SIR FRED CLARKE - EDUCATOR

by

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INTRODUCTION

It has long been the opinion of the writer that behind the great movements which shape the lives of the multitudes, in the shadows of the public personalities which sponsor them, work quiet, unassuming men who really determine the course of our society. Uncompromised by the limelight, with little thought of great personal reward, these dedicated, prescient thinkers prepare the stage for posterity.

To the writer, Fred Clarke was such a man. His vision was there for all to read, his influence was suspected, but the truth was known only to his closest associates. Who Was Who and such obituaries as had been written provided only the barest facts. To clothe these bones with flesh was an interesting challenge and a worthwhile objective. When the most obvious sources of information yielded little fruit, the range of investigation was broadened to include all of his contemporaries. Haltingly at first, then quickening in tempo as one correspondent suggested another, the enquiry eventually encompassed all who were known to have been colleagues, friends or students on three continents. In a few cases, tape-recorded interviews were held;

to all others a personal letter, accompanied by a questionnaire which defined the main spheres of interest, was despatched. It is a fitting tribute to the old master that almost eighty per cent of those who were approached made some effort to cooperate.

It is from this consensus, those of his works which are still available, and a few background books that this picture of an educator has been developed. It is hoped that the Christian gentleman who was Fred Clarke will be of interest and an inspiration to others as he has been to the writer. The latter is fully aware of the fact that the possibilities are far from exhausted. Many riches in untapped files lie waiting. It is his hope that some perishable facts have been rescued before they were lost forever and that students of the future may now have a firmer foundation on which to build.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a sincere pleasure to acknowledge the great help which the author has received from so many persons. He is truly grateful to all who were kind enough to reply to a letter from a stranger.

Some few have placed him particularly in their debt; they are: Dr. John S. Astbury, Montreal, P.Q.; Miss Florence Anderson, New York, N.Y.; Miss Claudia Clarke, London, England; Mr. E. J. K. Garrett, London, England; Sir Ronald Gould, London, England; Dr. John Hughes, Montreal, P.Q.; Reverend J. W. Kerr, Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue, P.Q.; Mr. S. V. G. Lay, New Barnet, Herts., England; Professor T. W. L. MacDermot, Lennoxville, P.Q.; Professor F. W. Mitchell, Dunedin, New Zealand; Sir Philip Morris, Bristol, England; Dr. H. M. Nason, Halifax, N.S.; Mrs. H. A. Painter, Montreal, P.Q.; Mr. A. Temple Patterson, Southampton, England; Dr. G. J. J. Smit, Cape Town, South Africa; Dr. C. E. Smith, Vancouver, B.C.; Miss Grace M. Wacey, Rottingdean, Sussex, England.

Sincere thanks are also tendered to Professor H. D. Morrison of the Institute of Education, Macdonald College, McGill University, whose easy approachability and unobtrusive readiness to help would have won the approval of the late Professor Fred Clarke.

AN EXTRACT FROM WHO WAS WHO[1]

CLARKE, Sir Fred, Kt., cr. 1943. M.A.(Oxon.); Litt. D; Educational Adviser to National Union of Teachers; b. 2 August, 1880; s. of William Clarke, High Cogges, Witney, Oxon.; m. 1907, Edith Annie Gillams; five d. Educated privately; St. Catherine's, Oxford. Senior Master of Method, Diocesan Training College, York, 1903-6; Professor of Education, Hartley University College, Southampton, 1906-11; South African College and University of Cape Town, 1911-29; McGill University, Montreal, 1929-34; Adviser to Overseas Students, Institute of Education, 1935-36; Professor of Education and Director of Institute of Education, University of London, 1936-45. Publications: A School History of Hampshire; Essays in the Politics of Education; Foundations of History Teaching; Education and Social Change; various contributions to Year Books and Official Publications, articles, etc. Address: 33 Tavistock Square, W.C.1. Tel. Euston 4210. Club: Athenaeum. Died, 6th January, 1952.

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[1] Who Was Who, London, Adam and Charles Black, Vol. V, 1951-1960, p.213

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY YEARS, 1880-1899

Fred Clarke was born on August 2, 1880, the second son of Mr. and Mrs. William Clarke of High Cogges, a small village in Oxfordshire, England. High Cogges is now a part of the Parish of Ducklington in the Rural District of Witney and, even today, in the words of one who knows it well, "it is indeed a very small and somewhat isolated rural community".[1] The nearest settlement of any size was the market town of Witney which had, probably, a population of several thousand or less. While Witney was not impressive in extent, however, its memory reached far back into English history. There are references to it in historic documents more than a thousand years ago; the Manor of Witney, for example, had been held by the See of Winchester before the Conquest and it had been a borough for some six centuries.[2] It is interesting to speculate that the young Fred Clarke may have first become aware of the long procession of his ancestors from this chance circumstance and, consciously or unconsciously, conceived the abiding faith in the English tradition which was to be so evident throughout his life.

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1 Personal letter to the author from Ernest Rowles, D.P.A. (Oxon). (No. 96). (All numbers in parentheses refer to Appendix "A", p. 189.)

2 "Witney", Encyclopedia Britannica, 1942, Vol. 23, p. 690.

The Clarke family did not remain long in High Cogges. Soon after the birth of their second child, they left the village forever.[1] Since elementary education had been made available to all throughout England by 1880, it is possible that Fred Clarke received his earliest training at High Cogges. Almost half a century later, he was to remark that the poor once had an indigenous culture of fairies, legends, folk-songs and dances, of seasonal customs, nature lore, and the proverbial wisdom of rural England. This reference may have been nostalgic.

The reason why the family moved to the relatively large city of Oxford some dozen miles away is lost in the mists of time. Perhaps it had to do with the widespread depression which affected England from the middle seventies to the late eighties of the nineteenth century. It should be remembered that the Victorian Age was a period of rapid change with much movement of population, both within the country and overseas.[2] The atmosphere may have made William Clarke restless. Perhaps it was some simple and quite personal reason. As a native Australian, he probably had no deep roots in the community.

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[1] The exact date that the family left High Cogges is unknown to the writer. Enquiries to this effect in the news columns of the present-day Witney Gazette, a weekly publication which serves the area, have failed to uncover anyone who recalls them.

[2] Emigration for the quarter century preceding 1880, for example, was close to two and one half millions. Thomson, David, England in the Nineteenth Century, Pelican Books, 1950, p. 164.

In Oxford, the Clarkes lived in a large house on Paradise Square and it is here that we get the first authoritative glimpse of them.[1] A big house was needed, for the Clarke family, by modern-day standards, was large, including, in addition to the parents, nine children. A regular guest in the Clarke household in those days describes it as a most congenial and happy place. To visit was a treat; to be allowed to stay overnight was a great event. William Clarke, who had found employment in a local dairy, was a simple, easy-going, unpretentious man who had the gift of making friends with children.[2] Though an Australian by birth, he had been in England so long that no accent perceptible to a child remained. His wife, "Nance" Clarke, is best described as one of those wonderful women who are constantly busy with the everlasting needs of a large family, one who was efficient, uncomplaining, and content simply to be a mother. Friendliness and efficiency, coupled with an absence of personal ambition, were to be marked characteristics of their most famous child.

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[1] All facts in regard to this early period in the life of Fred Clarke are based on a personal interview with his cousin, Mrs. H. A. Painter, now of Montreal, who knew the family well. The interview was held on April 17, 1963. (No. 81)

[2] In this simple circumstance may lie the reason why Fred Clarke was ready to emigrate to a Dominion when others hesitated.

The Clarke home was a good place to be. Harsh discipline, not unknown in the Victorian Age, found no place here. Good social behaviour was implicit in the spirit of the family.[1]

As in most families, there were marked differences between the various members. As a group, they were outgoing and merry. Fred appears to have been the least boisterous of all; not shy, it is stressed, but quiet, reserved, contained, perhaps prematurely mature, as bright young boys often are. Though friendly and likeable, he was addicted to his books; he was "in love with his library", and had little time over to spare for sports or, indeed, for anything but reading. He was never to be seen doing nothing. At the end of a meal, typically, he would rise, excuse himself and return to his room to read. The others would sit and chaff across the table, but Fred had to use his time.[2] The day was already too short. His doing so was accepted by the others as being quite natural. This sense of urgency and love of learning is all the more remarkable when one remembers that there was no active academic influence or tradition in the home. Equally important, however, it should be appreciated that such interests were not discouraged, either.[3]

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[1] Perhaps Fred Clarke's early high estimate of the Family as the most important of the social institutions of learning may be traced to this period.

[2] This sense of the magnitude of the task and of the shortness of the time available was a life-long characteristic.

[3] Two other members of the family also became teachers.

The extent of Fred Clarke's formal education at this time can be surmised.[1] It is known that he attended the Anglican Church elementary school known as St. Ebbe's Boys' School, that he was a pupil-teacher here from 1894-98, and an uncertificated teacher from January 1 to September 30, 1899. He is recalled as always being busy. This preoccupation with work is understandable. As a pupil-teacher, his responsibility was not only to learn but to help his less well-endowed fellows gain an education. To be so selected was a great compliment to the intellect and character of the recipient, for only the best were deemed worthy.[2] In a sense, Fred Clarke had already entered on his vocation.

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[1] All information relating to Fred Clarke's early education is based on the recollections of a school-mate, Mr. S. G. V. Lay, M. A., of New Barnet, Herts. Mr. Lay was interviewed for the writer by Mr. E. J. K. Garrett, of Streatham, London. (No. 58)

[2] Pupil-teachers were first called into service by Sir James Kay Shuttlesworth around 1840 to fill the demand for teachers in the new elementary schools. "Every boy of character and ability who is first among his fellows may select this career, and in the majority of cases, will do so. In his whole course, he will be in vigorous competition with the pupil-teachers of other schools and thus the Queen's Scholars who, after a public trial, are selected for admission into the Normal Schools, will be naturally the most gifted, and by persevering application, the best instructed and most skilful youth which the elementary schools of the country can reach." Curtis, S. J., History of Education in Great Britain, p. 285-286. (From the Report of the Board of Education) The pupil-teacher at the time of Fred Clarke taught half his time and attended the Pupil-Training Centre for education and training in the remainder of the day. He was apprenticed at the age of thirteen for five years; at the end of that time, he could attempt the examinations for the Queen's Scholarship.

In the customary way, Fred Clarke sat for the Queen's Scholarship;[1] he emerged with First Class standing. It was fortunate that he did so, for this accomplishment entitled him to apply for membership at the Oxford University Day Training College, a department of the University recently organized for the professional training of those who were "pledged" to teach in the elementary schools or in other government-assisted institutions. Had he failed to secure this preeminence, he would have gone to one of the ordinary Teachers' Colleges with the majority of his fellows. There would have been no degree course available to him. Without the degree, his opportunities would have been much more circumscribed; his history and that of England might have been the poorer.

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[1] A male candidate for the Queen's Scholarships was required to pass in practical teaching, reading and recitation, arithmetic, music, English Composition and Literature, geography, history and mathematics.

CHAPTER II

THE YEARS AT OXFORD, 1899-1903

When Fred Clarke went up to the Day Training College at Oxford, he was not a residential student but one of the group known as the "scholares non ascripti"; the Non-Collegiate Students at St. Catherine's Society were poor scholars who lived in lodgings in the town.[1] Fred Clarke probably lived at his own home in Paradise Square.

St. Catherine's had been founded some thirty years before as an experiment in university extension; the intention had been to open the University to a "much larger and poorer class than that from which the students are at present almost wholly taken".[2] It was partly a creation of that spirit of liberalism characteristic of the age and partly a protest against the high cost and low standard of work which prevailed at the other colleges of Oxford. It was felt by some that the university should be open to all who could profit from its facilities, irrespective of class or wealth. The thousand pounds which was the average cost of a three years' course at Oxford put education beyond the reach of all but the rich. An "unattached student", one not residing at any of the established colleges, could fend for himself at a much reduced rate. By living in lodgings in the town at a level of living to which he was accustomed, rather than on the inflated one of the University, a student could cut his

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[1] Trotman, R. R. and Garrett, E. J. K., The Non-Collegiate Students and St. Catherine's Society, 1868-1962, University Press Oxford, 1962. This interesting book has been used to reconstruct the background of this period of Fred Clarke's life.

[2] Ibid., p. 1, quoted from the Report of the Royal Commission of 1852.

costs by about eighty per cent. Since First Class Honours in a Queen's Scholarship entitled one to some assistance from the government, St. Catherine's was probably a godsend to many a bright but penurious boy.

There were certain disadvantages inherent in getting a "cheap" education. A price had to be paid for this austerity. At St. Catherine's, there were few of the amenities which make university life at its best such a rich and memorable experience.[1] Fred Clarke was fortunate enough to arrive a decade after the Delegacy for Non-Collegiate Students had been opened. Then, at least, all activities could take place under one roof, for the Delegacy contained an office, a library, two lecture-rooms, and chambers for the Censor and Tutors. At approximately the same time, Honours Lectures had been opened up to the Non-Collegiate Students.

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[1] The original St. Catherine's, indeed, had possessed no clubs of any kind, no dining hall, no common room, no chapel, no exhibitions, no boat, even no library. Scattered about in lodgings, there was very little corporate feeling of any kind. To the students, even their official name was anathema, suggesting, as it did, that they were something separate and distinct from the life around them, as indeed they were. Deepening this rankling consciousness of social inferiority was the knowledge that conditions were not likely to improve. The constant "migration" to other colleges, which drained their ranks of the finest academic and athletic material, increased their dissatisfaction and weakened any effort to raise their individual and collective status. As this practice of migration was permitted until the end of 1920, it was still rampant in Clarke's day. The fact that he, as a fine scholar, did not migrate may be an early indication of his loyalty to his college and tutors.

