the rubric 'Applicants must be prepared to take a full share in the outside activities of the School' was common in the advertisements for teaching staff appearing in the *Education Gazette* in 1935. Often, the reference would be more specific, as the following examples reveal: "Applicants must be prepared to take a full share in all school activities, including girls' games, swimming and drill" (1 February); "Applicants should also state in what branches of athletics they have qualifications, and whether they are qualified to take charge of music or dramatic classes" (15 February); "Successful applicant will be required to act as housemaster, for which services board and lodging will be provided" (1 May);[68] "Ability to assist with basketball, tennis, swimming and music will be an added recommendation" (20 December). A corresponding versatility was also demanded of teachers in respect of their classroom work. For example, one advertisement

for an assistant master stated that: "Applicants should be able to teach English, French, history, geography, and Latin, if possible. Ability to teach drawing or singing will be an added recommendation" (1 April); while another advertisement sought a grade D residential master "to teach general subjects, but especially chemistry, electricity, mathematics, geography, and bookkeeping" (15 February). Whatever else they may have been, post-primary teachers of the mid-30's certainly had to be adaptable and accommodating, the more so if they happened to be working in a smaller school or a district high school.

The pupils

Number

The 26,136 pupils in attendance in 1935 at secondary, combined, and technical schools have already been referred to earlier in this chapter. In addition to these pupils, there were 5,331 boys and girls in the secondary departments of New Zealand's eighty-five district high schools; 4,495 attending endowed and registered private secondary schools (excluding Maori boarding schools); 561 post-primary pupils enrolled with the Correspondence School; and a total of 246 pupils, of whom 205 were Maoris, attending (private) Maori boarding schools. There were also small numbers of post-primary pupils (144 in all) in form 3 classes at four intermediate schools.[69] A further 570 pupils were being catered for in form 3 classes in a few primary schools in various parts of New Zealand.[70]

Percentage and qualifications of primary school pupils going on to post-primary schools

Although the proportion of primary school leavers going on to post-primary schools increased dramatically in the ten years after 1935, in that year the post-primary schools received only 55 per cent of the 1934 primary cohort.[71] All of the pupils continuing their education at a post-primary school had either passed the examination for a Certificate of Proficiency or been awarded a Certificate of Competency at a somewhat lower level than Proficiency.[72] The minimum school leaving age in 1935 was fourteen, but pupils aged thirteen who had passed the Proficiency examination could obtain a certificate of exemption from further schooling.[73]

Length of stay at post-primary schools

The average length of school life for pupils in secondary schools in 1935 was two years and ten months; for those in combined schools two years and eight months; for those in technical schools two years and two months; and for those in the secondary departments of district high schools two years and three months. The average for all pupils receiving post-primary education was two years and six months. Table 7

TABLE 7

POINT AT WHICH POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPILS LEFT SCHOOL IN 1935

Left in	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th or later yr
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Secondary schools	14	27	22	37
Combined schools	18	26	29	27
Technical schools	30	35	22	13
District high schools	32	29	18	21
All schools	23	30	22	25

Source: E.1, 1936, p.23

shows the point at which pupils who were enrolled at the different types of post-primary school in 1935 left school. Two factors stand out. First, more than half of the total cohort of post-primary pupils had left school by the end of their second year; second, the holding power of the secondary and combined schools was much superior to that of the technical schools.[74]

Probable destinations of pupils leaving post-primary schools in 1935

Table 8 gives the percentages of 1935 post-primary school leavers planning to go on to further study or to enter various branches of the workforce in 1936.

TABLE 8

PROBABLE DESTINATIONS OF PUPILS LEAVING POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN 1935

	Boys (per cent)	Girls (per cent)
University	3	1
Teachers' College	2	4
Clerical Work	22	18
Trades/Industries	20	7
Engineering/Architecture/Surveying	5	0
Shop/Warehouse Work	17	13
Farming	17	1
Home	2	38
Other	4	9
Unknown	8	9
	(100)	(100)

Source: E.1, 1936, p.21

Courses of study

The courses of study followed by pupils in the different types of post-primary school in 1935 were circumscribed to some extent by the

free place regulations,[75] and to a very considerable degree indeed by the University Entrance (Matriculation) examination, notwithstanding the fact that, as table 8 shows, only a tiny proportion of post-primary school pupils had any intention of undertaking university studies when they left school. The domination of almost the entire post-primary school curriculum by the Matriculation examination is a theme which will be taken up again in Chapter 5.[76] The fact remains, however, that, even if the secondary schools had wished to promote the study of non-academic subjects (and many of them certainly did not), they would have found themselves ill-equipped to do so. Few of them had adequate facilities for teaching manual work, though the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools was able to state, in his Report for 1935, that further provision for such work was being made, albeit slowly. He noted that 21.6 per cent of boys in purely secondary schools were learning woodwork; metalwork, however, had not maintained its position.[77] Other non-academic subjects taught in secondary schools included agriculture (taken by 11.9 per cent of all boys); shorthand (taken by 28.7 per cent of the girls); and typing (taken by 21.9 per cent of the girls). The percentage of girls in secondary schools studying shorthand and typing in 1935 represented a considerable advance on the figures for 1934, indicating that commercial studies were continuing to grow in popularity. The commercial course was already the most favoured choice of students in technical schools, as well as being by far the most sought-after non-language course in secondary schools.[78]

Examinations

The free place at a post-primary school which was available to all pupils who held a Certificate of Proficiency or a Certificate of

Competency (called the junior free place) was valid for only the first two years of post-primary education. Pupils who wished to proceed to form 5 had, therefore, to secure for themselves a senior free place. This award, which remained in force until the end of the term in which the pupil turned nineteen, could be obtained either by accreditation (on the recommendation of the inspectors and the school principal) or by examination, the so-called Intermediate examination being provided for those not accredited for a senior free place. (See appendix D.) In 1935, 3,748 candidates were awarded senior free places by accreditation. A further 345 pupils sat the Intermediate examination, but only fifty-eight (about one in six) passed.

At the end of their third year, pupils sat the University Entrance examination (or, more accurately, in many cases, made their first attempt at the examination).[79] In 1935, there were 4,602 candidates for University Entrance, of whom 2,072[80] (45 per cent) passed. In 1934, in an effort to provide an alternative qualification for pupils not intending to proceed to university studies, the Department of Education had instituted an examination known as School Certificate. This examination, conducted jointly by the Department and the University, comprised thirty-one subjects, of which twenty had the same prescription as the corresponding subject for University Entrance. Great hopes were held in some quarters that the new School Certificate examination would end the domination of the curricula of the post-primary schools by University Entrance, and lead to broader programmes of study, which would be more closely related to the current and future lives of the pupils. Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education in the new Labour Government, had sufficient faith in the new examination to declare: "There is reason to believe that the new

[School] Certificate will become firmly established in public estimation."[81] The Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, however, was not quite so optimistic:

> It must be admitted that the efforts of the Department and of the post-primary schools to popularise the School Certificate, and to secure for it the recognition that it deserves from businessmen in general and from employers in particular have not met with much success."[82]

In fact, of the 4,307 candidates for School Certificate in 1935, only 285 were not, at the same time, candidates for University Entrance; of those 285 candidates, only one in four obtained School Certificates.[83] The eleven subjects which were available in 1935 for School Certificate only, and the number of entries which each of those subjects attracted in that year, were: bookkeeping (138); shorthand/ typewriting (34); needlework (18); housecraft (17); physiology (17); technical drawing (15); technical electricity (12); applied mechanics (12); economics (10); biology (nil); heat engines (nil). In 1935, 2,310 (53.6 per cent) of the candidates for School Certificate obtained a complete pass,[84] 777 'improved their status',[85] and 1,220 failed.

There were 1,276 pupils in form 6 in 1935, representing 4.9 per cent of the total enrolment of secondary, combined, and technical schools.[86] The most academically able of these pupils sat the University Scholarships examination. Of the 297 candidates for this examination in 1935, thirty were awarded scholarships, and a further 133 passed the examination 'with credit' - an overall pass rate of 54.9 per cent. There was also a University Bursaries examination at a somewhat lower standard than Scholarships, but, as success in the

Bursaries examination brought the candidate only a little over £8 per year, most form 6 pupils, quite understandably, considered that this examination was not worth sitting.[87] Instead, many of them spent their time doing advanced work with a view to securing some passes towards either a B.A. degree or the Accountancy Professional examination. A Higher Leaving Certificate was also available to pupils in form 6; however, this Certificate had lost must of its popularity, as its holders were no longer entitled to receive the University Bursaries payment.[88] Only 688 Higher Leaving Certificates were awarded in 1935, compared with 978 in 1931.

Homework

In 1935, the scholastic labours of post-primary school pupils were by no means over once the school day had ended. Homework assignments had to be completed, a requirement which often made considerable demands on the time and energy of pupils in the evenings and at week-ends. From time to time, voices were raised against what were considered to be excessively burdensome homework demands. In his Report for 1935, the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools had this to say on the issue:

> It must be admitted that some of our secondary schools do offend in requiring too much homework, especially from their fifth and sixth-form pupils. In many cases, the mathematics teachers are the chief sinners, far too much routine work in arithmetic and algebra examples being set by some of them .... The writing-up of science notebooks has also been made unnecessarily elaborate and burdensome in a few schools .... The chief source of abuse in several schools is the failure to restrict the number of subjects in which preparation is demanded on any one night.[89]

The Chief Inspector also made the following recommendations regarding homework: the number of subjects set on any one night should be

limited to three, possibly two for form 3 pupils; the aggregate time required to complete homework assignments should not exceed one to one and a quarter hours for pupils in form 3, one and a half hours for form 4 pupils, and two hours for seniors; no 'voluntary' homework over and above the scheduled amounts should be expected. While most post-primary school pupils of the day would undoubtedly have accepted the Chief Inspector's homework programme with gladness and relief, the majority of teachers continued to honour it much more in the breach than in the observance.

Hostels

In 1935, 788 pupils were accommodated in hostels attached to twenty-one of the secondary schools; 345 pupils were in hostels attached to the six combined schools; and 146 pupils were in hostels attached to six of the technical schools, a total of 1,279 boarders[90] in thirty-three school hostels. Most school hostels, however, were far from full, the depression having produced a sharp decline in the occupancy rate since the peak year of 1929. No boarding allowances were payable in respect of post-primary school pupils in 1935.

Transport

Post-primary pupils living at least three miles from school could get free train passes. In the 30's, when post-primary schools were few and far between, some pupils travelled long distances by train each day to attend school. For example, pupils came to school in Auckland by train from as far south as Pukekohe and as far north as Helensville. In towns and cities, bicycles (one-speed and gear-less) were the most popular method of transport to and from school. Since there was not much traffic on the roads in those days, cyclists could

make good speed, and proceed in reasonable safety. In the country, many pupils still rode horses to school, though, admittedly, not so commonly to post-primary schools.[91]

Clothing

School uniforms were the order of the day in 1935 for all post-primary school pupils, even the most senior. For the girls, the uniform typically consisted of a navy serge gym tunic worn with a white blouse (sometimes with a starched collar) and school tie; black woollen stockings and lace-up shoes; a panama or felt hat; and gloves. The boys wore navy or grey serge shorts and woollen shirts; long black socks and lace-up shoes or boots; and a school cap. These uniforms were worn all the year round, with the addition of a cardigan for the girls and a pullover for the boys in the winter. School blazers also provided extra warmth, when required. The headgear generally had some emblem or badge which identified the wearer with a particular school.

The school day

In many respects, the post-primary school day in 1935 was much as it is in most schools now. It was divided up into 'periods' (stints of forty to sixty minutes), with a break for lunch, and an interval in the middle of the morning. Bells marked the end of each period. On this signal, the pupils would pack up their belongings, and move off to the next lesson. Generally, the teachers had a fixed teaching room, and their classes came to them. As lockers for pupils were a rarity in post-primary schools in the mid-30's, pupils were obliged to carry heavy bags of books (and, sometimes, an additional bag for sports gear) about with them all day. Assemblies were more frequent then than they are now, some schools having them in the afternoon as

well as the morning. They also tended to be much more highly structured and more formal. In some schools, the entire staff wearing academic gowns processed up the centre of the school hall, and took their places on the stage seated on special (sometimes even carved) chairs. Very rarely did any school person other than the principal speak at assemblies, though visiting speakers from outside the school were not uncommon. Morning assemblies nearly always included a religious component, usually a hymn followed by a Bible reading and the school prayer. In some schools (for example, Waitaki Boys' High School under F. Milner, and Wellington College under E.N Hogben), morning assemblies could be inspiring and highly instructive occasions, with perceptive comments from the principal on issues and events of the day; however, the proceedings were often of little interest to many pupils, who simply 'switched off' until the assembly was over.

For those who found classwork uninteresting or irrelevant, sport, unsophisticated though it was by present-day standards, could give meaning to their whole school lives. Rugby was the chief winter sport in 1935 for boys, though soccer, hockey, and athletics also claimed many adherents. Hockey and netball (then called basketball) were the most popular winter sports for girls. In the summer, there were cricket, tennis, and swimming for the boys, and tennis and swimming for the girls. Many post-primary schools of the mid-30's were woefully short of playing fields, and a number of them had no school swimming pool, but these handicaps did little to dampen the enthusiasm of the youthful sportsmen and sportswomen of the day.

Great satisfaction and even fulfilment were also provided for many

pupils by various school clubs and other cultural and social extra-curricular activities. Music groups (choirs, orchestras, and bands) flourished in nearly all schools; drama was also extremely popular. Tramping clubs, camera clubs, radio clubs, chess clubs, stamp clubs, sketch clubs, life-saving clubs, magazine committees, Christian fellowships, and debating and public speaking groups were to be found in many schools. The sheer number and variety of the extra-curricular pursuits which post-primary school pupils of the day could take part in provided, in themselves, a testimony to their need and their value. Another prominent extra-classroom activity for boys in the post-primary schools of 1935 was membership of the school cadet corps. The place of cadets in the schools will be considered in more detail later.

Discipline

Probably no issue in education has generated more heat and less light over the years than that of discipline. In the mid-30's, post-primary schools in New Zealand were undoubtedly institutions where discipline was enforced from the outside rather than places where structures and procedures were established to encourage in pupils the growth of self discipline.[92] School life was governed by rules, and instant obedience was the order of the day. Any failure on the part of pupils to respond to this requirement generally brought immediate retribution in the form of corporal punishment (for the boys), detentions, or the removal of privileges. Girls' schools, in particular, were renowned for the extent and the sheer pettiness of the restrictions they placed on their pupils. In general, discipline was altogether a more urgent issue in the large city schools than it was in the smaller country schools, where pupil-staff relationships

were usually much more relaxed. In nearly all schools, prefects acted as a 'junior arm' of the discipline system, though the burden of enforcement fell largely on the teachers, with principals in the background ready to add their weight in cases of ultimate defiance. Murdoch's summary of the situation put the matter succinctly and aptly: "The control of the schools may be characterized generally as authoritarian but reasonable, with perhaps a tendency to severity."[93]

Summary

The intention of this chapter has been, first, to present a picture of New Zealand as it was in 1935 - a country beginning to throw off the feeling that it was a colony, emerging slowly but surely from the years of economic depression, becoming more urbanised, and, above all, poised on the brink of far-reaching social changes. Against this background, an attempt has been made to describe the post-primary school scene of 1935 - what the schools themselves were like, what were their purposes, policies, and programmes, and what it meant to be involved in post-primary school life, whether as teacher or pupil. In the next three chapters, the study will focus on the period 1936 to 1945, a decade of upheaval internationally, and of not insignificant development locally; and a time of preparation, as far as education was concerned, for wide-ranging changes to come.

PART TWO : 1936-1945

4

1936-1940

The years 1936-1940 were marked by a surge of activity in educational affairs in New Zealand, and the post-primary schools were by no means exempt from its effects. Reforms which had been mooted for some time, but had been "pushed aside in the massive retrenchment of the early 1930's",[1] could be put in place now that the economic outlook of the country was brightening. Moreover, with a Labour Government in power, the stage was set for the revitalising of a system which had been in a state of relative stagnation for some years. Government initiatives played a large part in this process, but some very influential outside stimuli, notably the New Education Fellowship Conference of July, 1937, and the writings of educationists like I.L. Kandel and F.H. Spencer[2], must also be taken into account. In the first part of this chapter, the legislative, financial, and other measures adopted by the Government to improve the availability and the quality of post-primary education will be outlined. Next, the influence which the New Education Fellowship Conference had on events will be examined. Finally, consideration will be given to the effects of the Government's new policies and procedures on the post-primary schools of the day, and on their teachers and pupils. An assessment will also be made of the impact of the war on the schools up to the end of 1940.

Government initiatives

During the election campaign of 1935, the Labour Party's manifesto

had given considerable prominence to social issues. When the Party assumed office on 5 December, 1935, it demonstrated that this emphasis had been no mere vote-catching gimmick by appointing the second ranking man in its cabinet, Peter Fraser, as Minister of Education and Minister of Health.[3] Described by W.H. Oliver as "without a doubt the supreme parliamentarian in the Labour phalanx",[4] Fraser had been in the House for eighteen years before his party finally captured the treasury benches, and had been Opposition spokesman on education for much of that time. He immediately set about implementing Labour's election promise to "reorganise the education system to provide the maximum possibilities of advancement for all [New Zealand] children".[5] When he took office, Fraser found that the Government was faced with four main problems concerning education:

1. ensuring that all children received free education of the type best suited to their needs;
2. providing new schools and equipment on a scale never before contemplated in New Zealand;
3. securing for country children equality of educational opportunity with their urban counterparts;
4. giving teachers a greater measure of freedom in the exercise of their craft.[6]

In tackling these problems, Fraser proceeded on two broad fronts - by enacting legislation, the main thrust of which was to extend the availability of education; and by steadily increasing the amount of money provided by Government to meet the cost of education.

Legislation

The resumption of Parliament in 1936 saw the beginning of a "tremendous burst of legislative activity",[7] when "the first solid

work of the new Government was done".[8] Some legislation affecting post-primary education was introduced into the House quite early in the session, including a bill amending the Free Place Regulations. This measure provided that junior free places could be extended to three years if the holders were under thirteen on 12 December of the year in which they qualified for a junior free place, or were Maoris attending the Rotorua High School. At the same time, the senior free place was made tenable until the end of the year in which the holder reached the age of nineteen.[9] The Minister was also given the power to extend the tenure of junior and senior free places in individual cases, if he thought fit.[10] Also gazetted in 1936 were new regulations governing the award of University National bursaries. These regulations provided for the establishment of a boarding bursary of up to £30 per year for selected post-primary pupils who would be obliged to live away from home in order to attend a university. At the same time, the maximum amount payable towards university tuition fees in terms of the ordinary bursary was increased from £10 per year to £20. Both types of bursary - ordinary and boarding - were to be tenable for three years (or four years in the case of students attending Medical School), with a possible extension for a further year.[11] In addition, University National bursaries were, once more, to be awarded, as of right, to pupils who qualified for Higher Leaving Certificates,[12] a determination which had an immediate and marked effect on the number of sixth-form pupils in post-primary schools seeking to obtain the Higher Leaving Certificate.[13] Another piece of legislation introduced in the 1936 session provided for the award of up to eight scholarships per year to Maori pupils attending other than Native schools. These scholarships, of an annual value of £35, were to be tenable for two years at nine named (private) secondary schools.[14]

Notwithstanding the importance of these early legislative moves, the most significant piece of educational legislation introduced into the House in 1936 was undoubtedly the Education Amendment Act, which provided, *inter alia*, for the abolition of the Proficiency examination, with effect from 30 September, 1937. This examination had dominated the work in form 2 (or standard 6, as it had been known earlier) for decades. Admittedly, principals had the right to accredit their best pupils for 'proficiency', so that not all pupils were required to sit the actual examination, but its demands certainly had had a "cramping effect ... on the teaching in the schools".[15] It was widely held that the existence of 'proficiency' resulted in a situation wherein "the creative aspect of [primary] education was subordinated to the literary, and the development of individual aptitudes ... sacrificed to a rather narrow efficiency in English and arithmetic".[16] Fraser was convinced that the abolition of the Proficiency examination "[would] be a milestone in the history of education in the Dominion";[17] before long, the move was being hailed as marking the beginning of "a new era in [primary] education",[18] an era which would "provide teachers with the opportunity to display originality and initiative in meeting pupils' needs".[19] The great majority of primary school teachers welcomed "the new freedom",[20] and the Minister reported that they were "everywhere breaking new ground, and experimenting in methods and curricula".[21] As early as February, 1938, the *Education Gazette* was proclaiming that "the tumult and the shouting which troubled the last days of the Proficiency examination have died : now is the time to essay the foundations of a new and better order". The abolition of 'proficiency' undoubtedly had a profound effect on the work of the primary schools; however, in the long run, the impact of the move on the post-primary schools was

almost as great. Prior to 1938, pupils could not be admitted to post-primary schools, even as paying pupils, unless they held at least the Certificate of Competency.[22] Even though some 80 per cent of form 2 pupils normally qualified for the award of either a Certificate of Proficiency or a Certificate of Competency,[23] this requirement did provide some guarantee that pupils proceeding to post-primary schools had a reasonable measure of academic ability. However, once new regulations, gazetted towards the end of 1937, had declared that the Proficiency and Competency Certificates were henceforward replaced by the Primary School Certificate, which would be issued to all pupils who had "completed a course for Form 2",[24] the way was clear for <u>any</u> pupil holding the Primary School Certificate to proceed to <u>any</u>[25] type of post-primary school, and continue there as a free place holder until the end of the year in which he/she reached the age of nineteen. Liberalising the conditions of entry to post-primary schools did not, at first, have any marked effect on their rolls; in fact, the total number of pupils beginning post-primary courses in state schools, including the secondary departments of district high schools and of the Correspondence School, was only 0.6 per cent higher in 1940 than it had been in 1937[26]. It did mean, however, that eventually rolls were likely to increase quite substantially. Even more important, post-primary school curricula would have to be modified to meet the needs of a much more diverse clientele. The Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, in his Report for 1937, foreshadowed the implications of the changed situation when he said:

> This is in all probability a much more generous provision than is in force anywhere else in the world, and must result in increased roll numbers, and, therefore, increased staffing. The schools will thus have an opportunity to enrich their

> curricula, so that pupils will have a choice of courses from which a selection may be made to suit the individual child.[27]

The extent to which the post-primary schools did move (or, more accurately, did not move) to adjust their curricula in the period up to the end of the war will be discussed in chapter 6.

A second major legislative measure, introduced into the House by Fraser in 1937, was the Education Amendment Bill 1937, the purpose of which was "to formulate certain major proposals for the alteration of the administration of primary and post-primary education in New Zealand".[28] Fraser, who looked on education as a continuous and life-long process, certainly did not subscribe to the belief still quite commonly held in the 30's that primary and post-primary schooling were discrete types of education. He had been much influenced by the findings and recommendations of the 1930 Parliamentary Recess Committee on Education,[29] of which he had been a member, and many of the proposals incorporated in the 1937 Bill owed their origin to the recommendations of that Committee. Fraser believed that a much closer relationship between the primary and post-primary branches of education was essential to the proper development of both sectors; he also held that such a relationship could best be secured by placing all the schools in a given area under a single controlling authority. Accordingly, the Bill provided, *inter alia*, for the abolition of the existing governing bodies of secondary, combined, and technical schools, and their replacement by school councils having much the same powers and functions as the then existing primary school committees, as well as certain extended functions specified in the Bill.[30] These school councils would, along with the teachers employed in the schools, elect twelve new education boards, which would have

jurisdiction over secondary, combined, and technical schools, as well as over public (primary) schools in their several new districts.[31] Fraser acknowledged that the alterations proposed in the Bill were "of such a nature that it would not be possible to embody them within the structure of the present Education Acts".[32] He therefore intended to prepare a consolidation of the Education Acts, which would incorporate the proposals of the 1937 Bill. The new Act was to come into force on 1 January, 1939. Obviously, such legislation would have had a profound effect on the management and administration of post-primary schools, but, in the event, although the Bill was referred to the Education Committee of the House, it was allowed to lapse. It is generally agreed that "a major reason for this action was the opposition aroused by the proposal to reconstruct the secondary school boards and reduce their status";[33] however, it was ultimately the intervention of the war which brought about the shelving of the Bill. Nevertheless, the issue of the unified control of primary and post-primary schools remained alive for a very long time, especially in the ranks of the Labour Party and of the primary school teachers' professional association, the New Zealand Educational Institute. In September, 1938, Parliament did pass a shorter Education Amendment Act, which dealt with matters of immediate urgency, including the removal of the salary bar in the case of certain qualified teachers in technical and combined schools; the increase by approximately 100 per cent of the payments to secondary schools for the supply of materials for practical and science subjects; and the removal of restrictions on the employment of married women as teachers.[34]

<u>Increased financial provisions</u>

One of the main thrusts of the Labour Government's election

policy regarding education had been a commitment to rebuild and recondition old and unhygienic school buildings, and to improve the standard of teachers' residences.[35] Fraser wasted no time in implementing this policy.[36] As table 9 shows, capital expenditure on new buildings, additions to existing buildings, acquiring additional sites and extending the area of existing sites, and building new teachers' residences rose steadily in the period from 1936 to 1940. In particular, substantial sums were allocated for work in the technical school sector.

TABLE 9

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON NEW SCHOOL BUILDINGS, ADDITIONS TO BUILDINGS, SITE ACQUISITION, AND NEW TEACHERS' RESIDENCES, 1935-1940

Year ending 31 March	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Secondary schools	£14,679	23,516	24,092	58,924	56,819	69,545
Technical schools	£12,851	59,350	77,836	97,740	82,568	60,283

Source: E.1 Reports

Another policy undertaking had been the provision of more adequate library facilities, the need for which the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools continued to emphasise in his Annual Reports. In 1936, he had declared that the rehabilitation of school libraries had become an urgent issue, noting that "in some schools there is no library; in others a meagre collection of antiquated books is housed in some classroom or basement".[37] By 1938, he was recommending the creation of an additional capitation grant for the establishing and maintaining of school libraries.[38] Fraser was sympathetic to such a suggestion, but felt that other more pressing needs had to be met first. However, he did make available a special grant of £1,000 for

post-primary school libraries towards the end of 1939.[39] Although the amounts received by individual schools were not large,[40] at least the schools were able to say that something was being done for their libraries, at last. No doubt, they also clung to the hope that the Minister's gesture had created a precedent! In the matter of the implementation of a further election promise - to provide schools with more liberal supplies of equipment - the schools were much better served. Increased grants for this purpose were provided in 1936, and payments under this heading continued to increase in subsequent years. In particular, as has already been noted (p.84), capitation grants for materials used in manual and science classes were raised considerably, some grants being doubled in 1938.[41] In the same year, the Government supplied four hundred typewriters to schools offering commercial courses. As a result, the Superintendent of Technical Education was able to declare, early in 1939, that "post-primary schools ... are now reasonably well equipped with respect to typewriters".[42] Fraser also took steps early in the first Labour Government's term of office to restore to approximately pre-1931 levels the capitation grant made to each school to cover its incidental expenses, a grant which had been steadily cut during the depression years.[43] In addition, in 1938, he re-instituted the allowances (suspended since 1932) payable to certain heads of departments and to first women assistants in post-primary schools.[44] Teachers' salaries had already been restored to scale rates as from 1 July, 1936,[45] and "unemployed teachers [were] moved back into teaching (at standard rates of pay) so that class sizes could fall".[46] Nor were the pupils forgotten in the Government's actions to make post-primary education more widely available. Reference has already been made (p.80) to the increase in the ordinary bursary payments towards tuition fees at university, and the creation

of the new boarding bursary. In 1936, regulations were introduced providing for the issue of free textbooks to children at post-primary schools whose parents were in necessitous circumstances. Fraser declared, in his Report for that year, that "a substantial sum [has] been placed on the estimates for the purpose".[47] Another government initiative which certainly encouraged large numbers of young people to enrol or extend their time at a post-primary school was the 50 per cent increase made in the boarding allowance in 1937 - from 5/- to 7/6 weekly. While it is true that the task of making greater financial provisions for education was eased for Fraser's Government by the return of more prosperous times, the fact remains, as Oliver pointed out, that it was "policy [that] channelled and distributed the flood".[48] In its first term of office, the Government had shown clearly where its priorities lay. As far as spending on education was concerned, the figures set out in table 10 speak for themselves.

TABLE 10

COST OF POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION, 1936-1940[49]

Year	Spent on post-primary education	Total spent on education
Year ending 31 March, 1937	£ 716,846	£ 4.032 m.
Year ending 31 March, 1938	810,540	4.679 m.
Year ending 31 March, 1939	899,130	5.157 m.
Year ending 31 March, 1940	923,368	5.608 m.
Year ending 31 March, 1941	928,660	5.401 m.

Source: E.1 Reports

Other government actions

In addition to its legislative and financial initiatives, the Government moved in a number of other directions to improve the availability and quality of education at all levels of the system.

For example, Fraser supported the development of the Feilding Community Centre, which began in 1938 when H.C.D. Somerset and his wife, Gwen, were appointed to the staff of Feilding Technical High School "for the special purpose of trying out a new method of organising adult education in a district",[50] a task which the Somersets had already undertaken, with success, at Oxford in Canterbury. The principal of Feilding Technical High School, L.J. Wild, who strongly supported the concept of community education, provided half a day's regular teaching work per week at the High School for the Somersets. The rest of their time they spent at the Community Centre, which was, in fact, a converted technical school. The Centre was far more than a location for formal classes and lectures. It had a reading room, ran a nursery class, served as a 'drop-in' centre, provided a meeting place for local organisations, and offered facilities for drama, craft work, and art appreciation. Sadly, this "most interesting of all the educational innovations [of the period]"[51] did not spread to other New Zealand communities; the concept of a community education programme offered in association with the local post-primary school was not to be revived until many years later.

In the period up to the end of 1940, the Government made a number of strategic appointments to positions in the education service. Of these, by far the most significant was that of Dr C.E. Beeby to the post of Assistant-Director of Education from September, 1938. In a relatively short time, Beeby, who had been close to Fraser for many years, was to succeed to the directorship, an office he filled with unprecedented distinction for two decades, bringing "his humanising and liberalising influence"[52] to bear on every aspect of the

Department's work. In the opinion of one of New Zealand's leading historians, it was Beeby who "largely inspired and administered the modernisation and democratisation of New Zealand education".[53] Other key appointments made included those of P.A. Smithells as Superintendent of Physical Education in August, 1939, and W.B. Harris as Supervisor of Teaching Aids early in 1941.

From the outset, Fraser placed great store on the principle of consultation, especially with teachers and others working in the field. In his first two years of office, he organised conferences in Wellington to consider a whole range of educational issues which he held to be important. The first of these conferences, convened by the Prime Minister in September, 1936, lasted for three days. Its brief was to consider matters relating to the education, health, and economic position of the Maori race, and its terms of reference included an examination of the curricula of the private Maori secondary schools.[54] As a result of this very representative gathering, the number of junior scholarships[55] awarded to Maori pupils annually was increased from 136 to 174, while scholarships reserved for pupils attending other than Native village schools were increased in number from sixteen to thirty. Further, the previously awarded 'continuation' scholarships[56] were revived; eighteen of these were to be awarded annually, with the total number held at any one time not to exceed thirty-five. The number of agricultural scholarships available each year was increased from four to ten, and these were to be matched by ten nursing scholarships. Finally, the value of all scholarships was raised from £31.10.0 to £35.0.0. These moves provided a substantial boost to the opportunities available to Maori pupils to continue their education at post-primary level. Although the total

number of pupils able to benefit from the awards was still small, at least it was well over 60 per cent higher in 1937 than it had been in 1936, thanks to the September conference. As far as the curricula of the denominational Maori secondary schools were concerned, the Senior Inspector of Native Schools reported, at the end of the year, that action had been taken to give effect to the recommendations of the conference, namely, that the curricula should be broadened, and more closely related to the needs of the Maori people; that there should be more stress placed on technical, agricultural, and domestic courses; and that a more generous scale of staffing and equipment should be introduced.[57] In December, 1936, a further conference was held, this time to examine another matter to which Fraser attached considerable importance - vocational guidance. As a direct result of this conference, the first steps were taken towards providing a vocational guidance service to post-primary school pupils in New Zealand. A man and a woman teacher were appointed, as from 1937, at the technical high schools in each of the four main centres to undertake the duties of vocational guidance officers. These teachers were to receive special training for their work, and would be given some relief from ordinary classroom duties.[58] The Government also undertook to provide educational guidance officers (to be known as 'careers teachers') at certain large post-primary schools to work in conjunction with the district vocational guidance officers. By 1938, sixteen careers teachers had been appointed, one in each of the secondary schools in the four main centres.[59] In his Annual Report covering 1938, the Minister noted that many schools were applying for approval to appoint careers teachers. However, he had decided that the scheme should proceed on an experimental basis for a year, with the whole situation coming up for review in 1939.[60] A final outcome of this conference

was a decision to establish in each of the four main cities a 'Youth Centre', where guidance and placement work would be undertaken jointly by officers of the Departments of Education and Labour.[61] Within a year, the work of the Centres and of the vocational guidance officers was reported to be proceeding steadily; a refresher course for vocational guidance officers had been conducted at Canterbury University College by Dr Beeby; and a Vocational Guidance Association had been inaugurated. In 1937, the series of conferences continued, with topics such as visual education, physical education, agricultural instruction, school buildings and furniture, and teacher training being debated, and recommendations on them drawn up. It is interesting to note that the people taking part in these conferences were already alert to the significance of some issues which were to reappear - as though they were newly coined - thirty or forty years later. For example, one of the items on the agenda of the conference on physical education was the use of school grounds outside of school hours for general recreational purposes, a foreshadowing of the community school concept.

New Education Fellowship Conference

In July, 1937, fourteen eminent overseas educationists spent three weeks in New Zealand giving lectures in the main centres of both Islands under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship.[62] The overall theme of the lectures was 'The Bases of Educational Reorganisation'. If Fraser did not actually arrange the visit, he certainly gave it a great deal of support and encouragement, facilitating the attendance of teachers at the sessions by authorising the closing of schools, where necessary. He himself regularly

attended the lectures and other Conference meetings. The *Education Gazette* carried a substantial amount of pre-Conference publicity, including details of the Conference timetables in the various centres. Readers were assured that they were about to experience "... a great event in the history of New Zealand education",[63] and told that the opportunity to hear such outstanding speakers should not be missed, as "such a chance as this is unlikely ever to recur".[64] Fraser used his influence to promote the widest possible participation in the Conference events, and closely identified himself with the aims and objectives of the Fellowship:

> The New Education Fellowship Conference comes at a singularly opportune time when the whole educational system of the Dominion is under review. It should serve the double purpose of giving administrators and teachers first-hand information on the spirit and practice of education in other countries, and of arousing in the public mind that interest in and enthusiasm for education without which administrative reforms may be largely sterile. The Conference has the full support of the Government, and I hope that not only teachers, but all who have the interests of education at heart, will take advantage of this unique opportunity of making contact with movements overseas, and preparing themselves to take an active and intelligent part in the reorganisation of education in New Zealand.[65]

Teachers and members of the public certainly responded to the call, with almost six thousand enrolling in the different centres. In a number of instances, halls with a seating capacity of more than three thousand were unable to accommodate all of those who wished to be admitted. Most of the lectures dealt with educational themes of wide application; only a few of the topics covered bore directly on the post-primary school. Some speakers were openly critical of the New Zealand school system. Post-primary school teachers and administrators, in particular, cannot have derived much comfort from the comments of the American, F.W. Hart,[66] who declared that:

> As I see it, the three main evils in the New Zealand school system are segregation, examinations and inspection. Of these, the examination system is probably the greatest curse imposed upon pupils, and inspection the greatest menace to successful teaching; and, if a function of education is the social adjustment of the individual, then there can be no defensible grounds established for the segregation of boys and girls of adolescent age. Social adjustment, in my opinion, cannot be achieved under conditions of segregation.[67]

Two speakers, I.L. Kandel and William Boyd,[68] invited to comment specifically on education in New Zealand, condemned a good deal of what they had seen in, and heard about, New Zealand schools. Kandel considered that the whole system of education in New Zealand was too centralised, and, so, too bureaucratic: "[It] is designed, no doubt unconsciously, to check freedom and initiative on the part of teachers, and to reduce all to a dead level of uniformity and, consequently, mediocrity."[69] He also deplored the fact that such a system "... sets up wrong conceptions of education in the minds of the public, who look for examination results rather than for growth and development of personality in their children".[70] His strongest criticism, however, was reserved for the Matriculation examination, which he castigated as "this imaginary hall-mark of intelligence".[71] Kandel also spoke out strongly against differentiated forms of secondary education; he could hardly have echoed Fraser's sentiments more faithfully when he declared:

> All [children] are entitled as future citizens to a broad, general education as long as they are capable of profiting by it. Differentiation should be thought of in terms not of content, but of methods of reaching the individual in terms of his abilities and aptitudes.[72]

The Scotsman, Boyd, also had some harsh things to say about New Zealand's post-primary schools; in fact, he described the whole post-primary school system in this country as "an incompetent muddle",

claiming that "... the high schools are too theoretical in their outlook, [and] the technical schools are too practical".[73] His solution to the whole problem (involving, one notes, a form of differentiation of which Kandel would surely not have approved) was the provision of two parallel types of post-primary school, one to offer a five-year academic programme, and the other to cater for pupils who would leave when they reached the statutory leaving age.

In attempting to assess the value of the Conference, and the influence it had on the New Zealand school system in general, and on the post-primary schools in particular, one must admit that the sessions generated tremendous interest on the part of those who attended. Boyd spoke of the "extraordinary enthusiasm and interest which has (sic) been aroused by the conferences",[74] while Fraser held that "unprecedented enthusiasm was manifest during the whole of the Conference, which could not, therefore, have any but a stimulating and inspiring effect upon the teachers and the public ...".[75] The Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, in his Annual Report, declared that

> ...possibly the greatest value of the visit was the renewal of the interest of the public in educational problems, the eradication of any spirit of satisfaction with the status quo, which is so inimical to progress, and the stimulating breadth of the Fellowship's concept of education.[76]

No doubt, the primary school teachers who attended sessions of the Conference, conscious of their 'new freedom', experienced much that was instructive and inspiring. It is probably true to say, however, that the typical post-primary school teacher of the day was too conservative in his outlook, and too satisfied with his own level of performance to have derived much benefit from the Conference. For

Frank Milner, "the leaven of discontent with curricular traditionalism and examinational despotism" may have "found authoritative expression in the New Education Fellowship Conference of 1937",[77] but Frank Milners were very thin on the ground in the post-primary schools of New Zealand in 1937. The ordinary classroom teachers, if they thought about such matters at all, knew that there was little, if anything, they could do to alter the curriculum or the examination system. The post-primary teaching force of the 30's was not united, and its political influence was almost non-existent. The locus of power was still very much in the hands of the boards of governors and the principals, with the University continuing virtually to dictate the curriculum by its control over the University Entrance examination. Fraser's claims that the Conference had produced "an educational revival", and that it "marked the commencement of an educational renaissance from which much [would] come"[78] had a hollow ring about them as far as the post-primary schools were concerned. Their programmes and practices remained relatively unchanged for the best part of another decade. When changes did come, the impetus for them owed little to the Conference.