While the courses which Fred Clarke took as an undergraduate are not known to the writer, perhaps some valid inferences can be drawn from the curriculum of another comparable institution, the London Day Training College, which was to be so intimately connected with his later life. According to D. R. Harris(later, head of Bangor Normal College in Wales), a principal assistant to Prof. John Adams, first Principal of the L.D.T.C., the nucleus of the professional curriculum consisted of lectures in educational theory, the history of education, methods in the teaching of such subjects as science, mathematics, geography, history, art, and nature study. As the great majority of the "Day Trainers" were products of the Pupil Teaching Centres, practice teaching was less necessary than it is today. Perhaps the standards of training were not very high.[1]

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[1] "In 1902, a suggestion made by a member of the L.C.C. Technical Education Board, that the example of Oxford and Cambridge might be followed in the running of the new London Day Training College was countered by Sir Joshua Fitch, ex-H.M.I. of Training Colleges and a member of the College Committee, with the vigorous assertion that 'Cambridge was almost the worst training centre in the country, Oxford being quite the worst.'" Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, published for the University of London Institute of Education by Evans Brothers Limited, London, 1952, p. 27.

Social life had also improved with the passing years; the St. Catherine's Club, the most venerable group, was the centre of friendly gatherings. Boating, cross-country, rugby and association football, cricket, hockey, and tennis offered diversions to those who were interested although, it must be admitted, the official sports-ground, which was at the lower end of a field called Cowley Marsh, was a constant reminder of lack of status even here.[1] As Fred Clarke was little interested in sports, this factor would have little effect on him. "His main interests at Oxford were essentially intellectual."[2] This being so, time permitting, he could be expected to take more interest in some of the other associations.

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1 "Our quarters were far from ideal and the pavillion was little better than a glorified tin hut with none of the customary amenities." Trotman, R. R. and Garrett, E. J. K., Op. cit., p. 34.

2 "Fred Clarke "did swim most days and he greatly enjoyed walking in the Oxfordshire countryside ... He was also an enthusiastic member of the Oxford University Rifle Club. ..(he was)..no athlete and never played a prominent part in the athletic and social life of the Non-Collegiate Students." S. G. V. Lay(No. 58)
In this he was not unusual; the official history of the St. Catherine's Society has noted that "The Society had always attracted the older man as was intended by its founders" and the proportion willing to take part in the various sports was very much smaller than in the other colleges. Trotman, R. R. and Garrett, E. J. K., Op. Cit., p. 35.
This opinion is substantiated by a former professor, Sir Ernest Barker, "... the Non-Collegiate pupils ... were for the most part, men of steady tenacity of industry, and of more than ordinary ability. Poorer, generally, in worldly goods than the men who belonged to colleges, they showed a greater passion for work and less diffusions of interest ..." quoted from Sir Ernest Barker's Age and Youth by E. J. K. Garrett in a personal letter(No. 35).

A Debating Society had existed from the founding of St. Catherine's and was well organized during his time. Weekly debates were held on Saturdays at seven in the evenings. It is believed that Clarke attended occasionally although there is no reason to feel that he took a prominent part. Significantly, in 1900, in Fred Clarke's sophomore year, the History Society was formed to replace the Stubbs Society, which had become a university society drawing members from the various colleges. Some sixty meetings were held while Fred Clarke was an undergraduate. Though he was probably fully occupied with his academic work and his teaching in the Oxford schools(a requirement of the Queen's Scholarship), he did manage to carry out the duties of Secretary of this Society in 1901. "He also read papers to the Society and also held office for two terms."[1]

If the Non-Collegiate Students of St. Catherine's were deprived of some of the status symbols and the material pleasures of university life, this was partially compensated for by the quality of the devoted staff of the college. Professor Ernest Barker, already mentioned, was one; of more importance to Fred Clarke, in the long run, perhaps, was J. B. Baker. The writer

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[1] Personal letter to the author from R. R. Trotman, M. A. Headington, Oxford, March 14, 1963(No. 113).

suspects that this is the great but unnamed teacher to whom Fred Clarke is reported to owe so much. It is rather intriguing to note that the descriptions then of "J. B."[1] read almost like descriptions of his famous pupil, decades later. It is probable that there was a natural affinity of personalities between the teacher and the pupil; it is also very likely that the younger man with his high purpose and his urge for perfection and service, modeled himself, to some degree, on the master.

Four years passed,[2] probably pleasantly, for we find that Fred Clarke did not forget the scene of his early labours and returned as an "Old Boy" when opportunity permitted.[3] The record shows that he took First Class Certificates in 1900, 1901, 1902 and, in 1903, he graduated from Oxford with a B. A. and a First in History, an honour shared by only 16 of 168 candidates.

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1 "He had a most attractive personality ... boyish enthusiasm and youthful vigour distinguished him almost to the end of his time at Oxford .... To the Non-Collegiate Society he grudged neither toil nor financial help in furthering the corporate and social life. He coached their eight almost without a break from his undergraduate years till the end of his life ... Hundreds who were his pupils or who merely attended his lectures regarded him as one of the best teachers they met at Oxford."(Quoted from The Times)
"The bond between "J. B. B." and his men, whether pupils or members of society at large was extraordinary. It was formed of an affection and admiration on their part and unenforced interest and care for them on his ... He never merely taught or admonished men. He did things for them ... intelligent kindness and enjoyment marked his personality." (Quoted from the Oxford Magazine)
Trotman, R. R. and Garrett, E. J. K., Op. cit., p. 31.

2 Fred Clarke "spent four years as a Non-Collegiate Student rather

CHAPTER III

THE DIOCESAN AND HARTLEY COLLEGES, 1903-1911

Fresh from his successes at Oxford, Fred Clarke moved on to the next phase of his career. In October of the same year(1903), "The White Rose", the magazine for past and present students of the Diocesan Training College at York, under the heading of "Changes in the Staff" dutifully reported the arrival of the new Senior Master of Method.[1]

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than three as he was recognised as a likely First Class Honours Man." S. G. V. Lay, Op. cit.

3 "I remember meeting him when he was on leave from South Africa just after the First World War. He read a brilliant paper to the History Society(then renamed the Dean Kitchin Society) on the Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce ... On his return to England he was a regular attendant at the dinners of the St. Catherine's Association and for a brief while served on the Committee. He accepted the Chairmanship at one time but was forced to withdraw his acceptance because of pressure of work. As an old Non-Collegiate Student, he rejoiced in the transformation into St. Catherine's Society and would have been overjoyed by the latest development--St. Catherine's COLLEGE. This quiet but strong man was a loyal son of the Society and University from which he had received his early education." Personal letter of E. J. K. Garrett to the author(No. 35).

1 To the now-familiar details of his early career, this article added that "Mr. Clarke has had a large experience in a London Higher Grade School, and has for some time been in charge of a school." This is a puzzling reference since only a few months had passed since his leaving Oxford. The writer has been unable to discover any evidence to substantiate this claim and feels it to be in error.

Though Mr. Clarke remained at the Diocesan Training College (now St. John's College) for three years, the details of his day-to-day life have not survived. This is eminently reasonable. As a junior member of staff doing a relatively routine job, it would be most surprising were the minutiae of his existence on file. It is presumed that he applied himself with his usual energy and conscientiousness to the task at hand, that is, to instructing others in techniques of imparting what knowledge they possessed in the most efficacious ways. One feels that this was the ideal place for the man who was to make all education his province to begin his career. No part of pedagogy, with the single exception of the actual acquisition of the necessary knowledge, can be more basic or better calculated to bring one into contact with the "grass-roots" of teaching. Since it is unlikely to have been planned consciously, it can only be regarded as a piece of good fortune that Fred Clarke was enabled to spend those formative years in such a challenging milieu. Undoubtedly, the logical mind of the man was very actively engaged in considering the validity of the methods he was preaching and demonstrating. Perhaps it was during this time that he laid the ground-work for his little work on the Foundations of History Teaching[1] and for the many articles on kindred topics he was to write before and after the publication of his volume a score of years later. It is possible, too, that he conceived here the

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[1] Clarke, Fred, Foundations of History Teaching, London, Oxford University Press, 1929.

genesis of his ultimate conviction that teaching is really an art rather than a science and which caused him to put a decreasing value on "methods" in the normally-accepted sense.[1]

"The White Rose", rather inexcusably, appears not to have noticed the fact that Mr. Clarke left the staff in 1906. More than two decades later, when Professor Clarke was a prominent educator and had climbed the ladder to the Macdonald Chair of Education at McGill University, Montreal, the edition of March, 1930, picked up the story and paid him a belated tribute. Apparently written by a former student, the article is interesting for the oblique light it sheds on those obscure years. Part of it reads as follows:

> His broad educational outlook was a revelation to us, his criticisms were always just, constructive, and encouraging, and his kindly sympathy with us in our shortcomings caused him to be regarded more as a friend than as a normal master. Perhaps his versatility was not so well recognised as it might have been, but the writer will never forget one

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[1] Forty years later, Professor Clarke expressed himself on this subject to a student: "... above all, the future teacher should be a fully developed person, a person whose knowledge and thinking had been extended to a point of real maturity; such a teacher would be resourceful, self-reliant, professionally competent, with a "style" of his own. Clarke did not want trained teachers--teachers trained to perform according to rules and methods and trained to use tricks and devices in the classroom. Obviously, he would not be satisfied until each teacher is a whole man, a scholarly person, mentally healthy, able to think for himself and with his pupils. Each teacher must develop his own "style"--his word." Personal letter to the author from L. J. Pryor, Superintendent of Teacher Training, Melbourne, Australia.(No.91).

> occasion when the owner of the only suitable soccer field refused point-blank to rent it to us again. His truculent attitude caused despair to the harrassed soccer secretary, but the irate owner, after some ten minutes of Mr. Clarke's eloquence and tact, became the amiable landlord once more. This is by the way, but how many tutors can claim, like Mr. Clarke, that their lectures were really 'enjoyed', their students feeling that not only would examinational requirements be adequately met, but that they were having the pleasure and opportunity of listening to a lecturer who was a master of his craft, to one who invited discussion and evoked independent thought, and yet was ever ready to guide the discussions into the most fruitful channels ... A few years ago at an Old Yorkist Re-union which he attended, he was the same quiet, unassuming, friendly tutor such as when we first knew him, and still interested in the old college and in the doings of the students he once had under him. Whether it is by the Old Yorkists, by his former colleagues at Southampton, by the teaching profession in Africa, or by educationalists at home, he is ever remembered and held in high esteem.[1]

The lineaments of the dedicated teacher who was to be an inspiration to so many in the future were already recognizable; his quiet competence, his flair for teaching, his unassuming interest in people, his loyalty to his old friends, his genial perseverance, his practical tact. He was to have need of these qualities many times in the future, not least the last, and not least at his next post.

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[1] These excerpts from "The White Rose" were supplied to the writer through the personal kindness of the Reverend Canon P. J. Lamb, M.A., Principal, St. John's College, York, England. (No. 54)

After three fruitful and, one imagines, quietly-satisfying years, Mr. Fred Clarke, for reasons of his own, decided to move on. Perhaps, after these years of teaching others how to teach, he had perfected his own craftsmanship; perhaps, he had come to place less reliance on what, years later, he was to refer to as the "tricks and techniques" of teaching; perhaps, he was already beginning to sense that he had something to give to a bigger world; perhaps, like any other young and able man, he was ambitious and eager for a new challenge.

The Hartley College, Southampton, 1906-1911

If Fred Clarke(now M. A.(Oxon), 1906) was seeking a challenge, he was not to be disappointed when he joined Hartley College.[1] As a matter of record, his immediate predecessor had just been set at liberty for taking too zealous an interest in the politics of that institution and the Day Training Department, itself, his personal charge, was under official fire on the score of declining efficiency. These disturbing facts, like the visible ninth of an iceberg, merely hinted at the actual extent of what lay beneath. In truth, one may be excused for wondering why Fred Clarke chose to accept such an appointment, unless it was from sheer ignorance of the true state of affairs. In addition to this unpromising situation, Hartley College, at that time, was "the newest and smallest--and poorest--of British university colleges".[2]

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[1] Now the University of Southampton.

[2] Personal letter to the author from A. Temple Patterson, Reader in History, University of Southampton. (No. 83)

Founded in 1862, some forty-four years before, as the Hartley Institute, it had always disappointed all connected with it. Originally conceived as the local centre for Southampton's intelligentsia and upper bourgeoisie, by a gradual and unplanned transition, it had evolved into a small teaching college specializing in science and engineering. When a chance combination of a dedicated staff and some bright students resulted in good examination results, the ambition to be a university college had been born; by 1885, that aim was being taken very seriously. In November of that year, T. W. Shore, the head of the Institute, took the first step which was eventually to culminate in the University of Southampton. He placed officially before the Hartley Council, which controlled the institution, the suggestion that they should initiate a movement for government grants to small universities and other provincial colleges such as the Hartley. When expounded to a number of other similar institutions, this idea caught on and, though the Hartley soon lost the initiative to bigger centres, eventually twelve such colleges applied for grants. There was considerable consternation in Southampton when, in July of 1889, the publication of a Treasury Minute revealed that, of the dozen applicants, only the bid of the Hartley, the originator, had been turned down. It had been found to be lacking in both an adequate teaching staff and in a proper representative governing body for such a purpose.

Somewhat crushed, but not discouraged, the Hartley set out to make itself more eligible. This attainment was made more difficult by two continuing complaints: an uneasy staff morale consequent on low salaries and poor working conditions, and an administration which failed to win the confidence of all concerned. In 1893, Sir Philip Magnus, retained for this purpose, after a detailed inspection of the Institute, clarified their problem and set a new course of action. The Institute henceforth was to curb its more lofty ideas and equip itself for the more prosaic task of furthering the education of the local town and county folk; its evening classes, in particular, were to be practical in scope and oriented towards the needs of the employees of the commercial and industrial establishments of the neighbourhood. The Hartley now began to move, though haltingly, towards eventual success.