The schools[79]

Number

In the period from 1936 to 1940, three new state post-primary schools were opened,[80] the first increase in the actual number of schools since 1929. King's High School, Dunedin, which had been built to relieve pressure on Otago Boys' High School, opened its doors, in 1936, to just under two hundred boys.[81] At first, its growth was slow; it was not until 1939 that its roll passed the three hundred

mark.[82] The translation of the Christchurch West District High School[83] to full post-primary status as the Christchurch West High School also took place in 1936. This school, which had an attached intermediate department until May, 1939, opened with a roll of just below five hundred. By 1940, it had a total of 606 pupils, making it very nearly as big as Wellington College, and the fifth largest of the secondary and combined schools in New Zealand. In May, 1936, a branch of the Christchurch Technical School was opened at Papanui with 146 pupils, but this institution did not gain recognition as a school in its own right until 1945.[84] As from the beginning of 1938, Wairarapa High School and Masterton Technical School[85] were combined to form a new school - Wairarapa College.[86] The Masterton Technical School buildings were abandoned, and new accommodation, including a workshop block, a home science block (which also had provision for art classes), and a block for general class work, was erected on the Wairarapa High School site.[87] In 1940, the Levin District High School became a full high school, taking the name of Horowhenua College. The advertisement in the *Education Gazette* for staff for the new school described it as a "... newly established school which will be conducted under the regulations for technical schools. It will be a mixed school of an anticipated roll of 300".[88] No further post-primary schools were opened until 1945.

Size

There was little variation in the size of post-primary schools in this period; they tended to remain relatively small, with the exception of a few schools in the four main centres. Only Auckland Grammar School (easily the largest over the whole period),[89] Mount Albert Grammar School, Epsom Girls' Grammar School, and Wellington

College, among the secondary and combined schools, had rolls which consistently stood at over six hundred. On the other hand, the largest of the technical schools were much bigger than any of the secondary or combined schools. The roll of Auckland Technical School peaked at just under sixteen hundred in 1939; in the same year, Christchurch Technical School had 1,333 pupils, while Wellington Technical School had 1,006. The figures for all post-primary schools revealed that, in the years from 1935 to 1940, slightly over a quarter regularly had rolls in excess of five hundred. About one school in three had fewer than three hundred pupils. The total number of pupils receiving post-primary instruction in the various types of school in the period from 1936 to 1940 is set out in table 11. The figures show

TABLE 11

TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS RECEIVING POST-PRIMARY INSTRUCTION IN THE VARIOUS TYPES OF SCHOOL, 1936-1940[90]

Schools	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Secondary schools	15,650	15,327	15,649	15,974	15,698
Combined schools	2,233	2,330	3,003	3,126	3,126
Technical schools	9,163	9,408	9,965	10,282	10,188
Sec. depts of district high schools	4,749	4,949	5,585	6,138	6,125
Correspondence School[92]	786	961	806	695	745
Form 3 classes in primary schools	373	247	252	247	167
Form 3 classes in intermediate schools	99	101	143	127	136
Totals	33,053	33,323	35,403	36,589	36,185

Source: E.1 Reports

a steady, if unspectacular, increase in enrolments, though there was a slight fall away in most types of school in 1940. Proportionately, the Correspondence School showed the greatest gains, while the number

of pupils receiving post-primary instruction in form 3 classes in primary schools declined sharply from 802 in 1934 to 167 in 1940. Of the five intermediate schools with form 3 classes, Kowhai had many more pupils than all the other schools put together; in 1937, eighty-two of the 101 pupils in a form 3 class at an intermediate school were at Kowhai. In all types of school, roll numbers dropped steadily during the year. In 1936, the percentage of pupils enrolled on 1 March who were still at school on 1 December was smaller than it had been in any of the ten previous years.[91]

Curriculum

All types of school were still offering in 1940 the same courses of instruction available in 1936. As table 12 shows, the professional

TABLE 12

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION IN SECONDARY, COMBINED, AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF PUPILS TAKING EACH COURSE, 1936-1940

Year	Prof. (2 langs)	Gen. (1 lang)	Indust.	Comm.	Agric.	Art	Home Life	Degree & Advanced work
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1936	24.6	24.4	11.4	24.8	4.0	1.7	8.7	0.4
1937	23.0	26.2	12.8	23.9	3.5	1.3	8.8	0.4
1938	20.8	28.6	13.8	23.3	3.4	1.5	8.3	0.4
1939	20.1	28.4	15.2	23.3	3.0	1.8	7.8	0.4
1940	20.6	28.2	15.8	22.4	2.9	2.0	7.4	0.6

Source: E.1 Reports

and general courses (with at least one foreign language) continued with remarkable consistency to attract nearly one-half of all pupils enrolled. The commercial course, although its popularity showed a small decline over the five-year period, remained by far the most

sought after of the other courses available. The number of pupils taking the industrial course rose steadily, while enrolments for agriculture became smaller and smaller. Sex stereotyping was very much in evidence at the time, with the agriculture course being entirely the preserve of boys, and home life the undisputed domain of girls.[93] A small handful of girls (at Stratford Technical School) did, however, follow the industrial course in 1936, 1937, and 1938. Wellington Girls' College provided almost all of the students who offered art in the secondary schools; of the technical schools, Wellington and Auckland, in particular, (and, by 1939, Dunedin) had very strong art courses.[94] Prominent among the secondary schools offering an industrial course in the late 30's were Whangarei High School, Gisborne High School, Hastings High School, Rongotai College, Marlborough College, Timaru Boys' High School, and Waitaki Boys' High School.[95] The decline in the popularity of the agriculture course has already been noted. By 1939, the only schools with more than forty pupils taking agriculture were Feilding Agricultural High School (101 pupils), Waitaki Boys' High School (53), Timaru Boys' High School (51), and New Plymouth Boys' High School (41). After 1938, almost no university degree or advanced work was done in any technical school. Of the secondary and combined schools, only Auckland Grammar School, New Plymouth Boys' High School, and (from 1937) Hamilton High School consistently had at least ten pupils taking this course between 1936 and 1940.[96] An interesting situation obtained at Wanganui Technical School, which regularly had a large enrolment of boys (227 in 1936) taking the professional course with two languages, because there was no state secondary school catering for boys in that city. In general, there was some broadening of curricula in all types of post-primary school in the period from 1936 to 1940. The Chief Inspector of

Secondary Schools noted, in 1937, that more pupils were studying geography, drawing, singing, musical appreciation, and manual work,[97] while the upsurge in the number of pupils taking biology[98] was a clear indication that efforts to humanise the curriculum of the post-primary schools were beginning to bear fruit.

Examinations

Although the requirements of the University Entrance examination continued to dominate the curricula of at least the secondary and combined schools, University Entrance did undergo some changes for the better in the period from 1936 to 1940. In 1936, new prescriptions in history and in electricity and magnetism were announced; in the following year, a revised prescription in music (which now included a practical examination) was introduced. As from the 1937 examination, general biology could be offered as an alternative to botany; in 1939, new prescriptions were gazetted for arithmetic, geography, and home science. Throughout the late 30's, the debate about accrediting for entrance to the university remained "the central topic of discussion in the secondary schools".[99] The Senate had reaffirmed its intention to go ahead with accrediting, but the Minister reported that secondary schools were generally not in favour of this procedure. They preferred that the entrance qualification be the School Certificate examination, followed by a further year at school. On one point, however, the Minister was quite emphatic: "Whatever the outcome, it is certain that the post-primary schools must be freed from the cramping effects of the University Entrance examination."[100] Meanwhile, the School Certificate examination (in spite of Fraser's earlier predictions) remained in the doldrums. In 1939, out of a total of 4,504 candidates for the conjoint University Entrance - School

Certificate examinations, only three hundred were sitting for School Certificate alone. In the following year, the number sitting for School Certificate separately from University Entrance was still only 342. Of the eleven School Certificate subjects not prescribed for University Entrance, the only one which ever attracted more than a mere handful of candidates was bookkeeping. The failure of employers to give general recognition to the value of School Certificate was, without doubt, largely responsible for the lack of pupil interest in this examination.[101] In 1937, the Public Service Entrance examination, which had been discontinued in 1932, was re-introduced. This examination, which pupils sat at the end of their second year of post-primary studies, gained rapidly in popularity. The Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools predicted that a pass in Public Service Entrance would become even more sought after following the decision of the Commissioners (in 1939) to admit girls to the Public Service.[102] The number of pupils who sat the University Scholarships, University Entrance, School Certificate, and Public Service Entrance examinations from 1936 to 1940, with details of those securing passes, are set out in table 13.

Methodology

A number of initiatives were taken in the second half of the 30's to make subjects more interesting and more meaningful to pupils. In 1939, the Department produced and distributed to all post-primary schools a magazine called 'Art in New Zealand', which was intended to stimulate the teaching of this subject in the schools. At the same time, the teaching of French was attracting a good deal of attention, with a greater emphasis being placed on acquiring a reading knowledge of the language. Much more interest was also being shown in the

TABLE 13

NUMBER OF CANDIDATES, NUMBER SECURING PASSES, AND PERCENTAGES OF THOSE PASSING IN THE UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS, UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE, SCHOOL CERTIFICATE, AND PUBLIC SERVICE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS, 1936-1940

Examination		1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS	Sat	280	213	271	302	296
	Passed with credit	30/100	30/61	30/82	30/111	30/119
	Percentage pass (incl. Schols)	46.4	42.7	41.3	46.7	50.3
UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE	Sat	4,725	4,860	4,979	5,437	5,191
	Passed	2,342	2,357	2,256	2,652	2,308
	Percentage pass	49.6	48.5	45.3	48.8	44.5
SCHOOL CERTIFICATE	Sat	4,402	4,565	4,559	4,804	5,040
	Passed	2,091	2,417	2,450	2,569	2,423
	Partial pass	1,061	785	725	860	893
	Percentage pass	47.5	52.9	53.7	53.5	48.1
PUBLIC SERVICE ENTRANCE	Sat	-	1,123	1,547	1,874	2,558
	Passed	-	662	917	1,233	1,710
	Percentage pass	-	58.9	59.3	65.8	66.8

Source: E.1. Reports

latent possibilities of radio broadcasts and film-strip machines.[103] At Dunedin Technical School, Vernon Griffiths was giving the rest of New Zealand an object lesson in what dedication, enthusiasm, and inspired planning could do in the domain of school music,[104] while Philip Smithells was predicting that a progression from the English 1933 physical education syllabus recently introduced into the primary schools would form the basis of a new approach to the teaching of this subject in the post-primary schools.[105] An event of some significance which took place in July, 1939 was the setting up of a schools' section of the New Zealand Library Association. Within a year, the new section had begun to prepare for publication graded and annotated lists of books suitable for libraries in all post-primary schools,[106]

a service which it is still offering today. This initiative, coupled with the inauguration of the Country Library Service in 1938, and the establishing of the School Publications Branch of the Department of Education in 1939, enriched the pupils' classroom programmes by increasing the availability, the diversity, and the quality of resource material based on the printed word.

District high schools

In the period from 1936 to 1940, thirteen new secondary departments of district high schools were established and one closed, so that, by 1940, there were ninety-six secondary departments in operation. Their greatest, and seemingly perpetual, problem was attracting and retaining staff who were sufficiently well qualified to enable the departments to offer a reasonable range of subjects. Many of the departments also suffered from being quite small (in 1936, 75 per cent of them had only one or two teachers), which made it impossible for them to offer programmes comparable to those taught in urban schools. One way to improve the efficiency of the departments was to increase their rolls, possibly by extending the conveyance system. However, by 1939, restrictions on the use of petrol were preventing the development of the concept of consolidation. It is true that the departments did receive some help from itinerant, part-time instructors in commercial subjects and agriculture. However, the agricultural instructors were engaged more and more heavily in the secondary, combined, and technical schools, to the point where the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools felt constrained to comment, in his Report for 1937, that "this curtailment of the activity of instructors in agriculture [in the district high schools] is a matter for some regret in these days".[107] As had happened in the other types

of post-primary school, the departments made some attempt to widen their course offerings, and to make greater provision for subjects like manual training. The Department of Education helped by instituting a 'box scheme', whereby excellently-prepared material designed to arouse the interest of pupils in music and art was circulated among the district high schools in boxes. However, frequent changes of staff, and "the lack of a sufficiently diversified staff from a teaching point of view",[108] militated against the possibility of the departments realising their full potential.

Technical schools

Although the long-serving Superintendent of Technical Education, W.S. La Trobe, was still maintaining in his final Report (1937) that the purpose of the technical schools was to provide a nursery for evening classes,[109] there can be no doubt that the real emphasis was the other way round, with the most significant work in the technical schools being done in the day-time classes. F.H. Spencer certainly believed that this was the case, having noted, as he moved about New Zealand, that there was a "tacit assumption that the main business of the technical college was the day-school work".[110] He also observed that the principals of the larger technical schools tended to look on themselves as headmasters of the day schools, with the evening school being of less importance. Though the new Superintendent, F.C. Renyard, felt that this belief was not wholly justified, he did acknowledge that "the time has come for a change in the administration of such large [technical] schools as are found in the four main centres".[111] Renyard did not consider that the creation of the position of vice-principal would meet the situation. He favoured the appointment of a headmaster of the technical high school (i.e., the

day classes) to be under the general direction of the principal of the whole institution. From 1938 onwards, the question of the development of technical education in the four main centres was very much on the minds of educational leaders and planners, from the Director downwards. The technical schools in all four centres were overcrowded; in Auckland, grossly so. With 1,440 pupils enrolled in the technical high school, and 2,346 individual students attending evening classes,[112] the Auckland Technical School was bursting at the seams. The urgent question was: How could the congestion be relieved? Renyard's solution was to provide branch technical schools in the suburbs, reserving the central technical college for senior students doing advanced work. He noted that pupils were already being turned away from the Auckland Technical School for lack of accommodation, and was convinced that "the Government's plans for the expansion of industry can only aggravate the situation".[113] In the event, technical education was to be left at the crossroads for the best part of another twenty years before a final solution to the problem was arrived at. Certainly, in the period from 1936 to 1940, the Government spent a great deal of money on the technical schools, increasing, altering, and upgrading their accommodation, improving and adding to their equipment, and enlarging their sites. A check of the Reports of the Superintendent of Technical Education with reference to development works reveals that, in this period, there was hardly a technical school in New Zealand which did not benefit (in most cases, quite substantially) from the Government's improvement programme. Reference has already been made to the quality of the new accommodation provided at Wairarapa College; the same situation obtained in respect of Horowhenua College. This new school had a complete range of classrooms, including a room for visual education; a

set of laboratories, including a biology laboratory; a home science wing complete with practice flat; an art and crafts room; engineering and woodwork shops; and an assembly hall. Facilities of this variety and standard must have been a tremendous boon to staff and pupils alike. Undoubtedly, the Government would not have spent large sums of money on the technical schools if its attitude towards their continued existence had not been positive. Indeed, in the late 30's, the technical schools seemed to be enjoying a considerable measure of official favour. This situation certainly owed something to the fact that a new type of school "to provide a liberal education, with science and its applications as the core and foundation", which the influential Spens Report[114] had recommended should be established in Great Britain, appeared to be "precisely the same type of school that has existed in New Zealand for the last twenty years".[115] The technical schools, therefore, had every reason to feel in good heart, and it was not surprising to find one of New Zealand's best-informed writers on its technical schools declaring, in 1939, that they had "won the confidence of the public", and were "alive and vigorous".[116]

Correspondence School

In the second half of the 30's, the roll of the secondary division of the Correspondence School increased rapidly. The School also developed in other ways. In 1937, woodwork, shorthand, and typewriting were added to the subjects taught; in the same year, arrangements were made for the School to broadcast information and advice to its pupils over the national network for half an hour each week.[117] By 1940, the Correspondence School, with 745 full-time, post-primary pupils on its roll, easily outstripped in size all of the secondary and combined schools in New Zealand, except Auckland Grammar

School, and it was bigger than any of the technical schools, except those in the four main centres.

<u>The post-primary education of the Maori</u>

The post-primary education of Maori boys and girls continued to prove a thorn in the side of the Government in the years between 1936 and 1940. What Barrington and Beaglehole described as "the trend to formalism"[118] in the Maori denominational schools continued unabated. The Senior Inspector of Native Schools, in his Report covering 1937, indicated that the repeated appeals of the Department to the Maori schools to "broaden their curriculum, and to relate it to the needs of the Maori people"[119] had hardly been heeded at all. In his Report for 1938, he estimated that the position was, if anything, worse, notwithstanding the substantial increase in the number of government scholarships awarded to Maori adolescents to enable them to undertake post-primary studies: "The almost complete abandonment of practical, technical, and agricultural training by the post-primary denominational schools has occasioned serious concern."[120] Having failed to induce the Maori school authorities to adopt more "progressive, modern, and enlightened policies",[121] the Government began to think of making some provision itself for the post-primary education of Maori boys and girls. By 1939, the Minister was stating publicly that "... one of the problems of the near future is the provision of adequate post-primary education for Maoris in districts where no facilities at present exist".[122] D.G. Ball, Senior Inspector of Native Schools, concurred, adding that "particularly in closely populated Maori districts, the need for additional facilities for further training is becoming urgent".[123] Ball was also convinced that "... whatever is planned should bear directly on the immediate needs

of Maori youth, and should ... be largely vocational".[124] The Government revealed its hand when the Minister made reference, in his Report for 1940, to its intention to establish a mixed Maori and Pakeha technical school at Kaikohe, where "the curriculum will be predominantly practical, and will centre around the idea of the home in something the same way that the curriculum at Feilding Agricultural High School centres about the farm".[125] At Kaikohe, the boys would be given a form of training which would prepare them to enter one of the building trades, while the girls would learn cooking and simple diatetics, sewing, laundry work, and general housewifery. The school would also offer a cultural education programme on non-academic lines.[126] In the event, the Minister's comments were quite premature, as the school at Kaikohe (eventually known as Northland College) did not open until 1947. The Government did proceed, however, with the establishing of three Maori district high schools on the East Coast in 1941. This development will be discussed in the next chapter.

Teachers

As school rolls expanded, the number of teachers employed also became larger, though the total increase in some sectors was quite small. Table 14 sets out the number of teachers (excluding principals) employed in all types of school as at December in each of the years from 1936 to 1940. Teachers' salaries, already restored to scale rates from 1 July, 1936, were further increased by the Teachers' Salary Regulations 1938, and by two amendments to these Regulations gazetted in 1939. Even so, the actual difference between salaries paid in 1936 and those paid in 1940 was not great; in particular, the amounts paid to women, especially those teaching in technical schools, remained niggardly. The average annual salaries received by teachers

in all types of post-primary school in the period from 1936 to 1940 are shown in table 15.

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN ALL TYPES
OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL, 1936-1940

Schools	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Secondary schools	614	614	606	619	619
Combined schools	93	94	122	127	126
Technical schools	391	404	420	431	450
Sec. depts of district high schools	207	220	248	273	275
Correspondence School (Sec. dept.)	25	34	38	38	44
Totals	1,330	1,366	1,434	1,488	1,514

Source: E.1 Reports

Conditions of service for many teachers employed in secondary schools were certainly much improved by the removal, in terms of the Education Amendment Regulations 1937, of the positional bar between grades D and C. No longer were secondary teachers whose personal grading was C or higher held on a salary bar because the position they occupied in their school was grade D. However, the anomaly which had long existed between secondary teachers and those working in combined or technical schools in respect of this bar was perpetuated when, in October, 1938, the bar at grade C level was abolished for technical and combined school teachers. This meant, to quote the rubric regularly printed in the *Education Gazette* of the day at the head of the advertised teaching vacancies, that "... in these schools there are no positions lower than grade B, the salary bars up to the maximum of this grade being provided entirely by the limits of the teacher's personal classification alone". So, the divisions between the teachers employed

TABLE 15

AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES PAID TO TEACHERS IN ALL TYPES
OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL, 1936-1940

	1936			1937			1938			1939			1940		
Schools	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Secondary schools	419	291	362	423	289	362	428	291	365	462	305	389	470	309	396
Combined schools	439	290	377	440	287	377	437	287	375	463	302	397	473	310	409
Technical schools	428	274	370	430	276	373	430	273	373	460	279	396	465	283	402
Sec. depts of district high schools	379	304	349	383	305	351	402	314	364	418	320	378	433	334	392

Source: E.1 Reports

in secondary schools on the one hand, and in combined and technical schools on the other, remained firmly in place. In addition to separate salary scales, the two branches of the service also had separate grading schemes, separate methods of appointment, and separate professional associations; as well, their schools had separate systems of control and administration, separate scales of grants, and were inspected by separate teams of inspectors.[127] Fortunately, this Gilbertian situation was to be largely remedied by the mid-40's.

With respect to teacher training, all four Teachers' Training Colleges[128] offered a special one-year course for graduates leading to post-primary work.[129] The numbers of students taking this course (known as Division C in the Colleges) peaked at 121 in 1936;[130] thereafter, it declined steadily until 1939, when the intake was only twenty-seven. It improved slightly to thirty-six in 1940. Most of the students admitted to Division C had arts degrees, with languages and history prominent amongst their advanced units. For example, in 1936, of the eleven men in Division C at Dunedin Teachers' Training College, nine had majored in languages, one in history, and one in chemistry; while of the seventeen women in the Division, seven had advanced in languages, eight in history, and two in chemistry.[131] The mis-match of relatively narrow graduate qualifications with the wide range of subjects which teachers had to cover in the post-primary schools was all the more obtrusive when one took into account the versatility which was then demanded of teachers in the classroom (and, for that matter, outside of it). Advertisements for teachers appearing in the *Education Gazette* continued to place a premium on flexibility and a willingness to put service to the school before all other considerations. The following examples are typical teacher vacancy notices of the time:

"Assistant master. Essential subjects : geography, chemistry, French, history, mathematics, English. Must also be prepared to assist with cadets and games, and act as housemaster, if required to do so" (15 February, 1936); "Assistant mistress to teach mathematics and French. Applicants to state qualifications in shorthand, typewriting, drawing, and crafts" (16 April, 1936); "Temporary assistant master to teach French, English, history, geography, and mathematics. Ability to coach football and cricket, and take a part in cadet work a recommendation" (15 June, 1940); "Technical school assistant master. Applicants should be able and willing to take a full share in out-of-class activities, e.g., games, p.e., music, dramatic work, etc." (1 October, 1940). Further, a board of governors or education board would quite often require a teacher to work at more than one location, as the following advertisements illustrate: "Art mistress to spend 2½-3 days weekly at Auckland Girls' Grammar School, and one day at Takapuna Grammar School" (15 October, 1936);[132] "Greymouth Technical College. Instructor[133] for drawing and woodwork, employed both at College and at the manual training centres at Hokitika and Reefton" (1 December, 1936); "Itinerant commercial master for four days weekly - to service Fairlie, Geraldine, Temuka, and Pleasant Point District High Schools" (15 June, 1937); "Art teacher to be shared between Napier Boys' and Girls' High Schools" (15 November, 1937).

Opportunities for professional refreshment were few and far between in the late 30's, though a very small number of post-primary teachers were able to secure exchanges with teachers from other parts of the then British Empire. Up to thirty of these exchanges were available annually, but, generally, only two or three post-primary teachers were selected. For example, in 1937, there were twenty-three New Zealand

teachers overseas on exchange, but only two of them were post-primary teachers, one in Wales, and one in Tasmania. Two fellowships funded by the Carnegie Corporation to the Institute of Education at the University of London were also made available to teachers annually. Those benefiting from these opportunities to travel abroad frequently shared their experiences with other teachers by writing about them in articles printed in the *Education Gazette*.[134] In this way, teachers could learn something of what was happening in education in other countries. Also, in the second half of the 30's, the concept of the teachers' refresher course was slowly taking shape. Very occasionally, interested teachers could (generally at their own expense) attend such courses as the drama schools for amateur actors and producers held at Auckland in May, 1937, and at Timaru in January, 1938; and the courses for teachers of agriculture held at Massey and Lincoln Agricultural Colleges in May, 1938.

Pupils

The composition of the pupils, as a group, was not markedly different in 1940 from what it had been in 1935, though, once the barrier of the Proficiency examination was removed in 1937, some boys and girls who previously would not have gone on to post-primary schools began to do so. However, this lowering of the general level of academic attainment among new entrants was not serious enough to cause any real concern to the post-primary schools until well into the 40's. The average length of school life in 1940 was the same as it had been in 1935 for secondary school pupils (two years ten months), and for pupils in the secondary departments of the district high schools (two years three months). Compared with the position in 1935, however, pupils attending combined schools and technical schools in 1940 were

staying one month longer, on average (two years nine months, and two years three months respectively). Some stabilising of the situation in regard to early leavers was also evident by 1938, though, even then, only 36 per cent of pupils at secondary and combined schools, and 19 per cent of technical school pupils, were staying at school beyond their second year.[135]

Life at school in the period from 1936 to 1940 was much the same for most pupils as it had been in the earlier years of the decade, except for two or three noteworthy happenings. The first of these was the abrupt closing of schools a week before the official end of the school year in 1936 because of an outbreak, in Dunedin, of infantile paralysis, which threatened to assume serious proportions. Since the disease remained prevalent for several months, many schools did not re-open until early March in 1937. Most post-primary schools closed again when the New Education Fellowship Conference activities were taking place in their area. As a result of this disruption to normal time schedules, some schools elected to have only two terms in 1937, taking their term holidays in July.[136] In March, 1937, another surprise awaited pupils in the four main centres and in some other areas - they were each to receive a half-pint bottle of milk at school daily. This provision, introduced by the Government as part of its campaign to improve the health of young people, was well received, even by the most senior pupils in the post-primary schools. The Division of School Hygiene was equally pleased, declaring that: "The success of the Government scheme is ... undoubted, and its progress is giving much satisfaction to officers of this Division".[137] In 1938, some pupils were fortunate enough to be able to travel (by ship) overseas, a rare experience for any teenager in pre-war days. A number of New Zealand

scouts, including a party of twenty-five from Waitaki Boys' High School, attended an international jamboree in Sydney. In the same year, another group of twenty senior boys from Waitaki visited Canada to take part in the Empire Youth Rally at Banff.[138] An event which lifted school life out of its familiar rut for a time, at least for some pupils, was the Exhibition, held in Wellington in January, 1940, to celebrate the centenary of New Zealand.[139] There was an Education Court at the Exhibition, and a total of thirty-one secondary and combined schools, as well as a number of technical schools, sent exhibits for display. A lathe exhibited by one technical school was described in the Minister's Report for 1940 as "... quite outstanding - a combined effort on the part of every boy in the engineering course of that school".[140] Nine secondary schools entered for the Centennial Competition for Regional Surveys. The judges commented on the high standard achieved overall, singling out for special commendation the entries from Otago Girls' High School, Rangiora High School, Timaru Boys' High School, and Wellington Girls' College.[141] One aspect of post-primary school life which was changing as the 30's drew to a close was the increasing availability, through careers teachers and local vocational guidance officers, of advice which enabled pupils to plan their school courses to meet the requirements of specific vocations. This innovation must have made school work much more meaningful for many pupils. Also helpful, in this respect, was the appearance in the *Education Gazette*, from 1939 onwards, of informative articles on various careers.

The impact of the war

The outbreak of war in September, 1939 did not, at first, affect the post-primary schools to any marked extent. Some men teachers,

especially those already members of Territorial Force units, went into camp soon after the declaration of hostilities. From October, 1939 onwards, advertisements in the *Education Gazette* to fill such vacancies became quite frequent. The Government moved quickly to introduce emergency regulations which gave wide protection to teachers who were serving with the armed forces. Military service would count as education service; promotion and salary increments would be protected; annual grading increments would continue; and the Government would pay the superannuation contributions and the social security (wages tax) on the military pay of all soldier-teachers.[142] Those who were appointed to replace teachers absent on military duties could be given only 'war appointments', i.e., temporary positions which would lapse when the war ended. *Education Gazette* advertisements made the position quite clear, as the following examples show: "Applications invited ... for special temporary positions during the period of the war, to take the place of members of the full-time staff joining the military forces" (2 October, 1939); "Assistant master. Position to be held for the duration of the war" (16 October, 1939); "Position will be subject to termination at the end of the war" (15 January, 1940). Some schools invited interested teachers to send in applications in anticipation of vacancies becoming available: "Applications may be sent at any time, when information will be given in respect to (sic) likely vacancies" (2 October, 1939); "Wartime appointments. Applications are invited for [such positions] as they may arise" (1 July, 1940). From the start of the war, some boys' schools and a few technical schools on the boys' side were prepared (reluctantly, no doubt, in many cases) to replace men teachers by women: "For [such] positions as are suitable, female instructors will be considered" (2 October, 1939); "Temporary assistant [wartime vacancy at New Plymouth Boys' High School]. Male or female"

(1 July, 1940). By 1943, almost all of the boys' schools were only too glad to appoint suitably-qualified women applicants. Relieving teachers and teachers who offered to defer their retirement came forward in sufficient numbers to ensure that the gaps were filled. As a result, sixteen months after war was declared, the Minister was able to state: "As yet, there is no shortage of teachers."[143]

In common with other sections of society, the post-primary schools made a significant contribution to the war effort, with both teachers and pupils playing their part. The larger technical schools, in particular, were called on, even before the war started, to provide additional and special courses for reservists in the Territorial Forces.[144] Many post-primary schools were also involved in the "scheme for bringing applicants for admission to the air-force up to the requisite educational standard",[145] which entailed teachers giving voluntary assistance in training recruits in mathematics and physics. Some schools accepted specific assignments in connection with the war effort; for example, Wellington Technical School, Auckland Technical School, and Wairarapa College were all involved, in 1940, in manufacturing gauges required for munitions work.[146] Towards the end of 1940, a scheme was introduced at Wellington Technical School to train adult workers for industries, particularly those most closely related to the war. Fifty trainees began their sixteen-week course in November, the school activities being re-organised to leave sufficient workshop accommodation free for the adults for five hours a day without dispossessing the technical high school pupils. Before long, the scheme was extended to other main centres. The Superintendent of Technical Education expressed the opinion, in his Annual Report for

1940, that its "long-range effects on technical education and on apprenticeship may be far reaching".[147] By the beginning of 1940, it was evident that the war would soon disrupt the supply of some school materials, especially paper. One response of the schools was that "smaller exercise books would have to be used"; as well, "pencil holders were introduced to use pencils down to the last scrap".[148]

While acknowledging that "... education, like all other social services, has felt the effects of the war", the Government of the day was determined, from the outset, to do everything in its power "to protect the essential work of the schools".[149] Mason, the new Minister, saw the whole situation in ideological terms - "a new sense of urgency in education arises from the world crisis" - a view which was, no doubt, shared by his colleagues in Government. Mason declared, in his Report for 1940, that the Government had resolved not to "go slowly with its educational policy" because of the war.[150] Consequently, during that year, "the work of the schools ... proceeded normally ..., the effects of war conditions not making themselves felt to any unduly disturbing degree".[151]

Conclusion

When Fraser handed over the portfolio of education to H.G.R. Mason in April, 1940, he could look back on four years of steady progress towards the attainment of the goals to which he had committed himself in December, 1935. His reforms had been wide-ranging, and had touched every sector of educational activity in the country.[152] He had succeeded in "setting the education system on the track towards rapid growth",[153] so that, even today, he is still looked on as a Minister

who "gave New Zealanders of all walks of life a fair chance to succeed in an expanded education for all who wanted it".[154] The Labour Government's educational credo, proclaimed by Fraser in 1939,[155] was accepted for at least the next thirty years as the definitive statement on New Zealand's educational aspirations:[156]

> The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right as a citizen to free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the full acceptance of the principle will involve the reorientation of the education system.
>
> ....
>
> The present Government was the first to recognise explicitly that continued education is no longer a special privilege for the well-to-do or the academically able, but a right to be claimed by all who want it to the fullest extent that the state can provide.

But the statement did not stop there. It continued with a clear message to the post-primary schools that the 'reorientation of the education system' meant that they would inevitably have to effect considerable changes in their curricula and in their teaching methods if they were to rise to the challenge of the years ahead:

> It is not enough to provide more places in schools of the older academic type that were devised originally for the education of the gifted few. Schools that are to cater for the whole population must offer courses that are as rich and varied as are the needs and abilities of the children who enter them ....[157]

As will be shown in subsequent chapters, the post-primary schools were slow to respond to this warning, even though, by the close of the decade, they were enrolling many pupils who stood to gain little or nothing from the "verbal and academic"[158] programmes which most of the schools were still offering. Virtually unrestricted and free post-

primary education for all who wanted it was a reality by 1938,[159] but the post-primary schools, for the most part, continued for some time to act as though nothing had changed, apart from a small rise in their annual intakes at form 3 level. It would be the task of Mason, ably supported by Beeby (now Director of Education), to induce the post-primary schools to abandon their conservative stance, and reshape their curricula so that they could cater more effectively for their changing clientele.

5

1941-1945 : MAJOR ISSUES AND GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES

The five years from 1941 to 1945 were, possibly, the most momentous in the history of post-primary education in New Zealand. Three events of very considerable significance occurred almost simultaneously: the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen as from 1 February, 1944; the introduction in the same year of accrediting for University Entrance, in conjunction with the transferring of this examination from the fifth to the sixth form; and the publication, in 1945, of the Education (Post-primary Instruction) Regulations, which gave effect to the recommendations of the Thomas Committee, including the introduction of a new School Certificate based on a compulsory common core of studies and activities, and a wide range of optional subjects. These and many other developments took place in spite of the fact that the country was at war for all but the last few months of the period. No doubt, the war itself promoted change to some extent (even though it impeded the implementation of the reforms decided upon), in that it "caused people to question and challenge many long-established practices and institutions",[1] including the policies and procedures of the post-primary schools. However, much of the credit for the advances which were made belonged to the Government of the day. In spite of difficulties and unfavourable circumstances, the new Minister, H.G.R. Mason,[2] whose outlook and policies were very much in line with those of his predecessor, showed a steadfast determination to press on with the Labour Party's policy of "enlarging the education and hopes of young people".[3] Mason could not have had a better ally than the new Director of Education, Dr C.E. Beeby, whose formidable talents,

combined with his energy, vision, and humanity, soon enabled him to win the confidence of teachers and boards, and so exercise a profound influence on the course of events. Also aiding the Government's cause was the fact that, during the war years (and for some considerable time thereafter), the country was on "a rising tide of prosperity",[4] with full employment and considerable economic growth.

This chapter will deal with five major themes: the raising of the school leaving age; University Entrance and accrediting; the Thomas Report and the new School Certificate; the post-primary education of the Maori; and various government initiatives designed to give education a higher public profile, as well as to improve its quality. In the next chapter, consideration will be given to the effect of the war on the life and work of the schools, in addition to other factors bearing upon the post-primary schools and their teachers and pupils.

The raising of the school leaving age

No one could claim that the decision of the Government to raise the school leaving age to fifteen with effect from 1 February, 1944 was one that had been taken lightly or impetuously, legislation authorising the move having been on the statute books since 1920.[5] Fraser had declared, in 1938, that raising the school leaving age was "a reform the Government has in view",[6] possibly in response to the urgings of departmental officials like W.S. La Trobe, the Superintendent of Technical Education from 1918 to 1937. In his Annual Reports for 1935 and 1936, La Trobe had recommended that this step be taken "to prevent children being rushed into employment when industrial conditions are favourable".[7] Mason approached the question cautiously at first,

stating in his Report for 1940 that he hoped to raise the school leaving age after the war.[8] However, within two years, he had decided against waiting, largely, it would appear, for social reasons. It is clear from his Reports that he was very concerned lest, with so many fathers away from home on war service, there should be an upsurge of juvenile delinquency, as had happened in Britain, where the number of offences committed by children under the age of fourteen rose by 41 per cent in the first year of the war.[9] Even though this British experience was in no way reproduced in New Zealand (the figures for juvenile offences in this country in 1941 showed no rise on the figures for the previous year),[10] and even though the post-primary schools, for the most part, did not have the staffing, the accommodation, or the resources to cope with a considerable increase in their rolls, the Minister gave notice, in his Report for 1942, that he intended to introduce an Order in Council in 1943 providing for the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen as from 1 February, 1944. However, the regulations would not be binding on those pupils who were already fourteen on that date.[11] Exemption from the regulations would be allowed only in the case of a child who was fourteen, had completed the work of form 2, and was considered by the Director of Education to be unlikely to gain anything from further formal schooling.[12] The Minister's defence of his decision was quite unequivocal:

> I would prefer to raise the school age now when the need is greatest, even if we have to make use of rather make-shift accommodation for a few years. Owing to war conditions, there are an increasing number of young adolescents who are missing the discipline of a normal home, and it is essential that the school keep its grip upon them during these very critical years, even if we cannot give them quite the facilities one would wish for.[13]

Mason's comment in his Report for 1943 that "the debate in the House of Representatives showed that this measure met with wide approval"[14] indicated that his caucus colleagues and at least some members of the Opposition supported the proposed enactment. The Minister was well aware that raising the school leaving age while the country was still at war would impose a severe strain on the schools, but he was confident that the increased demand for teachers could be met by some interim means. As for buildings, he "... proposed to devise some simple kind of temporary room that will meet the situation when it arises".[15]

It was taken for granted, at the time, that a sizable number of fourteen-year-olds would stay at school only until they reached their fifteenth birthday, which, in many cases, would be for one year, or even less. So, although the new regulations made some period of post-primary education mandatory for nearly all children, a large proportion of them would probably not be at school long enough to gain very much. Table 16 shows that, in 1945 (the first year to experience the full impact of the raising of the school leaving age), almost 20 per cent of all pupils taking post-primary courses left school at or before the end of their first year, while a further 38 per cent had left school by the end of their second year. It was intended that some, at least, of the new 'conscripts' (those who did not propose to remain at school beyond their fifteenth birthday) would be catered for in intermediate schools. This did happen, though only to a limited extent, notwithstanding the Minister's stated conviction that "... intermediate schools, where they exist, will take much of the strain arising from the retention of the fourteen-year-olds".[16] By 1945, there were 425 pupils doing post-primary work at intermediate schools, but this number comprised less

TABLE 16

LENGTH OF COURSE OF ALL PUPILS ATTENDING POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1943-1946

	1943		1944		1945		1946	
	%		%		%		%	
Leaving in 1st year	21.7	53.4	17.4	51.1	19.7	57.9	17.1	52.1
Leaving in 2nd year	31.7		33.7		38.2		35.0	
Leaving in 3rd year	22.1		24.4		22.0		25.6	
Leaving in *4th year	24.5		24.5		20.1		22.3	

*or subsequent years

Source: E.1. Reports

than 1 per cent of the total post-primary roll for that year. In the event, of the four main types of post-primary school, the secondary departments of the district high schools experienced the highest percentage increase in rolls in 1944 and 1945. This situation is not so surprising when one appreciates, as Thom pointed out, that, before the leaving age was raised, the proportion of pupils not proceeding to full-time post-primary education was higher in the country districts than it was in the urban areas.[17] The rolls of many of the larger secondary, combined, and technical schools also showed considerable (and, in a few cases, even dramatic) increases following the raising of the school leaving age. Wellington College had 885 pupils on 1 July, 1945, compared with a 1943 total of 671, while Gisborne High School's roll rose from 604 to 803 in the same period. Otahuhu Technical School experienced a phenomenal increase from 448 pupils in 1943 to 923 in 1945; Wellington Technical School saw its 1943 roll of 982 increase to 1252 in 1945; and, over the same period, Hamilton Technical School went from 534 pupils to 811. Other schools to experience large roll increases between 1943 and 1945 included Christchurch Boys' High School (656 to 767); Mount Albert Grammar School (677 to 791); Otago Girls'

High School (456 to 568); Whangarei High School (521 to 693); Hutt Valley High School (513 to 686); Christchurch West High School (521 to 684); New Plymouth Boys' High School (618 to 729); Takapuna Grammar School (504 to 684); Dunedin Technical School (702 to 836); Invercargill Technical School (556 to 749); and Palmerston North Technical School (452 to 564).[18] The Department, anticipating that distance would prevent some pupils from enrolling at intermediate or post-primary schools, advised such pupils, through notices printed in the *Education Gazette*, to enrol as form 3 pupils either at their nearest public school or with the Correspondence School. If they intended to take a definite post-primary course, or to continue their education beyond the age of fifteen, they were recommended to enrol with the Correspondence School.[19] In 1945, about 2 per cent of the total post-primary cohort were pupils of the Correspondence School. This institution also provided lesson materials for most of those who elected to stay on (in form 3 classes) at their local primary schools.[20] At the same time, publications like *National Education* and the *Education Gazette* carried regular articles offering suggestions to teachers who were struggling to provide meaningful programmes of work for fifteen-year-old leavers;[21] as the Minister had surmised (this time, correctly): "Not the least of the problems to be faced [following the raising of the school leaving age] will be the devising of courses of study fitted to the needs and interests of the non-academic type of fourteen-year-old."[22]

The influx of pupils into the post-primary system resulting from the raising of the school leaving age was felt most acutely in 1944, when total enrolments increased by nearly six thousand.[23] In 1945, the increase was just on 3,800. Only very slight increases were recorded

in 1946 and 1947; by 1948, post-primary enrolments were again declining. Table 17 sets out the enrolment figures in all types of post-primary school for each year from 1941 to 1946, indicating the extent to which rolls increased in 1944 and 1945, expressed, in each case, as a number and as a percentage. Accumulated percentage increases covering the years 1943 to 1945 are also shown.

Raising the school leaving age helped to produce a rapid acceleration, in the mid-40's, of the percentage of pupils leaving primary schools to enrol at post-primary schools.[24] In the five-year period between 1938 and 1942, this percentage had shown a modest five-point increase (from 65 to 70); over the next five years (1943 to 1947), the percentage rose by a further sixteen points to 86.[25] The long-term implications of this trend will be examined in chapter 7.

University Entrance and accrediting

With the possible exception of the appointment of C.E. Beeby as Director of Education in 1940, no move in the educational history of New Zealand had such a profound effect on the subsequent course of events as the decision taken by the Conference of Secondary Principals in 1888 that "... the Entrance examination of the New Zealand University should be used as far as possible as a test examination of the highest forms".[26] This resolution cast an incredibly long shadow, with the Matriculation examination (or University Entrance, as it came to be known after 1928) dominating the curriculum of the post-primary schools for the ensuing fifty-five years. Not that its ascendancy went unchallenged. As early as 1925, Frank Tate,[27] in his *Investigation into Certain Aspects of Post-primary Education in New Zealand*,[28]

TABLE 17

1 JULY ROLLS IN ALL TYPES OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL, 1941 - 1946, SHOWING THE INCREASES RECORDED IN 1944 AND 1945

	1941	1942	1943	1944			1945			1943-45		1946
	Roll	Roll	Roll	Roll	Increase	Percentage Increase	Roll	Increase	Percentage Increase	Accumulated Increase	Accumulated Percentage Increase	Roll
Secondary schools	14,950	14,682	15,690	18,094	2,404	15.3	19,126	1,032	5.7	3,436	21.9	19,389
Combined schools	3,053	2,930	3,122	3,509	387	12.4	3,626	117	3.3	504	16.1	3,648
Technical schools	9,257	9,016	10,055	11,814	1,759	17.5	13,056	1,242	10.5	3,001	29.8	13,821
Secondary department of district high schools	5,852	5,640	5,923	6,966	1,043	17.6	8,046	1,080	15.5	2,123	35.8	7,724
Correspondence School	711	679	641	738	97	15.1	878	140	19.0	237	37.0	839
Form 3 classes in primary schools	76	136	84	153	69	82.1	256	103	67.3	172	204.8	212
Form 3 classes in intermediate schools	141	123	103	340	237	230.1	330	-10	25.0	322	312.6	353
Form 4 classes in intermediate schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	95	95				50
TOTALS	34,040	33,206	35,618	41,614	5,996	*16.8	45,413	3,799	*9.1	9,795	*27.5	46,036

* Overall percentage increase

Source: E.1. Reports

recorded submissions from several prominent educationists which were highly critical of the effects of the Matriculation examination on the programmes and the purposes of the post-primary schools. F.M. Renner, a representative of the Secondary Schools' Association, considered that "... the Matriculation Examination dominates unduly our whole education system. It restricts the syllabus of our schools, it encourages cram, it fosters the belief that the standard of a school is judged by its examination successes".[29] Professor J. Rankine Brown of Victoria University College gave it as his opinion that "... the Matriculation Examination is doing far more harm in New Zealand than I believe similar examinations are doing in any other country".[30] F. Milner, rector of Waitaki Boys' High School, believed that the examination was largely responsible for the "false social prestige [which] attaches to the academic side of education".[31] Tate deplored the fact that education in New Zealand was so greatly dominated by external examinations that "... the final examination is the accepted test".[32] He concluded that: "The dominating influence of Matriculation must be removed before satisfactory courses of secondary education bearing more directly on the life interests of the pupils can be successfully introduced into New Zealand".[33] Tate was also an early advocate of accrediting; one of the recommendations included in his Report urged that: "When adequate safeguards can be assured, a system of accrediting schools for the purpose of certifying pupils as fit for the award of intermediate and leaving certificates be cautiously introduced".[34] The Royal Commission on University Education in New Zealand[35] was also critical of the extent to which secondary education in New Zealand was dominated by the Matriculation examination, partly due to "an ill-informed public opinion".[36] Noting that students were judged entirely on the work done in the examination room, the commissioners commented:

"Such a system is not in accord with the best educational practice, and is unfair to the school, to the examinee, and to the examiner."[37] They recommended that: "The present Matriculation examination should be abolished, and two public examinations, named the 'Intermediate Examination' and the 'School Leaving Examination' be substituted therefor".[38] Pupils could matriculate once they had passed in a definite number of subjects in each of these examinations. The *Reichel-Tate Report* also came out in favour of accrediting, but only if adequate safeguards and proper supervision could be secured: "In our judgment, a system of accrediting is the ideal to be aimed at in secondary education, but it should not be rashly adopted."[39] The Education Committee of the House of Representatives, meeting during the parliamentary recess of 1929-30 at the request of the Minister of Education, Harry Atmore, expressed its concern that secondary schools were so dominated by the academic prescriptions of the external Matriculation examination that "the rapid development of free secondary education was largely stultified in its effect".[40] This Committee also recommended that approved schools be given the right to accredit, and that a back-up examination be retained for candidates not accredited.[41] The Department of Education was yet another agency which was patently in favour of a broader and more pupil-centred curriculum in the post-primary schools; it was undoubtedly in an effort to promote the adoption of such a curriculum that the Department introduced the School Certificate examination in 1934.

By the mid-30's, increasing numbers of post-primary teachers were pressing for an end to what they considered to be the tyranny of the Matriculation examination. Without a doubt, their most eloquent

spokesman was Frank Milner, rector of Waitaki Boys' High School. As early as 1933, in the presidential address he delivered at the annual meeting of the New Zealand Secondary Schools' Association, he had declared that:

> Unfortunately, the altogether undue prominence attached to scholarship and matriculation results not only gives the public wrong valuations of education, but by its publicity encourages far too many teachers to specialise on examinational objectives, to the neglect of broader and more vital aspects of education.[42]

In response to a request from the 1935 annual meeting of the New Zealand Secondary Schools' Association, Milner prepared a report on the curriculum for consideration at the 1936 annual meeting. He sent out a questionnaire to thirty-six secondary school principals, and obtained twenty responses, on which he based his report. At the 1936 meeting, Milner presented this report and five resolutions which he had drafted. Some of the delegates (there were thirty-nine schools represented) spoke against the resolutions, considering them to be too extreme. However, Milner was able to answer their criticisms, and the resolutions were finally carried unanimously. One of these resolutions (the third) has been widely quoted, but, in fact, the relevance of all five to the developments which took place in post-primary education in the following decade justifies their being quoted in full:

> (1) That in view of the proved necessity for adjusting the secondary school curriculum to meet individual differences while retaining the elements of a liberal education drastic revision is necessary.
>
> (2) That the curriculum has adhered too long to traditional valuations, has disregarded the findings of educational psychology as regards subject isolation and the transfer of subject values, and has lost touch with the realities of modern life and especially with the changing needs of our own society.

(3) That the curriculum through prescriptive deference to external examinations and to false valuations thereby engendered of foreign languages and mathematics fails entirely to interpret social studies as a preparation for citizenship, sectionalises where it should integrate science, and neglects the rich cultural content of the province of art. It fails culpably on the creative, artistic, and physical sides.

(4) That the curriculum should contain a cultural core consisting of English, Social Studies, General Science, Health, Handwork, Art and Arithmetic and that all other subjects should be relegated to the sphere of pre-vocational options to be taken in accordance with individual needs and interests.

(5) That the Matriculation Examination so far as it affects secondary schools should be abolished, and that contingent upon the provision of satisfactory humanistic culture each school should be free to draw up its own curriculum and organise its own courses to suit its special needs.[43]

J.H. Murdoch's verdict that: "This [was] surely one of the most extraordinary series of resolutions ever passed unanimously by a responsible educational body in condemnation of its own established practices ..."[44] is well enough known. However, in a letter to Ian Milner dated 10 August, 1981, C.E. Beeby came much closer to the heart of the matter, particularly in regard to (Frank) Milner's foreshadowing of the reforms which were to arise from the deliberations of the Thomas Committee:[45]

> ... full recognition should be given to F.M.'s initiative, imagination and foresight in getting the 1936 remit through the S.S.A. How on earth he managed it I don't know, because some of the same ideas were damnably difficult to get accepted ten years later, with all the help that they got from the N.E.F. Conference, Peter Fraser's liberal reforms, and a tolerably sympathetic Department. I doubt if he [Milner] has ever got adequate recognition for knocking the first hole in the wall.[46]

Although Milner was at one with Frank Tate in condemning the formalism of teaching in New Zealand post-primary schools, and the remoteness of the curriculum from life outside the school,[47] there is no evidence

that his views were widely shared by post-primary teachers. Despite Milner's rhetoric, the 'hole in the wall' did not let in a flood of demands from the schools for the immediate reform of the system. The bulk of the post-primary teaching force remained essentially conservative, and the public continued to be incurably apathetic.

There can be no doubt that the University itself was genuinely interested in reducing the oppressive influence of the University Entrance examination on the curriculum of the post-primary schools. As early as 1926, it had set up an Entrance Board, on which the schools were represented. In 1928, its Board of Studies resolved that "... if and when adequate safeguards are provided, a system of accrediting be adopted for candidates for the Entrance examination".[48] This resolution was re-affirmed in 1930, and the Senate accepted the resolution in the same year. The safeguards referred to in the resolution included the provision of proper training for secondary teachers to fit them for the task of accrediting,[49] and the appointment of additional inspectors to ensure that standards as between schools were maintained.[50] It was the lack of progress in meeting these requirements that was largely responsible for the unwillingness of the University throughout the 30's to commit itself to change. The acceptance of the need for reform was given a considerable fillip with the publication, in 1939, of the results of an investigation into the University Entrance examination carried out under the auspices of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research at the request of the University.[51] This carefully researched report was destined to have "a substantial influence on subsequent reforms",[52] and its recommendations undoubtedly acted as a spur to positive action on the part of the University. These recommendations[53] endorsed the principle of

accrediting for entrance to the university, with the basis for accrediting being a "properly devised cumulative school record". They also made a pass in School Certificate a prerequisite for matriculation, adding that "for pupils who wish afterwards to matriculate, a further year of school work should be required". The authors of the report believed that, under an accrediting system, "the schools should be as unfettered as possible in the making of their curricula". This conviction was reinforced by their own finding that, in most secondary schools, only a very small amount of class time (on average, one to two hours per week in academic classes) was spent on non-Entrance subjects; even this amount fell away in form 5, though girls fared slightly better in this respect than boys.[54,55] It should be noted that what the report recommended was accrediting for School Certificate at the end of a three-year course, with an automatic right of entry to the university after a post-School Certificate year of school work. Since this scheme would have given the University very little control over the content and standard of school programmes leading up to University Entrance, it is unlikely that the Senate would have accepted it without modification as a basis for admittance to the university.

In January, 1941, the University Senate approved (once again) the principle of accrediting, and worked out the details of a scheme for introducing it.[56] The New Zealand Secondary Schools' Association, however, was unable to agree with all aspects of this scheme. In particular, the teachers were concerned about the desire of the Academic Board to retain some compulsory prerequisite subjects for the various university courses. They considered that, if these pre-requisites were to remain, the schools would derive little benefit from

accrediting. Rather, they held that:

> ... a decision enabling schools to eliminate the compulsory foreign language from the courses of those pupils for whom, at the university stage, a foreign language is not really necessary would enable schools to broaden courses by the introduction of general science in place of the present specialised sciences; of more social science; and of more of the purely cultural subjects.[57]

At this point, the Minister called a conference of representatives of the two bodies and the Education Department in an effort to produce a modified plan which would be acceptable to all parties.[58] This conference put forward a number of proposals, of which the most significant were the following:

(i) University Entrance should be transferred from the fifth to the sixth form;

(ii) certain approved schools should be empowered to accredit their own sixth-form pupils for University Entrance;

(iii) a back-up examination should be retained for those not accredited;

(iv) cumulative pupil records should be kept by schools for use in assessment;

(v) the secondary inspectorate should be strengthened to help assure the Universities that standards were being maintained;

(vi) liaison officers should be appointed to Universities in order to assist schools in their accrediting procedures and to provide feedback information on the performance of their pupils at University.[59]

The Senate approved of the proposed scheme,[60] which came into effect in 1944. From that date, candidates could qualify for entrance to the university either by being accredited or by passing the examination.

The subjects for the 'new' University Entrance were to be English, Mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, German, History, Geography, Magnetism and Electricity, Heat and Light, Chemistry or Home Science, Botany, and Zoology.[61] To qualify for admission to the university by examination, those pupils who had already passed School Certificate were required to obtain passes in three subjects at University Entrance level. To do this, they had to obtain an aggregate mark of at least 150, and a minimum mark in each subject of 30 per cent. Those without School Certificate were also required to pass in three University Entrance subjects; in addition, they had to qualify in two subjects at School Certificate level, the pass mark in these subjects for the purposes of University Entrance to be that decided on for the School Certificate examination. A pass in English at one level or the other was compulsory.[62] The main points concerning the accrediting arrangements may be summarised as follows:

(i) At the time application was made, the candidate had to be attending a school which had been approved for accrediting by the University.

(ii) The principal of the school was required to certify that the candidate was fit to undertake university studies.

(iii) The principal's recommendation had to be approved by the Director of Education.

(iv) The candidate had to have completed a course of four years at one or more post-primary schools recognised by the Department of Education for the issuing of School Certificates.

(v) The final year of the course had to be spent at a school approved for accrediting.[63]

The University went to some trouble to explain its policy in regard to granting schools the right to accredit. It declared: "In determining

the list ... the University had to take into account a number of factors affecting the ability of a school to maintain a constant standard of judgment in its accrediting."[64] So, it declined to give accrediting status to the technical schools in the larger cities, where there were also secondary schools, "because it does not appear to be their (the technical schools') function to do sixth-form work preparatory to entrance to the University".[65] For similar reasons, very few of the secondary departments of the country's 101 district high schools were placed on the accrediting list. However, the University did assure schools that: "This [1944] list will be subject to annual revision by the Senate, and the names of schools may be added to or deleted from the list by the Senate after consideration of the reports of the liaison officers".[66]

For 1944, the University approved of special arrangements for those candidates who were 'caught between' the old and the new schemes. Fourth-year pupils could qualify for University Entrance under the old regulations by sitting in the appropriate subjects of the School Certification examination.[67] The Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools reported that "... a considerable number of candidates for School Certificate were granted a concession pass for University Entrance".[68] Even though, in the following year, the Chief Inspector declared that the new arrangement was working smoothly,[69] the fact remains that, during the first fifteen years of its existence, the system of accrediting came under constant criticism from a number of quarters, including elements within the University itself. Elley and Livingstone noted that there was a period in the 50's "when the fate of the system hung in the balance".[70] Further consideration will be given to this issue in chapters 11 and 15.

From the outset, the Minister and the officials of his Department were convinced of the superiority of the new system, while remaining sensitive to its inherent problems:

> The introduction of accrediting gives the secondary schools of New Zealand an unusually favourable opportunity to make smoothly those changes which reconstruction in the post-war world must demand in every branch of the education system. But to make use of this opportunity - at once a gift and a danger - hard thinking will be necessary by administrators, teachers, and even [sic] parents.[71]

High hopes were held that, with the Department's School Certificate replacing 'Matric' as the accepted mark of a completed post-primary course, a new era was about to be ushered in for those pupils who were not university bound, since

> ... the choice of subjects [for School Certificate], both academic and practical, will be so wide that every pupil should be able to take a course for which his own powers and limitations best fit him. The result should be a rise both in the standards of work and in the social utility of the secondary schools.[72]

Certainly, the changes did represent "a major turning point in post-primary education",[73] to the extent that they involved

> the final acceptance of the principle that the post-primary school has two functions of equal importance - the first, to prepare the few for higher education, and the second, to prepare the many for immediate participation in the life and work of the community.[74]

The Thomas Report and the new School Certificate

The Minister was well aware that, if the second of these two functions were to be fulfilled, "it [would] probably be necessary to

make considerable changes in the curricula of some of the post-primary schools".[75] Obviously, school programmes which were designed to meet the needs of those pupils who intended to go on to the university would have little appeal to their fellows who had other aspirations. Mason (and Beeby) fully appreciated that replacing University Entrance by School Certificate "as the general measure of a satisfactorily completed post-primary course"[76] meant that school programmes would inevitably be influenced by the conditions which candidates would have to fulfil in order to qualify for the award of a School Certificate. If the new School Certificate were not to become a new orthodoxy exercising the same sort of domination over the curriculum as had the old University Entrance, answers had to be found to such key questions as: "What should be the conditions for the [School] Certificate? What subjects should be recognised? What should be the content of those subjects? and What changes, if any, should be made in the Free Place Regulations?"[77] The importance of these and related questions suggested to the Government that "it should not take further action without first securing the advice of a specially constituted committee".[78] To this end, Mason set up a Consultative Committee of fourteen members in November, 1942. As chairman, he chose William Thomas, formerly rector of Timaru Boys' High School, and co-author of the book *Entrance to the University*, which had challenged New Zealand educationists to rethink the purposes and practices of their post-primary schools. Ian Milner, in his book about his father, commented: "In view of his 1936 Secondary Schools' Association report and resolutions, and his prestige as several times president of the S.S.A., [Frank] Milner's claims to consideration as chairman of the [Consultative] Committee were strong."[79] Milner went on to report that Beeby, when questioned on this issue, replied:

> I can't remember whether we ever totted up the marks in Milner v. Thomas .... I was satisfied with the choice of Thomas pretty well from the beginning .... He hadn't your father's brilliance, but he had more capacity to listen to others, while still having the same readiness to stand up for his own ideas on matters of principle.[80]

The Committee itself has been described as "representative",[81] but it is hard to see how this description can be justified. Twelve of the fourteen members were directly connected with education, and only two of those twelve could be categorised as 'disinterested parties'.[82] Neither of the two members from outside the education service could possibly be considered as representative of the employers;[83] nor did the Committee have anyone to act as spokesperson for the parents, the post-primary schools' governing bodies, the primary school sector, or the district high schools. However, in spite of assertions to the contrary,[84] the private schools <u>were</u> represented.[85] Because of wartime travel restrictions, the Committee received few personal submissions, though many individuals and organisations forwarded written evidence. A good deal of the preparatory work was done by sub-committees, which included co-opted outsiders with special expertise in the areas under consideration.[86]

The Committee completed its task within a year; by early 1944, copies of the *Report* were in circulation. As a result of "comments, criticisms and suggestions ... received from groups and from individuals",[87] a number of modifications, mainly of a minor nature, were made to the *Report*. Late in 1945 (i.e., nearly two years after the *Report* had first appeared), its proposals were incorporated in the Education (Post-primary Instruction) Regulations 1945, which officially came into force in the schools from the beginning of the 1946 school year. The Regulations covered the organisation of the curriculum of

post-primary schools, and outlined the nature and scope of the core subjects. They also set out the conditions governing the award of a School Certificate, an Endorsed School Certificate, and a Higher School Certificate.[88] It should be noted, at this point, that the *Report* was in no sense a research-based document. Apart from a solitary reference to the *Eight-year Study*,[89] no mention is made in the *Report* of any experimental study which might have underpinned the Committee's findings and recommendations. In a number of places, the *Report* does align itself with the *Spens Report*[90] and the *Norwood Report*,[91] but these references are designed to add weight to judgments already formed, not to validate the grounds of those judgments. As far as the common core of studies was concerned, the Committee based its recommendations not so much on any empirical evidence as on what "any intelligent parent might expect his son or daughter to be given at school".[92]

Although its terms of reference, as laid down by the Minister, were really very limited,[93] the Committee actually ranged widely over the general field of post-primary schooling. It took into account "not only the intellectual, but also the moral, social and aesthetic purposes in education"[94] in its desire to secure for "all post-primary pupils, irrespective of their varying abilities and their varying occupational ambitions, ... a generous and well balanced education".[95] The Committee intended that the objectives of such an education would include "the full development of the adolescent as a person", in addition to "preparing him for an active place in our New Zealand society as worker, neighbour, homemaker, and citizen".[96] On two

points, the Committee was quite emphatic. First, regarding the "proper limits of State control of the curriculum", it held that "the State ... exceeds its functions if it tries to ... control the curriculum in any detail";[97] and, second, it stated repeatedly in its *Report* that its recommendations were offered as suggestions only: "... ultimately, each school must work out its own salvation."[98] The Committee was very conscious that the new situation as far as University Entrance was concerned, especially the easing of foreign language requirements, would, of itself, "bring about substantial changes in the curricula of many schools".[99] The burning question was whether or not the schools would rise "with boldness and imagination"[100] to the challenge presented by the opportunities for curriculum reform. Nowhere was the Committee's realistic outlook towards this whole question shown more clearly than in the warning it issued that:

> There is an easy road and a hard one. A school that takes the easy road will continue to accept uncritically the standards and objectives, and the curricula and methods hitherto largely imposed from without, and will be content with minor adjustments - the elimination of the more academic subjects from the courses of the less scholarly pupils, the devotion of more time to subjects hitherto given relatively little, and so on. A school that takes the hard road will re-examine its whole theory and practice, make up its mind about the real needs of its pupils and the means by which they can best be met, and then act courageously in accordance with its findings.[101]

Before setting out its major recommendations, the Committee devoted almost seven pages of its *Report* to a detailed analysis of the "general principles and objectives"[102] which had guided its deliberations. This analysis emphasised the role of education in promoting the social as well as the personal development of the individual; called for adolescents to be given "a richer and better

balanced education";[103] noted the urgent need for change in both the content of the curriculum and the methods used to teach it; stressed the need for schools to give priority to "the process of discovering [and developing] talent of all kinds and degrees";[104] admitted that the proposed School Certificate prescriptions "reflect the outlook of the educated layman rather than ... the academic or technical specialist";[105] and insisted that a satisfactory level of achievement in the core studies be an integral part of the award of a School Certificate, even though it was not envisaged that the core studies themselves would be subject to external examination.

At the heart of the Committee's recommendations was the requirement that, up to School Certificate level, at least, all pupils in all post-primary schools study a common core of subjects comprising English, social studies, elementary mathematics, general science, music, a craft or one of the fine arts, and physical education.[106] A minimum of just over half of the total school time available was to be devoted to the core in the first year, and somewhat less than half in the second and subsequent pre-Certificate years.[107] The remainder of the time was to be available for optional subjects, at the discretion of the schools. It is significant that the Committee referred not so much to subjects as to 'studies and activities', thus giving weight to its conviction that there was a need for "a fairly general change in approach", especially in the interests of "the ordinary pupil, who learns best through [teaching] methods that give scope to his urge to be doing things".[108] A School Certificate would be awarded to those pupils who satisfactorily completed a course of at least three years; were accredited by their schools in the core studies; and achieved a minimum mark in the School Certificate examination of 30 per cent in

English and in three of the thirty-one optional subjects available, [109] and an aggregate of at least two hundred marks. Candidates who wished to do so could offer four (but not more) optional subjects, in which case the lowest mark received would be omitted in computing the required aggregate.[110] The Committee maintained that "the School Certificate should be regarded by the Department and the schools as a four-year course for most pupils",[111] but they cut the ground from under their own feet by making it possible to qualify for the Certificate in three years. In any event, if the new School Certificate were to replace the old Matriculation as the yardstick of a satisfactorily completed post-primary course, it was logical to assume that the new qualification would cover the same time span as the old. Moreover, it was unrealistic to expect pupils to spend the same time (four years) qualifying for School Certificate as they were required to spend to obtain the new University Entrance, which represented a much higher standard of achievement. As a result, from the outset, most of those who entered for School Certificate did so after three years of post-primary schooling.[112] Finally, the recommendations provided for School Certificate to take the place of the Public Service Entrance examination; and for an endorsed School Certificate to be substituted for the old Higher Leaving Certificate.

A substantial section of the *Report* (thirty-eight pages) was given over to a consideration of aspects of the common core. Patently, the Committee's views on how the different subjects of the core should be presented, as well as on what they should contain, were quite different from many of the views then espoused by the schools. For example, in English, the Committee condemned talking about books, describing this method of teaching literature as "a deplorable substitute for

reading";[113] denounced the teaching of grammar in isolation from oral and written composition; [114] emphasised the need for "systematic training in the use of a library";[115] highlighted the importance of oral work;[116] and urged schools to devote more time to the study of drama, which, it held, was "one of the most valuable activities the school can undertake", since it "does much to enhance the corporate life of the school", as well as providing a great "opportunity for creative self-expression in a social medium".[117] The basic attitude of the Committee towards the teaching of English in post-primary schools was aptly summed up in its assertion that "English is not so much a subject as the essential tool of every teacher of every subject".[118] Social studies was to be an integrated course of history, geography, civics, and some descriptive economics, "basically related to school life generally and especially to methods of internal government".[119] Organised around the central theme of man in society, the suggested programme would begin with a local survey, move on to a study of New Zealand as a whole, and then examine "the social life of the major peoples of the contemporary world".[120] Here, as elsewhere, the Committee laid considerable emphasis on the importance of post-primary schools acting in coordination with the primary schools to avoid overlapping, and to bridge noticeable gaps.[121] It is clear from the *Report* that the members of the Committee did not baulk at the difficulty of getting schools to accept that the different elements of social studies should be "regarded as one subject, and learned as such".[122] In the interest of improved integration, they even proposed that, wherever possible, the same teacher should be responsible for the English and social studies programmes of a given class.[123] There can be no doubt that the Committee's conception of social studies called for "drastic departures from current procedures",[124] as well as

requiring of post-primary teachers a variety of professional skills and a knowledge of educational psychology which few of them possessed to any marked degree. It is not surprising, therefore, that, of all the subjects of the common core, social studies was the slowest to take on a 'new look'.[125] In general science and in elementary mathematics, the Committee urged, above all, that the courses should be based on the pupil's experience. They commented, further, that "for all pupils the work should be practical and [in mathematics] the immediate usefulness of the exercises should be evident".[126] Much of the space devoted to these two subjects in the *Report* was given over to detailing the proposed syllabuses. With reference to the aesthetic subjects of the core, the Committee once again stressed the need for close links between the primary and post-primary sectors, so that teachers in the post-primary schools could build on the foundations already laid. The *Report* also emphasised the value of the arts and crafts as leisure-time occupations, an early recognition of the importance of this aspect of post-primary schooling. In respect of physical education, the Committee drew on the *Spens Report* for a statement of its principal aim, namely, "to foster the habit of healthy living, which is founded on an active belief in the value of health, and the knowledge of what to do to ensure it".[127] There was a strong emphasis throughout this section of the *Report* on the centrality of the development of character and, especially, the quality of self-discipline.[128] At the same time, the Committee acknowledged that in physical education possibly more than in any other subject of the core "few schools [would] have the staffing and the necessary facilities for immediate full development of the new scheme". They observed that "each school would simply have to make the best of the conditions available",[129] something that the

schools, from sheer necessity, became most adept at doing in the immediate post-war years. On one point, the Committee certainly deserved to be congratulated. It did not hesitate to grasp firmly the nettle of sex education, devoting a page and a half of its *Report* to this topic; it advocated "a direct objective approach on the biological side",[130] and recognised that the best results would be obtained if the schools worked in close cooperation with the pupils' homes.

The options for the School Certificate examination were dealt with in chapter V of the *Report*, each subject receiving at least some attention with respect to content and methodology. Once again, the Committee urged the adoption of the practical approach, insisting that the work pupils were required to do, especially in mathematics and the natural sciences, should bear directly on their daily lives. Interestingly enough, the Committee devoted most space in this section of its *Report* (almost a third of the total chapter) to foreign languages, which, it felt, were in urgent need of a "new orientation ... [and] a new attitude on the part of both teacher and pupil, resulting in a new approach".[131] While recognising that "foreign language teaching in our schools today stands at the crossroads",[132] the Committee nevertheless maintained that a strong case could be made for according foreign language study "a high place amongst optional subjects as a pursuit to be chosen for its intrinsic interest and worth".[133] The direct method was advocated as the basic approach to teaching a modern foreign language, with the emphasis throughout being on the pupils acquiring a reading knowledge of the language, and learning it as a means of communication. At all stages, the lesson material "should be based on the common life of the people and their

everyday doings".[134] As far as the technological subjects were concerned, the Committee stressed the value of experimental methods in teaching, and recommended the use of audio-visual aids whenever possible. The *Report* treated technical drawing particularly sympathetically, characterising it as "a second language of great lucidity and economy".[135] It was on sure ground, also, in urging the promotion of design in connection with technological studies.[136] On the other hand, the Committee perpetuated the untenable distinction, commonly drawn at the time, between intellectual and manual ability when it suggested that pre-vocational courses like woodwork could be "taken with advantage by boys of practical rather than of literary aptitude".[137] It also reflected the assumptions of its times in accepting without question that technological studies were the private domain of boys; that only girls would be interested in studying home crafts; and even that "differentiation between courses [in mathematics] for boys and girls is permissible, and often, indeed, desirable".[138]

The *Thomas Report* was widely acclaimed when it first appeared, the Minister giving it as his belief that it was "the most important contribution that has ever been made to secondary education in New Zealand".[139] Within twelve months, he was referring to "the enthusiastic reception accorded the *Report* in most quarters", and claiming that it had been "welcomed by an overwhelming majority of teachers".[140] Some later commentators were equally unstinting in their praise of the *Report* and its consequences. So, Julia Wallace held that "the views of the Committee and the discussions centred on its recommendations revolutionised secondary education regulations, theory and practice";[141] J.L. Ewing maintained that the re-organisation of

the post-primary curriculum following the release of the *Thomas Report* was New Zealand's "most significant post-war education reform";[142] J.A. Ross described the *Report* as "a turning point in secondary education";[143] P. Meikle considered that, in proposing an extended range of optional subjects for School Certificate, the *Report* "initiated a major curricular advance";[144] O. Tate claimed that the broader aims of secondary education as recommended by the Thomas Committee were evident in the responses given, especially by parents, to Downey's 'Tasks of Public Education' questionnaire, which was widely used at the time of the Secondary Education Review (1974-75);[145] and C.G.N. Hill noted that the Social and Cultural Committee of the National Development Conference (1968) looked back to the *Thomas Report* (rather than the *Currie Report*) as its guide in educational matters.[146] The Report also had its critics, notably the Catholic Teachers' Association of Auckland. However, the intemperate language, exaggerated claims, and totally unsubstantiated opinions of their chief spokesperson, Professor William Anderson, did nothing to advance their cause.[147]

The schools themselves seemed, for the most part, to take in their stride the curriculum changes which followed in the wake of the *Thomas Report*. The published histories of some schools made no reference at all to the impact of the *Thomas Report* on their programmes,[148] which would suggest that any changes made in those schools were relatively minor ones. Other schools were able to report, no doubt proudly, that few changes were needed in their cases, since most of the new requirements were already part of their school's regular programme. Typical of such schools was Wellington Girls' College, where the re-

organisation required to meet the demands of the new post-primary curriculum was reported to be "not very difficult".[149] As the headmistress said in her Annual Report for 1944:

> During the years this school has gone a long way towards meeting the educational needs of the average non-academic pupil. Indeed much of the work that is now advocated in physical training, music, art, home crafts has been well established here as long as twenty years ago.[150]

A number of other girls' schools and some boys' schools[151] would have been in a similar position. Many schools, well aware of the long-term significance of the new curriculum, were dismayed at what they considered to be a lack of leadership on the part of the Department of Education in connection with the changes which had to be made. For example, at Christchurch Boys' High School, "... the introduction in 1945 of the School Certificate regulations involved much discussion and planning, <u>as little detailed direction came from the Department of Education</u>".[152] A few schools[153] took the new regulations very seriously. In those cases, the reforms in the curriculum "brought important changes in the organisation <u>and the character</u> of [the] school".[154] Undoubtedly, the most serious problems which the implementation of the new curriculum presented to the schools were concerned with teaching space and resources, and with specialist staffing. The situation at Wellington Girls' College would have been typical of the position in which schools all over the country found themselves in 1945-46:

> In 1944 the old sports pavilion had been converted into a Home Craft Centre but there was still a lack of special rooms, special equipment and special staff to carry out fully the requirements of the new post-primary syllabus.[155]

Napier Boys' High School had no proper gymnasium until 1958;[156] Christchurch Boys' High School had to do without specialist rooms for some subjects of the new compulsory core until 1952;[157] while New Plymouth Boys' High School found that it was "ill-equipped for the teaching of arts and crafts, and had to await suitable accommodation before core requirements could be given effect to".[158] At Auckland Grammar School, the headmaster reported that he was apprehensive about the conditions under which some of the new core subjects would have to be taught at his school:

> One antique piano, a drawing room with primitive equipment, a classroom used for arts and crafts but with no special furniture, a woodwork room only reasonably well equipped. This to serve the needs of some 23 classes comprising some 800 boys.[159]

There can be no doubt that the core curriculum got away to a bad start in many schools because of accommodation and staffing difficulties. Moreover, with almost every school asking for help at the same time, it took the Department some years to satisfy the requirements of all in respect of buildings and equipment. The schools themselves were able to do something about the staffing situation; by the time the new regulations took effect, many schools were moving to appoint full-time art and music teachers, and to increase their complements of physical education specialists. Surprisingly, few schools seemed to be troubled by the administrative aspects of the new regulations, though the headmistress of Timaru Girls' High School noted that:

> The speed of the implementation of the *Thomas Report* extended those in administration, for we had to reorganise teaching allocations in time to certify our candidates in compulsory practical units of time before they were eligible to sit the new School Certificate examination.[160]

One school historian commented: "The total change [core requirements and the new School Certificate] was a brave and enlightened attempt to ensure a sound general education for all those spending three years at a post-primary school."[161] To what extent the change also fulfilled the objectives of its originators will be further examined in chapter 8.

The post-primary education of the Maori

By 1940, the Government had come to realise the inadequacy of the contribution it was making to the post-primary education of Maori boys and girls through the scholarships it provided at the denominational schools. For one thing, the number of Maoris attending a post-primary school of any kind remained depressingly low, in spite of a recent increase in the number of scholarships awarded. A report prepared in 1939 by D.G. Ball, Senior Inspector of Native Schools, indicated that only 337 Maoris in the whole of New Zealand were attending state post-primary schools. Further, apart from those in receipt of scholarships,[162] Maoris who lived in areas removed from a state post-primary school[163] had virtually no opportunity to advance their education beyond form 2. Ball estimated that only about 25 per cent of Maoris leaving form 2 went on to a post-primary school.[164] What was more, in respect of staffing and teaching resources, the denominational schools were not keeping up with developments made in the state schools.[165] This meant that the pupils attending the denominational schools on scholarships were disadvantaged (at least, academically), and the Government was certainly not receiving value for money. These factors led Ball to the conclusion that continuing to rely on the denominational schools alone to grapple with the problem of the post-

primary education of the Maori was ill-advised. Accordingly, he recommended that the Government set up "separate post-primary schools of a technical type in certain selected areas, so that the training the pupils received would be related to the kind of occupations they were likely to enter as adults".[166] This recommendation was acted on by the Government; as from 1 February, 1941, three Native schools became district high schools. These schools were all on the East Coast - at Te Araroa, Ruatoria (called Manutahi Native District High School), and Tikitiki. A fourth Native district high school started at Te Kao in Northland in 1942, though it was not officially opened until 1944.[167]

From the outset, there was considerable controversy over the Department's decision that the pupils in the Native district high schools would "concentrate on practical studies, with particular reference to the home and to the building industry".[168] Ball (in common, it would seem, with other departmental officials, as well as many politicans of the day) was convinced that most Maoris would end up working on the land[169] (or, in the case of girls, in the home), so that, in his view, the only curriculum appropriate to their needs was a vocational one. Many Maori elders and parents, however, did not concur with this reasoning at all. They did not want schools where expectations of achievement were lower than those obtaining in other schools, whether state or denominational. They were convinced that, if their children were to extend the range of their employment prospects, they needed to be able to compete with Pakehas on their own terms. As they saw it, the key to this kind of opportunity was post-primary schooling based on an academic or general type of curriculum. McKean claimed, in this connection, that many Maori families considered that the vocational slant given to the curriculum of the Native district

high schools was "an insult to Maori aspiration[s] for better jobs and recognised status within New Zealand",[170] while a number of Maori leaders looked on the vocational curriculum of the new Native district high schools as "yet another example of Pakeha duplicity".[171] The Department of Education took the establishment of the Native district high schools on the East Coast seriously; the Minister, accompanied by Beeby and Ball, visited the maraes, and held discussions with Maori parents and tribal representatives about the plans for post-primary education in their districts. However, in spite of the confidence of the officials,[172] if the numbers of Maori boys and girls enrolled in the Native district high schools are any indication, the syllabus the Department had decided to introduce found little favour with the Maori people. Table 18, covering the period from 1941 to 1945, reveals, first, that, with the sole exception of Te Araroa in 1945, none of the schools had a roll in excess of forty at any stage of the year; second, that the decline in roll numbers during the year was often very marked; and, third, that the average number of pupils still in attendance at each school at the end of the year varied from sixteen to twenty-two. The Department had to admit that roll numbers of the Native district high schools for 1942 showed a decline on those for 1941. This they attributed to various factors: the demand for male labour on farms; problems in finding housing for teachers, especially married men; and staffing difficulties occasioned by the war (the secondary assistants at both Te Araroa and Tikitiki were called up for military service in 1942, and neither could be replaced).[173] However, the official view of the situation remained unaltered and optimistic, as the following quotations show: "The three Native district high schools recently opened on the East Coast are passing out of the first stage of experimentation, and are finding their place in the

TABLE 18

ROLLS OF NATIVE DISTRICT HIGH SCHOOLS, 1941-1945,
AS AT MARCH, JULY, AND DECEMBER

Schools	1941			1942			1943			1944			1945		
	1 March	1 July	Dec	1 Mar	1 July	Dec	1 Mar	1 July	Dec	1 Mar	1 July	Dec	1 Mar	1 July	Dec
Manutahi	31	31	30	38	36	24	34	33	26	34	35	27	28	25	19
Te Araroa	33	31	17	15	15	14	27	16	15	22	27	26	44	40	35
Tikitiki	21	22	18	22	14	11	25	23	16	29	29	18	14	11	9
Te Kao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	18	17	18	18	18
Totals	85	84	65	75	65	49	86	72	57	105	109	88	104	94	81

Source: E.2 Reports

communities they serve;"[174] and from the Report of the Senior Inspector of Native Schools: "Nevertheless, the aim of the Department in establishing these district high schools - that of providing a good cultural and practical education based on home-making and home-management - has been maintained and fostered."[175] Later, this view was modified; in his Report for 1945, with reference to the East Coast Native district high schools, Ball admitted that "... the innovation did not make an immediate appeal to the Maori people in that area, and the schools had a struggle to maintain adequate rolls".[176] Very much later, Ball acknowledged outright that: "They [the Native district high schools] didn't meet the Maoris' anticipated requirements, and so they didn't appeal to the Maori".[177] Beeby is reported to have made an even more candid admission forty-five years after the event: "The Maori district high schools were my very own idea, which I bungled."[178]

Jennings[179] showed that the Native district high schools entered a new era in 1945. There were a number of reasons for this change for the better. First and foremost, the new School Certificate examination, with its wide range of optional subjects, offered the Maori pupils the opportunity to work towards an attainable qualification in subjects which were of interest to them;[180] second, the new regulations also provided for district high schools to be visited by the post-primary inspectors, which opened up the prospect of improved standards of achievement in those schools; third, the raising of the school leaving age gave promise of an increase in roll numbers; fourth, the payment of family benefit allowances from 1946 made it easier for parents to keep their children at school; and fifth, the practice of promoting fourteen-year-old retarded pupils from the lower primary school standards ceased as from 1945, when the minimum

qualification required for entry to the secondary department of a district high school became the Primary School Certificate. For the Native district high schools, the post-1944 period was one of steady growth and positive development.