In 1896, the same year in which the Institute became officially known as the Hartley College, the Council arrived at an accord with the local School Board by which the latter's pupil-teachers and uncertificated teachers were to attend extra classes on Saturdays and on afternoons during the week. A trained certificated teacher and various specialists already on the staff provided the necessary administrative and pedagogical guidance. By 1898, events were moving so well that the College obtained leave to set up a training college for teachers. Five years later, when, incidentally, Fred Clarke was just beginning his career in education, the tide began to recede. The School Board decided that its pupil-teachers would, in future,

receive their further education and training elsewhere. A further blow came to the institution when, the following year, the efficient Professor Chapple of the Day Training Department resigned to accept an appointment in Argentina and was succeeded by Professor Fletcher. By 1905, the number of Board teachers at the Hartley was further reduced and the Day Training Department began to attract the active criticism of the visiting government inspectors. This failing also served to focus attention on other defects that had long been part of the background of indifferent success, namely, that the building accommodations of the Hartley were, to put it kindly, inadequate for the work expected of them, and that the administration under Principal Richardson, "a young, over-bearing and difficult man" was poorly calculated to build sound morale. Some of the inspectors soon became very graphic in regard to the quality of the buildings. One, in his report of 1905, described them as being " of the rabbit-warren order ... put together anyhow, without reference to orderly convenience and on no recognisable architectural plan, run up hurriedly, as though for temporary occupation."[1] They were also said to be in a

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[1] The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. A. Temple Patterson for all facts relating to the old Hartley College. Mr. Patterson was generous enough to donate the original typescripts of the pertinent chapters of his official history of the University of Southampton. All page references relate to this typescript, which is in my possession.

p. 164.

state of "dirty dinginess and decorative disrepair".[1] The following year, the official report criticised them as being "in every way inconvenient for its purpose, the rooms ill-planned and not easy of access and ... generally cheerless and poorly furnished".[2] Another authority, Professor Michael Sadler,[3] declared that the buildings and site of the College were both unsatisfactory for their function, the training of teachers, as they were "in a crowded part of the town, and in a quarter which, though convenient for the purposes of business, is ill-chosen for the work of a training college".[2] In addition to this, the Day Training Department had to face the accusation that it "did not seem to have a soul of its own".[2] The following year, the students of the Day Training Department also received the direct censure of the chief inspector, many of whom were labelled as "ill-equipped to pursue a special course of study".[2] Finally, to complete the debacle and prove his words, in 1906, the Department results in the Examinations in a number of subjects were all below the standard demanded.

Beset on all sides, the College reacted with a courageous two-pronged attack; it appealed to the citizens of the city of Southampton and environs for financial aid for the building fund

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1 Ibid., p. 164

2 Ibid., p. 165

3 By coincidence, a generation later, Sir Michael Sadler and Fred Clarke were to collaborate on "The Philosophy underlying the system of education in England" for the Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929

and organized a stringent internal up-grading of the academic demands made on the student body. Through an individual tutorial system, supervised periods of study and periodical reports, both staff and students were put on their mettle. The failure of monthly tests led to a private and painful interview with the Principal or with the Senate. Since the unsatisfactory examination results were attributed not to the lack of effort and scholarship of the staff but rather to the low standard of education of students who were being admitted to the College,[1] the Council also decided that all further acceptance of students would be contingent upon the passing of a stiff entrance examination. The riposte met with little success. Sad to report, the public was apathetic, though the next inspector was not; he renewed the now-familiar litany about the inferior abilities and accomplishments of Hartley students.

As already intimated, there were still other phases of the college life which left much to be desired. Disaffection had also crept into administration-Senate and staff-administration relationships. Dr. Richardson, the Principal, had for six years been carrying on a running battle with the Senate as to their relevant authorities. The teaching staff, as might be expected, had been unable to hold themselves entirely above the strife. Some had no

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[1] In the normal way at that time, the majority had by-passed the secondary schools, moving directly through Pupil-Teacher Centres to the College.

desire to. Professor Fletcher, Fred Clarke's predecessor, became so deeply embroiled that he eventually decided to find himself a position elsewhere. The disparaging comments of those in authority on the products of his Department may also have played a part in this decision. His colleagues, generally, were almost equally disgruntled and alert for opportunities elsewhere.

This, then, was the rather unacademic milieu in which Fred Clarke, young and presumably idealistic, found himself when he arrived fresh from his triumphs, small though they were, at the Diocesan College. An arrogant leadership, a divided, disheartened and under-paid staff, and an under-educated student body in a rabbit-warren of buildings which had little prospect of improvement in the near future; the combination would be enough to discourage the most enthusiastic. Fred Clarke, we can be sure, was enthusiastic; we have no way of knowing if he was discouraged. If he was, it was most excusable and might account for the fact that he left remarkably little impression and departed soon.

Professor Clarke of the Day Training Department took up his appointment at Hartley College late in 1906. It cannot be said that the gloom lightened during his years of tenure; if anything, the prospects appeared to be at their worst. In 1907, the vastly-important University Commission's quinquennial inspection, carried

out by Dr. Alexander Hill[1], the Master of Downing College, Cambridge, and Sir Thomas Raleigh, a former Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and Legal Member of the Viceroy of India's Council, led to the College's grant being cut by about one third for the succeeding two years, on the grounds that the rate of progress towards a university standard of work had not been as great as anticipated. The main weakness, once more, was diagnosed as the low entrance requirements for students. Until this was remedied, the College was admonished, even the most efficient staff could do little work of a truly university level. The building situation was also severely criticized. The College replied by securing an option on an eleven-acre site for a new college but, then, rather characteristically, could not raise the downpayment until good and wealthy friends came to its aid. Once the land had been secured, there was no money left for the actual buildings. The only bright spot in a deteriorating picture was that for the two sessions previous to 1909 the "inspectors' reports on the work of the Day Training Department under Fletcher's successor Professor Clarke had been complimentary".[2] The general trend was down and the long-dreaded blow soon fell. In 1910, the Universities

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[1] Destined to succeed the present Principal who resigned in 1911. Under his wise leadership, the Hartley developed into the present University of Southampton.

[2] A. Temple Patterson, Op. cit., p. 169

Commission stated that the Hartley College was really a municipal type of local college and not a university college, at all. It advised that, after a transition year, the Hartley should lose its Treasury grant. In July of the same year, a desperate deputation to Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, gained another slim chance if sufficient money could be raised from the people of Southampton to guarantee a university level of work. Barely a week later, however, the Board of Education informed the Hartley Council that unless definite and satisfactory plans for the provision of new buildings were submitted within less than a year, it would refuse to recognize the Day-Training Department for the admission of any more students. Later, when this deadline was extended for one year, the campaign to raise funds quickened in tempo. Members of the teaching staff of the Hartley also submitted a brief to the Advisory Committee of the Board of Education pointing out the damage which would be done to the whole region if the Hartley should revert to municipal status. They also declared, justifiably, that irreplaceable members of the staff, in sheer justice to their careers and family responsibilities, would be forced to seek other positions. Another respite was forthcoming, but, by this time, those of the personnel who could had made other plans; they included Principal Richardson, Professor Hearnshaw and Professor Clarke.[1]

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[1] "Clarke succeeded in avoiding serious trouble with Richardson so far as I know and managed to pull the Education Department up a bit .... But he could do little to avoid the finances and bad building

So little is known for certain about Fred Clarke's life at Hartley that it is not easy to trace its part in his development; it may have been significant, particularly as he was soon to be an administrator. Certainly, for the rest of his life, it would be difficult to find one more different from Dr. Richardson, his former superior, the man who, through lack of tact, perspective, and good personal relationships, had almost run his ship aground before he deserted it. No one would ever accuse "Captain" Clarke of being an autocrat.[1] It is also reasonable to suppose that the low standards of the Hartley student body would have some influence on his later militant insistence on high academic requirements for teacher-trainees. While there, he may have seen more clearly that apathy towards education of the people which he was to fight ever after. One also divines that the experience intensified his disdain for "cheapness".

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crisis which was closing down the College .... while it still seemed that the College was doomed, however, Clarke and his friend Hearnshaw got out from under, even though Clarke had to go to South Africa to do it. I am not blaming him in the least; I'd have done the same thing in his place if I could, and so would all the rest of the staff if they could have landed jobs elsewhere as Clarke and Hearnshaw did." Personal letter to the author from A. Temple Patterson. (No. 83)

[1] "He always distrusted the pretensions of administrative authority. When, in 1946, I was appointed Professor of Education at Birmingham and Director of the Institute of Education, he gave me a wise piece of advice: 'Always play up the Professor and play down the Director. There will be things that you can say as Professor which would not come so well from the Director.'" Dr. M. V. C. Jeffreys, in a personal letter to the author. (No. 51)

It was at the Hartley that Fred Clarke produced the first of his long line of publications; it was a text-book, A School History of Hampshire. He followed this up the next year (1910) with The West-Saxon Occupation of Hampshire for the Hampshire Field Club and Archeological Society. He also formed a significant friendship with one F. J. C. Hearnshaw, the Professor of History.[1] As a considerably older man, the latter probably influenced the younger teacher. This supposition is substantiated, to some extent, by the fact that Fred Clarke did collaborate with Professor Hearnshaw on A Short History of Southampton. Thus, at Hartley, in a parochial way, began that stream of writings which was to continue until his death close to half a century later.[2]

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[1] Professor Hearnshaw was known to his students as "Doctor 1066". He is described by one who knew him: " ... Pickwickian in appearance, he possessed a benign expression which is said never to have clouded even when he was dealing with the dullest of his students and 'eyes that twinkled behind his gold-rimmed spectacles as he enunciated those ancient but ever-verdant jokes which came forth every year in the correct order and at the correct moments...'" Hearnshaw, apparently, "could produce a breezy and delightful speech, a topical poem, a song with a Gilbertian metre for the magazine, or a one-act farce for a soirée with equal facility. He was an ambitious man, and his persistent duels with Principal Richardson are best left between the covers of a dark and ancient minute-book; but the quality of teaching, research, writing and other solid work which he managed to get through was prodigious ..." A.Temple Patterson, typescript, p. 155. This friendship appears to be significant; as like attracts like, it supplies a clue to the nature of the young Fred Clarke; it also indicates that he did not choose his friends as a means of advancement; it may also be a fair indication of the calibre of the Hartley staff.

[2] Equally long-lasting was his marriage to Edith Annie Gillams of Oxford, which took place in 1907 soon after he had settled into Hartley College.

Professor Clarke passed the years from 1906 to 1911 in this embattled atmosphere; what his thoughts were as he boarded the ship which was to carry him to South Africa we can only guess. It would not be unfair to suggest that they were compounded of relief, regret, and realistic anticipation; relief to be leaving behind the chaos at Southampton, regret that he must depart from his beloved England,[1] and anticipation of opportunities for accomplishment in a country which had just come into being.[2]

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[1] The writer believes that he was never truly content until he returned to England in 1934 as Adviser to Oversea Students at the University of London. In between, he and his family made innumerable trips back to the "Old Country". Once in England, he made few trips away from it.

[2] So keen was he that he had already begun to learn Afrikaans, the second language of South Africa.

CHAPTER IV

SOUTH AFRICA, 1911-1929

South Africa became a Dominion of the British Commonwealth on May 31, 1910, exactly ten years after the Peace of Vereeniging which ended the Boer War but not the rivalry between the Dutch and the English settlers. When Professor Clarke of the South African College set foot in Cape Town the following March, the Union was still less than a year old and displayed much of the raw, optimistic vitality of an adolescent country confident of its place in the future. His own characteristically modest words, written more than eighteen years later, recognized this fact.[1]

Looking at it from this vantage-point, we can see that there had been little in the placid existence of the Diocesan College or in the academic backwater that was the Hartley to prepare him for life in this brave new world; none of it appears to have inhibited the young Professor. There was just enough in the way of resemblances to "home" to heighten the contrasts. Passing over the

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[1] "Arriving in South Africa early in 1911, I had the good fortune to be commencing work just as a great tidal advance in education was setting in. This coincided with, and was sustained by, two other movements, one of rapid economic expansion, and the other of strongly marked nationalist feeling ... they were all setting in in force when I arrived .... Hence all one had to do was to go with them, and success and reputation could be all too easily achieved. A man's career, starting them, was bound to have something of the quality of surf-riding at Muizenberg. You looked around for a serviceable plank, waited a bit for the wave, and reached the soft, warm beach with little effort and much exhilaration. Many were doing it, and not on the education plank alone." "South African Education in Retrospect", Cape Times, November 28, 1929.

more obvious ones of topography and climate, South Africa was a land of wide and empty spaces where the Cape Province alone was more than five times the size of all England, yet which contained a population that was far smaller than that of Greater London; the nearby communities bore familiar names like Albany, Malmesbury, Worcester, Wellington, and East London and supported a fundamentally English culture, yet ostrich farming was a profitable occupation and citrus fruits and olives were staples of agricultural production.[1] Familiar features often reveal themselves more starkly against exotic backgrounds. The challenge released in Professor Clarke a burst of energy which was to result in enough achievements to satisfy most men for a life-time. In the next seventeen years, he was to build up his university department to the strongest one in the Union, he was to write two books(one of which is said to be influential still in the Republic of South Africa) and scores of articles for the newspapers and learned journals, and he was to serve the community in a long list of executive capacities. A relatively inexperienced recruit, he was to develop talents for administration and originality and clarity of thought which would elevate him into one of the most formative influences in education in South Africa and make him an adviser and confidante of world-famous figures, such as Jan Christian Smuts. From here, he would be projected onto the world stage. The spectacle of a transported English culture struggling

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[1] Sayce, R. U., "Cape Colony", Encyclopedia Britannica(1942), Vol. 4, pp. 777-781.

to make itself safe in a hostile and primitive environment would affect his mind so greatly that thereafter his thought would always bear its imprint.[1] He was to see in this competing medley of diverse cultures a microcosm of the Commonwealth of the day and of the world to come. He was to formulate conclusions which were well ahead of his time; rather sadly, he was to be a prophet who was listened to but not heeded.