With the requisitioning of St Stephen's School for military purposes early in 1942, the practice of some Maori pupils taking up their government scholarships at state post-primary schools became established. By 1945, five state schools (Dannevirke High School, Gisborne High School, Feilding Technical High School, Napier Boys' High School, and New Plymouth Boys' High School) and two Roman Catholic schools (Sacred Heart College, Auckland, and St Patrick's College, Silverstream) were catering for more than a third of all boys holding Maori scholarships.[181] The Government continued to increase the number of scholarships awarded; from 1944, a further twelve continuation scholarships were made available, bringing the total number of these awards made annually to forty, and enabling about 50 per cent of those who received junior scholarships each year to have a third and fourth year at a post-primary school.[182] The denominational schools received an additional boost in 1945, when a substantial government grant was made available towards the improvement of their facilities for teaching practical subjects, especially woodwork and cookery.[183]

Government initiatives

Increased financial provisions

In spite of the war, the Government continued, in the first half of the 40's, to provide the money needed to sustain and even expand

educational services. In line with its earlier moves in support of post-primary school libraries, it instituted, from 1942, a library capitation grant of £10 per school plus 1/9 per pupil on 1 March rolls.[184] Funds were also provided, in 1945, to set up a National Library Service, a facility which was soon to prove of immense benefit to schools in all parts of the country. Mindful of the fact that very few district high schools would be on the accrediting list, the Government established a new type of bursary to come into force in 1944. The bursary, worth £40 a year and tenable for one or two years, was introduced to enable country children who had passed School Certificate to attend an accrediting school, where they would have the opportunity, once they had qualified for University Entrance, to sit the Entrance Scholarships examination, and to compete for a national boarding bursary.[185] The Minister also considered that the scheme would have the added advantage of enabling the district high schools to concentrate their efforts on the bulk of their students, namely, those who did not intend going beyond School Certificate.[186] The access of country children to post-primary education was further improved by the Government's decision, in 1944, to increase the rate of the boarding allowance from 7/6 to 10/- a week. Conveyance allowances were also increased at the same time.[187] Another government initiative, though undertaken for quite different reasons, was the establishing of fifteen special bursaries in science from 1944. The terms of this bursary required the holder to study at a university for a B.Sc. degree, since one of its purposes was "to increase the number of graduates capable of teaching mathematics and science in the secondary schools".[188] Table 19 records the total amounts spent by the Government on post-primary education from 1941 to 1945. (Details of the capital expenditure on post-primary school buildings, building sites, and equipment in the same period are set out in table 20.)

TABLE 19

COST OF POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION, 1941-1945

	Spent on post-primary education†	Total spent on education
Year ending 31 March, 1942	£0.894 m.*	£5.269 m.
Year ending 31 March, 1943	0.869*	5.038
Year ending 31 March, 1944	0.918*	5.273^Δ
Year ending 31 March, 1945	1.184	6.281
Year ending 31 March, 1946	1.437	7.916

† these figures are all exclusive of building costs
* exclusive of costs of scholarships and bursaries
Δ exclusive of revenue from reserves

Source: E.1. Reports

Education Conference[189]

In his Report for 1943, the Minister gave notice of his intention to convene an Education Conference, to be held from October 24 to 28, 1944 in Christchurch. Mason was enthusiastic about the prospect of the Conference, and confident of the benefits that would flow from it:

> There has been a growing public interest in education, and an increasing demand for educational services from all sections of the community .... To provide a focus for this gathering public interest, I am calling an Education Conference .... I hope to have published before the Conference a full-review of the education system as it now exists .... I am hopeful that the deliberations of the Conference will be of outstanding value to the Government in shaping its future policy in education.[190]

But the Minister had another motive for calling the Conference - to afford an opportunity for community involvement in the decision making process: "I believe ... [that] the great bulk of the people must not only understand what is afoot, but must also take an active part in working out the kind of education system they want for themselves and their children."[191] The Conference, which had as its theme 'Education

in the Post-war World', was attended by some 120 delegates representing seventy organisations. None of the five main topics set down for discussion, except, possibly, 'rural education' and 'youth services', bore directly on the work of the post-primary schools. However, provision was also made for open forums, one of which was on the *Thomas Report*. This topic provoked a lively debate, with Thomas himself being called on to reply to an attack on the *Report* made by a spokesperson for the Catholic secondary schools.[192] Held at a time when educational reform was in the air in a number of countries, the Conference stimulated a new interest in pre-school and adult education, in particular. It was very much a public relations exercise, dealing with themes proposed by the public, and demonstrating the Government's determination to maintain a policy of openness and consultation in educational matters.

A valuable by-product of the Conference was the 'review of the education system' foreshadowed by the Minister in his 1943 Report. It appeared in booklet form some time before the Conference under the title *Education Today and Tomorrow*. Authorship of the booklet was attributed to Mason, but Ewing averred that it "bears the unmistakable signs of Beeby's hand".[193] *Education Today and Tomorrow* provided a general survey of the education system as it was in 1944; stoutly defended the action of the Government in taking such steps as the abolition of 'proficiency'; highlighted the advances which had been made since 1935; and outlined the Government's educational policy for the immediate future. Though the book could be criticised for its occasional over-simplistic claims,[194] it did make positive statements on a number of important issues.[195] In addition, it posed some very significant questions (for debate at the Conference).[196] Reference

was also made to such issues as the practicability of unifying the teaching services; and the use of school buildings and facilities after hours by the youth services.[197] While the Conference may not have been the "landmark in the Dominion's educational history" which the *Education Gazette* of 1 September, 1944 predicted it would be, it was probably the first time that particular problems affecting the system were brought out into the open, and the public invited to contribute ideas leading to their solution.

Professional leadership and the Department of Education

The appointment of Dr Beeby as Director of Education in 1940 marked the beginning of a new era in the relationship between the Department and teachers at all levels of the system. No one appreciated better than Beeby that little can be accomplished if a state of tension exists between policy makers and those ultimately entrusted with putting policy into effect. So, from the outset, he determined to build up a strong feeling of togetherness, and a spirit of mutual support in striving to achieve a common goal, namely, improving the quality of the educational services made available to people of all ages, but especially to young people. Beeby realised that the key factor in his campaign would be an efficient communication system. Accordingly, he took steps quite early in his directorship (1941) to alter completely the policy and even the format of the *Education Gazette*, which he intended to use as his principal vehicle of communication. The *Education Gazette* was enlarged, and, for seven years, nearly every issue had as its focus a special topic.[198] Often, advance notice of the appearance of a special topic would be given, so that contributions could be invited from practising teachers. Ailing

subjects (such as agriculture) were given regular boosts, while fledgling subjects (such as biology, and craft work) also received strong support. At the same time, the *Education Gazette* was enlivened by the inclusion of illustrations, advertisements, jokes, brain teasers, humorous definitions, and homilies. The first issue of the 'new' *Education Gazette* contained an article by Beeby which conveyed admirably his conviction that one of the chief responsibilities of the Department was to provide positive and stimulating professional leadership:

> The Department has the task of leadership in education. It has to frame policies based on a fuller view of all the factors involved than is possible to people not situated at the centre of things. For its leadership to be effective, it must enlist the cooperation of all workers in the educational field .... The *Gazette* will be used to a greater extent than formerly to indicate the standpoint of the Department and the initiatives which, after mature consideration, it thinks it desirable to take .... [It is for this reason that] the Department invites teachers to join in making education a great cooperative undertaking in which each will be heartened and stimulated by a consciousness of what all are doing toward a common end.[199]

Well might the Minister report: "The *Education Gazette* has been entirely changed in character, and is now consistently used to make teachers aware of educational policy, and to assist them with the techniques of their craft."[200] Beeby also sought to strengthen the Department's leadership role by giving the inspectors a higher profile, and according more emphasis to their advisory function. In the ten years from 1935 to 1945, the number of post-primary inspectors was almost doubled; their influence grew proportionately. In particular, the inspectors were used to gain acceptance in the schools for the changes proposed by the Thomas Committee.[201] Further, the work of the

inspectors was supplemented by new, itinerant departmental officers known as 'organisers'. Four of these were appointed in physical education in 1941, with the promise of an early and substantial increase in their numbers.[202]

Vocational guidance services

From 1941 to 1945, the Government continued to build on the measures it had put in place in its early years in office in respect of vocational guidance by providing a number of additional services for the benefit of post-primary school pupils. As from 1 April, 1943, the Youth Centres which had been established in the four main cities were taken over completely by the Education Department, and renamed Vocational Guidance Centres. District Vocational Guidance Officers with suitable support staff were appointed. The Centres, working in conjunction with the schools, soon found that the substantial demand for juvenile labour kept them very busy. A fifth Centre was opened on a part-time basis in Invercargill in 1945, and the Department planned to set up a similar Centre in Wanganui in 1946. The policy of appointing careers teachers in the larger schools in city areas was maintained. For the Minister, these actions were a recognition of the principle that:

> Educational and vocational guidance is a function of the education system hardly less important than that ... of instilling knowledge. The school cannot regard its obligations to the child as completely fulfilled until he is established in an occupation for which he is well fitted.[203]

Visiting teachers

The concern of the Government that wartime conditions could lead to an increase in juvenile delinquency has already been referred to in

connection with the raising of the school leaving age. Other moves which the Government made to counter this risk included the appointment in selected areas from 1943 of 'visiting teachers',[204] who, the Minister explained, would be, "in effect, school social workers, responsible for the study and treatment of individual children who find difficulty in adjusting ... to normal school life".[205] These teachers were to work in primary and post-primary schools. The Government also decided, in 1942, to appoint more Child Welfare Officers, though the Minister did not believe that regulations would solve the problem of juvenile delinquency. What was needed, in his view, were "activities that [would] absorb the energies and capture the faith of the young people of today".[206]

6

1941-1945 : THE SCHOOLS

The schools and the war

By 1941, the impact of the war on the life and work of the post-primary schools was beginning to be felt quite severely; the situation became even more difficult after the entry of Japan into the war in December, 1941. Not that the Government cut back its spending on education. On the contrary, the Minister was emphatic that, "... in the growing stress of war, the Government has held fast to its faith that education is a social necessity and no mere luxury that can be readily abandoned when the nation turns its thoughts to sterner things".[1] But, if the post-primary schools were not starved of funds, they did suffer quite acutely from the effects of three major war-related factors.

First, by 1941, the absence of a substantial number of male teachers who had entered the armed services was already bearing heavily on the schools. At the end of that year, 25 per cent of all the male teachers employed in the secondary and combined schools were on active service;[2] by December, 1942, the proportion had risen to 40 per cent.[3] In order to fill the gaps, schools had to recall recently-retired teachers to the classroom; as well, teachers who were due for retirement had their retirement deferred.[4] Untrained and, in some cases, quite young teachers were pressed into service.[5] From mid-1940, boys' schools up and down the country were indicating in their advertisements for teachers in the *Education Gazette* that they would

accept women applicants.[6] By the end of 1942, twenty-seven women teachers were employed in boys' schools,[7] while, in mixed schools, the proportion of women teachers increased markedly. In all schools, teachers of mathematics and science were in especially short supply.[8] Hardest hit were the secondary departments of the smaller district high schools, where the loss of even one male teacher usually resulted in a drastic reduction in the range of subjects such schools could offer. The technical schools were also hard pressed, as trained teachers of science, mathematics, engineering, and woodwork, who, in the words of the Superintendent of Technical Education, "form the backbone of technical school staffs",[9] were eagerly sought after by the armed services. For example, during part of 1943, Auckland Technical School had eighteen staff members - most of them teachers of science, mathematics, and technology - away on war work or on active service. The Superintendent, in his Report for 1943, warned that there was clear evidence that, unless the pressure was relieved, some deterioration in standards was inevitable.[10] The general situation improved to some extent towards the end of 1942, when teaching was declared an essential industry;[11] nevertheless, in December, 1943, 30 per cent of all teachers holding permanent or war appointments on the staffs of secondary and combined schools were still absent from their schools on war service.[12] However, by the following year, the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools was able to report that a number of teachers had returned from active service,[13] though wartime appointments were still being advertised in the *Education Gazette* in the early months of 1945. By this time, such positions were considered precarious, so that vacancies remained hard to fill.[14] Some technical schools were seriously understaffed, since relieving positions in those schools were proving to be "not attractive to

persons [already] engaged in industrial or professional work".[15] By the beginning of 1946, wartime positions were being re-advertised as permanent posts; nine such appointments at Auckland Grammar School were advised in the *Education Gazette* of 1 February, 1946. In the *Education Gazette* of 15 March, 1946, when Hutt Valley High School advertised for six grade IV assistants to teach general subjects, the advertisement carried the comment: "Due to wartime conditions, there are at present six relieving teachers on the staff, and the positions held by them must [now] be filled by permanent appointments. <u>It is very improbable that many new teachers will be required</u>."[16]

The second war-related factor which affected the schools was a very considerable slowing down of the school building programme. Urgent defence works following the entry of Japan into the war took precedence, bringing school building operations to a near standstill in 1942 and 1943. A number of schools were left with half-finished buildings, as workmen went off to military construction jobs elsewhere.[17] Capital expenditure on post-primary school buildings, sites, and equipment in those two years together amounted to little more than half of what had been spent in the previous year. Indeed, in 1943, the sum spent was even less than the allocation for the 1934-35 year.[18] By 1945, however, notwithstanding the fact that manpower and materials were still in short supply, expenditure on post-primary school buildings had risen dramatically, with the technical schools, in particular, receiving a very substantial allocation, no doubt in an effort to catch up on some of the backlog of the 1942-43 period. In his Report for 1945, the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools noted that "... building problems are still acute, but immediate needs are

fairly well satisfied".[19] In the event, this proved to be the very most that could be said about the school building situation for many years to come. Table 20 sets out the amounts spent on post-primary school buildings, sites, and equipment from 1941 to 1945.

TABLE 20

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SITE ACQUISITIONS, AND EQUIPMENT, 1941-1945

Year ending 31 March		1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
Secondary schools	£	94,510	38,271	21,584	69,997	170,114	138,126
Technical schools	£	41,768	12,503	2,225	13,765	316,044	151,867
Total	£	136,278	50,774	23,809	83,762	486,158[20]	289,993

Source: E.1 Reports

The third factor, which imposed a severe burden on the schools affected, was the commandeering of some five state post-primary schools in 1942 for either military or hospital purposes.[21] In the cases of Wellington College and Palmerston North Boys' and Girls' High Schools, the occupation was relatively short lived; all their buildings were handed back to the school authorities by the end of the first term. Marlborough College, however, was occupied for the whole of 1942. At one stage, its classes were distributed over thirteen different locations, hardly any of which even had telephones. It took the principal two hours to make an emergency announcement, doing his rounds on a bicycle.[22] At Whangarei High School, the boys' block and the intermediate department block were still being used as an emergency hospital in May, 1943. When these buildings were returned to the school later in that year, the boys' block "needed much restoration to refit it for school use".[23] Some other post-primary

schools, while not actually taken over, were designated as emergency hospitals. Plans were drawn up for converting and equipping them (or parts of them) should the need for such facilities arise.[24]

Notwithstanding the shortage of male teachers, the almost total lack of action as far as school buildings were concerned, and the inconvenience caused to some schools by the requisitioning of their premises, the pupils themselves, and the routine of most post-primary schools, at least during the early years of the war, were not affected to any great extent by the hostilities which were raging in Europe. Naturally, the war occasioned a number of extra activities. In every school, pupils and teachers alike threw themselves with a will into projects which promoted the war effort. An incredible number of ingenious means of raising money for patriotic purposes were devised, with the result that schools made substantial contributions to these funds. Pupils also assisted with the collection of waste materials,[25] ergot, and seaweeds; with the making of nets and first-aid equipment; and with knitting socks, scarves, balaclavas, and other comforts for the men and women serving in the forces. Food parcels were sent regularly to former pupils on active service;[26] while at least one past pupils' association maintained a monthly newsletter service, keeping old boy servicemen overseas abreast with news of the school.[27] In other schools,[28] the principal "took on himself the heavy burden of a continuing correspondence with former pupils on service".[29] Pupils in technical schools undertook the making of hundreds of scale model aeroplanes for (air force) training purposes.[30] They also began, in 1941, to manufacture machine tools in some quantity, in a bid to relieve the shortage of such tools in their own, and other, schools.[31] During the summer holidays, large numbers of boys in country districts

did seasonal work on local farms, while many pupils living in the towns worked in factories. For their part, teachers everywhere, but especially those in rural areas, were heavily involved in the activities of the National Military Reserve, the Home Guard, and the Emergency Precautions Scheme.[32]

In 1942 came the complete mobilisation of military forces, and conscription into the Emergency Reserve Corps of all male, British subjects in New Zealand between the ages of eighteen and forty-five; the introduction of rationing; the control of industrial manpower; and the mobilisation of women for essential work.[33] Inevitably, the schools "became more closely aware of the presence of war as it extended into the Pacific".[34] With the threat of the invasion of New Zealand by the Japanese accepted as something very real,[35] "it became necessary to provide air-raid shelters, and fire-fighting and first-aid equipment for schools".[36] Slit trenches and other forms of protection against a possible attack from the air were constructed at most schools, and pupils practised orderly dispersal procedures to be used in cases of emergency.[37] A pupil attending New Plymouth Girls' High School during the latter years of the war recalled "... those air-raid trenches, dug under the chestnut trees. We had to jump into them at air-raid practices, right onto the prickly chestnuts".[38] At Wellington High School, which stands on an exposed, inner-city site, it was not easy to find suitable shelter for up to a thousand pupils and staff; trees near the school had to provide the 'cover'. Obviously, such measures would have been totally inadequate in the event of an actual air raid.[39] In addition to regular practice alerts, other precautions were also taken against possible air attacks. The centennial history of Timaru Girls' High School referred

to the years from 1942 until 1945 as "... the days when girls wore wooden name tags, and carried about with them a cork to pop between the teeth to reduce bomb-blast damage to the ears, and wads of cotton wool for the same purpose".[40] In many schools, pupils were required to carry with them a small first-aid kit. These kits also contained emergency rations, usually in the form of a small bar of chocolate, which, needless to say, seldom remained in the kit for long.[41] From 1941 onwards, Air Training Corps units, which flourished in post-primary schools up and down the country,[42] provided hundreds of boys with an elementary training in aeronautics, which was to stand them in good stead when they later applied for admission to the Royal New Zealand Air Force.[43] At Wellington Technical College, the A.T.C. unit, formed in 1942 with eighty volunteers and two teachers, had grown to 180 members within a year. It was still operating in 1947, though with reduced numbers.[44] There were many other visible reminders in the schools that the country was at war. At Palmerston North Boys' High School, over one long holiday period (and beyond), the school buildings were used as a barracks, and the playing fields as a training ground by a battalion preparing for overseas service. For part of this period, the School had to use the assembly hall at the Technical School, as well as rooms at the High School boarding establishment, for its own activities.[45] At Auckland Grammar School, all the effective rifles belonging to the Cadet Corps were impounded early in 1940. On Sundays, the Home Guard used the school rifle range, while the First Battalion, N.Z. Scottish Regiment drilled on the school parade ground.[46] At the same school, electric light was installed in a number of classrooms so that R.N.Z.A.F. recruits could receive tuition in mathematics in the evenings.[47] Teachers in post-primary schools throughout New Zealand contributed to the war effort

by conducting such classes, which were part of a scheme of pre-entry air force training devised by the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, E. Caradus.[48] As the Japanese offensive in the Pacific intensified, senior pupils in post-primary schools enrolled as messengers in connection with the Emergency Precautions Scheme; in boarding schools, both boys and girls acted as fire watchers.

One group of pupils who were particularly hard hit by the war were boys who had turned eighteen. As early as 1941, boys in this age group were being called up for home defence duties, although those attending a post-primary school could apply to have their training postponed until their school course was completed, and examinations had been sat.[49] However, by February, 1942, only bona fide candidates for the University Bursary and Scholarships examinations could expect to be granted postponement of training.[50] The situation became a little easier for these boys during 1942. A notice in the *Education Gazette* of 1 October, 1942 advised that candidates for University Entrance in 1942 who were called up in no. 17 ballot could have their service postponed until 1 January, 1943, provided that the principal certified that the applicant was a full-time student, was diligent, and was likely to pass the examination. Fortunately for this group, new regulations gazetted early in 1943 delayed the full-time mobilisation of young men until they had reached the age of twenty.[51] Pupils whose studies were interrupted by military service were granted war concession passes in the School Certificate examination if they failed to reach the required standard in all of their subjects.[52] The Department of Education also agreed to award Higher Leaving Certificates to those pupils called up who had satisfactorily completed at least half of the school year.[53]

The war years, especially from 1942 onwards, were also a time of shortages. Schools and their pupils, in common with everyone else, suffered a good deal of inconvenience and even some hardship as a result. School hostels were particularly affected by wartime conditions. One school historian recorded that:

> Shortages of gas and electricity during the war years made the production of adequate meals for hungry hordes of boys an almost impossible task. One has vivid memories of these devoted women [matron and assistant matron] supervising cooking outside, sometimes in the rain, in kerosene tins over trenches.[54]

Petrol rationing reduced the availability of transport, which, in turn, led to the widespread cancellation of school concerts, displays, and sports trips. The rationing of clothing, coupled with the refusal of the Rationing Controller to issue extra clothing coupons to enable school uniforms to be purchased for new pupils,[55] left schools with no alternative but to relax their uniform requirements. At New Plymouth Girls' High School, at this time, "... girls were permitted to wear any type of white blouse, and even - such were the realities of war - to come to school without gloves".[56] A pupil at the School in 1942 recollected that "... we wore long, black woollen stockings winter and summer, until, thankfully, there was a wartime shortage. Then we were permitted to wear navy ankle socks in summer".[57] Lighting restrictions and blackout regulations ("It was a crime to show a chink of light at night")[58] meant that events like house socials in boarding schools had to be abandoned. Boarding schools were also hard hit by travel restrictions, especially the necessity of obtaining a permit for any journey by train of over fifty miles.[59] During 1942, there were also frequent references in the *Education Gazette* to the need to conserve paper; the Department of Education even suggested that

schools should discontinue setting impositions which involved the use of paper.[60] A former teacher at Timaru Girls' High School recalled "memories of correcting homework written on the inner side of Amber Tips tea packages, and having to revert to covering blackboards with examination questions".[61] Many school magazines were not printed in 1942 and 1943, because of the shortage of paper. One bonus, arising from the need to use all available shipping space for urgently needed war materials, was the decision to make a free distribution of surplus export apples to all schools.[62] This scheme, which began in February, 1942, continued until 1946. Wartime shortages also affected the provision of classroom and sports materials. In his Report for 1941, the Superintendent of Technical Education, commenting on the impact of the war on technical schools, in particular, made reference to "a dearth of equipment needed for the expansion of services, and for replacements".[63] Steel, for example, was virtually unobtainable from 1942 until the end of the war. Over the same period, textbooks were in very short supply, as well.

By 1944, arrangements were being made for the rehabilitation of teachers returning from the war. On demobilisation, soldier-teachers could apply for up to one year's leave without pay to try themselves out in some other occupation. Refresher courses in teachers' training colleges and in schools were also made available to them.[64] A number of post-primary schools, particularly technical schools, offered special classes for returned servicemen; in some cases, considerable resources were devoted to this undertaking.[65] When hostilities finally ceased, first in Europe and then in the Pacific, pupils in the post-primary schools, together with all other sections of the nation, expressed their elation in a totally uninhibited manner, even in

schools whose pupils were normally regarded as conservative and even decorous. A teacher at Timaru Girls' High School recollected that, when the surrender of Japan was announced on August 15, 1945,

> ... pandemonium broke loose. Girls rushed to the hall, [and] the haka was performed; tins, rattles and whistles added to the din. Then the school careered round the neighbouring streets .... In the afternoon, there was a victory concert .... The official parade the next day, with the sixth form carrying a VJ banner, was much more restrained.[66]

New Zealand casualties during the war had been heavy, and the post-primary schools were determined that the sacrifices of their former pupils and, in many cases, of their teachers would not be forgotten. They sought to keep their memory alive by recording their names on rolls of honour,[67] instituting memorial prizes in honour of specific men and women, and establishing war memorial funds, which, in time, would provide for the enrichment of the schools' amenities.

Naturally, the war, with its attendant shortages and restrictions, disrupted the programmes of the post-primary schools, and impaired their efficiency, though not, by all accounts, to any very marked degree, except in the smallest schools. Certainly, the fabric of the schools suffered a good deal from neglect during the war years. Moreover, very few additional facilities (except for prefabricated general classrooms) were provided to enable post-primary schools to cater effectively for the substantially increased roll numbers brought about by the new school leaving age regulations. This wartime legacy of accommodation problems at the post-primary schools plagued successive governments for at least the next two decades.

The schools

Number

In spite of the very considerable developments in post-primary education which took place from 1941 to 1945, only one new school, Avondale Technical School,[68] was opened in this period. This school was "housed in buildings erected as a United States naval hospital, but so planned that conversion for school purposes was straightforward".[69] It was the first coeducational, multicourse school to be established after the publication of the *Thomas Report*; its inaugural staff included highly-qualified and gifted teachers from all over New Zealand. The *Gazette* advertisement for teachers for the new school advised that:

> The courses proposed are (1) industrial or trades; (2) general or academic; (3) home life; and (4) commercial. Modern facilities will be provided at the school for all branches of post-primary school work, particularly with regard to arts and crafts, drama, physical education and the various sciences. Accommodation is available for these activities in rooms other than the ordinary class-rooms.[70]

Also, in 1945, Papanui Technical School, which had been a branch of Christchurch Technical School since 1936, became a school in its own right, with its own board of managers.

By 1945, the pressure on accommodation in many city schools had become acute, "largely because of the drift of population to the city resulting from the operation of war industries".[71] The urgency of the need for further schools in the urban areas was certainly demonstrated by the roll numbers at the new Avondale Technical School - 538 on opening day, rising to 904 within twelve months.

Size

The advent of much larger post-primary schools in 1944 and 1945 was one of the most striking features of the period. Whereas, in 1941, only 21.7 per cent of the secondary and combined schools had more than five hundred pupils, the proportion had risen to 43.5 per cent by 1945. The corresponding figures for technical schools over the same period were 28.6 per cent and 47.8 per cent. At the opposite end of the scale, the figures were equally revealing. Secondary and combined schools with rolls of under three hundred made up nearly 40 per cent of the total in 1941, but only 13 per cent in 1945. At the same time, the proportion of technical schools with rolls of under three hundred declined from nearly 43 per cent to just over 17 per cent. Table 21 gives details of the number of schools falling into the various size categories from 1941 to 1945.

TABLE 21

NUMBER OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS FALLING INTO THE DIFFERENT SIZE CATEGORIES, 1941-1945

Size of schools	1941		1942		1943		1944		1945	
	Sec./ Comb.	Tech.	Sec./ Comb.	Tech.	Sec./ Comb.	Tech.	Sec./ Comb.	Tech.	Sec./ Comb.	Tech.
More than 500	10	6	10	5	16	7	21	9	20	11
400-499	12	1	11	2	5	2	6	2	9	4
300-399	6	5	6	4	12	4	11	5	11	4
200-299	14	5	15	6	10	5	5	2	5	1
Fewer than 200	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	1	3
Totals	46	21	46	21	46	21	46	21	46	23

Source: E.1 Reports

It has already been shown that very little could be done in 1942 and 1943 to lessen the severe accommodation problems imposed on the

schools by this sudden expansion of their rolls. As a result, notwithstanding the substantial increase in school building work in 1945, many post-primary schools remained very seriously overcrowded. At Christchurch Boys' High School, where the roll had increased by nearly two hundred between 1941 and 1945:

> Classes had to be held in a variety of unsuitable places - in the hall [itself a raw shell of concrete and brick, lacking ceiling, heating, and interior finishing in 1941], in an old, unventilated shed in the baths enclosure, and in any other place that could contain a small group....[72]

Over the decade of the 40's, the School received only three additional classrooms to meet the needs of these two hundred extra pupils.[73] Similar situations obtained in most secondary and combined schools, while, in the larger technical schools, the position was even worse. A survey conducted by the Department in 1944, in anticipation of increased roll numbers occasioned by the raising of the school leaving age, disclosed that Auckland Technical School would be quite unable to meet the probable demand made on it for places in 1945. A conference, at which the Auckland Education Board, the Auckland Grammar School Board, the Auckland Technical School Board, and the Department of Education were represented, decided on drastic measures to meet the situation. These included the closing of Auckland Technical School's agriculture course and the business training for boys course at the end of 1944; the restricting of entries to the girls' home science course as from 1945; and the re-allocation (for 1945) of all south-line pupils, except those taking typography, to Otahuhu Technical School. Pupils who could not be accommodated at Auckland Technical School were re-directed principally to Auckland Grammar School, Mount Albert Grammar School, Northcote District High School, and Otahuhu

Technical School. Although these arrangements ensured that no prospective pupil was denied post-primary education, it was recognised that the building of further post-primary schools would provide the only permanent solution to the problem.[74] The opening of Avondale Technical School in 1945 was at least a start in this direction. In the meantime, as a stopgap measure, prefabricated general classrooms were being erected at post-primary schools all over New Zealand, even though such buildings were clearly not the whole answer. "Laboratories and workshops are also needed if the functions of the technical school are to be properly carried out,"[75] cautioned the Superintendent of Technical Education in his Report for 1944. Secondary and combined schools, and the secondary departments of the district high schools, also needed their share of specialised rooms.

Curriculum

Instruction in all types of post-primary school was still organised on a course basis throughout the period. However, by 1945, the percentage of pupils taking the professional course (with two foreign languages) had declined sharply. This was to be expected, as the raising of the school leaving age resulted in almost every youngster in New Zealand spending some time at a post-primary school, so that the intake covered the whole spectrum of intellectual capacity. The percentage of pupils enrolled in the professional course in 1945 was exactly half what it had been in 1940. On the other hand, the general course (with one foreign language) continued to account for a full quarter of all pupils. This remarkable state of affairs attested to the tenacious conservatism of the post-primary schools, as well as to the lingering social status attached to the study of a foreign language. Both the industrial and the home- life

courses made steady gains in the years leading up to 1945, though the university degree and advanced work cohort had all but disappeared by then. It must be admitted that the percentages recorded in table 22 are somewhat distorted by the inclusion in the official returns of a new, amorphous category, 'other', which covered nearly 10 per cent of all pupils by 1945. No figures are available for 1941 and 1942, since this particular table (and a number of others) was not included in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* for those years because of the wartime paper shortage.

Sex stereotyping continued to determine subject choice to a considerable degree, though, in 1944, there were seventeen girls taking the agriculture course, fifteen of them at Whangarei High School. In the commercial course, girls regularly outnumbered boys by about four to one in all types of school. The only secondary school at this time with a strong art course was Wellington Girls' College, though most of the larger technical schools had good numbers of pupils majoring in art.[76] The numbers of pupils at post-primary schools doing university degree and advanced work continued to fall away; only four schools had more than ten pupils enrolled in this course in 1943.[77] By the following year, only three of the seven schools still offering the course had sizable enrolments.[78] Thanks to the infectious enthusiasm of P.A. Smithells, physical education was becoming more firmly entrenched in the post-primary schools, with the new system introduced by Smithells into the primary schools in the late 30's "increasingly spreading to the post-primary schools".[79] By 1945, the Minister, while expressing the conviction that "physical education will play a bigger part in the post-primary curriculum in the future", was also acknowledging that "specialist training in

TABLE 22

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION IN SECONDARY, COMBINED, AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN EACH COURSE, 1943 - 1945

	Professional (2 langs)	General (1 lang)	Industrial	Commercial	Agriculture	Art	Homelife	Degree and Advanced Work	Other
Year	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1943	21.4	27.2	16.8	19.0	3.6	1.4	7.9	0.3	2.3
1944	13.9	25.6	18.8	19.5	3.8	1.4	9.8	0.3	6.6
1945	10.3	25.0	19.6	18.3	4.0	1.4	11.4	0.07	9.9

Source: E.1 Reports

physical education specially adapted to the requirements of the secondary schools" would be needed.[80] In 1946, the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools was even more forthright in his Report, declaring that "physical education may be considered to have been firmly established in the secondary schools".[81] Another of the newer subjects which flourished from 1941 to 1945 was music, with particularly good work being done in a number of technical schools, despite the extreme difficulty the schools experienced in obtaining musical scores and instruments.[82] Extra-curricular pursuits continued to thrive, though wartime shortages curtailed some activities.[83] Sport remained prominent in school life, with some new codes making an appearance in the early 40's. These included softball and indoor basketball, both played by boys and girls.[84]

Examinations

The position in regard to University Entrance has already been covered. Arrangements in respect of the new School Certificate examination syllabuses took some time to finalise, so that this examination had to be conducted under the old regulations in 1944 and again in 1945.[85] School Certificate was examined for the first time under the new regulations in 1946.[86] In that year only, concessions were granted to candidates 'caught between' the old and the new examinations,[87] as had been done for similarly-placed University Entrance candidates in 1944. Higher Leaving Certificates were not awarded after 1945, this qualification having been superseded under the 1945 Regulations by Endorsed School Certificate.[88] The Public Service Entrance examination was conducted for the last time in 1945. Thereafter, it was supplanted by School Certificate as "the means for determining fitness to enter the Public Service".[89] Table 23 sets out

the number of candidates who entered for the University Scholarships, University Entrance, School Certificate, and Public Service Entrance examinations in each year from 1941 to 1945, and gives details of those securing passes.

TABLE 23

NUMBER OF CANDIDATES, NUMBER SECURING PASSES, AND PERCENTAGES OF THOSE PASSING IN THE UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS, UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE, SCHOOL CERTIFICATE, AND PUBLIC SERVICE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS, 1941-1945

	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS					
Sat	350	221	178	417*	341
Passed with credit	36/93	36/92	36/68	30/118	32/117
Percentage passed (incl. Schols)	36.9	57.9	58.4	35.5	43.7
UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE					
Sat	5255	4947	5152	223†	942ᶲ
Passed	2588	2479	2623	54	317
Percentage passed	49.2	50.1	50.9	66.7	70.0
SCHOOL CERTIFICATE					
Sat				6477	6693
Passed	Figures not given			3527	3190
Partial pass				1042	1120
Percentage passed	←in *AJHR*'s→			54.4	47.7
PUBLIC SERVICE ENTRANCE					
Sat				2781	2440
Passed	Figures not given			1650	1335
Percentage passed	←in *AJHR*'s→			59.3	54.7

* 241 gained Entrance qualification
† total entry 543; accredited 308
ᶲ total entry 2186; accredited 1213

Source: E.1 Reports

Methodology

The advances made in methodology in the latter half of the 30's were carried a stage further between 1941 and 1945. Chief among these was the tremendous upsurge of interest in mechanical aids to teaching. The educational possibilities of the film strip machine attracted wide attention, while projectors which took a sixteen-millimetre film complete with sound track appeared in more and more schools. Pioneering work in this connection had been carried out by groups like the Auckland Visual Education Association, which operated a circuit of silent films covering some fifty schools,[90] and the National Film Library, whose services were available to all post-primary schools from its inception in 1942.[91] At the same time, the Department of Education established free film strip libraries in every education board district; film strips prepared in New Zealand[92] were regularly added to these libraries. Once W.B. Harris took up his duties as Supervisor of Teaching Aids early in 1941,[93] the trickle of articles which had been appearing in the *Education Gazette* on visual aids (especially the film strip) soon became a steady stream. Another teaching aid which came into increasing use in the early 40's was the radio (or 'wireless', as it was more commonly called in those days). A series of twenty-four French broadcasts for post-primary schools, delivered by the French consul in Wellington, began in March, 1941; by the middle of that year, some eight thousand listeners in well over a hundred schools were following the French broadcasts every Monday.[94] During 1942, the whole system of school broadcasting was re-organised, responsibility for this service passing to the National Broadcasting Service. By 1943, school broadcasts were providing a country-wide coverage of specially-prepared programmes for 3¼ hours each week.[95] Finally, printed material was becoming available in ever-increasing

quantities by the early 40's, largely through the efforts of the School Library Service[96] and the Country Library Service. Lists of books suitable for post-primary school libraries appeared regularly in the *Education Gazette* from 1943, as did articles on school library management and related matters. A boon to teachers and students of geography was the appearance, in May, 1945, of the first number of the periodical *The New Zealand Geographer*, while publications like *The Students' Digest* [97] were extremely popular. Books used as class texts had still to be selected from the approved list, a revised version of which appeared in April, 1944. A special list of approved form 6 books for the new four-year University Entrance programme had already been issued some months earlier.[98]

District high schools

In the five years from 1941 to 1945, eleven new district high schools were established (including the four Native district high schools) and three were closed, bringing the total number of such schools to 104 by 1945. Following the raising of the school leaving age, the rolls of many of the secondary departments increased sharply; two of them were sufficiently large by 1946 to translate to full post-primary schools.[99] Several others had rolls of over two hundred in 1945. Staffing remained a problem, though there was a slight easing of the situation once ex-servicemen began returning to duty. Another difficulty which plagued all of the district high schools was a shortage of equipment. This was recognised by the Department in 1944, when, for the first time, it made available to the secondary departments grants for libraries, science equipment, and physical education equipment.

The new post-primary school curriculum introduced in 1946 suited the district high schools, in that it enabled pupils to qualify for School Certificate in a wide range of subjects, many of which made a greater appeal to the average district high school pupil than had the earlier, more academic offerings. At the same time, departmental officials continued to express their regret that so few secondary department pupils displayed interest in agricultural studies: "A disappointing feature in connection with most of the district high schools has been the lack of support given to the farm course .... In very few schools can it be said that the work is a real success."[100] Other subjects, however, notably physical education and music, seemed to be thriving in many secondary departments,[101] indicating that some liberalising of their curricula was taking place.