The Political Background of South Africa, 1911-1929

In March of 1911, as has been suggested, South Africa was in the full flush of great expectations for the future; the pressure of harsh realities which was to sap their realization was apprehended by few. Taken all in all, the Union of South Africa between 1911 and 1929, the tenure of Professor Clarke, was a land racked by discontent, unrest and discord. Beneath the appearance of national harmony lurked always the discordant note of "separatism"; the fundamental and irreconcilable dichotomy of aims of the two white groups must have caused concern to all men of good will and especially to those who, like Fred Clarke, were finely attuned to the voice of history.[2]

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[1] "When I arrived I was probably still in the state of those who regard education and English experience of education as the same thing." F. Clarke, "South African Education in Retrospect", Cape Times, November 28, 1929.

[2] Fred Clarke graduated in Modern History. He also held the belief that Education, as in the time of Plato, was really an integral part of Politics. The writer has felt it wise to pay considerable attention to the background against which Fred Clarke worked and had his being.
Facts used in this section, unless otherwise stated, are taken from: Williams, Basil, "South Africa", Encyclopedia Britannica(1942), Vol. 21, pp. 58-62.

In 1911, General Botha was the first Premier of the new Dominion; once having accepted the terms of the Union, he abided by them scrupulously. By so doing, however, he ran sharply into the opposition of the anti-British party led by General Hertzog.[1] Three years after Professor Clarke's arrival, South Africa, like the other Dominions, found herself faced with the particularly cruel decision of aid to the Mother Country, now fighting for her national life with a foe, Germany, which many Dutch South Africans regarded as a neighbour and friend. When the Government of Botha, true to its obligation, did declare itself, it was the prelude to a very dangerous political situation, as some rash spirits proposed openly to use this opportunity to reverse the verdict of the Boer War. The situation exploded when Botha assumed the defence of South Africa and promised to invade German South West Africa. Armed insurrection broke out; martial law had to be proclaimed. In the resulting strife, three national heroes, Generals de Wet and Beyers and Col. Maritz lost their lives. From this time on, the Imperial question became a central theme of South African history.

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[1] In a pamphlet of the time, "South African Politics", Professor Clarke showed himself to be well aware of what was going on. He also illustrated his fair-minded approach to the issues:
"To a considerable section of the South African English, Hertzog is anathema; he is both hated and distrusted as a bitter enemy of all things English. But this need not necessarily be the case. He is no self-seeker, he has shown no personal vindictiveness against Englishmen, though much has been shown against him."
Hertzog and Clarke were later to become good friends. Fred Clarke, "South African Politics", Political Quarterly, London, March, 1916, p. 69.

When Botha died in August of 1919, Smuts inherited his mantle and with it the suspicion which the Dutch felt for the participation of his Government in Imperial affairs during the recent War.[1] Added to this was the bitterness of the labour groups which derived from the strike of 1913 and which had been put down by the use of troops and the eventual deportation of ten of the strike-leaders. This unpopularity grew and by 1921 Smuts was forced by the opposition of Hertzog and his Nationalist party to make a loose coalition with all other groups. The strike of 1922 had serious consequences. The basic issue struck at another sensitive weakness of the Union, the proper ratio of white to coloured workers. It began with the white miners of the Transvaal and developed into a paralyzing general strike.[2] Within a month open revolt flared and, eventually, it, too, had to be put down by Smuts with martial law when civil war threatened. Before it was ended there were close to one thousand casualties, of which almost two hundred were whites. Two committees which later studied the disputes and the methods taken to end them exonerated the Government but this did little to heal the rift. Increased dissatisfaction drove the Nationalists and the Labour Parties into a combination, the 'Pact', against Smuts. Defeated at the polls in the election of 1924, he resigned and General Hertzog took over; the anti-British party now held the reins. The colour

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[1] From 1917 on, General Smuts had occupied a seat in the Imperial War Cabinet and both Botha and Smuts signed the treaty for South Africa at the Versailles Conference.

[2] Some called it a "Revolution".

question, always an underlying issue, came to the fore; legislation was introduced which limited the Kafirs to purely unskilled work and increased their subjection to the whites. This "colour bar" was to stay and grow in force.[1]

More important, perhaps, from the viewpoint of splitting the white front, was the Flag Bill of 1926. The Nationalists had long demanded a new flag for the Union to replace the Union Jack; the design they now produced eliminated practically every suggestion of the Imperial connection. All those of English blood were up in arms and the controversy was so acute that a decision was postponed for a whole year. When it was revived, opinion was no less inflamed and Natal, the "English" Province, threatened to secede from the Union. Compromise was resorted to; a place was found for the Union Jack in the new national flag and the bitter struggle seemed over. The deep emotions thus aroused probably did not die so easily.[2] While political instability was rife, South Africa, like most of the world at this time, continued to increase in prosperity.

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[1] Only the previous year, Clarke had examined this situation in Essays in the Politics of Education.

[2] Fred Clarke was always a most loyal "Englishman". The dichotomy of South Africa drove most to take sides. Perhaps in this Dutch-English rivalry lies the beginning of his strong interest in the Round Table Group.

The Social Background of South Africa, 1911-1929

Judging by his published works, the mind of Fred Clarke was deeply impressed by the great diversity of South Africa's population. In 1911, the Union had a total population of 5,973,394, of which only 1,276,242 were Europeans and the remainder, non-Europeans.[1] Under the term "European" was included mainly the settlers of Dutch origin, the Boers or Afrikaanders, who were concentrated in the country districts. Next important, numerically, were the British, who lived largely in the cities.[2] Many other European groups were also represented. Always looming in the background like a great black question-mark were the natives, the Bantus; though not numerous relative to the other Provinces at this time, they were beginning to be attracted to the area by the freer social atmosphere which existed. The Asiatics, very mixed, but chiefly Indians, formed another smaller population group. Linking all by blood, if not otherwise, were the Coloureds or Mixed groups, the rather fantastic result of unregulated cross-breeding of all of the above stocks.

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[1] Williams, Basil, "South Africa", Encyclopedia Britannica(1942), Vol. 21, p. 59.

[2] "There are no signs as yet of a composite South African type. The two races live their own separate lives as much as they ever did, and will continue to do so. But this imposes no bar to political unity. Is not Britain, herself, a 'four stream' country?" Fred Clarke, "South African Politics", Political Quarterly, London, March, 1916, p. 52.

There is little doubt that Professor Clarke had studied the question posed here and understood the great implications of it.[1] One suspects

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[1] In 1923, he described Cape Town, then a city of about 200,000, in the following terms:

"Its population is divided almost equally between white and coloured; its coloured peoples represent a wider variety of occupations probably than those of any other town in the Union; they range in colour from the almost imperceptible to the most dusky of tints, and in type from the raw Kafir or the poor creature with the body, mind and morals of a primitive Bushman to the cultivated professional men who can occupy positions of responsibility and honour in Municipal and Provincial Councils, though they may not enter Parliament. There is an infinity of gradations both in colour and culture yet everything is "coloured" which is not white. This gradual shading off of the population from the higher to the lower levels, and the presence along with it of a sharp legal and social line as between white and coloured presents a situation where relationships can be examined at all degrees of opposition as it were. At one end of the scale there is nothing but just colour only to constitute a ground of differentiation. At the other end, colour is only one of a whole host of differentiations.

"All colour is under disabilities in the Cape, the Kafir more so than the "Cape Coloured" man. The former is under restrictions regarding residence in a town, access to liquor, and in other matters which do not apply to the latter. Though the Parliamentiary franchise is legally open to both, conditions made in regard to native land tenures make it harder for the Kafir to secure his vote than for the Cape Coloured man. Similarly, though primary education is now legally free to both, the Cape Coloured man has better access to the means of education as a rule, and better opportunities of reaching the higher levels ....

" ... the Cape Coloured people constitute an intermediate stratum between the white population and the native Bantu. Their whole history is bound up with that of the European peoples. Apart from some Malay traditions, one finds little or nothing among them that is independently racial or national. Their whole culture is a borrowed one; they live intermingled with the European population ... and their long contact with European ways of life has given a thoroughly European outlook to all who were capable of it." F. Clarke, Essays in the Politics of Education, Cape Town, Juta and Co., 1923, p. 104.

that the supremely egalitarian nature of the man must have suffered some conflict as he attempted to equate philosophy and practice. Perhaps his experience was to incline him towards that unassuming simplicity and, for want of a better word, "democracy", which was to be so strikingly obvious to all who met him later.

The Educational Background in South Africa, 1911-1929[1]

The educational organization into which Professor Clarke had to ease himself in 1911 was no less complex than any other aspect of South African life. Increasingly, in these years, the rivalry of the Union Government and the Provincial Governments for control of the educational machinery was to intensify to the detriment of education itself. Before Union had been agreed upon, the four colonies of the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State had each developed its own rudimentary system geared to its own special characteristics and needs. With the coming of political Union, a unified South African educational scheme was also envisaged. A Minister of Education had been provided for in the Union Cabinet but certain practical difficulties at that time had made it seem preferable to leave education in Provincial hands for another five-year period, by which date, it was hoped, the Provincial organizations would have withered away. What actually happened was that the Provinces began usurping more and more control while expecting the Union to foot the bill. The latter, although its rights were clearly written into the South Africa Act,

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[1] This section is based on the words of Professor Clarke as they were published in "South African Education in Retrospect", Cape Times, November 29, 1929.

temporized and fell back on a "somewhat fruitless and ineffective policy of trying to draw the line between 'higher' education and 'education other than higher'".[1] When the Union Government passed a "Financial Relations Act" which provided increased subsidies for the Provinces, it lost control of the situation through finance and permitted the fatal entry of politics into a sphere in which it had no rightful place. The coming of World War I deflected the National Government's attention to other matters at this critical moment. Each Province utilized the opportunity to integrate its own expedients, avoiding conferences and cooperation even with one another. Only the coming of a slump in the early twenties revived the possibility of any realization of the original design. As business declined, the subsidies to the Provinces were cut off; the latter reluctantly handed over to the Union Government the technical and industrial schools to be added to the University and kindergarten responsibilities already possessed. The worst evils of the confusion now became apparent:

> Now developed a situation in which the organic nature of the educational system once more asserted itself. It was as though the Provinces were left with the hands and feet of a system while the Union still had the stomach. The very necessary diversifying of secondary education in vocational and semi-vocational courses was no longer open to the Provinces, while Union had no control over the previous education of those who came to its vocational schools. Thus

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[1] Ibid.(page unknown).

> the line was still drawn, and now tightly drawn, around an organic part, and the healthy circulation of the whole system was seriously interfered with, while costs went up disproportionately to results. Commission after Commission[1] ... pointed out what was happening, but party politics were not in a state to make any serious consideration of the matter possible.[2]

It might be well to observe here that Professor Clarke was never needlessly critical of the South African situation. He knew the difficulties too well to be dogmatic. The spectacle of two white races, each tenacious of its own special characteristics and values, and struggling to preserve them, while both were only small islands in a black ocean, evoked his sympathy more than any other emotion.

> Outside critics should never forget that the first and foremost object of the South African citizen is the establishment and maintenance of a civilized modern state on a Dark Continent ... Many criticisms of South African policy are beside the mark for this reason; acceptance of them would involve the end of a great adventure in the departure and speedy submersion of the white man and the hopes which his presence justifies.[3]

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1 Professor Clarke was in a strong position to make such statements as he had "sat on almost every educational commission and conference", according to Prof. J. F. Burger in a personal letter to the author (No. 14).

2 F. Clarke, op. cit.(page unknown).

3 F. Clarke, Essays in the Politics of Education, Cape Town, Juta and Co., 1923, p. 112.

The Contributions of Professor Clarke in South Africa

When Professor Clarke arrived in Cape Town, it was to find the South African College:

> ...badly out at elbows and hampered by every kind of lack except that of competent, resolute men, and the purely examining board, the "University", magnificently housed in that palace in Queen Victoria-street whose hollow echoes told all too plainly of the want of substance within. It was to discover that this readiness to be misled by a name -- to honour the show and the outer facade, and to neglect the solid reality of the real work -- was not confined to education alone...[1]

This might have discouraged weaker men, but Fred Clarke was a graduate of the Hartley:

> ...A long book would be needed to tell the whole story, and even that could not convey the whole tale of vistas of hope and chasms of despair, of entangled authorities and functions, and of the countless 'rights of way', ancient and new, that had to be dealt with, in making out the trail... [1]

Apparently, he started to work with a will. Within a relatively short period, order was emerging from chaos as he laid down, carefully and thoughtfully, the foundations of what later was to be the Faculty of Education of the University of Cape Town.[2] Within

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1 Fred Clarke, Op. cit. page unknown.

2 Some of Professor Clarke's contemporaries have commented: "...He assumed his duties at the beginning of 1911 and soon proved that no better incumbent could have been chosen...Immediately on his arrival, he began to make himself acquainted with educational conditions in South Africa. For this purpose, he brought himself into close contact with the Cape Department of Education, with the two chief teachers' associations...and with the schools in the Western Cape Province. His main concern, however, was the organization of his own Department which he had to build up ab initio. After a good deal of experimentation and adjustment to meet the expanding (continued on p. 41)

several months of his arrival, he was carrying the word to the people:

> There were some things in this world about which they might or might not have an opinion but there were other subjects about which they must have an opinion, if they were not to abdicate both their manhood and their citizenship, and education was one of them. They should study it more, think about it more. For education was just one of those spheres where the expert must be jealously watched; while ... the non-expert, the ordinary citizen, must be careful to keep to what concerned him, to principles rather than details.[1]

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educational needs of the country, he laid the sound foundations on which the Faculty of Education ... could build and develop further." Personal letter to the author from Professor J. F. Burger, University of Cape Town(No. 14).
Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Natal, and a close colleague of Clarke in those days has also said: "During the time that we worked together in the Educational Faculty of the University of Cape Town, I am sure that he did more than anyone else to give prestige to the study of Education as a university discipline and it is largely due to his personality and his teachings that he attracted some of the best brains to the Education Faculty in competition with the more popular professional Faculties like Engineering, Medicine and Law. Some of South Africa's leading poets and writers, as well as educators, worked for the B. Ed. degree under him. If we had more men of Clarke's calibre in our universities, I am sure that there would be no dearth of candidates studying for the teaching profession. To him, education was not the practice of a few gimmicks, but rather the struggle to meet the challenge of some of the most difficult problems in society. The study of Education therefore had not only a broadening influence on students but also presented them a real intellectual challenge." Personal letter(No. 64).
From the student's point of view, the picture was similar:
"He took a great interest in student affairs generally and was extremely well-liked, both inside and outside the University." Personal letter from Professor J. P. Duminy, now, Principal, University of Cape Town(No. 29).