Technical schools

In common with other post-primary schools, all the technical schools experienced significant roll increases following the raising of the school leaving age. By 1945, 35 per cent of all post-primary pupils were attending technical high schools,[102] largely because the urban technical schools came to be regarded, from 1944 onwards, as the most suitable for the early leavers.[103] Consequently, technical school rolls tended to fall away sharply during the year, and especially in the third term, with many pupils responding to the demand for adolescent labour as soon as they could legally leave school. In his Report for 1945, the Superintendent of Technical Education noted that, "... at one large school, 50 per cent of entrants failed to complete the course, with many leaving before the end of their first year of attendance, i.e., as soon as they turned fifteen".[104] As was the case with the district high schools, the new

School Certificate regulations proved to be a stimulus to the technical schools, in that pupils taking practical and technical subjects could now qualify for exactly the same certificate as their secondary school counterparts. McKenzie *et al.* made the significant point that none of the recommendations of the Thomas Committee discriminated against the technical high schools. They were as well placed as any other type of school to provide pupils with a "generous and well balanced education".[105]

Mason and Beeby appreciated fully that the technical schools in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin could not continue much longer in their existing form; a good deal of space in *Education Today and Tomorrow* had been given over to a consideration of the future status of technical education and the technical high schools.[106] In his Report for 1943, Mason had declared: "In the four main centres, at least, [the technical schools] have come to the end of the path they have followed fairly consistently for forty years."[107] The urgent question was : How were they to be divided up? The Minister hoped that the Commission on Apprenticeship and Technical Education, due to sit in 1944, would provide the answer to this dilemma. The recommendations of the Commission, which reported in November, 1944, included the instituting of daylight training for apprentices;[108] the revising and extension of the scope of technological examinations; the including of representatives of technical education on dominion and local apprenticeship committees; and the introducing of bursaries for technical school students.[109] Plainly, if institutions which were already overcrowded were "to play an even bigger part in training for the skilled trades",[110] they would not be able to cater for as many high school pupils as they had done

previously. But where were the surplus high school pupils to go, and where were the financial resources and staff needed to provide for them to come from? These were questions which were to harass successive governments for at least the next fifteen years. It seemed likely that the smaller technical high schools would eventually develop into multicourse post-primary schools, but the prospect for the larger technical schools was not so clear. The chief conjectural point remained the Government's policy on industrial training and development.[111] Two further problems which continued to cause concern were the inadequacy of the training available to technical teachers, especially teachers of practical subjects, and the difficulty of keeping technical teachers in touch with the actual world of work.[112]

The publication of the Education (Post-primary Instruction) Regulations 1945 soon had the effect of breaking down the distinctions and divisions which had previously existed between secondary and technical schools. These two sectors of the post-primary service had actually been coming closer together in a number of ways since at least the early 40's. Now, with

> many secondary schools widening their curricula and offering programmes which were previously available only at technical schools ... sharp differentiation in function is ... to be found only in places where schools of different types exist side by side, and ... even in these circumstances, the gap tends to close.[113]

The Minister was bold enough to predict a coalescing of the two systems "in the not very distant future".[114] More potent integrating factors than ministerial predictions were, however, also at work. Reference will be made to some of these later in this chapter.

Correspondence School

From 1941 to 1945, the Correspondence School continued to grow in pupil numbers, as well as in the breadth of its curriculum provisions. A considerable development in the number and variety of practical subjects offered by the Correspondence School took place in 1944, with courses in commercial subjects, agriculture, homecrafts, and other art and craft options being made available for the first time.[115] The School was also extending its use of radio broadcast lessons; by 1944, it had two half-hour sessions at its disposal each week for this purpose.[116]

Teachers

Substantial increases in the number of teachers employed occurred following the raising of the school leaving age. Teacher totals remained fairly constant until 1942, when there was a drop of ninety-two on the number employed in the previous year. Nearly half of this decline was accounted for by a sharp reduction in the ranks of the technical school teachers, brought about by the demands of the war. Fortunately, this loss of teachers was balanced by a downturn in pupil numbers in the technical schools in 1942.[117] Table 24 gives details of the number of teachers (excluding principals) employed in all types of post-primary school as at December in each of the years from 1941 to 1945.

Early in 1942, the Department indicated that it was seriously considering the introduction of biennial grading for secondary teachers.[118] One of the reasons given for this proposal was the need to find time for the inspectors to undertake the new responsibility of considering the claims of candidates recommended by the schools for

TABLE 24

NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN ALL
TYPES OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL, 1941-1945

Schools	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Secondary schools	601	571	604	675	750
Combined schools	128	117	122	137	147
Technical schools	444	401	423	461	552
Sec. depts of district high schools	275	264	261	299	364
Correspondence School (Sec. dept)	46*	49	54	69	78
Totals	1494	1402	1464	1641	1891

* estimated

Source: E.1 Reports

accrediting for University Entrance. Teachers were assured that the change would not retard their average rate of promotion.[119] When the Department carried out a survey of the forty-six secondary and combined schools, only twelve expressed opposition to the concept of biennial grading,[120] which was formally introduced from 1943.[121]

In respect of salaries, post-primary teachers benefited from a new scale of payments which came into force on 1 February, 1944;[122] they received an average rise in salary of about 9 per cent. Much more significant in the long term than the actual amount of the increase, however, was the fact that the new scale applied to teachers in secondary and technical schools alike. This common salary scale eliminated a major difference between the two branches of the service, contributing substantially towards "the full amalgamation of the two [types of school], whose spheres are coming closer together every year".[123] Further regulations governing staffing and salaries introduced in 1944 resulted in the replacement of the old classification of assistant teachers in four groups (A, B, C, and D)

by a new classification scheme comprising five divisions or grades. The most senior category (grade V) would now include one-sixth of the teachers in each school. At the same time, a new appointment, that of first (or senior) assistant, with a small salary differential, was authorised in all post-primary schools with rolls of three hundred or more.[124] A further government initiative which benefited most teachers financially was the introduction, in 1945, of an improved teachers' superannuation scheme.[125] A major improvement in the conditions of service of technical teachers was effected, as from 1 December, 1943, by an amendment to their classification regulations abolishing the differentiation between teachers in division I (graduate) and division II (non-graduate).[126] For years, most teachers in technical schools had held that "these regulations embodied an unwarranted distinction"; they were, therefore, looked on as a "source of irritation".[127] Though the new scheme of classifying all technical school teachers in one division did not bring much immediate financial gain to the non-graduate teachers, it was, in the view of the Superintendent of Technical Education, "clearly a move in the right direction", and "an important step in the advancement of technical education".[128] In an effort to give teaching appointments in all types of school a greater degree of stability, a 1941 amendment to the Education Act required teachers to remain at least two years in any teaching position to which they were appointed.[129] This regulation, commonly called 'the two-year clause', is still in force.

In the area of the pre-service training of teachers, a significant move was made in 1944, when it was decided that all post-primary teacher training would thenceforth be carried out at Auckland Teachers' Training College. It was intended that this consolidation

should produce a strong secondary training school, making up for what had long been considered "the lack of adequate training for secondary teaching".[130] The numbers of teachers in this graduate section (Division C) remained small, however, with only twenty-four passing out of the Division in 1945.[131] A special type of training course was set up in 1943 to cater for girls who wished to become domestic science teachers, but were unwilling or unable to take the Otago University degree or diploma course in home science. The trainees would spend six months at a teachers' training college, followed by eighteen months in the home science department of a technical school. They would then serve for one year as probationary assistants in manual training centres, after which, if they had satisfied all the requirements of the course, they would receive a Homecraft Teachers' Certificate.[132] Approval was also given, in 1945, for the inauguration in the following year of a special course at Auckland Technical School to train twenty-five qualified woodwork and metalwork tradesmen to be teachers of their craft in technical schools and manual training centres.[133] A notable advance took place in the sphere of in-service teacher training when, for the first time, the Government put a sum (£1,000) on the estimates for 1944-45 for teachers' refresher courses. The first of these official courses (in post-primary social studies) was held in two locations in January, 1945.[134] Teachers from all types of post-primary school met together and discussed the implications of the proposed new programme in social studies;[135] the Minister asserted that he "... [knew] of no £1,000 spent to better effect".[136] The Teachers' Refresher Course Committee was also set up in 1945, with the approval and support of the Government. The motto of the Committee - 'Refresher courses for teachers run by teachers' - spoke for itself. For the 1945-46 year,

the grant for teachers' refresher courses was increased to £2,000.[137] Courses, each lasting a week, were planned for January, 1946 in general science (at two locations, one in the North Island and one in the South) and physical education. A course, to be held at Lincoln College, was also arranged for teachers of agriculture. These opportunities for professional renewal were welcomed by post-primary teachers; once again, there was a heavy demand for places at the 1946 courses.[138] Writing in *Education Today and Tomorrow*, with reference to teacher training, Mason had stated: "The Government will concentrate on the training of teachers both before service and in service to enable them to meet the greatly extended demands now made upon them."[139] The events of 1944 and 1945 alone would suggest that the Government was in earnest when it gave this undertaking.

As far as appointments to teaching positions were concerned, versatility remained at a premium, as the following advertisements from the *Education Gazette* showed: "District High School (Secondary Department). Master or mistress. Ability to teach Latin, English, and Geography to Higher Leaving Certificate standard. Successful applicant will also be required to organise physical education and school games throughout the secondary department" (15 March 1944); "Technical College. Assistant mistress, grade IV. To teach general science, dressmaking, needlework, cooking and physiology. Ability to assist with general subjects, school music and singing would be an advantage. Participation in outside activities essential" (16 April, 1945). Further, for some teaching appointments a measure of exclusiveness lingered on. For example, Otago Girls' High School required its applicants to be graduates of a university of the British Empire.[140] Also, teaching positions involving work at more than one

school were still encountered in the mid-40's.[141] Advertisements for assistant teachers in the *Education Gazette* at that time quite frequently stated the maximum salary payable,[142] while it was not uncommon to require applications to be accompanied by a letter in the applicant's own handwriting.[143] From 1942 until 1946, teachers were subject to the directions of their local Manpower Officer, who had the power to require them to undertake essential work in the summer holidays.[144] Manpower Officers could also approve or disapprove appointments to teaching positions, and decide when a teacher could take up a new appointment.[145]

In his Report for 1945, the Minister stated: "It has been the Government's consistent policy to consult the teachers' official organisations before taking any major step in education, and to invite them to take a part, wherever possible, in the actual planning."[146] This official willingness to seek teachers' opinions was shared by the university authorities. Evidence of this approach in action could be seen in connection with the rewriting of the University Entrance English prescription by a sub-committee of the Entrance Board in 1942. Gordon reported that:

> [The committee] had before them the views of the English staff of virtually every major post-primary school in the country, and determined that nothing should be included [in the new syllabus] that was unacceptable to the majority of the profession.[147]

Without a doubt, teachers as a group were slowly but surely becoming a force to be reckoned with - not yet very significant politically, but moving in the direction of becoming so. The formation of the first teachers' subject associations in 1946[148] strengthened the teachers' hand still further.

Pupils

The composition of post-primary school rolls changed markedly after the raising of the school leaving age, with substantial increases not only in the numbers of pupils entering the schools, but also in the range of academic abilities represented by those pupils. As has already been noted, a high proportion of the extra pupils brought into the post-primary schools by the raising of the school leaving age proved to be short stayers, so that, although more pupils were remaining for a third, fourth, and even fifth year of post-primary schooling, the average length of school life in 1945 was, in fact, shorter than it had been in 1935. Table 25 gives details of the average length of school life of pupils in the different types of post-primary school from 1941 to 1945. The 1935 figures are also given by way of comparison.

TABLE 25

AVERAGE LENGTH OF SCHOOL LIFE OF PUPILS IN
ALL TYPES OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL FOR 1935 AND 1941-1945

Left in	Sec.		Comb.		Tech.		Sec. dept D.H.S.		All post-primary	
	y	m	y	m	y	m	y	m	y	m
1935	2	10	2	8	2	2	2	3	2	6
1941	2	10	2	8	2	3	2	5	2	6
1942	2	11	2	8	2	2	2	5	2	6
1943	2	10	2	8	2	2	2	3	2	6
1944	2	11	2	9	2	3	2	4	2	7
1945	2	10	2	7	2	2	2	2	2	5

Source: E.1 Reports

For the pupils, the five years from 1941 to 1945 were a time of penny trails and cake stalls for the war effort; of food rationing and clothing coupons; of blackouts and transport restrictions; of crowded

classrooms and shortages of equipment; of relieving teachers and air-raid drills; of school milk and school apples; of international essay competitions[149] and local surveys; of the School Library Service and radio broadcasts; of extended curriculum offerings and better vocational guidance services; and of more active learning and less passive listening. In many ways, 1945 represented the end of an era for post-primary school pupils. In the years ahead, their school world was destined never to be quite the same again.

Conclusion (1941-1945)

In spite of the war (and, to some degree, because of it), the period from 1941-1945 was one of marked economic growth in New Zealand, as was evidenced by the country's ability "... to absorb thousands of ex-servicemen into the labour force without the occurrence of unemployment. There were still more jobs than hands".[150] It was also a time of considerable population mobility, prompted, to a very large extent, by the "unremitting advance of urbanisation".[151] These two factors had an appreciable effect on the post-primary schools. Roll numbers continued to grow[152] (notwithstanding the pressing demands for adolescent labour), bringing in their wake acute accommodation problems, especially in Auckland, and, to a lesser extent, the other main centres. Also, at the same time as ex-servicemen were struggling to re-adjust themselves to the classroom environment, teachers were being challenged as never before, especially by the claims of the new post-primary curriculum.[153] By 1945, exciting developments were taking place in a number of schools, though the attitude of many teachers, especially in the secondary schools, tended to remain authoritarian. Corporal punishment was

still firmly in place (and rarely questioned); an enduring atmosphere of tension between teachers and pupils was discernible in innumerable classrooms. Moreover, although school programmes were being drastically overhauled to respond more effectively to the needs and interests of the average pupil, the whole field of special education was being grossly neglected. At the same time, articulation with the primary service remained extremely poor. Most post-primary teachers seemed indifferent to what their pupils had learned, and how they had been taught, at primary school, while many primary teachers felt resentful of the superior status accorded their post-primary counterparts, even though they considered that primary school work demanded a higher degree of professional skill. (They teach subjects: we teach children.)[154] Complex problems facing the post-primary schools continued to be viewed simplistically by some educationists (including, at times, the Minister). This was apparent in the persistence of the view that all post-primary pupils could be neatly classified as 'academic' or 'practical', and catered for accordingly.[155] On the other hand, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research[156] was encouraging post-primary school administrators and teachers to take a hard look at the system, and think about its directions, by promoting the publication of a number of surveys, including H.C. McQueen's *Vocational Guidance in New Zealand* (1940), J. Nicol's *The Technical Schools of New Zealand* (1940), J.H. Murdoch's *The High Schools of New Zealand* (1943), and R. Winterbourn's *Educating Backward Children in New Zealand* (1944).

It can be said with some degree of confidence that a great deal was done in the five years from 1941 to 1945 to bring closer to

reality the consistently promoted ideal of equality of educational opportunity.[157] The broadening of the post-primary curriculum, and the introduction of the new School Certificate as a result of the recommendations of the Thomas Committee; the provision in state schools of post-primary education for Maoris; the increase in the number of district high schools; the consolidation of small schools; the growth of school transport services; the provision of boarding and special bursaries; and the expansion of opportunities for education by correspondence[158] all attested to the Government's resolve to maintain a positive attitude to the principle of equal opportunity for all in education.

Summary (Part Two)

The intention of this part has been to trace the development of post-primary education in the first decade of the Labour Government's term of office, a period when "... New Zealand passed through a series of experiences which had a profound effect on the character of the country".[159] Details have been given of the legislative, financial, and other moves taken by the Government to improve the range and quality of the educational services made available to the post-primary schools. Reference has also been made to significant forums which took place during those years, notably the New Education Fellowship Conference of 1937. In the survey covering the years 1941 to 1945, a number of themes of overriding importance have been considered in some detail. These include the raising of the school leaving age; University Entrance and accrediting; the Thomas Report and the new School Certificate; and the post-primary education of the Maori. However, once again, a major thrust of part two has been an attempt to

examine the policies, procedures, and characteristics of the post-primary schools of the time, and to give some account of what it was like to be a teacher or a pupil at a post-primary school in those days.

Part three will cover the period 1946 to 1959, from the beginning of the full implementation of the Thomas Report to the retirement of Dr Beeby, and the constituting of the Currie Commission. These years of unprecedented expansion in the sphere of post-primary education were a time when it seemed that qualitative improvements to the system were in danger of being crowded out altogether by the incessant and compelling demands being made on the Government and the Department to provide new schools and produce more teachers.

PART THREE : 1946-1959

Introduction

Education did not have a particularly high public profile between 1946 and 1959, in spite of the very considerable changes which were taking place in the schools. It is significant, for example, that W.H. Oliver, in *The Story of New Zealand*, made hardly any reference at all to education in that part of the book dealing with the period from the end of the war to 1960.[1] Rather, economic, social, and political issues were the dominant topics of the day. Throughout the immediate post-war years and the 50's, the New Zealand economy remained buoyant. There was full employment until the late 60's;[2] the prosperity already evident was enhanced in the 50's by the wool boom precipitated by the Korean War,[3] and by the decision of the British Government in 1957 to give New Zealand dairy produce unrestricted, duty-free access into Britain for the ensuing ten years.[4] Socially, the period saw the introduction of the universal family benefit in 1946, the first performance of the New Zealand National Orchestra in 1947, the end of most rationing by 1950, and both the visit of the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh in 1953 and the return visit of the Duke in 1956.[5] A major development of the 50's was the steady growth of the concept of New Zealand as a multiracial society. In the realm of politics, the long reign of the Labour Government came to an end in December, 1949, when National began an eight-year occupancy of the treasury benches. Labour returned to power in December, 1957.

The determination of the Government to promote the principle of the equality of educational opportunity was reinforced by the proclamation, in December, 1948, of the Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26 of which stated that everyone had the right to an education.[6] Although

this right had long been accepted in New Zealand, education authorities were hard pressed in the fifteen years which followed the war to provide accommodation and teachers for the vastly increased numbers of young people who crowded into the post-primary schools. It was almost a case of "quality ... being threatened by quantity".[7] For the schools themselves, the 50's represented a transitional phase between the smaller, personal schools which characterised the 30's and 40's, and the larger, impersonal schools of the 60's and 70's.[8] It was also a time when girls began to reap a more equitable share of the benefits of education.[9]

The expansion of the post-primary school system will be considered in chapter 7. Chapter 8 will deal with the new curriculum in operation. Two themes - the control of post-primary schools, and the teaching profession - will be discussed in chapter 9. Chapter 10 will cover technical education, and the post-primary education of the Maori, as well as giving an account of various measures undertaken by the Government to extend the range and availability of educational services, and to effect improvements to the system. In chapter 11, attention will be directed towards the ideals, the problems, and the achievements of the schools of the day, with special reference to the boys and girls who attended them, and to the communities they served.

7

THE EXPANSION OF THE POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

The post-primary school population explosion and its effect on the schools[10]

Prior to 1946, the post-primary school system in New Zealand had certainly had its problems, and not a few crises, some of them of quite serious proportions. However, it is no exaggeration to suggest that all of these earlier difficulties paled into insignificance in comparison with the task facing the Government and the Education Department in the 50's of coping with the enormous increase in the number of pupils seeking entry to the post-primary schools. As table 26 shows, there was little change in school rolls between 1946 and 1948.[11] However, in 1949, a sharp rise in roll numbers heralded the beginning of a period of expansion which continued unabated for twenty years, but at no time with more dramatic intensity than in the 50's. Thousands of extra pupils flooded into the post-primary schools each year, the influx reaching a peak in the years 1953 to 1955, when school rolls went up by nearly 18,000. Another peak occurred in 1959, when roll numbers were 6,852 higher than they had been in the previous year - an increase equivalent to the total roll of ten moderately large post-primary schools. Successive Ministers and the Director were well aware of the nature and the seriousness of the situation. Throughout the 50's, they continued to emphasise the immediacy, the urgency, and the sheer size of the two critical problems they faced: the provision of buildings to accommodate the vastly increased numbers of post-primary pupils, and the need to recruit and train sufficient teachers.

The following extracts from E.1 Reports of the 1950's illustrate officialdom's difficulties:

> So .. now the problem is upon us with pressing urgency. Entirely new centres of population are springing up as State houses are built in their thousands. Take Naenae, Porirua, and Tamaki as examples. Some other established centres have shown unusual growth. Upper Hutt, Papakura, and Henderson may be mentioned in this connection. All such centres have a claim upon us for their own adequate and efficient post-primary facilities. Such is the magnitude of this problem that we now see a specific and urgent need for at least a couple of dozen new post-primary schools and we have to express the hope that the building resources - and our taxpayers - will be able to meet so unprecedented a situation.[12]
>
> I have said before - and it will bear repetition - that the problem of providing for the material needs of our well based system of national education is one that has assumed staggering dimensions.[13]
>
> The problem of providing places in the schools for all our children continues to overshadow all other problems.[14]
>
> The educational horizon continues to be dominated by problems arising from sheer increase in numbers.[15]
>
> The demand for new schools continues unabated, but ... we are fully equipped to carry out a still larger programme of post-primary building.[16]
>
> The most powerful single factor influencing the post-primary schools is the phenomenal growth of the school population.[17]
>
> These two major problems - the building of schools and the training of teachers - will continue for some years to engage the close attention of all concerned with the administration and management of the education system.[18]

Post-primary school rolls almost doubled between 1946 and 1959 (table 26). To accommodate this upsurge in pupil numbers, seventy-two post-primary schools were opened during this period. Of these, six were the result of large coeducational schools being divided into single-sex boys' and girls' schools;[19] thirty-four were former secondary departments of district high schools translated to full post-primary status; and thirty-two were completely new post-primary

TABLE 26

1 JULY ROLLS IN ALL TYPES OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL, 1946-1959

Type of school	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Secondary schools	19,389	19,169	19,116	19,749	20,571	21,539	22,889	25,108	31,781	36,543	39,073	44,268	48,783	55,164
Combined schools	3,648	3,670	3,651	3,779	3,789	3,830	4,079	4,370	4,871	5,244	5,359	5,428	5,371	5,435
Technical schools	13,821	14,393	14,082	14,285	15,566	16,766	17,944	20,106	20,027	20,144	21,198	19,231	18,984	19,869
Secondary departments of district high schools	7,724	7,629	7,938	8,427	8,023	8,260	8,931	9,718	9,410	9,978	9,593	9,781	9,532	9,012
Secondary department of Correspondence School	839	767	778	671	586	566	530	536	549	530	549	464	469	507
Form 3 pupils at public primary schools	212	140	109	182	42	80	70	81	55	23	25	36	18	23
Form 3 pupils at intermediate schools	353	333	288	231	264	239	220	173	185	133	93	91	29	28
Four 4 pupils at intermediate schools	50	55	34	41	19	48	61	83	70	75	38	44	-	-
Totals	46,036	46,156	45,996	47,365	48,860	51,328	54,724	60,175	66,948	72,670	75,928	79,343	83,186	90,038
Annual increase/decrease	+623	+120	-160	+1,369	+1,495	+2,468	+3,396	+5,451	+6,773	+5,722	+3,258	+3,415	+3,843	+6,852
Cumulative increase/ decrease	623	743	583	1,952	3,447	5,915	9,311	14,762	21,535	27,257	30,515	33,930	37,773	44,625

Source: E.2 and E.1 Reports

schools. For every one new school provided in the South Island, three were built in the North Island, an indication that the urban drift northwards, which had been gathering momentum during the war, was now well launched. Most of the new post-primary schools in the metropolitan areas expanded very quickly, their rolls often exceeding 750 within three or four years of their foundation. For example, Naenae College (Wellington), opened in 1953, had 759 pupils on its roll in 1956; Selwyn College (Auckland) grew to 758 within four years; Mount Roskill Grammar School (Auckland) had 940 pupils four years after it opened; Linwood High School (Christchurch) had 811 pupils in its fifth year of operation; and the roll of another Christchurch post-primary school, Cashmere High School, climbed from 192 when it opened in 1956 to 974 by 1959.[20] The translated secondary departments of rural district high schools grew more slowly. For example, Matamata College took eight years to add a hundred pupils to its opening-day roll, while Dargaville High School, after ten years of operation, still had a roll of only 404. On the other hand, some former district high schools experienced quite rapid growth. Whakatane High School, established (like Dargaville High School) in 1950, had a roll of 692 by 1959; Te Awamutu College, opened in 1947 with a roll of 281, had 685 pupils by 1959. One translated district high school, Tauranga College, became so large within ten years of its opening in 1946 that it was divided into separate boys' and girls' colleges in 1958. The combined rolls of Tauranga Boys' and Girls' Colleges in 1959 were 1,181.

In the meantime, almost all of the older-established secondary schools had also been going through a period of equally dramatic expansion. At Wellington Girls' College the 1950 roll of just on 600

soared to 976 within five years. The School felt it was "being overwhelmed by numbers".[21] Timaru Girls' High School doubled in size in the twelve years from 1948 to 1960;[22] Thames High School had twice as many pupils in 1960 as it had had in 1945;[23] while Rangiora High School, already "... feeling severely the pressure of numbers"[24] in 1948, had nearly three times as many pupils by the early 60's. Some secondary schools tried to limit growth by cutting out courses;[25] others resorted to restricting enrolments, but to little avail. Otago Girls' High School regularly limited its intake in the late 40's and early 50's, but the roll kept rising;[26] Southland Girls' High School's numbers passed the 600 mark in 1960, even though the board of governors had consistently placed restrictions on enrolments.[27] Where this expedient was adopted, there was always the problem of deciding how entrants would be selected. At Christchurch Girls' High School,

> ... an order of priority was established: sisters of [present] pupils; sisters of past pupils; daughters of past pupils; girls living in a defined area; and, for any remaining places, girls selected by ballot. These last two categories were later modified to take into consideration distance from the school, public transport, and the availability of courses. Since applications continued to be too high, form 2 reports were also considered. Nothing ever stemmed the flow ....[28]

In 1946, the four largest secondary schools had rolls ranging from 804 to 908; by 1954, there were ten secondary schools which had more pupils than the largest of the 1946 schools. Seven of those ten had rolls in excess of 1,000.[29] Nor were all of these schools in the four main centres. In 1946, Gisborne High School was already the third largest secondary school in New Zealand; by 1955, its roll had reached 1,173. In the following year, it was split into two single-sex schools, as was Hastings High School (1955 roll - 1,102).[30] At the same time, the combined schools were also gaining steadily in numbers.

By 1959, the largest of them, New Plymouth Boys' High School, had a roll of 1,019 compared with 607 in 1950, while Wairarapa College's roll increased from 609 in 1950 to 983 in 1959.

Most of the traditional technical schools[31] had always been fairly large,[32] but their rolls became even larger in the early 50's. A number of provincial technical schools whose rolls had been quite modest in the mid-40's had enrolments in the seven, eight, and nine hundreds by the mid-50's. In the lower part of the South Island, some schools in all three categories did remain relatively small[33] in this period, but even these were all larger (some of them much larger) in 1959 than they had been in 1946. Westport Technical School, with a 1946 roll of 161, had grown, with many ups and downs, to 335 by 1959. Amongst the secondary schools, Waimate High School's roll did not top 300 until 1959, while the rolls of Ashburton High School and South Otago High School were 306 and 327 respectively in 1956. Table 27, which sets out the number of secondary/combined and technical schools in the different size categories over the years from 1946 to 1959, illustrates the striking increase in the number of big schools in that period.[34] Note, for example, that between 1946 and 1959 the number of schools with from 750 to 999 pupils increased more than four-fold; in addition, in 1959, there were three times as many secondary and combined schools with rolls of between 500 and 749 as there had been in 1946. The question of the optimum size for post-primary schools was often raised in the early 50's. In his Report for 1952, the Chief Inspector gave it as his opinion that: "A roll of between 450 and 650 is now commonly regarded as very satisfactory for most purposes; and up to 800 in the case of large technical schools which are coeducational and multilateral".[35] The irony of the situation was

TABLE 27

SIZE OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1946-1959, AS AT 1 JULY

Size	Type of School	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
More than 1,000	Sec./Comb.	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	7	9	6	5	5	4
	Tech.	4	4	3	3	4	3	5	6	6	6	6	4	3	3
750-999	Sec./Comb.	4	4	4	4	8	11	11	12	10	9	11	14	13	18
	Tech.	2	3	3	3	3	4	3	2	4	5	5	7	9	8
500-749	Sec./Comb.	15	15	15	15	11	11	13	15	24	26	30	33	40	45
	Tech.	5	4	4	5	6	8	7	8	7	7	7	7	4	6
400-499	Sec./Comb.	9	10	12	12	13	12	11	10	8	11	12	14	12	14
	Tech.	2	2	4	5	2	4	5	7	2	2	4	1	3	4
300-399	Sec./Comb.	13	11	11	11	11	8	6	6	4	5	8	10	15	15
	Tech.	8	8	6	6	8	5	6	5	7	8	9	8	6	7
200-299	Sec./Comb.	6	6	5	4	3	4	4	4	5	4	3	2	7	6
	Tech.	1	4	6	3	6	6	4	4	8	5	5	5	8	7
Fewer than 200	Sec./Comb.	–	1	–	1	1	1	–	–	1	2	3	9	4	2
	Tech.	3	3	2	3	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	–
Totals	Sec./Comb.	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	49	59	66	73	87	96	104
	Tech.	25	28	28	28	29	30	30	33	34	33	36	33	34	35

Source: E.2 Reports until 1952; thereafter E.1 Reports

that, even at the time he was making this statement, 34 per cent of the secondary and combined schools in New Zealand already had rolls in excess of 650, and 23 per cent of the technical schools had more than 800 pupils; in 1959, the corresponding percentages were 33 and 31 respectively.

The provision of buildings

The problem of providing sufficient school buildings to house the burgeoning post-primary population, as well as furnishing the older schools with the specialist accommodation they needed to teach the new curriculum, bedevilled the Government and the Education Department throughout the 50's, and well beyond. Long before he handed over the education portfolio to T.H. McCombs in October, 1947, Mason had realised and acknowledged that prefabricated general purpose classrooms were by no means the complete answer to the urgent need for more school accommodation. In his Report for 1945, he indicated that the Government would try to provide halls and gymnasia for post-primary schools, as well as workshops, laboratories, and practical and other special rooms. Libraries were also proposed for the larger schools, and more hostels were promised.[36] The Minister conceded that, irrespective of whether rolls went up or not, the introduction of a curriculum with changed emphases entailed the provision of the proper resources for teaching it: "The recognition that education is more than pencil and paper work with large, passive classes has, of itself, created an enormous building programme."[37]

Teaching space at most of the older schools was at a premium throughout this period. In 1946, the headmaster of Whakatane District

High School complained: "One laboratory is inadequate to cope with 250 science students, particularly when it serves as an ordinary classroom as well."[38] As late as the mid-50's, Christchurch Girls' High School still needed an assembly hall, a library, specialist rooms for geography, social studies, music, and crafts, an office for the first assistant, an office for the careers adviser, improved staffroom accommodation, a new sick bay, and a prefects' room.[39] It is hardly surprising that the headmistress expressed her concern, in her Annual Report for 1954, at "the grossly overcrowded and inconvenient conditions under which teachers and pupils work".[40] When J.F. Moffat arrived at Rangiora High School to take over the principalship in 1949, he found that "... classroom accommodation, never plentiful, was grossly overtaxed, especially in specialist areas, [and] equipment was in pathetically short supply".[41] In 1948, overcrowding at Otago Girls' High School was already "becoming increasingly serious";[42] in 1950, the authorities at Timaru Girls' High School were so worried about the serious overcrowding and the totally inadequate classrooms and special purpose rooms that they sent a deputation to Wellington to wait on the Minister, and "press for urgency in the matter of new classrooms".[43] A year later, the congestion at the School was reported to be as bad as ever.[44] Shortage of accommodation in 1954 forced the Wellington Technical College, for the first time in its history, to limit the number of first-year engineering pupils it could accept.[45] In 1955, Mount Albert Grammar School with 1,000 pupils had two permanent classrooms fewer than it had had when the roll was 500.[46] At Nelson College for Girls, accommodation in the late 40's was in such short supply that, in 1948, "... another sunless and ill-ventilated cloakroom had to be turned into a classroom". The School's centennial historian added: "The fact that this post-war problem of

overcrowding was shared by schools all over the Dominion did not make it any easier."[47] At other schools, lessons were given in even less conventional places. In the early 50's, Rangiora High School's one custom-built laboratory (which itself dated from 1909) was supplemented by "a small sixth-form laboratory built in the kitchen of what had once been the hostel dining room...".[48] At the same school, "... the few wanderers who took languages were at times accommodated in the kitchenette of the model flat ...".[49] Other "odd corners of the School" used for small classes included the dump (sic), and the women's common room.[50] These were but some examples of the "... profitless juggling and manoeuvring that was demanded if pupils were to be found a room anywhere"[51] at Rangiora High School at that time. At Southland Girls' High School,

> ... even the caretaker ... had to share his room with sixth-form mathematics classes. A little tight group of desks was pushed into the centre of hammers, disinfectants, gardening tools and stepladders, and the problems of higher mathematics were illustrated on a small blackboard propped against the clustered equipment for cleaning.[52]

Evidently, accommodation problems at Southland Girls' persisted, since the headmistress, in her Report for 1960, declared: "... it is difficult to believe that the Department is fully cognisant of the intolerable conditions schools are working in."[53] In many schools, inadequate accommodation made the conducting of assemblies especially difficult. As the 40's gave way to the 50's, school after school found that its assembly area (usually the hall) was no longer large enough to accommodate the whole school. By the mid-50's, split assemblies had become common; even then, some schools soon reached the point where both assemblies were "uncomfortably crowded".[54] Other schools resorted to removing the seats from the hall so that more

pupils could be crammed in.[55] As a result, in assemblies at Christchurch Girls' High School, "... third and fourth formers, sitting cross-legged on the floor, were so tightly packed in that, if anyone fainted, she could not fall; the only sign would be a dropped head".[56] Christchurch Girls' was even denied the alternative of conducting its assemblies outside in fine weather, "... because there was no longer a large enough area left unencumbered by buildings or bicycle-stands".[57] At Napier Girls' High School, "... as the School grew, the old assembly hall-gymnasium could not contain everyone, even squashed together on the floor, and classes took it in turns to stay in their rooms, and hear assembly over the inter-com".[58] Nor were the pupils the only ones to suffer from the inadequate and unsuitable school facilities which characterised the late 40's and early 50's. Staff quarters were not infrequently quite primitive,[59] and even principals were not exempt from the inconveniences occasioned by the shortage of space. For example, at Nelson College for Girls, "... the headmistress shared her office with the secretary and the school duplicator until 1955".[60] As roll numbers increased relentlessly, some schools also experienced "the problem of an expanding school outgrowing its grounds";[61] while others were obliged to work hard to preserve and, if possible, enlarge what little playing space they had.[62]

Faced with this situation, the Government plainly intended, at least in the immediate post-war years, to do what it could without spending too much money, so that, in 1946 and 1947, many of the older-established post-primary schools were fobbed off with what could only be described as makeshift extra accommodation contrived from steel huts and various other types of buildings previously used by the armed

services.[63] These structures were given a new (and, not infrequently, long) lease of life at numerous post-primary schools as assembly halls, engineering shops, woodwork rooms, and even gymnasia.[64] Needless to say, such buildings were nearly always aesthetically displeasing, and often they were also functionally inadequate. Nevertheless, the Minister, in 1947, seemed pleased with his Department's efforts: "... great, and often ingenious, use has been made during the year of disused buildings originally erected for war purposes and now adapted for a wide variety of school uses."[65] Whatever their shortcomings, these buildings did provide more space quickly for teaching and for practical activities. The same could be said in defence of the other mainstay of the Government's school building programme of the late 40's and early 50's, the prefabricated general purpose classroom. Hundreds of these rooms, with their ill-fitting doors, rattling windows, uneven floors, primitive heating, and problems of access in wet weather, were erected from the mid-40's onwards; as a school's accommodation difficulties became more acute, so did its prefabs (as they soon came to be called) become more numerous. Mount Albert Grammar School received twelve prefabs in the period from 1945 to 1955. Their location at the School was known as 'Shanty Town', and the editor of the School's golden jubilee history noted that these prefabs were "destined to desecrate the school grounds" until 1968.[66] The post-Thomas enrolment boom at Takapuna Grammar School also "... meant the insidious spread of prefabricated buildings which extended not only to every available piece of land, but finally even along the main entrance, until they totalled twenty-nine". The proliferation of prefabricated buildings at Takapuna Grammar had far-reaching consequences: "So incensed were the staff and the parents by this blot on the landscape that the agitation for

their own board of governors gained fresh impetus."[67] Apart from providing prefabricated classrooms, the Department also made use of an extensive range of other stopgap devices. Phrases like 'as a short-term measure', and 'to deal with an immediate crisis' were quite often used in accounts of school building operations carried out between 1946 and 1959, while converting any available unused spaces into classrooms was plainly an expediency which was frequently adopted.[68] Schools fortunate enough to get new buildings rejoiced: "The new wing was a joy after all those difficult years of having classrooms in old houses, and workmen as semi-permanent residents in the grounds."[69] Rarely, however, were the schools given everything they claimed they needed, and sometimes rejoicing was tempered with reservations: "The new building is altogether a very attractive and welcome addition to the School. All we need now is a new hall, a home science block, baths, an extended green, and a few other trifles, and we shall be really happy."[70] In other cases, the pleasure of obtaining new accommodation was short-lived, as increasing roll numbers quickly surpassed the capacity of the recent acquisition. Within three years of obtaining a new science block, in 1952, Timaru Girls' High School was asking for the block to be extended.[71] Southland Girls' High School moved into a completely new school in 1948. By 1953, the new school, designed for a maximum roll of 550, could not accommodate all the pupils, the school roll, by that time, having reached 608. Soon afterwards, the first prefabs began to arrive.[72] Similarly, when a ten-year building plan at Rangiora High School was nearly completed, in 1960, "there was still a serious accommodation problem";[73] in other words, the new buildings were not even keeping up with the increasing demand for accommodation, let alone providing for future expansion.