[1] F. Clarke, "State and Education", Cape Times, July 14, 1911.

If his first audience on this occasion was perhaps small, the members of the Gardens Social, Literary and Debating Society at the Gardens Presbyterian Church, the reporter of the Cape Times who was present gave his words much wider circulation. Speaking on the controversial subject of "State and Education", he defined his position in the struggle quickly and clearly. "The real business of the State," he said, "is with the children. All its paraphernalia exists for them, rather than for us, and the gloriously dirty little urchin playing marbles in the gutter is king and lord over the lot of us."[1] In the paradoxical manner which was later to become so well known, he disposed of the extremes; of Absolutism, as expounded by Thomas Hobbes("slavery tempered by benevolence"), of Individualism, as preached by Bentham, Mill and Spencer("anarchy tempered by the policeman") in a few minutes. He proposed the Commonwealth concept, wherein "the whole resources of the society are at the disposal of each individual for the purpose of his own self-realisation."[2]

The movement to get people thinking about education which Professor Clarke initiated here was not allowed to subside. For the next seventeen years, article after article, interspersed with addresses and books, were to pour from his pen with this laudable objective. Until the beginning of World War I, his articles, by

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[1] F. Clarke, "State and Education", Cape Times, July 14, 1911. One wonders if there is an implicit challenge here in regard to the question of colour or if Clarke is still oblivious of that problem.

[2] Ibid.(page unknown). This emphasis on the individual self-realization was later to be tempered by a more sociological approach.

and large, were concerned with the more academic subjects, such as training of teachers, the history of education, and the examination of educational theories. Most of them, being more appropriate for professional readers, were published in The Educational News of South Africa. By 1915, Professor Clarke found himself catapulted into the Presidency of the Cape Town branch of the teachers' association, the S.A.T.A., and a change of emphasis may be detected. As the chosen spokesman for the secondary school teachers (a great compliment for a university professor!) he is more concerned with defining the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the professional teacher. This preoccupation with the mundane intensified when the Union Government curtailed the rights of teachers by the "Discipline Ordinance"[1] and Professor Clarke rose to their defence with his uncompromising "The Civil Status of the Teacher";[2] it continued as his attention was drawn to other practical details of education, such as the tyranny of the matriculation examination and the underlying intimate relationship between education and labour. One influential result of his experiences at this time was the notable "Education and Society"[2] in which he argued that all of the institutions of a society should be educational media and not only the school.

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[1] In 1916, when opinion in South Africa was sharply divided over the issues raised by participation in World War I, a number of teachers had used their privileged status in the classroom to propagate their own political views. The "Discipline Ordinance" was introduced by the Provincial Council of the Cape Province to muzzle them. To Professor Clarke, the prevention was so much worse than the disease, that he protested bitterly about this invasion of academic freedom.

[2] Reprinted in Essays in the Politics of Education, 1923

The following year, he justified the study of Education as a University discipline through "The University and the Study of Education".[1] Elected President of the South African Teachers' Association in 1919 and 1920, he found himself drawn down into the arena still more. At one time, to his consternation, he found himself almost on the point of leading a teachers' strike for higher salaries. By his own admission, it was in these hectic years that he really learned something of the true realities of education under modern conditions, something he could never have appreciated in the cloistered peace of a university study. The importance of these events in his developing philosophy of education hardly need to be underlined. If Professor Clarke was the practical educational thinker of his age, it was largely because he had served his apprenticeship in the school of life. Almost, one might say, this former pupil-teacher had passed

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[1] Proof of his literary fecundity is seen in his most impressive output. During the years 1911-1929, Fred Clarke authored more than fifty articles and two books. One of these books, his Essays in the Politics of Education(1923), is made up largely of the most significant of these articles. The other, Foundations of History Teaching(1929), may owe a great deal to the series of six articles on "History in the Primary Schools" which appeared in the Educational News in 1926. In this connection, Dr. Malherbe has said: "We shared a study at the University and I always marvelled at the way in which he could, between lectures, stick his head into his roller-top desk and dash off a leading article to the Cape Times or to some journal. He was the most facile and the cleanest writer I have ever known. He never used a typewriter or dictated any letters but produced everything in his own neat handwriting." Personal letter to the writer, April 18, 1963(No. 64). Three decades later, a similar observation was to be made by his Secretary.

through a pupil-educationist stage before he graduated as a master of his craft.[1]

To such a mind, "knowledge for its own sake" was not only selfish, it was a travesty on true education. In the years ahead, this training in the market-place bore sound fruit. Among other things, it culminated in the passing of the Juvenile Act of 1921 and the Apprenticeship Act of 1922, two pieces of legislation that testify that he was not content merely to point out the deficiencies of education and then pass on the other side, but that he had sufficient confidence in his ideas to seek to implement them. From 1923-28, Professor Clarke followed through by serving as Chairman

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[1] His "Valedictory Letter to the Conference" underlines this realization in no uncertain way:

"At almost every point where, during these eighteen years and more, I feel I have touched something vital, something that matters profoundly for the well-being of education and the world's future, I have to admit that I could never have come so near to it had it not been for my connection with the S.A.T.A..

"There is, for instance, the movement towards reality and a widening of the range of social responsibility in education, that is represented by the Juvenile Affairs Boards and all the new life that has sprung from their activities ... it was as President of the Cape Town Branch of the Association that I first began to come to grips with it ....

"Then again, there is the whole vast question of the status and function of the teacher in a modern democratic society ... it was in the conflict and confusion of those days that the teaching profession in the Cape first came to consciousness of itself, of its obligations as well as of its rights ....

"So I could go on showing how, in my case, the understanding of the great issues of modern education towards which we all have to struggle, has been contributed to much more by my experiences in work with the S.A.T.A. than by anything I could get from the less actual world of books."

F. Clarke, "Valedictory Letter to the Conference", The Educational News, July, 1929, p. 1(of the manuscript).

of the National Apprenticeship Committee, undertaking this key responsibility in order to study the practical workings of the Acts he had fathered. Apparently, he was well satisfied that the objective of making the apprenticeship years ones of general as well as technical education was being achieved.[1]

The Beginnings of an International Role in Education

In his triple capacity as member of the Advisory Council to the Ministry of the Union of South Africa, as leading educator and as a keen innovator of technical training for the young, it was eminently reasonable that he should be sent in May of 1925 to the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations in Geneva as the official delegate of the nation. The same year, he was also honoured by membership in the British Institute of International Affairs. In 1927, a further distinction came to him when he was appointed senior official government delegate to the Imperial Conference on Education in London. On his return from this particular Conference, one senses subtly that the man has grown to more than merely national stature.[2] Professor Clarke now suggested that

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[1] "It is believed that this pioneer act has had extensive influence in other parts of the world, but specifically in Eire and Ontario." Item in The Montreal Star, September 23, 1929.

[2] On being questioned what possible connection there could be between Ontario and the Strait Settlements, he replied: "... I soon found there was unity. If, with all the different types represented, you have to try and see what is common in the educational problem, you have a valuable lesson." Cape Times, exact date unknown, probably in September, 1927.

such a conference should be called for all of Africa and that it was the duty of the Union of South Africa as the senior member of the group of African communities to summon such a conference. What might be discussed at such a meeting was suggested by his concluding remarks:

> We are building a society in this country rather different from anything anywhere else. You want an economic and educational policy conceived on the same lines and running together. The native must be provided with an incentive which provides him with the ways and means of reaching out towards what he sees. That means no barriers. It also means recasting many of the ideas of education we have held up to the present.[1]

Some confirmation of the developing international preoccupations is provided also by the increasing number of his articles devoted to subjects not confined to South Africa. For example, 1925, the year of the International Labour Conference, saw also the publication of "The Imperial Mind"; the Imperial Conference on Education in 1927 was accompanied by "New Education in Africa" and "The Juvenile Problem in Great Britain". The flow, once begun, continued with "English Mind and Dominion Mind"(1928), "Education and the New English"(1929), "The Dominion Outlook in Education"(1929) and "The Philosophy Underlying the System of Education in England"(Part II, 1929).

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[1] How different the position of South Africa in the continent and in the world might have been today had she given the Christian leadership suggested by this wise educator.

Professor Clarke and the Round Table Groups

Professor Clarke's membership in the Round Table Group[1] may also have been both a cause and a symptom of these widening horizons. Though the membership of this group was anonymous, it appears well enough established that Professor Clarke played some part. How important or leading that part was is still open to question. To the knowledge of this writer, Professor Clarke never alluded in any way to his membership. His surviving contemporaries are equally cautious. The only evidence elicited by correspondence is both contradictory and largely negative. On the one hand, Professor Carroll Quigley of Washington, D. C., who is a recognized authority on the subject, has stated:

> I am confident that you would leave out a major element in his career if you omit the Round Table part of it. I suspect it played a very significant role, especially in his ability to shift his academic employment from England to South Africa to Canada and back to England.

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[1] The Round Table, founded by the various members of the Milner Kindergarten, was a cooperative enterprise made up of prominent residents of many different parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire; their aim was to forward the orderly progress of that institution by the publication of a quarterly review, "The Round Table", devoted to its varied politics and problems. Such an exchange of views and experience not only aided in problem-solving but also bound the Empire together by bonds stronger than force. It was the voluntary responsibility of each member to contribute to the magazine unbiased articles on important local and national issues in his own area. Such articles were then published anonymously. The rule that "One's association with the Round Table was confidential and it was also presumed that its members would not cause details of their relationship to be published", as the writer was reminded by Professor Sir Arnold Plant, has made it very difficult to get definite information.

I do not know when Clarke joined the Round Table Group but he was Secretary of the Cape Town Branch from April 1921 to December 1928 (when he was succeeded by Professor Eric A. Walker from December 1928 to September 1936.)

... Clarke edited "The Letters of John Dove"(Oxford, 1938) although it was published as edited by Lord Brand. In it were published seven letters from Dove to Clarke over the period 26 December 1928 to 25 July 1933. Clarke's reports to Dove must have been very informative because Dove used to reproduce most of them and circulate them among the Editorial Committee. On 16 April 1932, Dove wrote to Clarke, "You can hardly realise the refreshment your letter brought. And the pleasure was not confined to myself. Our Committee generally--for I circulate the non-personal parts--also look forward to them. Hichens was saying only last week how good they were."

The Minutes of the Round Table Committee in London show that Clarke was present at "moots" on the following dates which I happened to notice: 2 February 1922; 18 June 1925; 27 January 1927 (with Sir Arnold Plant); 23 January 1928; 22 January 1929(with Sir A. Plant); 12 June 1930 (with G. P. de T. Glazebrook and W. K. Hancock); 3 July 1930 and possibly others.[1]

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[1] Personal letter to the author from Professor Carroll Quigley, Washington, D. C.(No. 93).

Professor F. W. Mitchell of the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, has substantiated this opinion:

> As far as I can ascertain, Fred Clarke was a foundation member of the All Souls Group which first met in 1942 at the invitation of W. G. Adams, Warden of All Souls. The first joint secretaries were John Newsome, then Director of Education in Hartfordshire and D. E. Cook, then D/E, Buckinghamshire. Subsequent members included Fred Schonell, now Vice-Chancellor, University of Queensland and W. R. Niblett, and I understand that Karl Mannheim and J. Lauwerys also had connections with it. Other participants at this time, whose names have been mentioned to me are Sir Richard Livingston, Sir Walter Moberley, J. H. Oldham, Adolph Lowe, T. S. Eliot and Reinhold Shairer(who is said to have started a smaller group in New York on his return to Columbia).[1]

A number of surviving contemporaries[2] have been consulted without adding substantially to the knowledge possessed. Apparently the Round Table records in South Africa, Canada and the United Kingdom have either been destroyed or throw no light on Clarke's activities with the organization. His close connection with the group has been denied by some well-placed persons. One individual has recalled that;

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[1] Personal letter to the author from Prof. F. W. Mitchell(No. 69).

[2] Among them are Lord Brand, Sir Arnold Plant, Professor Eric A. Walker, Mr. Dermot Morrah and Mr. Harry Hodson in the United Kingdom; the Hon. Richard Feetham in South Africa; Professor Sir Keith Hancock in New Zealand; Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, Hon. J. M. Macdonell, and Mr. G. P. de T. Glazebrook in Canada. While all have been courteous, the last-named person has been particularly so. Others who were written to have not answered. Since anonymity was a rule of the Group, no sources will be identified here.

"There were, however, a number of people in Montreal and Ottawa who were loosely associated with it, and Professor Clarke was one."

Another, in a good position to know, has commented:

> ... he had Round Table friends at All Souls and also, in London, at Chatham House ... Clarke found his connection with the R.T. an invaluable means of making useful and pleasant contact with South Africans and many overseas visitors to the University ... It is easy to overrate the influence of the South African R. T. Group on Clarke's life and also the share he took in its work. I do not recall that our very loosely-knit and widely-scattered Group ever had a formal Secretary, but I know that I did most of the organising work and that Clarke did little writing for the journal. Of the 450 pages (1921-1928) devoted to the affairs of South Africa ... he wrote at the very most forty ... he confined himself almost entirely to the field of Education ... Clarke was a stimulating colleague whose connection with the R. T. made it easy for him to get in touch with prominent people in three continents. More than that I am not prepared to say.[1]

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[1] Obviously, more than this the writer cannot say.

A Basic Philosophy of Education[1]

After some twenty years of thought about education and a decade in the thick of the practical politics of the subject, Professor Clarke brought his ideas together into what might be referred to as his philosophy of education, although, he, himself, might have preferred to avoid the use of such a pretentious term. In his "Excuse" for Essays in the Politics of Education, he pointed out that he was:

> ... trying to appeal to the ordinary man who, as a rule, neither reads nor thinks much about education ... But it is the thinking of the ordinary man rather than the intuition of the geniuses that in the long run determines the course of the world ... It is because I am convinced that thinking is the most practical and necessary pursuit in which the ordinary man can engage just now, that I venture to offer what I hope may provide him with some stimulus and material.[2]

Sometimes, these ideas are not always crystal-clear as to their realization in practice[3] yet, when assembled, they form a surprisingly workable system. These concepts, formulated in South Africa, by and large, were to be the basis for his educational thinking throughout the rest of his life and formed a considerable part of the theory behind the Education Act of 1944 in Great Britain.

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1 Unless otherwise stated, all ideas in this section are based on Fred Clarke's book, Essays in the Politics of Education, Cape Town, Juta and Co., Ltd., 1923.

2 Ibid., p. vii.

3 "I remember Sir Fred as a person with a real sense of the inner meaning of education, who never was unduly impressed with its machinery." Personal letter from Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey(No. 66).

The State, Clarke felt, was an indispensable institution, and one which is quite as good and natural as any other institution which is included within itself. While each other institution is one working facet of life, the State is the working concept of the whole national life. Only a well-functioning State can keep the other institutions free to do their work and yet properly subordinate to the whole. The main duty of the State, then, is, without undue interference, to keep all of the component institutions working together in one "Harmony". Without its protection, they will become perverted, distorted, or subverted. Those thinkers who seek to destroy the State are unrealistic, they see man as being better than he really is[1]; so long as man is selfish, weak and short-sighted, the State must exist to protect him against himself. In Education, for example, the function of the State is to see that the offerings and opportunities are as full, as varied, and as natural as life itself. But, though it pays the piper, it is never to be permitted to call the tune. This is the job, not of politicians or of functionaries, but of those who have devoted their lives to the study.

As the institution best suited to handle their direction and execution, certain tasks in education will fall naturally to the State. Included in these will be the general organization of the

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[1] Fred Clarke's acceptance of the Doctrine of Original Sin saved him from this particular pit-fall.

system, the training of teachers and, since Industry is a vital educational media, the modifying of trade, commerce and industry, where necessary, to transform them into better instruments of training. It will also limit the types of work done by juveniles and keep a sharp eye on such influential media as periodical literature, common amusements, etc., to the extent that ideals transmitted are not inimical to the desired ones. Of vast importance, since the Family is of greater value to society than the School itself[1], is the duty of the State to watch over the condition of health in the home; to supervise child welfare, and to pass such social legislation as minimum wage laws, public housing schemes and others with similar purposes.

Since the State was the institution designed mainly to maintain all other institutions in a condition of perfect harmony, so that each could do its work most efficiently, what were these other institutions and how did each work? To Professor Clarke, any grouping which held a significant place in the national life, which was "a meeting-place of more minds than one", merited such a distinction. Each institution had developed because it was an answer to clearly-felt needs in the community; as such it had unique possibilities for teaching the young about itself. To summarize it in words, as is done in the School, drained its life and left but the husk. Each must be allowed to tell its own story, in its own

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[1] This idea was altered by time and the School came back into its primary place.

way and at the proper time in the life of the learner. The institution would then educate in three ways; it would communicate its central idea with the resultant determination of the desired point of view; it would induce certain habitual modes of behaviour which would then be carried over into other fields of life and become an integral part of the individual's character; it would aid in the attainment of self-knowledge as the state of membership in an institution is akin to being in a "hall of mirrors", it shows us a reflection of ourselves as others see us. The acid test of any institution was that it did the work of instruction better than any available rival means. By this reasoning, the School was relegated to a lower position than it occupies in our society and other institutions, such as the Family[1], the Profession or Trade, the Church were up-graded in accordance with their merits.

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[1] Perhaps, here, we have an echo of his own early experience. He approved and quoted G. K. Chesterton's "almost uncanny insight in these matters":

"The man who lives in a small community lives in a much larger world. He knows much more of the fierce varieties and uncompromising divergencies of men. The reason is obvious. In a large community, we can choose our companions. In a small community, our companions are chosen for us .... The men of the clan live together because they all wear the same tartan and are all descended from the same sacred cow; but in their souls, by the divine luck of things, there will always be more colours than in any tartan. But the men of the clique live together because they have the same kind of souls, and their narrowness is a narrowness of spiritual coherence and contentment, like that which exists in hell." F. Clarke, Op. cit., p. 31.

The Family was the most important institution of all. He saw it as our first and most indelible acquaintance with a varied and many-sided world. In many cases, it is also the most broadly intimate and emotional experience of our lives; if a Conscience[1] is to be created, it is only here that the action can take place. It follows that the duty of the State is to strengthen the Family in every way, especially to assure that it is economically independent to the point where it can be a healthy, efficient breeding-ground of sound citizens. Any institution, including the State, which impinges on this sacred work is to be curtailed.[2]

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1 Thirty years later, the creation of Conscience was still to the fore. Fascism had demonstrated one consequence of the State becoming too dominant. "To save ourselves from any such risk, one thing above all else is needful, just Conscience. The one safeguard of continuing freedom is here ... In the first place, it is meant to stress the double need for resolute self-awareness and moral integrity ... even more weighty ... It stands for a belief in the reality of moral law and moral values, and for a repudiation of any thorough-going moral relativism." F. Clarke, Freedom in the Educative Society, London, University of London Press, 1948, p. 27. It should be noted that the School later had the ultimate responsibility of inculcating this quality.

2 The "Welfare State" of Socialist England was a mixed blessing to the later Clarke, although, generally, he seems to have approved of its levelling effect and provision of basic standards to all. "... When I see around so many healthy, spirited, well-grown kids and lusty, friendly babies, I am inclined to agree that the redistribution of income is yielding some human dividends. The hardness in the social texture that was so noticeable in my young days has softened. We have now to watch that the softening doesn't go too far. That's the central problem of the 'Welfare State', a rotten bad name!" Personal letter of Fred Clarke to T. H. Matthews, May 14, 1950.

The Profession or Trade also rated high in the Clarke register, encompassing most of the life which comes immediately after the School. Too often, there was a yawning chasm between the relatively sheltered life of the School and the economic competition of the workaday world. Too many of our youth are hurt or maimed for life in trying to bridge this gap. This became increasingly true as the apprenticeship system was eroded away by the rushing force of economic change. What was required was a meeting and a merging of the peripheries of both School and employment until they became one at the place where they overlapped. The whole economic organization of the nation had to be remoulded--and remoulded as often as necessary[1] --until it became an integral part of the national educational structure. To function properly, this "economic midwifery" must set up a complete record of each juvenile and then grade him individually into compatible employment according to his profile of strengths and weaknesses. These functions can be achieved if industry and education work together. That they do so is important to the individual, the employee, the industry and the nation.[2]

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[1] Mechanical invention sets the pace and social invention will have to follow on its heels; examples of such social inventions were the labour exchanges, advisory bureaus, and his own Juvenile and Apprenticeship Committees.

[2] Here, in embryo, is the spirit which animated the Education Act of 1944.

It may be useful to interpolate that Fred Clarke's insight into the fact that South Africa's particular problem was essentially to maintain and widen an oasis of civilization in a desert of barbarism lay at the base of much of his thinking, now and later.[1] The whole aim of education was, fundamentally, to civilize so that we may attain a right understanding of the eternal.[2] Our Society thus becomes the way to salvation. "We educate <u>for</u> society and we also educate <u>by</u> society",[3] he was to say more than once.

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[1] "One needs to live year after year cheek by jowl with those who have not yet the same measure of life's possibilities that we Westerners have attained to, and to appreciate the ever-present danger of losing our heritage by contamination, if one is to understand how completely our whole order of life hangs on the thread of education. It is far easier to sever that thread than it is to weave it, and the pit over which we hang suspended has unknown depths. Even our own civilized age has had some glimpse of them and those who have seen may well shake with horror. If we want to know what is in the pit, let us wrap ourselves up in the study of Instinct. If we want, on the other hand, to look up and to strengthen the thread that alone checks the descent, let us learn what Civilization means and that education alone can preserve and enhance it." F. Clarke, <u>Essays in the Politics of Education</u>, Cape Town, Juta and Co., Ltd., 1923, p. viii.

[2] By Civilization, he meant the revelation of what man could attain to; coupled with Religion, which offers the vision of what the universe is capable of becoming, it is the key to his thought.

[3] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 23.

With this basic concept of Civilization in mind, he was led to question the value ascribed by others to such concepts as "Individualism" and "Science". What is man's vaunted Individuality? Nothing more than his inherited "nature", which is, in itself, largely a social resultant, being made up of the characteristics of his forefathers and his race, of the laws and traditions which surround him, of the food, language, clothes, encouraged and discouraged emotions; even the very "freedom"(another magic word) he enjoys has meaning only within the context of his social environment. The individual is merely a point around which is organized a social network of rights and duties. He is nothing without society and, at the same time, he and thousands like him are society.[1]

For "Science" and scientists, Fred Clarke had a lurking distrust because, he felt, the latter tended to assume they had all of the truth in regard to any given proposition when, actually, they had only a glimmering of a corner of it. Part of the trouble lay in the fact that scientists, as a type, are highly individual persons who demand an "either-or" answer. As such, they lack the "wholeness" approach typical of the philosopher. They bend all of their energies

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[1] "Shakespeare, for example, is individual not because of his distinction from other men, not because of what his personality excludes, but because of the great "world" that his personality includes; because of his universality, in a word."
Ibid., p. 6.

to postulating a thesis, even if this means restricting the area of their study to the point where it becomes misleading or meaningless in the context of the whole. This may be Science but it is not Reality. The very attempt to isolate aspects of reality permits the essence to escape.[1] Science sets out all there is to Johnny but Johnny himself. His unique individuality escapes definition in the coarse net of science. Johnny really derives his wholeness from the world around him and that alone gives him meaning and reality and individuality. "Individualism, then, gives us the concreteness and the diversity without unity; "Science" gives us the unity without the concreteness and diversity."[2] Science is man reduced to his lowest

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[1] It is interesting to note that the scientist whom Clarke held up as a bad example of this wrong-headed emphasis was T. P. Nunn, the author of Education: Its Data and First Principles and Clarke's immediate predecessor as Director of the Institute of Education at the University of London. Years later, he returned to the attack. The friendship of the two was not affected.

[2] That he never lost his distrust of the "scientist" in education seems clear. In the middle thirties, he " ... tended to look upon the efforts of educational psychology and testing as rather picayune and fatuous ...." He also somewhat discouraged the efforts of his colleagues at the early founding of a National Research Foundation at the University of London, " ... fearing that this might become engaged in the kind of pseudo-psychological projects he objected to in America ...." Later, however, he took a prominent part in its inception "... with a view to ensuring that a study of culture and social progress should engage the attentions of the Research Foundation." All quotations are from a personal letter in the possession of the author from Prof. C. E. Smith, a former colleague of Professor Clarke at the University of London. (No. 106)

terms, an abstraction which, like the proverbial man-on-the-street, does not really exist. Such techniques may have their usefulness, but they are not to be found in education. Psychology, with its concept of Instinct, illustrated this; its basic working premise that all life is a growth from behind impelled by primitive impulses was dangerous. Man was actually being drawn out from above by his own best creations. Civilization, not Instinct, is the core of education. The man that education must create in us is not the man that Nature made but the man as Society would have him to be.

The School, though its importance was reduced, was still a vital institution. It was not:

> ... a kind of local information-shop--a place where prepared pellets and tabloids of officially-stamped facts are doled out to unwilling customers ... but ... the prepared spot on which society endeavours to focus the whole of itself; all its past in the shape of memories and traditions, history and language; and all its future in the shape of aims and ideals, needs and requirements, social, moral, political, industrial and what not ... it was ... the link between the past and future, the guarantor at one and the same time of both continuity and progress.[1]

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[1] F. Clarke, op. cit., p. 122.

Clarke recognized long before most others that it was in the realm of Secondary Education that the progress of the future would have to be made.[1] Present-day life had grown so complex that it had outgrown the existing structure; the necessary training could no longer be given in the early years of primary school. Not only was the job too big and time too short, but the pre-supposed capacities and interests simply did not exist in the younger charges. The twentieth century was to be the age of secondary education and all alike had to receive it, though not all in the same form. By Secondary Education, Clarke was thinking not of a specific body of courses but of a certain stage of adolescence, from about twelve to seventeen or eighteen. This training must be the bridge between childhood and adulthood and it would be called on to meet the challenge of the day; the increasing demands of industry for a high degree of skill, the growing requirements which the democratic order makes on the individual and the necessary training to counter the de-liberalizing influence of the modern machine society.[2] The Schools

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1 "Clarke propounded the modern concept of "secondary" education many years before it was implemented in the Hadow Report and Reforms in Britain." Personal letter to the author from Dr. G. J. J. Smit, University of Cape Town (No. 105).

2 He was not entirely in favour of "free" education. He felt that an education takes on the form of a prize when it is won by the energy and sacrifice of the family; not only the individual but the family profits. There may be a clue as to his own early education here.

alone could not cope. Social resources of all kinds would have to be teamed. Great changes would be essential; courses would need to be more practically defined and aligned; all would have to mirror the life they were a preparation for in a more faithful fashion. The "great Moloch of Matriculation" would have to be exorcised.[1] Matriculation meant entrance to University and it would have to be relegated to that status alone. No longer would its attraction be allowed to lure excellent craftsmen into becoming indifferent brain-workers or disgruntled and incompetent Civil Servants. As indicated previously, the forces of Industry and Commerce must cooperate for the benefit of all.[2] The new machinery to administer the whole should be designed along the lines already laid down in the Apprenticeship Committee or Juvenile Affairs Boards.