A feature of the Department's school building operations at the older schools was the seemingly interminable delays which plagued almost every undertaking. Thus, at Nelson College for Girls, work began, in 1959, on a new hostel, "after the usual delays";[74] at Otago Girls' High School, in 1956, new buildings were planned, but "there were the customary delays".[75] Work on a new block at Rangiora High School in 1950 was described as being carried out " ... at what might charitably be called a leisurely pace",[76] while the completion of the interior of the new assembly hall at Christchurch Boys' High School took four years from the time the Government granted a permit for the work to go ahead.[77] Judging from the recorded experiences of a number of schools, a time lapse of from two to four years between first plans and final occupancy was by no means unusual.[78] Even reaching the planning stage could take years, and prove to be a "protracted and exhausting task".[79] The centennial chronicler of Napier Boys' High School noted: "From 1946 to 1952, there was a constant exchange of correspondence between the [school] board and the Department for much needed teaching space, and plans presented were amended,[80] deferred, and seldom approved."[81] The reasons for the delays were quite evident. First, because there was constant pressure on the Government to give existing schools more buildings, "... delaying tactics were inevitable".[82] Second, the building of new schools was bound to be given priority: "... between ideas and reality fell the shadow of the Education Department trying to cope with an explosive demand for the funding of new secondary schools throughout New Zealand."[83] However, understanding why the delays occurred did not necessarily make them any more palatable. Nor were the schools' troubles over when construction work started. The centennial chronicler of Nelson College for Girls, herself principal of the College for twenty years,

described her School's predicament in the 50's in words which would have struck a familiar chord in schools up and down the country:

> ... fighting for buildings and planning for buildings was one of the keynotes of the 50's; but what was more evident to those working at the School during this period were the cramped conditions, the number of sub-standard classrooms, the lack of normal school facilities, and, when building operations did begin, the mud, the noise, the disrupted lines of communication, the time it could take to get from one place to another because of this, and the periodic loss of the use of classrooms ....[84]

The wonder was that schools accepted these conditions with such equanimity. Perhaps H.A. Heron, principal of Wellington College throughout the 50's, had the answer: "During an extensive building programme, we managed along well enough with that good will and good humour which the prospect of better things often engenders."[85]

As far as new school buildings were concerned, the Government was slow to commit itself to action, and, to some extent, this state of affairs could be justified. The school building programme had, inevitably, been severely cut back during the war years. Once the war was over, priority was given, again understandably, to the country's housing needs. Furthermore, essential building materials and the necessary labour force remained in short supply for some years after the war. With the exception of schools at Tauranga and Kaitaia, the Government did not build a single completely new post-primary school between 1940 and 1953. It bought a large building from the American Forces, which eventually housed Avondale College, while a former military hospital was converted to accommodate Northland College. Apart from that, as the Minister admitted, the Government "... relied upon the extension of existing buildings, or upon the provision of prefabricated rooms".[86] Since all but one of the ten post-primary

schools opened between 1946 and 1951 were translated district high schools, the 'extension of existing buildings' policy served well enough. However, from 1953 onwards, the need to build completely new schools, particularly in the fast-growing government housing estates in Auckland and Wellington, forced the Government to intensify its efforts to devise and implement suitable plans for constructing post-primary schools which could be erected quickly[87] and at a reasonable cost. In the early 50's, two plans were in common use: one, a two-storey building designed to house about 800 pupils, and the other, a smaller wooden structure accommodating 350 to 500 pupils.[88] A number of schools were built to these plans between 1952 and 1955.[89] Until 1953, efforts were made to provide schools with gymnasia (six were actually erected that year), but so intense had the pressure on the Government to produce classrooms become that it was decided that no further halls or gymnasia would be built as from 1954. The Director also noted wryly: "... the plans for these buildings have a distressing habit, under pressure from teachers and boards, of becoming elaborate and expensive."[90] In an extended statement on the provision of new school buildings in his Report for 1954, the Director predicted that post-primary building demands would increase very quickly, reaching a peak in 1961. By that time, twice as much accommodation would be needed as had been available in the whole post-primary system in 1950. Because there was an urgent need both to build at a faster rate, and to reduce the unit cost,[91] the Government sent a team of three departmental officers to England to study school building methods which had been evolved by the Ministry of Education.[92] The brief of the departmental team was to determine how further savings could be made in building costs without sacrificing educational facilities. The officers' success was such that Beeby

declared: "... a new chapter in the story of school buildings in New Zealand began with their return ...."[93] The essence of the proposed new design was extremely simple - reduce corridor space to an absolute minimum. For post-primary schools, the new plan resulted in the 'Porirua' or 'exploded' model,[94] which consisted of independent blocks of six rooms containing related specialist rooms and some ordinary classrooms, with a northern aspect. One block would incorporate an assembly hall, administrative offices, and a staffroom.[95] Tenders were called in October, 1955 for the first school building to be constructed to the new plan at Porirua. Before the end of the year, contracts had been let for a further eight schools to be built to the same design. The first of these schools were opened in 1957; in spite of some criticisms, most principals appeared to favour the new type of school building.[96] The major drawback of the design was the problem it presented in getting from Block A to Block B (or, worse still, Block E) in wet weather. Covered ways were plainly the answer, but they were very rarely provided. The 'Porirua' model did, indeed, prove to be a money-saver. A 'block' plan school <u>with</u> an assembly hall could be built for 15 per cent less than it cost to build a standard type post-primary school <u>without</u> a hall. To its credit, the Cabinet, when it was advised of this fact, promptly reversed its earlier decision to postpone the building of halls. Thus, as Beeby pointed out, "... some of the savings made on the new design were ploughed back into the schools".[97] Following this 1955 policy change, considerable progress was recorded with the construction of halls at post-primary schools. By the end of 1957, twenty-two older schools had had halls built or authorised, and contracts had been let or halls completed at twenty new schools.[98] The Government continued to provide existing post-primary schools with halls at the rate of five

or six a year, so that by December, 1959, only one school in ten in the whole country was without a hall. In 1955, the Government also gave a boost to the building of gymnasia at post-primary schools by making available a subsidy of £1 for £1 up to a maximum of £4,000 on monies raised for this purpose by the schools themselves.[99]

By 1957, the Department's architects were working on a two-storeyed version of the 'block' design comprising twelve rooms (subsequently known as the 'Nelson' plan). At the same time, the Ministry of Works provided a completely new type of 'linear' (or 'back to back') plan, based on a double-loaded corridor.[100] The two-storeyed 'block' design won the support of the School Buildings Advisory Committee, and only a very small number of linears were built.[101] "The 'Nelson'-type school, which is the best standard plan yet provided, will be used for the next four to five years,"[102] declared the Minister, in August, 1960. Many schools which were opened in the 60's were built to this plan. 'Nelson' blocks were also erected at existing schools where a substantial amount of additional accommodation was needed. As the demand for new school buildings increased in intensity in the late 50's,[103] the Government was obliged to devote more and more resources to the task of providing the necessary accommodation. What this represented in terms of capital outlay is set out in table 28, which details expenditure on post-primary school buildings, sites, and equipment for the years 1946 to 1959. The amounts set out in this table do not include minor capital expenditure on buildings, grounds, furniture, and equipment; improvements to school grounds and approaches; or maintenance of buildings, grounds, furniture, and equipment.[104] Expenditure under these three headings amounted to a further £90,296 in 1947; £180,439

in 1950; £437,528 in 1953; £645,041 in 1956; and £722,220 in 1959.[105]

Table 28

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SITES, AND EQUIPMENT, 1946-1959*

		£
For year ending 31 March,	1947	289,993
	1948	208,159
	1949	469,790
	1950	480,414
	1951	640,691
	1952	900,464
	1953	1,986,800
	1954	2,269,592
	1955	2,221,569
	1956	2,569,080
	1957	2,973,751
	1958	3,316,346
	1959	2,616,873
	1960	3,306,990

Source: E.1 Reports

* No account has been taken of recoveries, as these usually involved quite small amounts (less than £10,000). An exception was the year 1947, when post-primary school recoveries amounted to £41,242.

Finally, mention must be made of the practice of carrying out school building operations piecemeal: "... in general, schools are being built in stages, so that the first stage can be occupied while work is proceeding on the remainder."[106] This method of building new schools meant that, for the first two, three, or even four years of a school's existence, lessons had to compete with workmen (and their radios), trucks, concrete mixers, power saws, and a host of other distractions. Another aspect of the policy of building schools in stages was that the laying out of the grounds usually had to wait until the whole building operation was completed. Only then would

paths be laid, lawns sown, and gardens planted. In the meantime, especially in the winter, the school grounds were quite often a sea of mud. It was not uncommon in the 50's to find duckboards in use at a new school to enable staff and pupils to get from block to block in a reasonably dry-shod condition.

Ensuring an adequate supply of trained teachers

> Scarcely less difficult than the problem of building schools has been the task of staffing them.[107]

Throughout the 1950's, and for most of the 1960's, a chronic shortage of trained teachers plagued the system.[108] The shortage extended over the whole country, although its effects were felt more strongly in the North Island than the South. In both Islands, the rural areas (notably those without staff housing)[109] were especially hard hit. For example, Rangiora High School, which was not on the country service list, was still encountering staffing difficulties in the late 50's, since "... there was no particular incentive to teach at Rangiora at a time when all schools were rolling out the red carpet to whoever offered themselves".[110] In general, the smaller the school, the greater the staffing problems it was likely to experience.[111] In his 1956 Report, Beeby acknowledged that the district high schools often gave "cause for grave concern" because of their "high proportion of relievers, too many unskilled and poorly qualified teachers, and insufficient highly graded assistants".[112] Girls' schools, even in quite large provincial cities, found it particularly hard to recruit teachers, especially of mathematics and science.[113] Again in his Report for 1956, Beeby cited one large and long-established girls' school which did not have a single teacher

properly qualified in either mathematics or science. He also referred to two girls' schools in one city which were able to carry on teaching science only by calling on the services of part-time teachers and a university lecturer. His conclusion was: "Unless we can persuade more women teachers to qualify themselves in these subjects, it may eventually become necessary to defer the establishment of further girls' schools."[114] The shortage of women teachers also affected the relative numbers of men and women on the staffs of coeducational schools. The Chief Inspector's Report for 1951 referred to a staffing analysis carried out in one post-primary district which showed that, of twenty-four district high schools, seven were understaffed, and ten had a disproportionate number of men teachers. The twenty-three full post-primary schools in the same district had too few women teachers in all the coeducational schools, and many more staff changes among women than among men. "Nothing can hide the fact," the Report concluded, "that, at the present time, sufficient women teachers of adequate qualifications are not available."[115] The subject fields experiencing the most acute shortages were, first and foremost, mathematics and science, and, second, physical education[116] and homecraft.[117] In 1947, an *Education Gazette* notice admitted that, "... at the present time, owing to the extreme shortage of teachers, it is not possible to meet the demands of schools, primary or post-primary, for even normal staffing".[118] By 1955, Beeby was describing the teacher supply situation in the post-primary schools as "a crisis";[119] a year later, he was still saying: "... there is no more urgent problem in the whole school system than teacher recruitment".[120]

For the most part, the new schools had little difficulty

attracting staff, especially in their developing years, when they could offer opportunities for promotion. The losers in the redeployment of teachers which took place each time a new school opened were the older schools, many of which experienced staff changes the extent and speed of which were quite unprecedented. Long-established schools, like Auckland Grammar School, found that, with the new decade, "... the stability of an earlier age was beginning to vanish. Instead of ten or twenty years, the average duration of [staff] appointment was falling to five or six".[121] Other schools would have been more than pleased if they could have induced their teachers to stay for five or six years. At Wellington Girls' College in the early 50's, "... there was a great turn-over of teachers, ... and many members of staff [stayed] no more than one year".[122] Between 1946 and 1952, the College lost twelve experienced teachers, most of whom had served for at least fifteen years, and "... the stability and continuity they ... had given to the school were hard to replace".[123] During the term of one headmistress[124] in the 50's, there were staff changes at Wellington East Girls' College involving sixty-seven full-time teachers.[125] At Southland Girls' High School, 1952 was marked by "... a constant succession of vacancies and relieving teachers";[126] in the twelve-month period from December, 1954 to December, 1955, ten full-time teachers left the School.[127] In common with other schools, Southland Girls' was destined to experience staffing difficulties for the next twenty years, a situation which brought "... serious problems to the School, and endless headaches to boards and principals".[128] Instability of staffing became the pattern in the 50's; only a handful of post-primary schools were exempt from teacher supply problems for any length of time. There would have been very few schools in the fortunate situation of Thames High School, which rated this headline

in the local paper in 1952: "Thames High School Sets Record: No Teachers Leave for Two Years."[129]

Although "the mushroom growth of new schools"[130] which "offered promotion in status and salary"[131] was the main reason for the succession of staff changes which took place in the 50's, it was by no means the only reason. Many teachers who had forgone their retirement and stayed on during the war to help out left the service when the war ended,[132] while the return of servicemen from overseas also led to the retirement of their wives.[133] The coming of peace provided the opportunity for many teachers, especially single women, to travel overseas.[134] In addition, the post-war years seemed to be a time when the marriage rate was high. No fewer than five teachers from one staff (Wellington Girls' College) were married over the 1954 Christmas holiday period.[135] There was also the country service bar, "which drained off teachers at an early stage of their careers";[136] as well as "... the insatiable appetite of industry and commerce for able science graduates",[137] with its depleting effect on the supply of teachers. Retirement and deaths accounted for further losses to the profession.

Attempting to attract new staff in order to maintain a full complement of teachers was the major concern of principals in the 50's and 60's, as any number of them have testified.[138] A senior woman teacher, responding to a P.P.T.A. questionnaire, summed up the situation as follows:

> Staff difficulties are the most recurring nightmare - sometimes staff leaving in bunches of six or more with not a hint of replacement anywhere. Our Head works miracles, but sometimes rabbits come out of the hat.[139]

The manoeuvres employed to work these miracles were not always conventional, but principals no doubt believed that the ends justified the means: "The struggle to maintain staff numbers was continuous, but particularly grim between 1946 and 1953, and some unusual and unorthodox methods were employed to make personal contact with possible recruits."[140] Again, "... there was a certain amount of leg-work, and what might be termed the best kind of low cunning needed to ensure success."[141] Positions of Responsibility usually attracted some applicants,[142] but the best that most schools could do when it came to filling ordinary teacher vacancies was to fall back on part-timers and relievers, try to persuade teachers due for retirement to stay on a little longer, or (towards the end of the 50's) seek replacements from overseas. In her Report for 1958, the headmistress of Southland Girls' High School made this comment:

> ... without married women, coping with classes as well as families, without part-timers and a succession of temporary helpers, without extra years given generously by teachers who could have claimed well-earned retirement, we could not have carried on. I am afraid when I look to next year; beyond that, I am refusing to look, as yet.[143]

The position was the same everywhere. Teachers who resigned during the school year left gaps which it was rarely possible to fill with permanent appointments, so that some schools (mostly in urban areas, where such replacements were easier to find) ended up with a substantial proportion of temporary teachers on their staffs. Some of these relieving teachers served for quite short periods, so that pupils could find themselves having to adjust to new teachers three or four times in a single year. Part-timers, though they were indispensable, often presented schools with organisational problems, and their contribution to the general running of the school was

frequently minimal.[144] Worst of all, their availability was a governing factor in the construction of the school timetable, so that the arrival of a new part-time teacher could entail the redrafting of the entire schedule. Plainly, constant timetable changes were the last thing a school wanted; nevertheless, they were extremely common in the 50's and 60's.

In the girls' schools, two categories of people previously disregarded completely when staff appointments were being made, namely men and married women, began to find, in the 50's, that their services were welcome after all. Incredible though it may seem today, the boards of many girls' schools had resolutely refused to consider engaging men teachers before the 50's. However, the staffing crisis forced them to relent. Three men appointed to the staff of Wellington Girls' College in 1958 were the first of their sex to teach there since 1900;[145] while the four men who joined the staff of Southland Girls' High School in 1952 were the first full-time male teachers the School (founded in 1879) had ever had.[146] Nothing, however, could have surpassed the circumspection and sheer conservatism of the Nelson Colleges' Board:

> When a very well-qualified, highly-trained, and experienced teacher applied for a history position [at Nelson College for Girls] in 1955, the principal was anxious for the Board to make an appointment. There was considerable hesitation, however, and a requirement for the job to be re-advertised: the applicant was a man, and a man had never held a full-time [teaching] position in the school before. A fresh advertisement brought no further applications, so the man ... was cautiously appointed as a long-term reliever.[147]

From 1955, the Department relaxed its earlier policy, and permitted men to be appointed to Positions of Responsibility in girls'

schools.[148] There was, therefore, nothing particularly unusual about a girls' school advertising, in 1956, for a head of science in the 'Assistant Masters or Mistresses' section of the *Education Gazette*, and indicating that the school had no suitable applicant on staff.[149] The reluctance of some boards to employ men teachers was matched by the hesitancy which prevailed when it came to engaging married women to teach at some girls' schools. For example, in 1945, the Otago High Schools' Board agreed to appoint a married woman to the staff of Otago Girls' High School for one year only, after which the matter would be reconsidered "in view of her married status".[150] Within a few years, however, "... no longer could the Board refuse to employ married women: they were thankful to get them".[151] At Timaru Girls' High School, by the late 50's, "... there were signs that married women would be accepted with some favour".[152] Two such teachers were appointed to the staff in 1958.

Quite frequently, notwithstanding the best efforts of principals, vacancies could not be filled at all,[153] and schools had to carry on as best they could with a complement of teachers which was below establishment. One way of meeting this kind of problem was to make the existing classes larger, a thoroughly unsatisfactory, but sometimes unavoidable, expedient. At Hutt Valley High School, in 1953, the fifth-form classes averaged 38 pupils, the fourths 42, and the thirds 44, the largest class having 51 pupils. It is little wonder that the School staff began a campaign, in that year, to have class sizes reduced.[154] In the late 50's, one school had to resort to holding form 6 geography classes on Saturday mornings because of a shortage of staff.[155] There was also some combining of senior classes by neighbouring schools.[156, 157] It is certain that, in

many schools, staffing difficulties inhibited any widening of the curriculum, as principals were naturally reluctant to introduce new programmes when the continuity of staffing necessary to sustain them was far from assured. Often, as it was, "... a depleted staff was having to cope with an [already] extended syllabus".[158] Another aspect of the teacher shortage which created problems in the schools was the very heavy loads which senior staff were left to carry in the absence of trained and qualified younger teachers. It was not that the seniors were unwilling to delegate; frequently, there was no one prepared and able to accept a delegated responsibility. This was particularly the case in rural schools, where principals were fortunate if they had one teacher on their staff who was thoroughly proficient in a given subject area. In 1949, at Rangiora High School, the headmaster taught for five of the seven periods each day, as well as running the school; the first assistant was also head of mathematics and science, chief sports master, and manager of the hostel; while the senior mistress had the added responsibilities of head of English, librarian, and supervisor of the nursery school.[159] None of these people worked under such pressure because they wanted to, but because there was no alternative if the pupils were to receive a good education. In the late 40's and throughout the 50's, there were senior teachers all over the country who were shouldering similar, if not quite such extensive, responsibilities.

The initiatives taken by the Government between 1946 and 1959 to combat the seemingly perpetual dearth of post-primary teachers were as varied as they were numerous. Cumming and Cumming summed up the position aptly when they remarked that "... the 50's were sprinkled with schemes to overcome the teacher shortage".[160] There were two

aspects to the Government's campaign. First, it had to enlist the services of prospective teachers; then it had to train them for their work in the schools. As far as recruitment was concerned, the Government had always set great store by its post-primary teacher bursaries scheme, instituted in 1947, and the physical education bursaries scheme, which finally got under way in 1949.[161] Admittedly, the number of bursaries offered in the late 40's was quite modest, and fell as low as forty in 1950. However, as the teacher supply position worsened, more bursaries were made available, the total rising to 150 in 1951, and then to 250 in 1954. Unfortunately, the quotas were never filled. What was worse, in making the awards, the Department found that, each year, in order to keep up the numbers, it had to be "progressively less selective", with the result that "an increasing proportion of losses" became inevitable.[162] Beeby realised that the post-primary teacher bursaries scheme had to be made more attractive,[163] and, no doubt, he briefed his Minister on this issue in his usual thorough and convincing manner.[164] The upshot was that, in August, 1955, cabinet approved of the replacing of the post-primary teacher bursaries scheme with a new type of award to be known as post-primary teacher studentships. Under the new scheme, students would follow a university course for up to four years, and then attend a teachers' training college for one year in preparation for post-primary teaching. While at university, they would receive an allowance equivalent to three-quarters of that given to teachers' training college students.[165] Thus they would gain the feeling that they were members of the teaching profession from the start.[166] Students accepting a teacher studentship had to sign a bond to teach for the number of years for which the award was held. The new scheme attracted a great deal of interest; there were five hundred

applications for the three hundred awards the Government had decided to make available for 1956. About half of the studentships for that year went to students already at university. At each metropolitan teachers' training college, a senior lecturer was appointed to take charge of this group of students, to advise them on the composition of their courses, and, generally, to monitor their progress. Within two years, the post-primary teacher bursaries scheme had been revived to cater for pupils who wished to proceed straight from the lower sixth form to university to take three-year diploma courses in physical education, home science, or fine arts.[167] The post-primary teacher studentships and bursaries continued to attract reasonable numbers of suitable applicants. The following awards were made in the final three years of the 50's: 1957 - 330 studentships; 1958 - 419 studentships and 29 bursaries; 1959 - 532 studentships (from 750 applications) and 22 bursaries. These two schemes provided the main supply of government-sponsored recruits to post-primary teaching. Beginning in 1957, the Government also conducted a campaign to recruit post-primary teachers from the United Kingdom, concentrating especially on trained, graduate teachers of mathematics, science, and engineering. These overseas teachers were to be brought to New Zealand at government expense under a contract to remain in the school service here for three years. At first, the campaign met with very little success (which was hardly surprising, considering that Britain was also experiencing an acute shortage of teachers, particularly teachers of mathematics and science). In 1958, Beeby had to report that the scheme "has given us little or no help where our needs are greatest".[168] Within a year, however, the picture had brightened considerably, and the Director was able to say that he expected the United Kingdom recruitment campaign to produce 140 to 150 well-

qualified (but not all trained) teachers by 1960.[169]

The graduate sections (Division C) of Auckland and Christchurch Teachers' Training Colleges continued to be the mainstays of the Department's teacher-training programme. However, a number of other special training schemes were instituted (or continued) by the Government in the 50's in an effort to increase the flow of teachers into those subject areas which were experiencing the most persistent shortages. These schemes (all of which were still in operation in 1959) included the following:[170] (a) A one-year course for prospective teachers of commercial subjects, conducted at Wellington Technical College. Entry to this course, which began in 1948, was confined to adults who had had some business experience, and were qualified in either accountancy or shorthand and typing. They received instruction in commercial subjects, English, education, and general teaching methods. The course usually catered for a mere eight to ten trainees a year, and appeared to find little favour with experienced office workers. (b) A one-year course to train prospective teachers of woodwork and metalwork, mounted, in 1946, at Seddon Memorial Technical College, but later transferred to Auckland Teachers' Training College.[171] The trainees were required to have had trade experience as journeymen. In the early years of the programme, the majority of them were ex-servicemen. This course provided for twenty-five to thirty trainees a year, with the woodworkers far outnumbering the metalworkers. A second centre for training woodwork teachers only was opened, with sixteen students, at Christchurch Teachers' Training College in 1956. (c) A two-year course for prospective teachers of homecraft, begun at Dunedin Teachers' Training College in 1943, and duplicated at Auckland

Teachers' Training College from 1951. Though the two courses between them were catering for more than eighty trainees a year by the late 50's, the supply of homecraft teachers still fell far short of the demand. (d) A course to train girls from form 6 as teachers of mathematics and science. The trainees spent two years at teachers' training college studying mainly subject content, followed by a probationary year in post-primary schools. This course began at Auckland Teachers' Training College in 1958, with an intake of twenty students; a similar programme was offered at Christchurch Teachers' College from 1960. (e) A commercial teacher-training course, also for girls from form 6. The training programme for this course followed the same model as that outlined in course (d) above. The first intake of this course in 1958 comprised twenty-one girls: a further twenty-four girls were accepted for training in 1959. (f) An emergency training course for graduates, instituted in 1958, in terms of which selected graduates over the age of twenty-five were attached for one term to a post-primary school, where they received basic training before entering teaching. Initially, this scheme catered for about fifteen prospective teachers each year.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a considerable measure of desperation on the part of the Government and the Department lay behind these schemes. The emergency training scheme for graduates was manifestly inadequate, and an almost total denial that teaching is an art which cannot possibly be mastered in a few weeks. This scheme was also unfair to the trainees, in that it led to no form of certification. As far as the course for women teachers of mathematics and science was concerned, Beeby himself had misgivings about it, as the following comment from his Report for 1957 revealed:

"Although everyone will have reservations about such a course, there was no alternative before the Department ...."[172] The Director's unease was shared by the Post-primary Teachers' Association, whose executive gave only reluctant approval to the scheme, holding that "... serious dilution must not be permitted, even in one limited area". However, the Association did concede that: "The shortage of women teachers of mathematics and science is so grave that it is a question ... of a choice ... between having these subjects taught by a trained non-graduate or perhaps not taught at all".[173] Lacking qualifications, and possessing only a Teachers' 'C' Certificate, these women had virtually no prospects of promotion in the profession. In most cases, they would be condemned to the dull routine of teaching a succession of junior classes. Another training course which gave cause for considerable apprehension was the homecraft teacher scheme. When, in the face of the increasing demand for homecraft teachers, the Government decided to mount a special course in Auckland as well as Dunedin, Beeby acknowledged outright that the type of training offered under this scheme was not really adequate for post-primary school work:

> It is to be hoped, however, that a sufficient number of young women will apply for post-primary teacher bursaries to take them to the School of Home Science in Dunedin, for the work in homecraft subjects in post-primary schools requires teachers whose training has been somewhat longer and more rigorous than the one we have devised for the homecraft trainees.[174]

There was also evidence that, in the interest of keeping up the numbers of recruits, standards were sometimes lowered. For example, in 1957, when it was found that many Division U students (those holding post-primary teacher studentships) were being lost to the post-primary service because of the students' failure to secure passes

in the required minimum number of subjects at university, the conditions of the award were relaxed to allow such students a year's suspension of the studentship so that they could make up the lost ground at their own expense.[175] Also, by 1960, post-primary teacher studentships were being awarded to all suitable applicants with a background in mathematics and science, "including borderline cases with a somewhat lower selection committee rating than would be acceptable for other applicants"[176] - and this, in spite of the Minister's assurance, given at the N.Z.P.P.T.A. annual conference in 1959, that "this [increasing the proportion of studentships awarded to students offering mathematics and science] will be done next year to the greatest possible extent, <u>without lowering the standard of entry</u>".[177] Another instance of the willingness of the Government to relax standards in the face of the critical shortage of teachers was the decision, taken in 1957, to allow women completing the diploma course in physical education to omit their teacher-training year, and begin teaching immediately as uncertificated teachers. In 1958, all of the women diplomates in physical education took up this option. When the same choice was offered, a little later, to diplomates in home science, many of them did the same. Years later, when some of these women wished to return to the classroom after taking a break from teaching to raise their families, they found themselves falling foul of the 1979 conference resolution of the N.Z.P.P.T.A. binding its members not to work alongside untrained teachers (even those holding only relieving appointments). As a result, the only employment the women could get in the schools was as day-relief teachers.[178] At the same time as the physical education trainees were given the option of skipping their year at teachers' training college, Beeby reported that "... discussions are being held on the possibility of including

sufficient teaching practice in the university [physical education] diploma course to make the teachers' college year unnecessary for all students taking this course"[179] - a further example of the watering down of standards. And so, at a time when the system had grown so rapidly that "the spread ... of capable teachers who are also thoroughly experienced is thinner than it was, and their influence on their younger colleagues is consequently less marked",[180] policies of the kind outlined above were throwing an even greater burden on heads of departments and other senior teachers, since the teachers coming into the schools straight from the university needed additional support and guidance to make up for their lack of training. Nor were these fledgling teachers the only ones in need of extra help. When the staffing situation of a school became really desperate, the principal would sometimes be tempted to appoint people known to be below standard, in the hope that they would turn out to be better than no one. Such applicants were generally aware of their own shortcomings, and held out for permanent positions, which they usually obtained. (They were, after all, operating in what was very much a seller's market.) The presence of such people as these on school staffs increased even further the load which had to be carried by the more experienced teachers, as the Director fully appreciated:

> A number of teachers who in normal times would not have gained even temporary employment are now in the schools, and ... these teachers require special guidance and assistance. In fact, the refurbishing of their knowledge, often gained many years before, and the strengthening of their professional attitudes and their teaching techniques in the subjects in which they are assumed to be qualified are said to be the most pressing tasks facing the school authorities and the inspectors.[181]

The outcome of such a situation was inevitable - a decline in standards of work and attainment. This is exactly what the inspectors

reported that they were finding in certain subject areas and in some classes by the end of the decade.[182]

Many of the actions taken by the Government in the late 50's to alleviate the widespread shortage of teachers were an outcome of the deliberations and recommendations of an Advisory Committee on Teacher Recruitment, set up by the Minister late in 1955 under the chairmanship of the Director.[183] Among the recommendations of this Committee which the Government acted on either at once or within a short period of time were: the appointment of an inspector of post-primary schools as a full-time recruitment officer; the setting up of a mobile reserve of relieving teachers to help out in district high schools, in particular;[184] the granting of leave on full pay to ten teachers each year to enable them to complete their degrees;[185] the provision of more houses for teachers in remote areas; and the employment of library assistants in post-primary schools to free teachers for classroom duties.[186]

There can be no doubt that the Government and the Department were well aware from the beginning of the decade of the way the post-primary school staffing situation was likely to develop in the 50's. One of the first things R.M. Algie did on assuming office as Minister of Education towards the end of 1949 was to prepare a White Paper, which outlined the teacher supply and accommodation problems the schools would probably have to face over the following ten years.[187] Algie's figures showed that it would be necessary to recruit between 350 and 400 prospective post-primary teachers every year throughout the 50's to keep up with the demand.[188] Referring to the need for more teachers, Beeby, in his Report for 1954, predicted that:

> In 1960, ... we shall not only have to meet replacements due to resignations and retirements, but shall also have to fill 450 completely new post-primary positions created in that year,[189] ... [and that] from the age group born in the middle 1930's when the birth rate was at its lowest.[190]

A survey taken in 1956 by the Advisory Committee on Teacher Recruitment showed that, at that time, there were more than six hundred positions in the post-primary service which were either vacant or filled by part-time teachers, or by relieving or poorly-qualified persons who, in normal times, would not be acceptable to the schools.[191] Even allowing for the fact that there are always some part-time and relieving teachers whom schools would wish to employ (or may have to employ, if they intend to take up their whole staffing entitlement), this still left a shortage in real terms of at least four hundred teachers, or about 10 per cent of scheduled positions. In his Report for 1958, Beeby estimated that, at the current rate of output, there would be a shortage of three hundred teachers of mathematics and science alone in the post-primary schools by 1961.[192] He went on to say: "It is clear that, if the schools are to be adequately staffed with competent teachers of mathematics and science, special measures of various kinds will have to be employed."[193] One of the factors which affected the supply of mathematics and science teachers was the disproportionate numbers of students accepted for post-primary teacher training who had qualifications in languages and in history and geography. When giving his estimate of what the position regarding teachers of mathematics and science would be like in 1961, Beeby pointed out that,

> ... whereas we should train 64 mathematics/science teachers for every 100 teachers of English, social studies and foreign languages, the corresponding ratio among those [currently] holding post-primary teacher studentships is only 44 to every 100.[194]

In the third term of 1958, a detailed survey of post-primary staffing revealed a total shortage of 526 teachers, or 12.3 per cent of scheduled positions.[195] Had they been available, 343 teachers could have been placed in full-time positions straight away to replace relieving teachers, and to fill actual vacancies. The survey indicated that 100 of these positions were in 22 girls' schools, with a further 107 in district high schools, the Correspondence School, and manual training centres. It also pointed up very clearly the extreme shortage of women teachers, not only in girls' schools, but throughout the service.[196] At the end of 1959, the total strength of permanent, fully-qualified post-primary teachers was 576 (or 12.1 per cent) below entitlement. Moreover, Beeby estimated that this shortage could increase to eight hundred in 1960, and to a thousand in 1961.[197] It was against this background that the Minister asked the newly-appointed Commission on Education in New Zealand to give urgent consideration to the question of post-primary staffing and recruitment, and to bring down an interim report on this matter as soon as possible.[198]

8

THE NEW CURRICULUM IN OPERATION[1]

Introduction

The authors of the *Thomas Report* predicted that, for a number of reasons, "quite apart from anything that may be done as a result of the recommendations of this Committee",[2] the post-primary schools would be forced to make considerable changes to their curricula. For one thing, a curriculum designed to cater for a restricted number of selected pupils was most unlikely to be appropriate to the needs of a vastly increased and much more cosmopolitan school population, whose academic abilities ranged from the very dull to the very bright. As has already been noted, the *Report* also warned that, in adapting to the changed circumstances, a school could follow either an "easy road", and "be content with minor adjustments", or a "hard road", and "re-examine its whole theory and practice", with a view to determining "the real needs of its pupils and the means by which they can best be met".[3] Opinions as to which of these two roads carried the most traffic in the fifteen years following the publication of the 1945 Regulations ranged from the sanguine estimate of the Department of Education that the aims of the *Thomas Report* "have been widely accepted and are the basis on which today's school curriculum is established",[4] to the belief of Whitehead that "the attempt to introduce the spirit of the *Thomas Report* into the secondary schools ... proved to be a failure".[5] Whitehead's paper made a very careful analysis of the circumstances which militated against this forward-

looking document leading to enlightened policies, procedures, and outcomes. He suggested that the situation which developed in the schools in the immediate post-Thomas years was a product of two major factors: first, "the dramatic and at times almost unmanageable extension of secondary schooling", and second, "the dominance that the School Certificate rapidly asserted over the secondary school curriculum".[6] Whitehead also laid some of the blame for what happened at the door of the Department of Education, claiming that "it did little to prepare [teachers] for the changes or to assist them in implementing them".[7] *The Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand* endorsed this viewpoint, stating unequivocally: "The Department of Education must perforce play a most important part in guiding teachers," and indicating, some seventeen years after the *Thomas Report* appeared, that there was still much to be done "to make teachers better informed of departmental views on a wide variety of subjects connected with school organisation and teaching methods".[8] The inference here is that the Department carried too far its loyalty to the Thomas Committee's view that "... the State ... exceeds its functions if it tries ... to control the curriculum in any detail".[9] It must be remembered, however, that the inspectors, who were in the best position to assist teachers to implement the spirit as well as the letter of the *Thomas Report*, were steeped in the tradition of assessing teachers for grading purposes, and had neither the experience nor the time (and, sometimes, possibly not even the inclination) to undertake the role of professional advisers. Notwithstanding the validity of all of the contributing factors discussed thus far, there can be no doubt that the widespread failure of schools to put into effect the recommendations of the Thomas

Committee could be attributed largely to the conservatism of the post-primary school administrators of the day, and even more to the reluctance of so many of the teachers involved to take what the Thomas Committee called the "hard road". The new curriculum undoubtedly made heavy demands on teachers, especially in areas like social studies and general science, and countless teachers were ill-equipped to meet these demands. As far as subject content was concerned, narrow specialisation was very much the order of the day, to the point where history graduates who had little or no geography were most unhappy at finding themselves required to teach social studies, with its emphasis on "the development of individuals who are able to take their parts as effective citizens of a democracy".[10] Naturally, because they were so often out of sympathy with the new programmes, they taught them badly. In science, the position was, if anything, worse. Teachers who had developed a high degree of specialty in one area were now being called on to teach general science, defined as "a course of scientific study and investigation which has its roots in the common experience of children, and does not exclude any of the fundamental special sciences".[11] In the girls' schools, in particular, where many of the women science teachers had degrees in botany, providing the breadth of coverage demanded by the new general science prescription proved to be an almost insuperable problem. If qualified and experienced teachers found adjustment to the requirements of the new curriculum difficult, obviously unqualified and inexperienced teachers (of whom there were plenty in the post-primary schools by the late 40's) were likely to prove even less able to cope with the new demands.

Turning now to methodology, one is bound to state that many teachers in the post-primary service in the post-Thomas years

possessed such a limited range of teaching techniques that they were quite unable to adapt to new ways of presenting lesson content. Searle, whose study of the teaching of science in post-primary schools from the 1920's to 1958 represented a major contribution to the debate on the implementation of the spirit of the *Thomas Report*, referred to "... the monotonous routine, the stereotyped presentation, and the uninspiring approach to science that are all too common in the science laboratories and classrooms of our post-primary schools";[12] and again (on excessive dictating of notes): "It would appear that, in many schools, the copying of a miniature text book is still one of the main science-teaching techniques."[13] Those who clung to such techniques were essentially teachers of subjects rather than teachers of people. Consequently, when the emphasis shifted from a subject orientation to a pupil orientation, they were soon floundering in unknown waters. Since such teachers also had to contend quite often with large classes, shortages (or, not infrequently, the complete absence) of essential facilities and equipment, a lack of up-to-date text books, the problem of slow learners, and the presence of increasing numbers of reluctant learners (who, in Meikle's words, "constitute the greatest single source of strain to their teachers"),[14] it is little wonder that many of the ideals of the *Thomas Report* were rarely translated into practice in the schools. A significant factor in the failure of so many schools to put into effect the spirit of the *Thomas Report* (and one which is rarely, if ever, referred to in the literature) was the question of control. The flood of new entrants which surged into the post-primary schools after the raising of the school leaving age, bringing with it an increase in the size of classes, especially in the lower school, as well as a much higher proportion than hitherto of 'problem' pupils, raised the bogey of

indiscipline, and even insurrection, in the minds of many teachers and administrators. In these circumstances, control became an issue of paramount importance. Young and inexperienced teachers, in particular, were so preoccupied with the need to retain mastery of their classes that they were reluctant to abandon the formal, authoritarian teaching methods, which seemed to them to assist with control, in favour of the Thomas Committee's ideal of conducting their classroom work "in a freer, democratic and more humane setting, with a greater emphasis placed on flexibility, diversity, and increased pupil participation",[15] a method of operating which, in the judgment of many teachers, would inevitably lead to things getting out of hand. In short, teachers of the day were wary of the Thomas Committee's proposals because they had little confidence in their ability to control the pace and direction of the changes which those proposals called for. Finally, perhaps the greatest hindrance of all to the encouragement of "breadth and diversity of aim and curriculum, and democracy of tone and control in post-primary schools"[16] was the almost total "lack of concern on the part of most teachers for the deeper issues of education".[17] Searle put the matter succinctly:

> Few teachers appear to have firmly held objectives or strong personal philosophies that imbue them with any defined purpose other than the teaching of facts needed to cover syllabuses for examinations.[18]

It was the intransigent attitudes and the professional limitations of so many teachers which were largely responsible for the failure of the *Thomas Report* to make the kind of impact on the post-primary schools which its authors had hoped for.

Courses of instruction

Although a notice which appeared in the *Education Gazette* late in 1945 stated: "The aim of the new curriculum is to provide courses to suit the pupil, instead of compelling the pupil to fit himself to the course,"[19] nearly all post-primary schools continued, for the best part of another twenty-five years, to enrol their pupils in courses which committed them to studying a fixed group of subjects, at least for the first two years.[20] These courses were the same in 1946 as they had been for a long period before that. In the ensuing fifteen years, they underwent little change, except for the introduction in many schools of a general course with no foreign language component. Table 29 sets out the courses of instruction offered in secondary, combined, and technical schools from 1946 to 1959, and gives the number of pupils taking the different courses each year, as well as the percentage of the total enrolment which that number represented. An examination of this table[21] reveals that the professional course with two languages enjoyed a considerable measure of stability over the whole period, with the slight fall away in the middle 50's righting itself by the end of the decade. At the same time, patterns of study were changing within the schools themselves. In 1946, 32 per cent of the schools had fewer than fifteen pupils taking the two language course; by 1949, the figure stood at 42 per cent. For the next ten years, the percentage hovered between 35 and 41. By 1947, five quite large schools had phased out their two-language course completely;[22] one more followed suit in 1949.[23] However, all but two[24] of these schools had revived the professional course by 1951. In the second half of the 50's, a further seven older-established schools abandoned their two-language course. This meant, that, by

TABLE 29

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF PUPILS TAKING THE VARIOUS COURSES OF INSTRUCTION
IN SECONDARY, COMBINED, AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, 1946-1959, AS AT 1 JULY

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Professional (2 langs)	3102	2978	3024	3093	3363	3711	3974	4527	4621	4964	5037	5134	5889	6344
	8.4	8.0	8.2	8.2	8.4	8.8	8.8	9.1	8.1	8.0	7.7	7.4	8.0	7.9
General (1 lang)	7955	7664	7747	7798	8498	9199	10209	10923	12635	14071	14572	16311	17167	19378
	21.6	20.6	21.0	20.6	21.3	21.8	22.7	22.0	22.3	22.7	22.2	23.7	23.5	24.1
General (No langs)	-	5733	5919	6314	6693	7464	7367	8114	10022	10518	12118	12574	14408	15733
	-	15.4	16.1	16.7	16.8	17.7	16.4	16.4	17.7	17.0	18.5	18.2	19.7	19.6
Industrial	6929	6807	6286	6627	7071	7326	7582	8603	10045	11122	11757	12354	12864	14315
	18.8	18.3	17.1	17.5	17.7	17.4	16.9	17.3	17.7	17.9	17.9	17.9	17.6	17.8
Commercial	6505	6483	6122	6256	6480	6713	7084	8227	9287	10158	10750	11142	11728	12919
	17.6	17.4	16.6	16.5	16.2	15.9	15.8	16.6	16.4	16.4	16.4	16.2	16.0	16.0
Agricultural	1576	1814	1907	1928	2084	2026	2094	2434	2394	2772	2952	3014	2864	2970
	4.3	4.9	5.2	5.1	5.2	4.8	4.7	4.9	4.2	4.5	4.5	4.4	3.9	3.7
Art	479	446	453	475	240	277	285	281	336	337	412	380	337	451
	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.3	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6
Homelife	4794	4609	4942	5016	5303	5316	5393	5666	6289	6914	7022	6953	6877	7143
	13.0	12.4	13.4	13.3	13.3	12.6	12.0	11.4	11.1	11.2	10.7	10.1	9.4	8.9
Univ. degree/advanced work	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	5481	698	449	306	194	103	924	809	1050	1075	1010	1065	1004	1215
	14.9	1.9	1.2	0.8	0.5	0.2	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.5
Totals	36858	37232	36849	37813	39926	42135	44912	49584	56679	61931	65630	68927	73138	80468
	(100)	(100.1)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(99.9)	(100)	(99.9)	(99.9)	(99.9)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100.1)

Source: E.1 and E.2 Reports

the end of the decade, there were nine such schools not offering a professional course at all. The general course with one language held its own remarkably well over the whole period. Accommodating almost one pupil in every four, it proved to be the most popular. The new category 'general without a foreign language' also claimed a large number of adherents, most of whom had patently been classified in earlier years under 'other'. The industrial course likewise continued to attract strong support. Over the second half of the decade, the percentage of pupils enrolled in this programme was singularly constant. Throughout the period, the industrial course remained an all-male domain as far as the secondary and combined schools were concerned.[25] Although the commercial course lost a little ground between 1946 and 1959, it enjoyed a very consistent measure of support throughout the 50's. The agricultural course, however, after reaching a peak in the late 40's, declined steadily in popularity during the 50's. By the end of the decade, it was catering for only a very small proportion of the post-primary school population. A contributing factor to this state of affairs was the sharp reduction in the 50's in the proportion of secondary and combined schools teaching agriculture. Table 30 shows that, between 1951 and 1959, there was a fall away of 12 per cent in the proportion of schools which had an agricultural course. Of the older schools, only a handful had even moderate numbers of boys taking agriculture year by year,[26] though Waitaki Boys' High School (from 1953) and Napier Boys' High School (from 1955) had enrolments in the course which consistently exceeded 120. Of the schools which opened between 1946 and 1956, Northland College regularly had a reasonably strong agriculture section, while a small number of other schools also taught agriculture, though their classes were not so well supported.[27] One school which deserves special

Table 30

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF SECONDARY AND COMBINED SCHOOLS TEACHING AGRICULTURE, 1946-1959, AND AVERAGE SCHOOL ENROLMENTS IN AGRICULTURE

	Total number of secondary and combined schools	Number of schools teaching agriculture	Percentage of schools teaching agriculture	Average school enrolment in agriculture course
1946	47	16	34	45
1947	47	18	38	50
1948	47	19	40	49
1949	47	18	38	53
1950	47	18	38	54
1951	47	19	40	53
1952	47	18	38	56
1953	49	18	37	59
1954	59	23	39	58
1955	66	25	38	63
1956	73	27	37	61
1957	87	29	33	62
1958	96	29	30	60
1959	104	29	28	62

Source: E.1 and E.2 Reports

mention in connection with its agricultural course is the Taieri High School, which opened in 1956. Building on a flourishing agriculture programme established more than a decade earlier by its parent district high school (Mosgiel), the School, in its first year, had 61 per cent of its boys (and 2 per cent of its girls!) taking agriculture. Within three years, it was running a very close second to Feilding Agricultural High School in the number of pupils enrolled in the agricultural course.[28] However, numbers, in themselves, are not everything; a more accurate picture of the state of agriculture teaching in the schools can be gained by determining what proportion of the boys attending schools teaching agriculture were enrolled in the agricultural course. Taking 1956 as a sample year, such an

analysis reveals that, of the twenty-seven schools with agricultural courses, four had more than 25 per cent of all their boys taking agriculture,[29] six had between 20.9 per cent and 24.5 per cent, ten had between 11.9 per cent and 19.7 per cent, five had between 7.5 per cent and 9.9 per cent, while the remaining two had 1.9 per cent and 1.4 per cent respectively. The overall average percentage, omitting the two lowest figures (representing token enrolments of five and two respectively), was 18.4, or very nearly one boy in every five. This indicates quite strong support for agriculture in those schools where it was taught.[30] A feature of the agricultural courses in the 50's was the inclusion of girls in the programmes. While a number of schools had an occasional girl taking agriculture from time to time, Henderson High School[31] had an average of five such girls each year from its inception in 1953. The Taieri High School regularly had girls in its agricultural course.[32]

Between 1946 and 1959, the number of pupils enrolled for art remained small but steady.[33] Only one school (Auckland Girls' Grammar School) had a reasonably strong art section, with forty to fifty pupils (sometimes more) enrolled in the course every year from 1949 to 1959. In other schools, art flourished for a brief period, coinciding, no doubt, with the presence on the staff of a particularly enthusiastic and capable art teacher.[34] By the end of the decade, some of the relatively new schools were coming to the fore, with quite vigorous art programmes in place.[35] Homelife was the only category to lose ground steadily over the twelve years from 1948 to 1959 (except for a brief and relatively insignificant reprieve in 1955). In 1948, there were approximately five pupils enrolled in homelife for every six taking commercial, but, by 1959, this ratio had worsened to

little more than three to six. It would seem that the growth of numbers in the two general courses had been at least partly at the expense of the homelife course. In one respect, however, homelife could claim a record of perfect consistency - it remained an all-female preserve throughout the period. By 1946, only three schools were still listed as having a course covering university degree and advanced work; of those, only one[36] had more than ten pupils following that programme. Understandably, this category disappeared from the listings after 1946.[37] The category 'other', which, by 1946, was accounting for nearly 15 per cent of all pupils, had clearly been accommodating large numbers of pupils who fitted into the new category 'general without a foreign language', introduced in 1947. By 1951, only a sprinkling of pupils could not be classified in one or other of the standard courses. Thereafter, those listed under 'other' were slightly more numerous, but they still comprised only a very small fraction of the total cohort.

The new curriculum and the schools

In rising to the challenge of the new curriculum, the post-primary schools were faced with certain problems which were manifest in every school, albeit to a lesser extent in some than in others. First, the nature of the school population was steadily changing. The range of the pupils' capacities, in particular, was widening to the point where, by the end of the 40's, it covered the whole gamut from very slow learners to pupils of superior academic ability. Though the schools were accustomed to providing for this latter group, most of them were not prepared for an influx of pupils who still required formal teaching in the three r's. Indeed, many post-primary schools

were reluctant to accept that such work was now an essential part of their function. Modifying their curricula to meet the needs of slow learners, and providing them with realisable alternative goals to School Certificate were formidable tasks, at least for almost all the secondary and combined schools. As a result, the problem was still far from resolved by the end of the 50's. Beeby, in his Report for 1957, acknowledged that "... the system as a whole still has some distance to go in adapting its traditional methods to cater for the slower child",[38] while the Commission on Education in New Zealand, reporting in 1962, was obliged to concede that "despite many efforts, the secondary schools have not yet found the right way of dealing with these pupils".[39] Even worse, the Commission had to accept, also, that there appeared to be some justification for "the accusation that is sometimes made that the secondary schools not only do not know how to deal with these pupils, but do not want them and wish to be rid of them".[40] What was needed, and what was so often lacking in the schools, was a "broadened idea of the purposes of a secondary school",[41] and, above all, a willingness on the part of the teachers to accept that "their teaching methods must be modified to suit the new conditions arising from [the] great enlargement of their sphere of influence".[42] The plain fact of the matter was that the post-primary school teachers of the day knew their chemistry, history, or French, but most were nonplussed when it came to helping slow learners "to master the common core of knowledge and understanding that is basic to good citizenship".[43] While E.1 and E.2 Reports of the early 50's claimed that "... a considerable amount of thought and attention has been given to the curriculum for the short-course pupils",[44] and "... attention is being directed ... to the particular needs of the less academically inclined pupils, whose contact with post-primary

education is relatively short",[45] in fact, little was being achieved. Of considerably more significance than the departmental platitudes was the growing interest of the P.P.T.A. and local groups of teachers in the special problems presented by the presence of large numbers of slow learners in the schools. In 1953, the P.P.T.A. set up a special committee to examine the needs and problems of early leavers,[46] while the *P.P.T.A. Journals* of the late 50's contained many articles on slow learners and how to cater for them.[47] Best placed to provide relevant programmes of study for slow learners were the newer schools which had been translated from district high school status. Those schools generally had at least one or two primary-trained teachers on their staffs, and it was such teachers who proved to be the most suitable mentors for slow learner classes. For the most part, they had a greater understanding of the needs of slow learners, and more patience in dealing with them, than many of their more academic colleagues. They were also better versed in the types of alternative teaching techniques, such as individual and small group work, which were most appropriate for slow learners. Most principals were well aware of this, so that, in the late 40's and throughout the 50's, advertisements in the *Education Gazette* for teachers of slow learner classes frequently carried a tag, such as: 'Position suitable for a primary teacher'; 'Could suit teacher with primary experience'; or 'This position could be very suitable for an experienced teacher with primary-school training'.[48] The situation in many of the older, larger, and especially urban post-primary schools was not so encouraging; slow learners in most of these schools were relegated to the lowest of sets of streamed classes, where they followed a syllabus similar to that given to the top stream classes, except that the slow learners were usually expected to cover less ground, and enter into

less detail. With reference to the differentiation of courses based on ability, Searle reported that "... the common policy of most [post-primary] teachers is to give the less able pupils the same work as the more able with the hope that, 'whilst they will not be able to master it, they will get something out of it'".[49] Moreover, attempts made to help teachers gain a better understanding of the needs of slow learners were not always supported by the teachers themselves.[50] Further, the plight of slow learners was often made worse by "school fellows, teachers, and an adult community generally who ... confuse[d] intellectual status with human worth".[51] In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that so many slow learners became reluctant learners, and developed anti-social attitudes which led them into serious conflict with authority at school and, later, in the community.

The second problem which the new curriculum presented to the schools was that a large proportion of them lacked the necessary facilities and resources to teach subjects like art, crafts, music, and even physical education. The schools responded to these circumstances in various ways. Most did the best they could with what they had, teaching music and craft, for example, in ordinary classrooms (in some instances for several years) until specialist accommodation was made available. In schools without gymnasia, physical education classes were taken outside, or, if the weather made this impossible, in the assembly hall - if the school had one. In a few cases, schools made little or no effort to teach the newer core subjects until they were provided with the wherewithal to do so. The Department and the Minister had no alternative but to accept this situation, and to acknowledge that schools could not provide the wide

range of courses demanded by the new regulations until adequate buildings, staffing, and equipment were available.[52]

A third problem which the post-primary schools encountered when they were required to introduce new subjects into their curricula was defined by the Minister in his Report for 1947:

> One of the greatest difficulties [everywhere] has been to prevent the newer and more practical courses from being regarded as merely inferior variants of the 'real' secondary education given to the academically-minded few.[53]

From the outset, this attitude resulted in the non-examinable parts of the core being widely regarded as of considerably less importance than those subjects which led on to School Certificate and University Entrance. Critics of the whole concept of the common core were quick to label subjects which were not examined externally, such as music, art, and even physical education, as 'frills'. There can be no doubt that, in the 50's, there would have been very few post-primary schools in New Zealand which did not convey a clear message to their pupils that there was a hierarchy of subjects, with English, mathematics, and science occupying a much higher place on the scale than art, health education, and homecraft. Further, those subjects which could be taken for University Entrance were held in higher esteem than those which stopped at School Certificate level,[54] so that engineering shopwork, commercial practice, and clothing tended to be looked on as somewhat inferior to technical drawing, bookkeeping, and French. Within the schools, there was also a hierarchy of courses, corresponding to the intellectual capacities of the pupils. First in order was the professional course, reserved for pupils of well above average academic ability; then came the general course and (close

behind) the commercial course, catering for those whose ability was average or, perhaps, a little above; while at the bottom of the ladder were the practical courses - technical, homelife, and agricultural - providing for pupils of below average academic ability.[55] In itself, the introduction of the new curriculum did little to alter this state of affairs. It was not until the post-primary schools began to abandon the course system from the middle 60's, and offer pupils a genuine choice of options across the board, that the tyranny of the hierarchy of subjects was broken.

A fourth problem which faced the schools in the post-Thomas years was the difficulty of ensuring that the new curriculum continued to stimulate the bright children and enlarge their experience. As Beeby put it:

> The typical problem of the secondary school twenty years ago was how to cater for the average child in a system devised for the brightest few. Now we must keep the brightest children extended within a system that deliberately sets out to provide courses for all levels of ability.[56]

Some critics of the Thomas Committee's recommendations argued that they would inevitably lead to a 'cult of mediocrity' in the schools, because the interests of a minority group were bound to be subordinated to the demands of the many, a charge which the Director strenuously denied.[57] However, Beeby did acknowledge that there was a danger, particularly in the smaller, rural schools, that the needs of the brighter pupils might not be fully met. He saw this situation as one which needed to be watched continuously. At the same time, he maintained that the provision by the Government of bursaries "that help the academic child from the country school to do his sixth-form

work in a school big enough to provide the necessary specialised staff" went some way towards addressing this particular problem.[58] Nevertheless, there were commentators who remained unconvinced. Writing towards the end of the 50's, Moffat contended that people were still "apt to fear lest the bright child be sacrificed to the mediocre". He himself considered that "the stress it (the *Thomas Report*) lays on core requirements ... may ... be a real handicap to bright children".[59] Meikle, in an article published in 1960, held the *Thomas Report* responsible for "the gross inadequacy of our ablest young people's education",[60] which she claimed was one of the less desirable features of the post-primary schools of the day. Beeby, in his Report for 1958, noted that "bright pupils are rarely taken beyond the limits of the School Certificate prescriptions".[61] He suggested that more realistic goals for these pupils should be considered, such as offering School Certificate papers at two levels, ordinary and advanced. By the 60's, many schools had, in fact, introduced special programmes, particularly at form 5 level, designed to extend their bright students. Some of these schemes will be discussed in part 4.

The individual subjects of the curriculum

In the fourteen years following the introduction of the new curriculum, the treatment of the newer subjects often drew more favourable comments from the inspectors and others than did that of the more traditional subjects.

Music

Amongst the core subjects, music stood out as an activity which

occupied a very prominent place in the programmes of almost all of the post-primary schools. For the most part, the high standing of music was not due to the work done in the core music classes. Indeed, teachers of core music often found their weekly encounters with successive classes of third (and, sometimes, fourth-) form pupils to be most unrewarding and unproductive. This was because the necessary facilities and equipment for teaching core music effectively were frequently absent or, at best, in short supply; the teachers responsible for the work all too often had no special qualifications in music; and, above all, the musical tastes of the teachers were nearly always far removed from those of their pupils. The 50's saw the arrival of rock-and-roll; for the young, pop music reigned supreme. Peer group pressure saw to it that very few adolescents admitted to preferring anything else. They certainly could not be won over by an unrelieved diet of the lives of the great composers, the instruments of the orchestra, and some lacklustre singing of English folk songs and assorted sea shanties.[62] Outside the classroom, however, it was quite a different matter. The massed singing, which was a feature of most school assemblies, at times achieved a very high standard indeed. When a professor from the Royal Schools of Music on a visit to Christchurch Boys' High School in 1950 heard the whole school singing in parts at assembly, he was moved to exclaim to the headmaster: "But Mr Caddick, this is singing!" Later, the professor was reported in the *Christchurch Press* as saying that the boys' singing was the finest he had ever heard.[63] Mount Albert Grammar School was another boys' school with a very strong musical tradition based on massed singing. For over forty years, the core of the School's annual concerts, which regularly filled the Auckland Town Hall, was the singing of five to six hundred boys massed on the choir

seats. On his retirement in 1946, the foundation principal of the School, F.W. Gamble, described music at Mount Albert Grammar as "the most joyous uplift to school life".[64] The diamond jubilee chronicler of Whakatane High School referred to "the great school singing that [Whakatane High] was renowned for";[65] while the editor of the golden jubilee record of Feilding Agricultural High School noted that "... school singing has become really a live and active part of our work".[66] School choirs also flourished in the 40's and 50's; once again, the quality of the singing was often extremely high. In 1956, the Wellington Girls' College Senior Special Choir was good enough to join with the Phoenix Choir in a presentation of Bach's *St Matthew Passion*, accompanied by the National Orchestra.[67] Two years later, Timaru Girls' High School became the first school in the South Island to have its choral work accepted for broadcasting on the national network.[68] Some choirs, such as Auckland Grammar School's Madrigal Group in the late 50's, were highly specialised; others, like the Sportsmen's Choir (successors to the Sixth-Form Singers) at Christchurch Boys' High School were content with less sophisticated music, but sang no less enthusiastically on that account.

Another aspect of school music which gave satisfaction to countless post-primary school pupils, and pleasure to their audiences, was instrumental playing. School orchestras presented items at concerts, provided the music for school productions, and sometimes accompanied the singing at school assemblies. Many schools, especially those with hostels, were able to arrange for pupils to receive tuition in individual instruments, including (at Waitaki Boys' High School) the pipe organ. The establishment, in 1959, of the National Youth Orchestra, catering for eighty players under the age of

twenty-one, was a great incentive to young instrumentalists.[69] Brass, silver, and pipe band enthusiasts were also well provided for in the schools, in spite of the high costs of instruments. Here, also, levels of attainment were often commendably high, with many school bands capable of giving polished public performances. In a single year (1961), the Christchurch Boys' High School band played at the state opening of Parliament, at the rugby test between France and New Zealand at Lancaster Park, and at the Royal garden party at the Christchurch Botanic Gardens.[70] The wealth of musical opportunities available at numerous post-primary schools in the 50's was reflected in a comment by a pupil who attended New Plymouth Girls' High School from 1949 to 1953: "I counted myself rich to be at a school where I could not only take piano lessons but also share in choral groups and 'cello classes, and play in a school orchestra."[71] Music often figured prominently in concerts and festivals presented jointly by adjacent schools. The writer of the centennial history of New Plymouth Boys' High School referred to the combining of the Boys' and Girls' High Schools to present the first music festival in the Opera House as the highlight of 1951, while a contributor to the School's *Magazine* for that year declared that "... the experience of taking part in such a combined effort in which such large numbers concentrated on making music was a fresh and lively one for all of us ...".[72]

By the early 50's, quite a number of schools had appointed specialist teachers of music. As the decade advanced, more and more schools began to offer instruction in music at School Certificate, University Entrance, and even University Scholarships level. As has already been noted, many schools, both old and new, were provided with

assembly halls in the 50's. Acquiring such a facility often made it possible for a school to embark on a much more adventurous programme of musical and dramatic activities. When a new assembly hall was finally completed at Rangiora High School in 1958, music, which had hitherto been "very much one of the poor relations, a fringe subject with no facilities of its own",[73] became a vital and valued part of school life. As early as 1947, the festival of music presented in the Town Hall by Wellington Girls' College had been described by one of the city's daily papers as illustrating "... the extent to which music of a high standard has captured a place in the curriculum of the secondary schools".[74] Writing in 1960, the Director was able to affirm that music was, indeed, firmly established in the post-primary schools. He predicted confidently that the Department's decision, taken in 1959, to appoint an Adviser in School Music would "... certainly give further stimulus to its development".[75]

Physical education

Another subject which benefited substantially from being included in the compulsory core was physical education. Stothart maintained that, prior to the publication of the *Thomas Report*,

> ... the situation [in respect of physical education] in secondary schools, apart from isolated exceptions, was lamentable, and despite Smithells'[76] attempts, secondary inspectors ... were reluctant to accept the need for improvement.[77]

He claimed, further, that "... up to the year 1946 ... there was no discernible pattern in New Zealand secondary physical education", and that it was a time of little status for physical education teachers.[78] The sub-committee on physical education[79] set up by the Thomas

Committee had recommended that there should be a specialist teacher for every two hundred pupils; a place in the school where physical education could be taught; provision for health education; and corrective work for individuals. However, these recommendations were not fully incorporated in the Regulations, in spite of the fact that the full Committee had endorsed them.[80] The time allocation for physical education provided for in the Regulations also fell short of the Thomas Committee's expectations. The Committee had recommended that schools should devote a minimum of two hours[81] per week to physical education in each of the first three years of the post-primary course. When the Regulations appeared, however, they included the footnote 'of which half a unit may be organised games'.[82] This allowance meant that, in practice, most schools devoted only two periods a week to physical education proper, to the great detriment of the health education programme. Smithells decided that physical education in the post-primary schools would be based on Swedish-derived gymnastics, but with an increased recreational content.[83] Unfortunately, such a scheme called for special accommodation and equipment, two resources which were sorely lacking in most schools. In the 1945/46 financial year, the Government made some funds available for gymnastic equipment; in the following year, thirty-six sets of portable Swedish beams were issued to selected post-primary schools.[84] Nevertheless, equipment for physical education remained in short supply in almost all schools until well into the 50's, and obtaining grants for it generally proved to be a laborious and frustrating exercise. The experience of Rangiora High School in this connection would have been by no means atypical:

> Physical education was, indeed, in a bad way (despite staff efforts) not least because the Department, for a time, played a

> game of Catch-22 with the School. Concerning physical education equipment, for instance, the Department advised in September, 1952 that "until the Board is prepared to submit some evidence that an effort is being made to put physical education on a sound footing, and give an assurance that storage space is available, a grant for this equipment cannot be recommended". How could the School win? It had no gymnasium and no equipment store, so could not put physical education 'on a sound footing' or provide storage space; therefore it was deemed not to deserve the equipment (let alone the gymnasium) which would have helped it to teach physical education adequately.[85]

As far as accommodation was concerned, the position in the years immediately following the gazetting of the new Regulations was extremely serious. In 1950, only about one quarter of the post-primary schools in New Zealand had a gymnasium,[86] though most of the schools did have halls.[87] Where neither facility was available, "physical education, when held at all, had to be conducted in the open".[88] At Southland Girls' High School in the late 40's:

> The small hall of the School did service as a library, a gymnasium, a music room, an assembly area, and an access route .... Physical education classes, if the hall was being used for other purposes and the rain falling outside, adjourned to a corridor, and girls took turns at vaulting over a horse, this being about the only activity that was possible in such a narrow area.[89]

The Thomas Committee had been adamant that "... at the post-primary level, physical education is essentially a job for specialists ...".[90] At first, such people were simply not available. In their absence, as, for example, at Feilding Agricultural High School, "... the work was carried out by the more agile of the men and women teachers".[91] Some relief was provided when a number of ex-servicemen who had stayed on in England after the war to train as physical education teachers at the renowned Loughborough College arrived back in New Zealand in 1946 and 1947;[92] however, it was not until the graduates of the newly-established diploma course in physical

education at the University of Otago appeared in the schools from 1951 onwards that the supply of specialist teachers, while unable for many years to meet the demand fully, became at least reasonably regular. Teacher enthusiasm increased steadily; some two hundred men and women teachers of physical education took part in a national refresher course held in January, 1946.[93] In the early 50's, specialist teachers of physical education in the schools, teachers' training colleges, and universities banded together to establish a Physical Education Society. Soon after its first national congress, held in Dunedin in 1953, the Society began to publish its own *Journal of Physical Education*, which served, *inter alia*, as a sounding board for ideas and opinions on aspects of teaching physical education. It also helped to raise the status of the discipline and its teachers. The earlier lack of any integrated physical education syllabus was remedied, to some extent, when the Department issued an interim scheme in 1943. The following year saw the appointment of a number of liaison organisers, whose main task was to coordinate physical education programmes in the primary and post-primary schools.[94] One feature of the work which flourished in the 50's, especially in girls' schools, was the teaching of life-saving.[95] In his Report for 1953, the Director noted that more than three-quarters of all the awards made that year by the Royal Life-Saving Society had gone to pupils in post-primary schools.[96] However, it was a different story with health education, an aspect of the physical education syllabus on which the Thomas Committee had laid some stress. The Committee had envisaged one period of the three recommended for physical education each week being devoted to health education, but the footnote in the Regulations allowing schools to use half a unit for organised games resulted in health education being omitted from the physical education

curriculum of most schools. The cause of health education received a further setback when the Mazengarb Committee,[97] reporting in 1954, stated that, apart from a treatment of the biological aspects of sex in the general science programme of post-primary schools, "... the school, in general, is not the place for class instruction in sex matters".[98] Hutt Valley High School, which found itself at the centre of the Mazengarb Committee's investigations,[99] was in no doubt that the Committee's views on sex education (which were in marked contrast to those of the Thomas Committee) impeded for some years the promotion of health education courses in post-primary schools in the Hutt Valley and beyond.[100]

Arts and crafts

Most post-primary schools were teaching at least some drawing and design before the new curriculum was introduced. Indeed, in technical high schools, drawing (instead of science) was a required subject in terms of the junior free place regulations. Auckland Grammar School had had a full-time drawing master since 1883;[101] in the years immediately preceding the publication of the *Thomas Report*, all third and fourth-form boys at Auckland Grammar received instruction in geometrical and free-hand drawing. Wellington Girls' College appointed its first full-time art teacher in 1932; within a short time, "... the scope of art instruction [had] expanded considerably to include drawing, painting and design, craft of various kinds, modelling, metal work, and art embroidery".[102] A typical technical high school domestic course programme in the late 30's included drawing, design, and such applied arts as stencilling, and leather or metal work.[103] In connection with the teaching of art in post-primary schools in the years before World War II, Fry claimed

that "... it was in the technical colleges ... that some of the most original work was done".[104] A number of these colleges, particularly in the larger centres, had well-developed art departments, which "drew promising students from other schools".[105] With this background of established activity in almost all of the post-primary schools, it is not surprising that most schools experienced little difficulty in conforming to the requirements of the new curriculum in art and crafts. The fact that the work could be carried out at least reasonably satisfactorily in an ordinary classroom, and did not make too many demands in the way of equipment or materials, also made its introduction (or adaptation) easier. By the early 50's, a large number of schools had appointed full-time specialists in fine arts; such appointments, coupled with the gradual building of new art blocks, "... led to wider experiences - sculpture, pottery-making, silk-screen printing".[106] Many schools soon had flourishing sixth-form art programmes, and pupils were prepared for the preliminary examination of the Diploma in Fine Arts. This course received a fillip when the universities decided that, in and after 1954, the preliminary examination had to be passed before admission could be gained to the Schools of Art.[107] This meant, in effect, that the qualification had to be obtained at a post-primary school. Art became a special feature of the curriculum of some schools, such as Timaru Girls' High School, where, with the exception of some sixth formers, "... every girl devoted two periods a week to art, and considerably more to crafts".[108] At Timaru Girls', "... the wide range of activities provided for in the arts and crafts room and the pottery terrace enabled the school to qualify as one recognised to present candidates for ... technical bursaries in art."[109] In 1958, the School sent some paintings done by pupils in the art classes to

London; five of these works were selected for display at an international exhibition of children's art and craft.[110] Wellington Girls' College was another school where the art programme "... encouraged the flowering of the talents of many pupils".[111] With the aim of providing the whole school community with the opportunity to appreciate notable works of art, most schools hung prints of quality in their corridors and classrooms. Some had sufficient prints to establish a print library, which enabled them to change the displays regularly.[112]

The nature of the craft work undertaken in post-primary schools in the years following the gazetting of the 1945 Regulations depended, to a large extent, on the availability of materials, as well as on the particular interests and areas of competence of the teachers involved. Pottery was widely taught in both day and evening classes; other craft work commonly undertaken included book-binding, leather work, macramé, wood carving, fabric and silk-screen printing, clay-modelling, lino-cutting, spinning and weaving, and (generally when funds ran low and materials were in short supply) soap carving. In 1964, Watson maintained that "... art teaching has developed spectacularly in secondary schools in recent years ...",[113] a judgment which reflected the enormous expansion which had taken place in the 50's in the range of opportunities for aesthetic development offered by the schools. For their part, the pupils probably enjoyed their art and craft lessons more than most others. For some, at least, the time allocated to this part of their programmes was all too short. A pupil who attended New Plymouth Girls' High School from 1959 to 1963 declared: "I loved art, and was really sad there was no more art after the third form in an academic course. I felt stifled because there was little

self-expression possible."[114]

In spite of the conviction of the Thomas Committee that technical drawing was "a second language of great lucidity and economy",[115] this subject was slow to fulfil its potential in the secondary schools. However, once woodwork and metalwork became more widely accepted as valuable elements of a worthwhile course of study, the need to promote the necessary accompanying skills in design led to an increase in the number of pupils taking technical drawing. In the technical schools, where trade drawing was already well established, adjusting to the prescriptions laid down for technical drawing was a relatively easy matter. By the end of the 50's, the subject had gained considerably in popularity. In 1961, about one pupil in ten sitting School Certificate offered technical drawing as a subject.[116]

Woodwork and metalwork

Well before the *Thomas Report* appeared, many secondary schools were teaching woodwork and metalwork. However, since the emphasis then was on the hobby aspect of these subjects, they were not taken by serious examination candidates (except, perhaps, for one period a week in an electives programme). At Waitaki Boys' High School, full woodwork and metalwork courses were introduced in the 20's, leading Tyrrell to suggest that Waitaki must have been one of the first comprehensive schools in the country.[117] Thames High School began classes in metalwork and engineering in the old *Thames Star* building in 1939, thus enabling the School, for the first time, to "... provide a good course free of any university trend".[118] Auckland Grammar School already had a flourishing workshop when J.W. Tibbs was appointed headmaster in 1893;[119] at Wellington College, a woodwork

shop, which "proved popular and efficient", was set up in the basement in the early 40's.[120] The construction of a building for metalwork at Feilding Technical High School in 1940 marked the introduction of a new subject into the curriculum of the School.[121] A major problem, however, was that, in the pre-Thomas era, woodwork and metalwork had been essentially practical subjects. As long as they were taken in fulfilment of the craft requirement of the common core, this emphasis was entirely appropriate; however, as options for School Certificate, both woodwork and metalwork (called engineering shopwork at School Certificate level) had a substantial theory component. Consequently, School Certificate programmes in these subjects had to be re-organised and upgraded so that pupils could do themselves justice in what soon became largely a written examination.[122] Many schools found this a difficult change to make, and it was evident that the inspectors were not satisfied with the standards which some schools were setting themselves in woodwork and engineering shopwork. As a result, the Department took steps to exercise some control over the situation. On 1 May, 1950, the following notice appeared in the *Education Gazette*:

> Schools desiring to present candidates in woodwork or engineering shopwork for School Certificate must be approved for this purpose by the Director. Schools will be reviewed during the year. Only schools treating these subjects as major subjects will be approved.

In the long run, subjects like woodwork and metalwork benefited enormously from the impetus given to the practical subjects by the new School Certificate. Between 1946 and 1959, a large number of schools considerably expanded their work in these two disciplines. Rangiora High School had new workshops and specialist teachers in place as early as 1946;[123] a new manual course embracing woodwork and

High School had new workshops and specialist teachers in place as early as 1946;[123] a new manual course embracing woodwork and engineering was introduced at Mount Albert Grammar School in 1948;[124] and a completely new block providing facilities for teaching technical drawing, woodwork, farm engineering, and metalwork, was opened at Feilding Agricultural High School in 1956.[125] By 1961, about one pupil in twenty sitting School Certificate was offering woodwork. The same proportion was entering for engineering shopwork.

Homecraft and clothing

Many of the difficulties experienced by the schools in bringing woodwork and engineering shopwork into line with other School Certificate options were reflected in homecraft and clothing. Most of the coeducational schools and all of the girls' schools were teaching some form of home-related studies before the new Regulations appeared. The popularity of these studies may be gauged from the number of schools offering sixth-form courses in them in the years immediately following the gazetting of the Endorsed School Certificate regulations.[126] A lack of essential resources, including accommodation and facilities, often resulted in a school having to restrict its offerings in homecraft and clothing.[127] One school cut out the homelife course completely in the early 50's in an effort to keep its roll within reasonable limits, but the course was re-introduced after a lapse of three or four years.[128] In some of the more academic girls' schools, the homelife option was still something of a novelty in the late 40's. A pupil who was at New Plymouth Girls' High School from 1945 to 1948 recalled that:

> Home science was still a fairly new and experimental idea - an attempt to give unacademically inclined girls an education

> related to their future needs by way of ... one afternoon of cooking and one of dressmaking a week - and dietetics, which was interesting.[129]

A special aspect of the homelife course in a small number of schools was its association with a nursery school or play centre for pre-school children[130] attached to the school. Rangiora High School had a nursery school from 1938; by 1950, "... the hot dinner [for about thirty children] was provided by the home science girls, who also arranged the menu, prepared the shopping lists, and made the purchases".[131] At Timaru Girls' High School, in the early 50's, senior homelife girls and sixth-formers intending to go to teachers' training college were on duty at the School's play centre for three consecutive weeks, during which time they had to write an account of their observations:[132] "The School could thus provide complete training in homecraft, and in child care, as well."[133]

Post-primary school courses in homecraft and clothing became more firmly established as time went on. However, throughout the 50's (and beyond), these subjects struggled against the severe handicap of being looked on as primarily for girls of limited academic ability. This type of social stigma was very difficult to counter. In all too many schools, specialist teachers of homecraft and clothing, and excellent facilities for teaching these subjects, were under-utilised because few parents were willing to enrol their girls in a course which was commonly regarded as being the preserve of 'dummies'. The problem was not fully resolved until the middle 60's, when schools began to abandon courses as such. In this way, the different options became much more widely available. The eventual elimination of the social overtones attached to certain school courses[134] was hastened by the

actions of schools like Wellington Girls' College, which introduced, in 1957, a short, concentrated course in homecraft and clothing for all fourth-form girls (other than those enrolled in the homelife course). In the following year, the programme was extended to include all third-form girls as well. In effect, the College gave homecraft and clothing the status of core subjects, thus making them the common property of every girl in the school.[135] A similar situation obtained in the 50's at Timaru Girls' High School, where homecraft and clothing were valued as essential crafts, and constituted a part of every pupil's course.[136]

Commercial subjects

Bookkeeping and shorthand and typing were quite extensively taught in post-primary schools long before the Thomas Committee brought down their recommendations. In fact, after the introduction of the School Certificate examination in 1934, bookkeeping was the only subject which was not also a subject for University Entrance to attract candidates in any reasonable numbers. Both bookkeeping and shorthand and typing had the advantage of being vocationally-oriented subjects, which ensured that they were consistently supported, the more so in times of actual or threatened economic downturn, when employment was hard to obtain. Bookkeeping, in particular, prospered in the 50's; by 1961, one pupil in seven sitting School Certificate was offering this subject.[137] The Education (Post-primary Instruction) Regulations 1945 introduced a new optional subject for pupils sitting School Certificate - commercial practice. The Thomas Committee set great store by this subject, holding that "... it should be regarded as the core of the commercial course with which work in all commercial subjects may be correlated".[138] Their confidence that

the schools would accept commercial practice in this light was amply justified. In his Report for 1947, the Chief Inspector of Post-primary Schools noted that "... the new commercial subject, commercial practice, has proved very popular, and is now[139] an integral part of many general courses, as well as of most revised commercial courses".[140] In the School Certificate examination for 1961, the number of pupils offering commercial practice was ten times greater than it had been in 1946; it also enjoyed a higher percentage increase over that period than was recorded for any other subject.[141] Throughout the period, a small number of schools prepared post-University Entrance pupils for Accountancy Professional examinations, and for the first stage of the B.Com. degree. At New Plymouth Boys' High School, for example, in 1957, such a group (known as 6 Accounting) was spending twenty-one of their thirty-five weekly periods studying Accounting I, Commercial Law, and Company Law for B.Com. They joined the upper sixth for English, which they also offered for the degree. Numbers in this class varied from four to sixteen (there were seven in 1957); the School's centennial chronicler recorded that "... it was very closely knit, and developed standards of work and esprit that brought outstanding results".[142]

Agriculture

Reference has already been made to the state of agriculture teaching in the technical schools and the secondary and combined schools in the period from 1946 to 1959. Writing in 1955, Thorp contended that "... all is far from well with agricultural education at the post-primary stage".[143] He advanced the following reasons for this state of affairs: insufficient numbers of well-qualified agricultural teachers; a lack of understanding on the part of school

principals and careers teachers of the need for the agricultural course to be given more status than it was commonly accorded; and the failure of the Department to ensure that at least one inspector in each team was qualified in agriculture.[144] If one adds to this list the widespread belief that the agricultural course catered primarily for pupils who had little or no academic or mechanical ability; and the conviction held by so many people, especially farmers, that the best form of agricultural education was 'learning by doing' on the farm, a picture begins to emerge of why such a relatively small proportion of the country's post-primary schools taught agriculture. In most of the schools where it was taught, agriculture was more than holding its own. For example, the agricultural course at Mount Albert Grammar School, introduced in 1932, was still enjoying strong support in 1957. The School's *Jubilee History* described the agriculture programme as "... an enterprise which must be unique in New Zealand - a farm in the middle of a built-up area".[145] Naturally, procedures and purposes changed over the years, as, for instance, at Rangiora High School, another school with a long agricultural tradition. There, the two major functions of the farm, until 1959, had been to give practical experience to pupils taking the agricultural course, and to supplement the theoretical teaching of the agricultural instructors.[146] In the 60's, however, pupils went to the farm chiefly for demonstrations and observation, and not so much to assist with the routine work.[147] Napier Boys' High School had 147 boys in the agriculture course in 1957. The school farm was in full production, with an "overall lambing percentage of 106 [which] would have been the envy of most farmers in Hawke's Bay".[148] The post-World War II years saw considerable expansion on the farms at Feilding Agricultural High School. These developments heightened the value of the farms as a

source of practical work for the agriculture course,[149] in which nearly half of all the boys attending the School were enrolled. Northland College, opened in 1947, had quite a strong agricultural side from the beginning; by 1956, more than a quarter of all the boys at the College were taking agriculture. Table 31 sets out the weekly timetable of pupils taking this course at Northland College in the early 50's.[150] However, notwithstanding the buoyant state of the agricultural course in schools such as those just

TABLE 31

WEEKLY TIMETABLE OF AGRICULTURE COURSE PUPILS AT NORTHLAND COLLEGE IN THE EARLY 50's

Subject	Forms 3 & 4	Form 5
English	6	6
Library	1	1
Social studies	4	
Mathematics	4	
General science	6	
Music	2	2
Physical education	2	2
Military drill and organised games	4	4
Woodwork/Engineering	4	
Agricultural subjects	7	12
Farm calculations		3
Workshops		6
Bookkeeping		4
TOTAL	40	40

referred to, the fact remains that the overall position of agriculture in the post-primary curriculum was far from encouraging. The situation was aptly summed up by Somerset in an article he wrote in 1958:

> In 1956, 17,694 boys and girls entered for the School Certificate examination. Of these, 5,855 sat in General Science; 4,428 in Biology; [and] 3,231 in Chemistry. In the agricultural subjects, 284 (presumably boys only) sat in Animal Husbandry; 246 in Dairying; [and] 451 in General Agriculture.[151]

The figures tell the story! One of the new optional subjects introduced into the School Certificate examination by the Education (Post-primary Instruction) Regulations 1945 was horticulture, which had been taught with some success in a small number of schools in the pre-Thomas era.[152] Horticulture began to appear more frequently in school programmes in the early 50's, particularly in rural areas, where, in the opinion of the Director, its introduction as a School Certificate option had proved helpful.[153] However, the growth of horticulture as a subject in post-primary schools was relatively slow; it was not until the 70's that it really came into its own.