The division between "liberal" and "vocational" studies occasioned Professor Clarke much thought. As he saw it, two main social and economic facts had to be reconciled; the growth of the industrial machine which drew almost all into its maw, and the restiveness of workers who feared the mastery of the machine and longed for a liberalizing education had both to be satisfied. To be educated for

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[1] Clarke failed to achieve this aim in South Africa and in Canada, but helped to bring it about in England while a member of the Secondary School Examinations Council.

[2] His suggestion here is still resurrected today; the existing schools should be used from 3:30 to 6:00 p.m. or so.

production only was to be shut off from human growth; to be educated for nothing practical was to be doomed to inefficiency and frustration for life.[1] The young must be educated for both worlds, or, to be more precise, for one world which includes both spheres of existence, for it is impossible to departmentalize life. A liberal education built around a core of vocational studies was too narrow and limited. The machine itself must be humanized.[2]

The teacher required in such an educational system would not be the average man or woman and Fred Clarke was always alert to that fact:

> Here is the child faced by a perplexing world--a world of things and a world of humanity. Upon his power to interpret that world, to understand it, to master it, to bend it to its purpose and out of it to fashion his own personality, depend not only his own happiness and success but the future of society itself ... here is the function of the teacher .... He is sent by the society as a trained ambassador to the kingdom of childhood to explain the society which he represents .... <u>The white-hot point where all this social significance is concentrated is in the personality of the teacher</u> ....[3]

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1 "The world has less and less use for the casual undefined people who can do anything in general and nothing in particular. Even as politicians they are less successful than they used to be." Clarke, <u>Op. cit.</u>, p. 55.

2 "What is wanted is not a separate core for Leisure and Work in distinction but an importation of the spirit of Leisure into Work." <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 66.

3 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 122.

Unless teachers are strong and independent, the capture of the school system will become the prize of political rivalries.[1] Professor Clarke was also aware that the measure of the freedom was the measure of the responsibility. He had every intention of assuring that an appreciation of the dignity and importance of their calling was impressed upon all teachers in their training.

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[1] The reader is already aware of his reaction to the "Discipline Ordinance". "Under such a regime, the teacher could no longer be the free, responsible intelligent interpreter of a world of men and things to the coming generation. He would be merely the irresponsible and half-inanimate channel for the communication of the view of authority." Ibid., p. 124.

"It is the teachers and not party government who will provide society with its real safeguard against the great danger of the capture of the school for party purposes .... For government, let us remember, is just the party in power." Ibid., p. 125. Professor Clarke had rubbed shoulders with the politicians for years without, presumably, being impressed by them.

A growing disaffection with South African educational policies?

Fred Clarke was never a man to discuss in detail his personal feelings. In reading through his works of the period, however, one senses a growing disenchantment with his adopted land. There can be little doubt that he was out of sympathy with many aspects of the State system as it existed at the time. In 1918, while describing the evils of the Prussian State system of education, he commented that, "South Africa itself is not lacking in some of the symptoms, though there is enough healthy vitality and variety in the land to prevent them from becoming gravely dangerous."[1] Five years later, he wrote that Aristotle denied liberal education to the workers not because they were socially unfit but "because they are so ill-equipped by Nature as to be incapable of the full spiritual emancipation at which liberal education aims ...."[1] Later, he was to remark, in this connection:

> An exact analogy is to be found in a good deal of quite honest South African opinion which maintains the futility of the higher education of the Kafir. The argument is not so much that he should not but that he can not receive such an education.[2]

In 1928, in referring to a "caricature of a sound social philosophy" in South Africa, he commented:

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[1] Ibid., p. 35.

[2] Ibid., p. 59.
An answer to this, written elsewhere though in the same year, could be "... a steady raising of coloured standards in order to test the possibility of raising them ultimately to the level approximating to that of the European." Ibid., p. 115.

> The white man says he is intent on saving Western civilization, and to that end he would reserve all higher and skilled occupations for the whites. In so doing he often talks as though he is prepared to sacrifice the spiritual essence of civilization itself to save his economic status. For what other meaning can be attached to declarations, heard sometimes from high places, that even Justice must give way to the imperious demand of self-preservation.[1]

There can be no doubt of his meaning a year later(1929) when he wrote to the Conference of the South African Teachers' Association:

> ... But I must content myself now with pointing to just two necessities which seem to be vital for the immediate future.
>
> 1. In the first place the radical dualism which still infects South African education with such an insidious disease must be got rid of at all costs. I refer, of course, to the present administrative division, which rests upon the assumption that the Union takes "vocational" education in quite independent charge, and that the Provinces, with equally independent charge, take the non-vocational. The implication here of a clean division between the man and the worker is so violently in conflict with all the signs of the coming age that to persist in it must mean disaster. For the man of the future will be, above all things, the citizen-worker, fully a citizen even when he is wearing dungarees, and fully a worker even when he is wearing evening-dress. To presume to educate the dungarees in one education under one authority, and the boiled shirt in quite another education under another authority, is to show a blindness to the signs of the times for which the continuance of the luxury of five educational Departments will be a poor compensation when the account comes in for payment.

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[1] F. Clarke, "'Vocational' and 'Cultural'", The Forum of Education, London, Eng., November 1928, page unknown(when reprinted as a pamphlet, p. 5).

> The approach to actuality in education, now so marked all over the world, is barred in South Africa, so long as an utterly-out-of-date distinction between the vocational and the cultural is so deeply entrenched in the administrative system itself. The other dualism, that of language, may seem to us amid the stress of it to be more urgent and full of difficulty, and I am not inclined for one minute to minimize its importance .... A dualism in educational means springs from the facts of local history, it is one that with good sense and good will may prove manageable, and should prove so. But a dualism of education ends springing from fundamental blindness to the facts of the world's life as it will now have to be lived, is of that sort which can be dealt with only in one way--by abolishing it.
>
> 2. ... education must free itself from the strangling grasp of party politics or it will incur the risk of slow suffocation .... Domination by party spirit must mean that among the factors which affect decisions in educational policy, party considerations will always win, wherever their interest is strong enough. The final word will rest with the politician and that is the position in which we still are, perhaps even more deeply than we were.
>
> Hence the fate of an educational proposal will continue to be determined by factors which are irrelevant to the real merits of it, and the distant interest of the community at large will be sacrificed to the immediate and irrelevant necessities of a section of it at the moment.
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> At some point or other the vicious circle will have to be broken, and the organised teachers may have to be the spear-point for the purpose.[1]

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[1] F. Clarke, "Valedictory Letter to the Conference", The Educational News, South Africa, July 1929, page unknown. (In the original manuscript, pp. 3-4).

The reader will note that it was to the teachers of South Africa that he looked for leadership in reform and not to the authorities; the same was to be true in Canada.

Fred Clarke and the Colour Question

Fred Clarke thus had revealed his opinions, even if rather obliquely, on the subject of the State and Education. To one who admires his fair, equable and deeply religious mind and his Platonic devotion to the ideals of justice and truth, it appears more than strange, even significant, that he never delivered himself of a clear-cut opinion on the morality of the colour-bar. That he was well aware of it, we have already had evidence and more is to follow. It could hardly be argued that he accepted it unthinkingly, as one of the facts of life, as might a native white South African, for he was already past his thirtieth year when he met it and his opinions were formed about most important subjects. It can also be pointed out that he never spoke in favour of it, as did many of his friends[1], though to do so might have won him preferment in high places. Perhaps his reticence on the subject sprang from his deep realization of how deeply the issue cut into the national life and that of his friends; not knowing any easy answers, with tact and loyalty, he refused to say anything.[2] That he disagreed with it on

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[1] Mr. B. K. Long, a fellow member of the Round Table Group, expressed the following sentiments in his memoirs, In Smuts' Camp: "It isn't only that Coloured voters habitually succumb to pressure from corrupt groups or individuals at election times ... [but they] are also, apparently, incurably liable to be carried away by gales of emotionalism. They swallow almost anything that they are told by self-deluded or unscrupulous orators who know how to exploit this weakness of theirs .... The Coloured vote, in the same constituencies and on the same register as the White vote, has been little but a sham for all the years that it has existed. There is no future for it." Quoted from Our First Half Century, 1910-1960, Johannesburg, Da Gama Publications Ltd., 1960, p. 26.

[2] This silence was maintained even after he had left South Africa, when to criticize it would have been easy and perhaps even popular.

economic grounds cannot be doubted. He was outspokenly scornful of those who would continue to try to maintain the double standard and of others who simply let the problem drift because of its difficulty. He foresaw, apparently correctly, that the Achilles' heel of the colour-bar lay in the labour market. If coloured labour were kept cheaper than white labour, a law rather like Gresham's Law in economics would prevail; coloured labour would be used and "artificial attempts to keep it out will result only in the stranding of white labour on the desolate "poor white" shore of a coloured ocean".[1] This, he pointed out, was already happening in the apprenticeship system, where white boys who were too race-conscious to work beside coloured apprentices eventually found themselves without training and drifted into dead-end jobs where poverty and insecurity were lifelong companions.[2] There were not enough openings in management for everyone and land was too dear to offer an escape to many. The consequences over a prolonged period were only too easy to predict:

> The most obvious will be a steady closing of occupations to white juvenile employment, and the white lad will become an economic Dick Swiveller with a whole collection of industrial turnings that he must not take. Again, industry will not suffer, given a sufficient level of intelligence in the coloured workers. The whole weight of the loss will fall on the self-excluded white worker.[3]

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1 Clarke, Op. cit., p. 102.

2 "The same depression that drives the young European clerk to the relief works or the dogs brings nothing worse than short time and temporarily-reduced wages to the young coloured cabinet-maker." Ibid., p. 106.

3 "For either the white man must work at the competitive rate and make the barest of "white" livings, or he will stand aside in proud poverty and become a "poor white"". Ibid., p. 107.

With such conditions, Clarke foresaw a moral deterioration of these proud whites as the consciousness of a superior status through colour was sapped by a galling sense of non-recognition by even their own kind. The end could be only bitterness and violence that would split the nation.

Clarke questioned that the colour-bar offered any way out of the difficulties.[1] Of course, legislation could be passed by the whites to limit the franchise and to exclude colour or to give it a separate representation with separate schools and segregated residential districts. "Or it may demand that the coloured worker be placed in a condition of permanent helotry and confined to laborious and menial occupations in a sort of semi-slavery."[2] Certain trades could be reserved for white men although this often led to rather ridiculous results.[3] But such measures would inevitably fail unless the Government subordinated all aspects of the national life to the one purpose. Unless industry and commerce were manoeuvred like regiments, it would be like "... shutting a five-

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1 It was sometimes difficult to tell some Kafirs from white men; with the Coloureds, the task could become impossible.

2 Ibid., p. 110.

3 As when the white worker painted the bottom of the telegraph pole and the dark man painted the top; the pay was inversely proportional to the danger and difficulty involved.

barred gate to keep out the fog .... No one who has gauged with any accuracy the spirit of the modern industrialized world would believe that such deliberate control is possible."[1] Only one other possibility remained, "... the way of extermination--for even slavery would not be enough."[2] Civilization forbade such a consideration. The "white" cause would be lost, not only in South Africa but elsewhere in the world.[3] The real question was whether the maintenance of this "white" standard was practicable, even if it was desirable. No one had ever really answered the question about the ultimate capacity of the coloured peoples. If they could be raised to the point where they could share and appreciate the "good" life and its priceless values, the problem would disappear. The old bogeyman of matrimony with one's daughters need not arise:

> It is quite possible for men to share, in the utmost fullness, the common founts of human good, and yet to reveal most marked differences. Colour may be more than skin deep and the culture to which it attains may possibly be different in quality from our own. But there is no reason whatsoever, as yet, for assuming that it must necessarily be different in Level. The historic "parallels" so freely quoted are so much moonshine.[4]

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1 Ibid., p. 102.

2 Ibid., p. 114.

3 "What, for want of a better term, is sometimes called "exploitation", will exploit in the end the dead bones of a civilized order." Ibid., p. 114.

4 Ibid., p. 114.

By advocating the steady raising of coloured standards in order to test the possibility of ultimate equality with the whites, Professor Clarke had effectively ranged himself against what was to be majority white opinion in South Africa. To him, as already intimated, the stakes were far higher than the maintenance of a high standard of living for a privileged minority in South Africa. The white workers of Britain, France and Germany were also in competition with the coloured workers of the world; " ... one need not be cheek-by-jowl with the competitor in order to feel the pressure of his presence."[1] Success, if it could be achieved, in solving this vexatious problem would have " ... value as an example far beyond South African limits."[2] But even this paled into insignificance beside the real victory, a spiritual triumph of Civilization itself and the preservation of the values developed over two thousand and more years. " ... Thus does a seemingly-disinterested 'trusteeship' transform itself into an imperative obligation to preserve our inheritance in the only way possible, the way of sharing it."[3]

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1 Ibid., p. 103

2 Ibid., p. 103

3 Ibid., p. 115
Two years after Professor Clarke had committed these thoughts to print, the trend became too obvious to be mistaken. White South Africa began to commit itself definitely to the native policy which he had prophesied could end only in disaster. The Government of General Hertzog began to raise the barriers between the whites and the other races ever higher. As we now know, the process has continued.

Professor Clarke Leaves South Africa

When Professor Clarke, Dean and Director of Teacher Training, resigned from the staff of the University of Cape Town, he chose to leave his home and his friends of eighteen presumably happy years, his assured financial security, and a nation-wide reputation which was still in the ascendant. He gave up voluntarily the direction of a Department of Education which was reputed to have a high standard and some two hundred students to come to a strange country to begin again the task of opening up a new one; the trials and tribulations of such an undertaking no one knew better than Fred Clarke. He came to a Province where many of the conditions he disapproved of also existed,[1] where the State was dominant, bilingualism was a problem, the English were a minority, and where, moreover, he could no longer speak with the voice of an accepted authority. Why he took such a decisive step can only be surmised. He, himself, to the knowledge of this writer, at least, never put his thoughts into words. Only one of his Canadian contemporaries can recall his making any reference to South Africa which is apropos.[2] The suggestion that he departed because of a fundamental disagreement with the Union Government over the education of non-whites has been denied by a

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[1] As a keen student of comparative education, he must have been aware of these facts.