English

Of the more traditional subjects, English was certainly one of the slowest to adjust to the demands of the new curriculum. When the inspectors visited Auckland Grammar School in 1947, it was the English department which came in for most criticism. Much of the English teaching observed was described as "... mediocre, and not of a type to arouse any keen interest on the part of pupils".[154] The inspectors reported that they had gained the impression "... that modern conceptions of English teaching as prescribed in the syllabus had not been realised".[155] They noted that old-fashioned methods persisted, with too much time given to the isolated study of pedantic, formal grammar, and too many exercises set that were artificial and verbose.[156] There can be no doubt that Auckland Grammar was not the only school in this position, which stemmed from the continued use of

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outdated text books, and the reluctance of many long-serving teachers to inject an element of freshness and vitality into their teaching. In the 50's, the teaching of English at Auckland Grammar and elsewhere did move slowly towards "the breadth of interpretation" which the *Thomas Report* had called for,[157] with more emphasis being placed on oral work, drama, reading, and written exercises which bore some relation to the everyday lives of pupils. Reading was actively encouraged in many schools at this time by the introduction of a timetabled library period.[158] In his Report for 1959, the Director drew attention to the fact that schools were making better use of their libraries, with a consequent improvement in the range and quality of pupils' reading.[159] A number of schools also promoted oral work by the appointment of trained teachers of speech and drama. Auckland and Mount Albert Grammar Schools had shared a speech teacher since the middle 30's;[160] Otago Girls' High School appointed a speech training specialist, as well as a part-time tutor in drama, in 1946;[161] and Timaru Girls' High School introduced speech training in 1953.[162] Such arrangements bore fruit; the inspectors noted, in their 1959 Report, that higher standards in oral English were evident.[163]

An off-shoot of the English programme which enjoyed considerable popularity in almost every post-primary school in the country was drama.[164] Many a pupil unable to shine elsewhere achieved a sense of fulfilment through taking part in plays, either as an actor or as a worker behind the scenes. Most schools staged an annual production (often in association with neighbouring schools), as well as presenting plays on a house or form basis each term. Dramatic work nearly always involved a number of school departments: technical

pupils (and teachers) built props, and helped with the lighting; art pupils painted scenery; clothing pupils made costumes. Consequently, staging a play was very much a whole-school effort, and had a strong unifying effect. It also brought the school into association with its community when public performances were involved. A girl who attended New Plymouth Girls' High School in the 50's described in these words what drama meant to her during her years at the School:

> And how our School gave us opportunities in drama, specially through our house plays, ...! We had to do everything ourselves: choose the plays, make the costumes and scenery, act and produce the plays .... After acting for several years in our house plays, I was then the producer in my last year. It gave me experience and a confidence far beyond that of most girls of my years ....[165]

Drama enthusiasts in the schools received a great deal of encouragement and some sound technical advice from New Zealand's first professional theatre company, the New Zealand Players, who toured the schools with *St Joan* in the first term of 1955. Later that year, a quartet from the New Zealand Players, led by Alan Paton, presented in a large number of schools a programme entitled 'Ninety Minutes of Comedy'. The same drama quartet was on tour again in 1956.[166]

Throughout the period, teachers and pupils alike benefited considerably from a steady flow of published material of relevance to the English programme. Professor Gordon's book *The Teaching of English* (1947)[167], and *The Teaching of English in Schools: A Symposium*, edited by V. de S. Pinto (1946)[168] both had a marked influence on English teaching, especially in the senior school. W.J. Scott's *Reading, Film, and Radio Tastes of High School Boys and Girls*

(1947)[169] helped many teachers to a better understanding of adolescent preferences in reading and related areas, as well as stimulating them to devise more appropriate and relevant programmes of work in English for their pupils. Information about books also received considerable prominence in the *Education Gazette* throughout the 50's; some issues devoted up to three pages to book reviews, details of publications received, and annotated lists of books for post-primary schools.[170] Of great value, also, were the Department's *Post-primary Bulletins*, designed "to supply background reading in connection with subjects of the new curriculum",[171] in addition to meeting the need for teaching material with New Zealand content.[172] The first issue of the *Bulletins* was in October, 1946; thereafter, they appeared regularly, at the rate of two a month.[173] The *Bulletins* were especially useful, because they were written specifically for school use, and they dealt with subjects on which detailed information was not readily available elsewhere.[174] A large number of the *Bulletins* published between 1946 and 1959 were relevant to the English programme. The teaching of literature, in particular, was enhanced by the availability of class sets of *Bulletins* on such topics as: 'Writing in New Zealand'; 'Later New Zealand Novelists'; 'The New Zealand Short Story'; 'Reading Poetry'; and 'Action and Word in Shakespeare'. Other *Bulletins* offered help in the areas of written expression and discrimination.[175] There can be no doubt that the influence of the *Bulletins* on English teaching in the post-primary schools of the 50's was both considerable and beneficial.[176]

Foreign languages

When the new curriculum was introduced, there was a sharp decline in the study of foreign languages in the post-primary schools.[177] Although some people were concerned that many fewer pupils were studying Latin and French after 1945, others realised that the downturn was inevitable, since these languages "... were [often] taught because they were required subjects rather than desired disciplines".[178] However, within two or three years of the gazetting of the Education (Post-primary Instruction) Regulations 1945, the Chief Inspector was able to report that there had been some recovery in French, that increased interest was being shown in other modern foreign languages, and that the position of Latin was stabilising.[179] The 'other modern foreign languages' referred to by the Chief Inspector meant German,[180] a subject which gained steadily in popularity in the second half of the 40's. Writing in 1949, Asher noted that: "Whereas fifteen years ago German was taught scarcely anywhere in this country, it is now a class subject in thirteen major [post-primary] schools".[181] In 1960, the Director reported that German was continuing to gain ground; one school had even substituted German for French as the one foreign language studied.[182] Almost all of the German taught in the 50's was at post-School Certificate level,[183] with schools offering a two-year concentrated course leading to University Entrance, or a special reading course designed for senior pupils taking science.

In 1946, French was the fourth most popular of the optional subjects for School Certificate. Fifteen years later, it had conceded only one place in the popularity ratings, and was still offered by one School Certificate candidate in every three. French owed its

durability over these years largely to the liberal and varied syllabus laid down for School Certificate in the 1945 Regulations, as well as to the more enlightened teaching methods and textbooks which were being used. Oral work had achieved a new-found prominence, time was devoted to learning about the life and customs of the French people, and reading for understanding had become an important part of the programme.[184] The French broadcasts to schools, which had begun in 1941, continued throughout the 40's and 50's, though a decline in their quality in the early 50's led to their being less widely used than before.[185] A questionnaire sent out by the P.P.T.A. in 1956 to three hundred schools disclosed that, of the two hundred schools which replied, 137 were not listening to the broadcasts.[186] However, the position had improved substantially by 1958; Griffin commented favourably on the interesting lessons and dictation exercises, and the new, error-free booklet.[187] Another aid to French studies was the pen friend scheme, promoted quite extensively after the war by the International Correspondence Club. Large numbers of pupils taking French at school had correspondents in France.[188] As one school reported, "... letters to and from France were a great help in encouraging and improving [one's] French".[189] At the post-School Certificate levels, French examination prescriptions remained fairly formal. Grammar-based lessons were still the order of the day in University Entrance and Scholarships classes, though there were some new developments in free composition work, and (from the early 60's) writing French from dictation.

It is difficult to gainsay Moffat's suspicion that "... in many classes Latin went out to let the core in".[190] In 1943, one boy in two attending Mount Albert Grammar School was studying Latin;[191] in

1956, the ratio was little better than one in five. In 1946, Latin was sixth in order of preference among the optional subjects for School Certificate, being on a par with subjects like general science and bookkeeping; by 1961, it had slipped to fifteenth place, with fewer than half as many candidates as bookkeeping, and only one sixth as many as general science. Latin suffered a further setback in the 50's, when the conviction grew that pupils offering that subject for School Certificate were unfairly treated by the system used to arrive at median marks, because no account was taken of the fact that, as a group, Latin candidates tended to be of well above average intelligence.[192] Although the Committee set up by the Minister of Education in March, 1956 '... to review the post-primary curriculum and the School Certificate examination with particular reference to the position of Latin as a school subject and to the effect of scaling' concluded that: "We do not consider that the present method of scaling is the cause of any special hardship to pupils taking Latin",[193] pupils preferred to be guided by the experience of their friends at school who had taken Latin for School Certificate. Accordingly, when their turn came, they chose an alternative subject which would bring them a higher mark, thus enhancing their chances of qualifying for admission in the following year to form 6. However, the classics did continue to be well supported in some schools. In 1954, Hutt Valley High School advertised a Position of Responsibility Class 'B' in Latin and Greek,[194] while schools continued to seek teachers of Latin at assistant's level throughout the 50's.

Between 1946 and 1959, the Maori language was not widely taught, except in the denominational boarding schools. Though an occasional state post-primary school advertised in the *Education Gazette* for a

teacher of Maori,[195] it was not until the 60's that the teaching of the Maori language became more common. The Correspondence School provided a stimulus to the study of Maori when it began offering lessons in the Maori language for School Certificate in 1949. The lessons, intended for post-primary school pupils, teachers in Maori schools, and nurses and others working in Maori districts, were supplemented by radio broadcasts.[196]

One factor which had a marked effect on the numbers of pupils in the post-Thomas years who chose to carry their language studies through to forms 5 and 6 was the tendency of schools to allow the exigencies of the timetable to dictate the available options. In a letter to the editor of *Education*, written in 1949, Macaskill maintained that:

> ... there has been a regrettable and short-sighted tendency in some schools to make such subjects as French and chemistry alternatives in the programme. Little or no attempt is made to allow real choices based on interest or aptitude to triumph over the Procrustean expediency of the Timetable.[197]

Although Christchurch Girls' High School offered a choice of subjects for School Certificate and University Entrance, "... the practicalities of arranging the timetable meant that, in effect, a girl had to choose between sciences and languages in the senior school".[198] At Christchurch Girls' High School, as elsewhere, "the 'battle' between the arts and the sciences became part of school life"[199] following the adoption of the recommendations of the Thomas Committee.[200]

Social studies

No subject of the core has aroused more controversy nor been laid open to more detailed analysis than social studies.[201] Opinions about the extent to which its implementation has reflected the spirit of the *Thomas Report* range from the view expressed by Bull: "My impression of social studies ... is that its teachers have come a long way toward realising the ideals of the *Thomas Report*,"[202] to Sutch's assessment that "... social studies has failed almost completely as a post-primary subject".[203] Probably the greatest difficulty which faced social studies in 1946 was that its antecedents, history and geography, remained on the scene, and continued to overshadow it. Moreover, both history and geography were recognised as School Certificate subjects in terms of the 1945 Regulations, whereas social studies was not. From the outset, schools were thus placed in a dilemma with regard to social studies. Were they to look on it as a two-year terminal course designed to cater for those pupils who would not be taking either history or geography for School Certificate, or should they treat social studies as a preparatory course to School Certificate history and geography? In view of the fact that, in the years immediately following the introduction of the new curriculum, history and geography were the two most popular of the School Certificate optional subjects, it is not surprising that the bulk of the schools chose the latter alternative. In many cases, they then moved even further away from the intentions of the Thomas Committee, that "... the social studies course ... should be an integrated one",[204] by having the history component of the course taught by one teacher, and the geography component by another.[205] There were also widespread misgivings about some aspects of the content of the social studies course as recommended by the Thomas Committee; these doubts

persisted, in many quarters, throughout the 50's. At a well-supported social studies refresher course held in January, 1959, the teachers present identified four aspects of the social studies programme which they disagreed with, or admitted to feeling uncertain about: 1) ways of teaching effective citizenship; 2) school government; 3) integration of subject matter; 4) the function of the local survey.[206] The same group referred to six other factors which, in their view, "threaten[ed] to destroy social studies". These were:

1. The inadequate (sometimes non-existent) academic equipment of a good many teachers of Social Studies.

2. The still fairly wide-spread ignorance of the aims and value of Social Studies, and of how to select, organise and teach the prescribed material effectively.

3. The erroneous belief that one must choose between teaching Social Studies and getting one's pupils through School Certificate in History and/or Geography.

4. The tendency in a number of schools to put Social Studies on the time-table but, in the Fourth Form, at least, to teach History and Geography separately and to restrict the Fourth Form syllabus to the School Certificate prescriptions.

5. The failure of a good many schools to allocate enough time to Social Studies.

6. In a great many schools, the failure to realise that for effective Social Studies teaching a teacher needs to teach in his own room just as a science teacher needs his own laboratory.[207]

Members of the course also acknowledged that, in numerous social studies classes, teachers relied too much on dictated notes; did not use a wide enough range of teaching techniques; failed to adapt their courses to suit the abilities and interests of particular classes; tended (if they were historians) to "bog down with the Babylonians", and (if they were geographers) to "prance around places without looking at people"; and neglected to maintain adequate links with

their contributing schools.[208] Phoebe Meikle, a senior and respected social studies teacher of the day, was also apprehensive about the way so many teachers handled "those large and important sections of social studies prescriptions that do not also form part of School Certificate prescriptions".[209] Such sections, she feared,

> ...are likely to be scamped or thrown overboard, and the rest, even as early as the third form, to become a matter of School Certificate fact-grinding, so that little of genuine educational value can be obtained from it.[210]

Observations of this kind, made by practising and, for the most part, enthusiastic teachers of social studies some fifteen years after the new curriculum had been introduced, could only be regarded as an indictment of the way the subject was being taught in a large number of schools. These critics all supported the Thomas Committee's recommendations, but deplored the limited extent to which teachers were living up to the aims, the recommended approach, and the content of the *Report*. At the heart of the problem was the fact that, at a time when post-primary schools were suffering from an acute shortage of teachers, principals were prone to allocate subjects like social studies, which were not examinable externally, to young, inexperienced, and sometimes insecure teachers whose professional skills were simply inadequate to meet the challenges which Thomas-style social studies imposed on them. It was to be the best part of another decade before the National Social Studies Syllabus Committee[211] came to the rescue of subject and teachers alike. The formation of the Curriculum Development Unit in 1963 also represented a major step forward as far as providing support services for social studies teachers was concerned.[212] In the meantime, the Department did offer teachers some guidance and encouragement by producing

numerous *Post-primary Bulletins* devoted to social studies topics. These were particularly valuable, since, for some time after the gazetting of the new Regulations, there were no suitable social studies textbooks available.[213] The inspectors also did what they could to equip social studies teachers with a wider range of teaching skills, especially by organising local seminars and study groups.[214] As the 50's progressed, some schools began to devote one of their social studies periods each week to Maori studies, a practice which was to become quite common in the 60's and 70's. Kaitaia College introduced a Maori studies component into its form 3 and form 4 social studies course in 1960. Mitcalfe described the programme as follows:

> For the first two terms, we study Maori and Pakeha interaction through hero stories and lives of key figures. In term 3, there is a study of history, leading to an analysis of the role of modern institutions, of family, marae, trust, and tribal organisation; and brief studies of modern Maori leaders. In the second year, we study the pre-European Maori, first in general terms of origin, migration, and patterns of settlement, then in the detail of tribal organisation, economics, and consequent attitudes of mind, belief, and legend. As much of this as possible is given local reference.[215]

Geography, which had long been a popular subject in the post-primary school curriculum, enjoyed ever-increasing support in the period from 1946 to 1959. In 1946, 54 per cent of School Certificate candidates offered geography as one of their optional subjects;[216] by 1961, the proportion had increased to 69 per cent, and geography had become by far the most widely-supported School Certificate option. This spectacular increase in popularity is all the more remarkable when one realises that, at the time the new Regulations were published, geography barely existed as a university discipline. It was taught seriously only at Canterbury University College until K.B. Cumberland was appointed to head a newly-opened department of

geography at Auckland University College in 1947. Cumberland entered into his work with almost missionary-like zeal; within a few years, he was producing textbooks and atlases which became standard teaching resources in post-primary schools. Earlier, the Department had distributed to schools a helpful publication called *New Zealand Geography Through Pictures*. As was the case in other curriculum areas, the *Post-primary Bulletins* provided teachers of geography with a steady stream of well-written and very relevant teaching material.[217] The New Zealand Geographical Society also did a great deal to advance the cause of geography in the post-primary schools. As early as 1951, the Society was producing geography teaching aids for school use; in addition, it organised annual conferences, at which many of the papers presented bore directly on the work of the post-primary schools.[218] A feature of the teaching of geography in this period was the increasing emphasis placed on field work. A number of school histories referred to senior geography classes undertaking expeditions to enable them to carry out on-the-spot investigations. These accounts made it clear that such trips were a recognised and on-going part of the schools' geography programmes.[219,220]

In marked contrast to geography, history lost ground as a preferred subject for study in the senior classes of post-primary schools between 1946 and 1959. From being the most popular of the School Certificate optional subjects in 1946, when it was offered by 64 per cent of the candidates, history had dropped to third place by 1961, with only 41 per cent of the candidates taking it.[221] There were at least three reasons for the loss of status which history suffered in the 50's. First, in many schools it was taught in such a

way that pupils could hardly help looking on it as a rather dull and boring discipline. At that time, teachers of post-primary school history tended to look on their subject as a body of knowledge to be transferred from them to their pupils, preferably in a manner which would encourage passive reception. To this end, history lessons often consisted almost exclusively of dictated notes, and a close study of text-book narratives.[222] It was taken for granted that the material presented was incontrovertible, and so called for no analysis or comment on the part of the pupils. The last thing the study of history required pupils to do was to think for themselves. Moreover, while their geography counterparts were being encouraged to look on field trips as an important aspect of their work, very few history pupils indeed would have ever been given a source document to study. In short, most history teaching of the time encouraged the very outcome which the Thomas Committee had considered most inappropriate, "the mere cramming of facts for examination purposes".[223] The following description of a history lesson, although it belonged to an earlier period, would have been quite typical of what was still happening in the 40's and 50's:

> 'Miss C_ begins to dictate. I head up "Causes of War", underline it in red ink, and in the margin neatly write "1".
>
> Now if Miss C_ said there were four causes of that war, that was all there was. We didn't have to bother our heads thinking of any more. After "Causes" and "Events", then "Results" of the War. She believed in giving good, strong signposts through the confused paths of history.'[224]

Another disincentive to the study of history in the immediate post-Thomas years was the School Certificate prescription. Until it was revised in 1956, this prescription covered British history from the Middle Ages to date. Inevitably, course content of this kind appeared

to most adolescents to be remote in time and place, and largely irrelevant to the lives they were living in the 1950's in New Zealand. Had a revised syllabus not been introduced in 1956, the fall off in pupil numbers would undoubtedly have been even greater than it was. Finally, some of the blame for the decline in the number of pupils studying history in the 50's can fairly be laid at the door of the schools themselves. In many schools, history was regarded as a suitable subject for pupils who could not cope with mathematics; for this reason, these two subjects were often put into the same option line. Obviously, a choice between mathematics and history was likely to work to the disadvantage of history. Unlike their colleagues in some other subject areas, teachers of history could not claim that their task was made difficult by a shortage of resources. Suitable textbooks, including some produced in New Zealand, were in good supply, while the Department's *Post-primary Bulletins* again provided teachers with much valuable supplementary material. The growth of pupil apathy towards history continued into the 60's, with more and more pupils, especially boys, not continuing with the subject after their fourth-form year, a trend which Meikle considered to have "grave implications":

> It is ... a great social disaster if little or nothing is done to humanize our scientific masters of tomorrow [and] if the present and the future that they will have so big a share in shaping must remain dark to them because their ignorance of the past denies them a guiding light.[225]

Mathematics

In spite of forebodings that full mathematics would prove to be beyond the powers of a large proportion of all post-primary pupils,[226] this subject had a wide following from the time the new curriculum was

introduced. Somehow, the schools managed to cope with the numbers coming forward, even though qualified teachers of mathematics were rare. Watson claimed, in 1964 (and the situation would have been no different in the 50's), that "half of the teachers taking mathematics in the secondary schools themselves have no university qualifications in the subject".[227] He went on to quote Bull's study,[228] which established that "... only about a quarter of the pupils entering the third forms are likely to encounter a [mathematics] teacher who has taken five units of mathematics in a bachelor's degree or has some higher qualification".[229] Elsewhere, Bull also referred to teachers "... who, for the most part, have only the woolliest ideas on logically structured geometry".[230] During this period, there was a good deal of criticism of the way mathematics was being taught. In his Report for 1954, the Director observed that "... the one subject about which the Chief Inspector of Post-primary Schools has expressed particular concern is mathematics".[231] Beeby claimed that, although there was evidence to show that standards in mathematics had declined, "... teachers are being helped to acquire a higher degree of technical skill in this subject".[232] While acknowledging that the new curriculum in mathematics had led to "... a considerable and realistic widening of scope", Bull contended that this improvement had, however, been "... vitiated to a regrettable extent by the unwillingness of many teachers to depart from the limit of what they themselves have been taught".[233] Bull further maintained that "... the lack of really suitable textbooks has ... been a difficulty"; he also noted the apparent reluctance of examiners "... to set demanding questions in fields which they doubtless knew were often being inadequately covered".[234] Nevertheless, the numbers of School Certificate candidates offering mathematics remained high. In 1946, mathematics

was third in order of preference of the optional subjects for School Certificate, attracting 53 per cent of the candidates; by 1961, it had risen to second place on the list, and accounted for 50 per cent of the candidates. The fears of the principal of Otago Girls' High School and others had proved groundless.

The position in respect of core mathematics was very much less encouraging. Between 1946 and 1959, the Director's Reports contained numerous references to the unsatisfactory state of core mathematics teaching; in 1959, the subject was still giving as much "cause for concern"[235] as it had done in 1946. The principal reason for this state of affairs was that, in most schools, the experienced and qualified teachers of mathematics (few in number nearly everywhere) were fully occupied with classes taking full mathematics. Consequently, almost any teachers on a staff with a spare period or two on their weekly timetables were liable to find themselves assigned to teach core mathematics. Another very unsatisfactory feature of the teaching of core mathematics in the late 40's and early 50's was the absence of suitable textbooks.[236] The overall situation was serious enough to prompt R.M. Algie, within a few days of his assuming office as Minister of Education in December, 1949, to set up a committee to investigate the teaching of core mathematics in post-primary schools.[237] Early in the following year, teachers were invited to advise the Department of their opinions of the syllabus, methods of working and setting out examples, and any other aspects of core mathematics teaching on which they wished to comment.[238] Predictably, the committee gave priority to the provision of a textbook; in his Report for 1950, the Chief Inspector was able to state that work had begun on the preparation of a suitable textbook "... for the use of

students and the guidance of teachers".[239] In the event, progress on the book was painfully slow; it appeared just as the schools were closing in 1954,[240] exactly five years after Algie had set up his committee. Early in 1956, a fourth-form textbook became available.[241] A teachers' refresher course in core mathematics was arranged for January, 1958. The chairman-designate, C.V. Gallagher,[242] in the course of a message to teachers, had this to say: "All teachers will agree that this is a subject which has long awaited stimulus, and all are aware of many of the failings in the approach to this vital section of our curriculum."[243] Gallagher went on to cite "negative comments by teachers" as one of the reasons why, in his opinion, core mathematics had fallen short of its potential.[244] Another writer who saw value in core mathematics was J.H. Murdoch.[245] He considered that the core mathematics prescription "... represents the only significant, direct and systematic contact with the world of number and quantity that average pupils may receive"; accordingly, he held that "... core mathematics should be taught with enthusiasm and hope by teachers who understand the interests and outlook of ordinary non-academic pupils".[246] Regrettably, such teachers were in very short supply at that time, particularly in the secondary schools. The core mathematics syllabus also came under the scrutiny of the apprenticeship authorities in the mid-50's. By and large, they approved of the kind of instruction in mathematics which trade classes were receiving, though a spokesman for the New Zealand Electrical Trades' Apprenticeship Committee considered that the content of the course lacked substance. "Put in a bit more," he said, "and boys will be better prepared for the electrical apprentices' examinations."[247]

Sciences

General science enjoyed the considerable advantage of not having to justify its inclusion in the curriculum. It was taken for granted, even in the 40's, that, since we lived in a scientific age, everyone should learn something about science. Passing the test of relevance, therefore, presented science with few problems, whereas teachers of some other subjects, such as French and music, had to be constantly ready with arguments supporting their causes. Moreover, the content of the science course appealed to the interests of pupils, many of whom, especially (at that time) boys, had hobbies which were science related.[248] Indeed, everyday pupil activities formed the basis of the post-1945 general science curriculum, which "... shifted the emphasis in science teaching from the classroom and the laboratory to the pupils' environment for at least the first two years ...".[249] On the other hand, general science also laboured under some severe disadvantages. Chief amongst these was the shortage of teachers qualified to teach the new, wide-ranging science syllabus.[250] In 1958, the principal of Timaru Girls' High School remarked: "... in ten years, I recall [making] only one appointment in pure science, although science is becoming of increasing importance in all parts of the world."[251] The inevitable outcome of this dearth of scientists was that, once the few qualified teachers had been assigned their examination classes, there was very little time left over for them to work with lower school general science classes.[252] As it was at Timaru Girls' High School, so it was elsewhere: "... [the] allocation of periods to general science has had to be dangerously reduced. The situation is grave ...."[253] The teaching of the pure sciences in post-School Certificate classes fared little better. Not infrequently, especially at the girls' schools, there was no one at

all on the staff qualified to teach advanced level chemistry and physics. Timaru Girls' High School form 6 pupils were fortunate that they could receive regular instruction in these two subjects at the Boys' High School. In schools which did have qualified teachers of chemistry, physics, and biology, there was a tendency (as in social studies) to abandon the principle of integration, and have general science classes, particularly at form 5 level, taught by three different teachers, each dealing with a specialised field. Patently, under such an arrangement, it was not general science which was being taught at all, but segments of particular sciences. Almost as serious as the shortage of science teachers were the inadequate resources, especially laboratory space, which characterised many of the older schools, in particular. At Christchurch Girls' High School in the mid-50's, "... the science department had a claim on two laboratories, one of which was very old".[254] Many other schools were no better equipped. It was not uncommon, at that time, for general science classes to have more of their lessons in ordinary classrooms than in laboratories. This meant that pupils spent a good part of their class time writing, listening, and watching, and very little of it doing, and finding out for themselves. In the early days of the new curriculum, teachers of general science, in common with teachers of many other subjects, had to make do without a suitable textbook. Again, many of the Department's *Post-primary Bulletins* issued in the 50's were on scientific topics, and proved very helpful.[255] Also useful to those schools with sixteen-millimetre sound projectors were the films on science themes, which were available to schools on loan from the National Film Library. General science was one subject area that was well catered for by the Film Library, even in the early days of the film distribution service.[256]

As far as the general science syllabus itself was concerned, Bull applauded the new curriculum, which he felt was "... organised to cover a wider and more balanced view of the fields of knowledge being presented to the young people who will have to cope with tomorrow's world".[257] Bull contended that the success of the new syllabus could be measured, at least in part, by the steady increase in the proportion of pupils offering general science as a subject for School Certificate.[258] However, he still felt that the prescription made general science into "far too much of a recipe-book subject". In so doing, it failed to give students the kinds of experiences that would enable them to achieve "... the one thing needful in science both for the citizen of tomorrow and for the coming scientist - a realisation of the nature of scientific method and of the scientific attitude".[259] Until 1956, when a revised prescription came into effect, the syllabus for School Certificate general science included the content of the core. Searle condemned this arrangement, which he labelled as an anomaly, in that it converted the Thomas Committee's 'suggested' syllabus into a prescribed syllabus.[260] Not that Searle was any more satisfied with the revised prescription. Like Bull, he viewed the 1956 syllabus as "a collection of snippets from the various branches of science ... [which] can only lead to the accumulation of unrelated facts".[261] He was also opposed to allowing School Certificate candidates to choose between a physics option and a nutrition option, on the grounds that "... any worthwhile course of general science must contain some physics".[262] However, as has been shown, Searle's concerns did not deter an increasing proportion of pupils from studying general science at School Certificate level. Some of the more academic schools continued to offer the particular sciences to form 5 (and even form 4) classes, though this practice was actively

discouraged by the inspectors. By 1961, the combined number of School Certificate candidates presenting chemistry, physics, and biology was only slightly higher than the number offering general science.[263]

In the post-School Certificate classes, physics and chemistry remained the most popular science subjects studied, though biology gained a respectable following once it was added to the list of University Entrance subjects in 1950.[264] Some schools had begun teaching biology to lower sixth-form classes well before 1950, however. For instance, the School *Magazine* of Napier Girls' High School for 1944 recorded that: "Biology has been taken by almost all the sixth form, who revel in their new-found interest and exclusiveness".[265] On the other hand, at least one school, New Plymouth Girls' High School, seemed to consider that biology was, perhaps, rather a risky subject to introduce into the curriculum, even for the most senior classes. It opted for botany instead.[266] A pupil who attended New Plymouth Girls' in the mid-40's recalled that:

> The study of botany was thought to be so very suitable for young ladies when biology might have been too embarrassing. After all, the most puritanical and desperately right-thinking parents and board members were unlikely to get excited enough about the sex life of a fern to consider banning it from the curriculum in order to protect the morals of the young girls in their charge.[267]

At School Certificate level, however, it was biology that led the field; before long, it had completely outstripped physics and chemistry as the preferred particular science.[268] Biology had been one of the non-University Entrance subjects for the old School Certificate. However, in pre-war days, it attracted very few candidates,[269] which would suggest that it was taught, at that level,

in only a limited number of schools. It was introduced as a subject at Mount Albert Grammar School in 1933 (under the name 'special science');[270] by the late 30's, it also formed part of the form 3 and form 4 science programme at Auckland Grammar School.[271] By the time the new Regulations appeared, biology was being more widely taught in fifth-form classes. In 1946, 11 per cent of all School Certificate candidates presented biology; fifteen years later, the proportion had risen to 27 per cent. Over the same period, biology improved its popularity rating among the optional School Certificate subjects from tenth to fifth.[272] The principal reason for this upsurge of pupil interest in biology was undoubtedly the combination of a syllabus which a wide range of adolescents found inherently interesting, and the possibility of presenting this content in a variety of ways. Meikle contended that:

> ... teachers who have accepted the [*Thomas*] *Report's* recommendations in ... subjects such as biology have most often adopted lively, more varied and educationally enlightened methods of teaching, including the judicious use of visual aids. These are helpful to all boys and girls but particularly to the non-verbal ....[273]

Another of the 'enlightened methods of teaching' to which biology lent itself was field work. As was the case with geography, educational expeditions were an essential part of the biology programme in many schools;[274] no doubt, for most pupils, such trips gave biology added appeal. Human biology was introduced as a School Certificate subject in 1949, replacing physiology and hygiene.[275] Within two years, it was attracting about the same number of candidates as technical drawing and shorthand/ typewriting.[276] Thereafter, it continued to hold its own as a subject with a steady, if moderate, following.

Miscellaneous

A pre-nursing course for girls, which began in Wellington in 1948, constituted an interesting experiment in providing senior pupils with extended opportunities for further education. Under this scheme, eleven girls from three Wellington post-primary schools attended classes at Wellington Public Hospital on two afternoons a week from 2.00p.m. to 4.00p.m. A part-time tutor was appointed to give the girls instruction in bacteriology, the history of nursing, and nursing anatomy and physiology. There were also practice sessions in the women's and children's wards. Of the initial intake of eleven girls, nine completed the course, thus earning for themselves the right to sit the state preliminary nursing examination three months (instead of the usual nine months) after taking up nursing.[277] A similar course, attended by five senior pupils from the Girls' High School, was running at the Timaru Public Hospital in 1951.[278]

The possibility of a curriculum development of a totally different, and potentially more controversial, kind was raised towards the end of 1957, when the president of the P.P.T.A. advised members that the executive had been approached by the New Zealand Council for Christian Education with a view to having religious knowledge introduced as a core subject in all state post-primary schools, and as an optional subject for School Certificate.[279] A former president of the P.P.T.A., G.J. McNaught, urged the Association to resist pressure to introduce religious teaching as a core subject.[280] However, early in 1958, the Minister, at the opening of Tauranga Girls' College, announced what he described as "a major step proposed by Government", the setting up of a conference on religion in schools, with the responsibility of determining how existing difficulties could be

overcome so that religion could be included in the schedule.[281] The 1958 annual conference of the P.P.T.A. devoted some time to this issue, hearing arguments for and against the proposal, and noting details of religious education programmes which were already in operation in a small number of post-primary schools.[282] Finally, the conference gave a clear-cut decision in favour of retaining the *status quo* as far as religious education was concerned, and resolved that this viewpoint should be expressed at the Minister's conference. This was to be essentially a preliminary conference "to tell everyone what the position is".[283] It was not expected that the conference would reach decisions or even frame recommendations; that would be the responsibility of a second session. The two-day conference, held at the end of June, was described by the Director as "the first gathering of its kind in our educational history".[284] Discussions centred mainly on the 'secular clause' of the Education Act, though they did cover post-primary schools as well.[285] In anticipation of the second conference, scheduled for June, 1959, the executive of the P.P.T.A. invited four speakers to present arguments at the Association's annual conference for and against adopting religious knowledge as a School Certificate subject. The executive also urged branches to discuss the proposal fully, and to be prepared to vote on the issue.[286] In the event, the Minister's second conference did not take place, since he had decided, in the meantime, to refer the matter to the newly-set up Commission on Education in New Zealand.[287] Outside of P.P.T.A. circles, the proposals do not appear to have aroused very much interest. One board of governors is on record as having decided unanimously, after due consideration, to support a statement "that the elements of Christian belief and history should be taught to children in the state schools of this country".[288] Other evidence of concern

over the issue is lacking. The simple fact of the matter was that post-primary schools wishing to teach religious knowledge were already at liberty to do so. Legislation forcing their hand would, however, have been both educationally unsound and politically unwise. The proposal to have religious studies added to the list of optional subjects for School Certificate seemed destined from the start to be little more than a damp squib.

Standards

Between 1946 and 1959, claims were often made that standards of achievement in the post-primary schools had dropped since the introduction of the new curriculum. Charges of this nature emanated from many quarters, but particularly from employers, who, even before the end of the 40's, "... joined in chorus against what they said were lowering standards".[289] Apprentices recruited by industry, and young workers engaged by banks, commercial firms, and shops were those most often singled out by the critics for their alleged lack of competence in the three r's. What people making these complaints failed to appreciate, as Beeby pointed out time and again, was that the considerable changes which had taken place in the composition of post-primary schools since 1945 had resulted in the presence in forms 3 and 4 of quite large numbers of adolescents who, in pre-'proficiency' days, "... would never have been regarded as fit for secondary education at all".[290] Obviously, such pupils were even less likely to be satisfactory workers in any occupation calling for academic ability, and yet the insatiable demand for juvenile labour, which was a feature of the 40's and 50's, ensured that many pupils ended up in jobs which were beyond their competence. Although it was

not surprising that employers were dissatisfied with the performance of pupils who fell into this category, it was quite unfair to blame the schools for a situation which was, in reality, a product of "... the demand for trained ability reaching down into levels of intelligence previously considered not worth tapping".[291] A small study carried out in 1958 involving thirty-five office workers who had been found unsatisfactory by a large commercial enterprise confirmed that the problem lay largely with firms taking on pupils who did not have the capacity to undertake office work.[292] The findings highlighted "the need for caution in drawing conclusions about trends in educational standards".[293] Evidence that the standards achieved by New Zealand post-primary school pupils actually compared more than favourably with those of their counterparts in the United Kingdom became available when compulsory military training began in New Zealand in May, 1950. The results of tests administered to the first intake of eighteen hundred youths compared with those from a similar United Kingdom sample showed that the performance of the New Zealand respondents was markedly superior in the verbal, mathematical, mechanical, and instructions tests. The report summarising these findings stated that:

> In view of the fact that both groups were of an almost equal level of ability, it seems reasonable to conclude that either or both of the following apply:
>
> (a) The quality of the education received by most New Zealand children, as judged by their later results in tests drawing on this education, is superior to that received by their contemporaries in that particular age group from which the sample in the United Kingdom was drawn.
>
> (b) A higher proportion of New Zealand children are educated to a level sufficient to influence their test results, irrespective of the quality of this education, than in the United Kingdom.[294]

Empirical evidence of this kind, while it cannot be regarded as absolutely conclusive, must carry much more weight than the often uninformed opinions of employers of labour. Another facet of the argument regarding school standards which came to light from time to time in the 50's was the tendency of some sections of the press to assert that standards in state schools were inferior to those in private schools. In June, 1956, for example, the *New Zealand Herald* ran a leader, 'State and Private School Standards', which maintained that the state system of education was becoming the second best. This article, and a subsequent sub-leader, contained provocative sentences, such as: "Is worthy tradition ... now surrendering to the 'free expression' of a namby-pamby education system?" and "Let us compare these figures with a five-year period before the full flowering of 'Beebyism'."[295] The claims made by the *Herald* were countered by a number of correspondents, while a spirited rebuttal from the relatively newly-established Public Relations Committee of the P.P.T.A. proved the worth of that agency in the eyes of the executive.[296]

The University Entrance examiners of the time were yet another group who were prone to be highly critical of the calibre of the candidates who sat the examination, forgetting that those candidates had already been classified by their schools as not yet fit to undertake university studies. The examiners for 1952, for example, censured the standard of English of the candidates for that year. However, the inspectors rejected these strictures, stating categorically that "... there is no evidence in the work of the sixth forms of a standard of written work that justifies any serious criticism".[297] Another bogey frequently brought forward in the 50's

- that the introduction of accrediting had led to a lowering of standards - will be discussed in some detail in chapter 11.

Conclusion

Curriculum development in the period from 1946 to 1959 was a steady rather than spectacular process. It would have been unrealistic to expect anything else. The post-primary school system had been called on by the Thomas Committee to "re-examine its whole theory and practice";[298] to accept that its task was not merely to provide something different for the existing school population, but to "cater for [new] pupils of widely differing abilities and interests";[299] and to embrace, as its central task, "the process of discovering talent of all kinds and degrees, and providing it with the best possible conditions of development".[300] Such complex assignments could not possibly be accomplished overnight. As Beeby put it: "It is relatively easy to swing the wheel, but a large and cumbrous vessel takes a long time to change direction."[301]

A number of significant changes characterised the new curriculum. First, much more attention was given to the environment as a source of learning experiences. The local survey of the social studies syllabus was a good example of this change of emphasis, as were the many project trips,[302] school excursions, and educational visits initiated at this time. One school chronicler suggested, most aptly, that "... the field trips regularly run by the school were undoubtedly a forerunner of what has become recently regarded as an invaluable aspect of practical, scientific environmental study"[303] - the latter-day outdoor education. A second distinctive feature of the new

curriculum was the encouragement it gave to pupils to become active seekers after knowledge rather than passive receivers of it. Such was the success of this development that, by the mid-50's, the *Education Gazette* was carrying regular notices of the kind: "The French Legation and the French Government Tourist Office are being swamped with requests for brochures and pamphlets for projects. These will be supplied, in future, only to teachers for class use;"[304] and "Post-primary students are damaging native bush in scenic reserves and park areas in their zeal to collect specimens for pressing. The position is becoming serious."[305] A third characteristic of the new curriculum was the stress it placed on promoting more than just the intellectual development of young people. Between 1946 and 1959, many schools went a long way towards providing their pupils with opportunities to acquire new skills, as well as to build up positive attitudes, especially in respect of the major social issues of the day. The schools also accepted a much increased measure of responsibility for the physical, aesthetic, and even emotional growth of their pupils, and they made specific provision for this growth in their curricula. Finally, the new curriculum fostered the ideal of pupils taking a greater part in school affairs. During this period, school after school established representative school councils, or, where the prefect system was retained, gave pupils the right to choose their own prefects. In an article he wrote at the end of his term as president of the P.P.T.A., G.McB. Salt[306] summed up the changes brought about by the new curriculum. Taking the *New Zealand Herald* to task for its attack on what it had, a little earlier, called "the suspect syllabuses of 'Beebyism'", Salt gave it as his opinion that "... our modern post-primary curriculum is a great improvement on the old". He considered that pupils had developed "an awareness of and

interest in the things around them" which they did not have in his day; that they showed "a poise without precocity not known to earlier generations at school age"; that the pupil with high academic ability was getting "a better background for his future studies and his future citizenship"; and that the pupil of more limited academic ability was being catered for "immeasurably better than was possible before 'the suspect syllabuses' appeared". Salt could imagine "no more retrograde step than to revert to our former system of post-primary education ...".[307]