[2] Dr. W. P. Percival, former Director of Protestant Education in the Province of Quebec, in a letter to the author, has recalled(No. 84): "In reply to a question as to why he left South Africa, I heard him say, 'It is not a white man's country.'"

long-time associate at the University of Cape Town.[1] Professor John Hughes, another colleague in South Africa and Professor Clarke's personally-chosen successor at McGill University, has stated that Fred Clarke actually had resigned his post before he received the offer of the Macdonald Chair in Education from McGill. Another report[2] declares that Professor Clarke had contracted to go to Columbia University as Visiting Professor of Education in Teachers College for the first semester of 1930. Perhaps the answer is straightforward and simple, as Clarke himself was. He wrote once, in another connection but at about the same time:

> It has been my lot rather to make things possible than to get things finished and done with; the work of a David collecting materials for the building of a temple, rather than of a Solomon to build it. So, I have felt that, in any undertaking, as soon as enough has been done, my contribution to the general stock could best be made by passing on to break fresh ground, rather than to stay on cultivating a field that has already been subdued to the plough.[3]

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[1] That Professor Clarke resigned from the University of Cape Town in 1929 "... over some disagreement with regard to the Government attitude to the negroes ... is not correct." Personal letter to the author from Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Principal, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa(No. 64).

[2] The records of Columbia University cannot substantiate this report(No. 59)

[3] "Valedictory Letter to the Conference", The Educational News, Cape Town, July, 1929, page unknown. (From a private copy in the author's possession).

Whether because of growing disenchantment or evangelical zeal for new fields to conquer, Professor Clarke did decide to leave South Africa. In January of 1929, he visited London to attend another Round Table "moot", then, on his return, he joined Mr. Frank Tate, C. M. G., I. S. O., former Director of Education of the State of Victoria, Australia, on what came to be known as the Tate Commission. This Commission on Education in Southern Rhodesia was to "... advise the Government in regard to the soundness of this (educational) structure and to recommend the direction in which extensions might most profitably be made."[1] Let the official Report of the Director of Education for Southern Rhodesia(1929) continue:

> With two men of such standing in the educational world it was anticipated that the Report to be issued would be a weighty document, worthy of the most earnest consideration by the Government and the public of the Colony--and indeed it was. Not only did it contain a large number of recommendations in regard to new developments in the educational system of the Colony; in addition it proposed a variety of administrative changes based on the experience of larger systems. Further, it sketched in full detail certain projects, entirely new to South Africa in regard to schemes of afforestation and housecraft for schools. And, finally, it rendered a valuable service to Southern Rhodesia in setting forth the ideal relationship between the public and the schools, the teachers and the parents, and the Department and School Committees.

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[1] From a copy of part of the Report of the Director of Education of Southern Rhodesia for 1929, sent to the author through the courtesy of Mr. J. Davenport(No. 23).

Returning to Cape Town, Professor Clarke reluctantly refused to address the annual Conference of the South African Teachers' Association as, being local Vice-President, he had to entertain the delegation of the Education Section of the British Association during its visit in July. He then bade good-by to his friends, wound up his affairs, gathered up his wife and daughters, and set sail for a new land--Canada.

> His departure was a great loss to the University of Cape Town and to education in South Africa, as a whole, for his high intellectual powers, his broad vision and his talent for leadership made him a great power in the important transitional period of South African education during 1910-1930.[1]

He was to return to South Africa only once.

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[1] Personal letter to the author from Professor J. F. Burger, University of Cape Town(No. 14).

CHAPTER V

MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL, 1929-1934

When Professor Clarke arrived in Montreal, The Montreal Star of September 23, 1929, noted the fact and, projecting the past into the future, anticipated great achievements in the field of education. It would probably have done so, in any case. The year 1929 was one of unbounded optimism in Canada; nothing failed, all succeeded. It was a prophecy which, unfortunately, was not fulfilled. The Canadian phase of his career, relative to what had gone before and to what was to come after, was disappointingly barren and devoid of the academic achievements one anticipates from a man of Professor Clarke's calibre.

Others besides the newspaper noted his coming. Professor H. D. Files,[1] then a young colleague at McGill, after more than three decades, can still recall Clarke's introduction to the other members of the Arts Faculty in the Faculty Club:

> ... He spoke then briefly, modestly, but with notable eloquence of his hopes in coming to McGill, of his needing first to assimilate much that was new and strange to him in our unfamiliar setting, of his necessary reliance on the good-will and cooperation of us all. Beyond a general assurance that he would give his best intelligence and zeal to promoting the study of education at McGill, he offered no detailed blue-print of what lay ahead.[2]

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1 Now Greenshields Professor of English, McGill University, Montreal

2 Personal letter to the author from Professor H. G. Files (No. 34)

Professor Files' first good impression was reinforced later when Clarke was called on unexpectedly by the Chairman to comment on what the members of a panel had said about various types of education:

> I was impressed by the alertness, incisiveness, articulateness of his mind, and by his broad grasp of the problems of contemporary education.[1]

This early prepossession was to be shared by many--but not all--of the Canadian educators who met him. Had more of them appreciated the gifts he offered, Canada, rather than England, might later have made educational history.

Some Plans for Education at McGill University

While Professor Clarke "offered no detailed blue-print of what lay ahead" for his new Department of Education, it was not because he lacked ideas. Fortunately, he had given an address on this very subject[2]; in it, he had laid bare the conclusions he had reached after fifteen years of experience in teacher-training, seven of which had been spent building up a Department. While the passage of time alters everything, it is reasonable to assume that, fundamentally, his aspirations in this direction were the same.

Judging by this address and later articles, there is no doubt that Professor Clarke disapproved of what had been happening in teacher-training in the past. He laid the blame for it squarely at

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1 Letter to the author from Professor Files(No. 34).

2 "The University and the Study of Education", an address given at the University of Cape Town, August 3, 1918. F. Clarke, Essays in the Politics of Education, Cape Town, Juta and Co., 1923, pp. 132-144.

the door of both the State and the Universities concerned. When the first strong demand for secondary education was beginning to be felt, the State had met it, but rather reluctantly and in a niggardly and unimaginative fashion. It had taken the most prosaic and superficial view of the teacher's function, concluded that he was merely a craftsman who had to be taught his trade, and approached the task in much the same way it might have laid out a course for brick-layers or plumbers. The class-bound society of the time had encouraged such a philosophy, viewing with indignation the coachman's son aspiring to be educated like a gentleman, and at State expense. To prevent such a social tragedy, the basic education of the teacher had been neglected deliberately and he had been taught to perform a "series of didactic tricks and devices." "The result was a teacher who could handle with almost diabolical skill matter which no one wanted to learn and of the significance and value of which he himself could give no account."[1] The first teaching machine had arrived.

The tradition of the Teachers' College as a form of trade school had been handed down. The Universities, unfortunately, had accepted their role in the process without interest. Those institutions were

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[1] Ibid., p. 141.

looking around anxiously for students to round out some of the more attenuated courses, and teachers would fill the seats as well as any. "Thus, from the point of view of the University, the Department of Education was a recruiting bureau; from the point of view of the State, it was a Trade School."[1]

Professor Clarke rebutted the contention that the Training Colleges had no academic or intellectual right to be in the Universities:

> ... Now the teacher, however humble his work, is fulfilling one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest of the offices of peace. Who is in greater need of a complete and generous education ... and unless men and women of cultivation do this work, how are we ever to break down the long reign of stupidity and prejudice in our common affairs? The prospective teacher in the University must have all the gates of knowledge thrown open to him. Contact with students, senior and junior, of many divergent interests, many-sided intercourse with ideas, the intellectual modesty that comes from an appreciation of unrealised possibilities, is there anyone who needs these more?[2]

The Universities have a bounden duty to take these young men and women into their circle, to open their eyes to the infinite possibilities of life in general and within their own profession, in particular, to enlarge and broaden every facet of their personalities to the end that

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1 Ibid., p. 136.

2 Ibid., p. 144.

love of knowledge become a way of life, which condition others would catch by contagion as well as by precept. The teacher-trainee cannot be over-educated, for only education reproduces education.

Education had a right to be taught within the University walls so long as it could not be demonstrated to be a purely empiric learning, a series of didactic tricks picked up from observation and assimilated with persistent practice.[1] He believed that Education as a subject could prove itself to be responsive to scientific treatment. While the case had not yet been fully proven, it had earned the right of serious consideration; though the whole body of principles was not clear, the lineaments were there to be seen by all who wished to probe. If Education were to be rejected by the academics because it dealt with a human material which, allegedly, would not respond properly to scientific treatment, then Ethics, Politics, Philosophy and all other "human" sciences should join in the exodus.[2]

To the objection that the teaching of children was not important enough to merit the attention of those of University status, Professor

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1 "The University might just as well institute courses in dancing, conjuring and--shall we say--golf." Ibid., p. 133.

2 "If the question can be clearly and intelligibly put, and if the data can be rationally co-ordinated to meet the question, the science is vindicated. This is certainly the case with Education." Ibid., p. 138.

Clarke pointed out that children outranked crayfish in importance, and the latter had their place in the Department of Zoology. If Education were not included, then that "would mean that the most vital, the most fundamental of social activities is incapable of rationalisations and the processes of education would belong to the realm of pure empiricism and chance."[1] Civilization would rest on a foundation of chaos and order take its direction from disorder.

It follows logically from such opinions, that the proper laboratory facilities must be available to the educational "scientist".[2] This Demonstration School will have a double function; it will not only observe the "Child-Undergoing-Education" process but also ease the teacher-aspirant into the most auspicious milieu.[3]

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1 Ibid., p. 137.

2 "For the Education Department, his specimen-material can then be nothing else than a good school, the best available, under the control of the department itself, and conducted so as to exemplify and demonstrate the educational doctrine it has arrived at and to provide means for the further study and development of that doctrine. This, in brief, is what is meant by a demonstration school. It is not a practising school for students, nor that tentative, but useful thing, an experimental school, but just a good specimen of education for the University Department to work with. Such a school we must have ...." Ibid., p. 139. Similar schools were often part of the old pupil-teaching facilities; Fred Clarke may have worked in one.

3 "... it will take the young student and try to place him from the first in living contact with living education .... If he only ken it, he is then at the very heart and centre of the world's progress, for it is through better education that progress comes." Ibid., p. 142.

It was in this connection that Professor Clarke uttered his most challenging statement. Though the training of teachers is normally thought of first, the real responsibility of the Department of Education is neither this, nor the business of educating students; it is to study what happens when the child and the subject are brought together.[1] The Department should be a central bureau for receiving and collating information which can then be reorganized as the bases for fresh investigations into education, that of our own country, in particular, but, actually, of all parts of the world.[2] To carry out these tasks properly, the Department should be divided into three basic divisions, each under the charge of an experienced person: there should be one devoted to the history and organization of education, a methods and training section, and a division specializing in philosophy and psychology. In addition, part-time instructors should be brought in for various technical subjects.

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1 "It is the Child-Undergoing-Education that we have to study." Ibid., p. 138.

2 "A University Department of Education is not justified merely as a Training College incorporated with a University; rather it can train teachers because of the special character that belongs to it, or should belong to it, as an organisation for the scientific study of education. This scientific study is its primary function, its real raison d'être; the training of teachers is a secondary though direct consequence." Ibid., pp. 133-134. The University of London Institute of Education owes much to such ideas.

Such was the aspiration. Though some progress towards the goal can be recorded, it is relatively little. The reasons for this lack of success can only be surmised. To the observer so long after the event, several possibilities appear feasible. In the first place, Professor Clarke brought ideas which would have necessitated considerable expense into an environment where retrenchment was soon the order of the day. Equally important, perhaps, he expounded his logical and praiseworthy but, at first view, rather Utopian and radical plans in the bailiwick of firmly-based authorities who were not disposed to be impressed by them or the new-comer and who, it is reported, regarded him as somewhat of an interloper without any real understanding of the unique features of education in the Province of Quebec. Both of these possibilities are worth examination.

The Economic Background of Professor Clarke's Tenure[1]

It appears reasonable to conclude that had his coming not coincided almost exactly with the advent of the Great Depression, the outcome might have been different, if only to a degree. Canada, in the Fall of 1929, when the Clarkes arrived, was enjoying the peak of the post-war boom. Except for the fabulous United States, her citizens owned more cars per capita than any other nation in the world and this was typical of her material affluence. Though a nation of only

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[1] Hodgetts, A. B., Decisive Decades, Toronto, Thos. Nelson and Sons (Canada) Limited, 1961. This excellent book was used to sketch in the background of Canada during Professor Clarke's tenure.

10,000,000 people, she was the largest wheat-exporting nation in the world with some 50% of the world's markets; she was also the sixth trading nation of the world. Most other sectors of her economy were equally prosperous. Beneath the glittering facade, however, the national economy was riddled with weaknesses. Her prosperity was built almost entirely upon a few great primary industries which, in turn, were dependent on world conditions. The people, so we are told, took their cue from their "betters" and, with the unqualified optimism of those who have never been burned, mortgaged their future by instalment buying. Many had also acquired the popular pastime of "playing the market" on margin, and these paper gains were used to finance an ever-rising standard of living. Thus, both nation and individuals were highly vulnerable. This needs to be appreciated if the speed of the slide from riches to rags and the fearful conservatism which it spawned is to be appreciated. On September 3, while the Clarkes were at sea, the big Bull Market had hit its peak. While he perhaps observed, the stock index slid slowly for the next few weeks and trapped thousands of speculators who had bought on margin. On October 24, almost exactly a month after his arrival in Montreal, he was a witness to the unprecedented panic as thousands of shares were dumped on the collapsing market for what they would bring.[1] Within a week,

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[1] It is very unlikely that one of his bent would miss it; the headline in The Montreal Star on that day read: "Panic Strikes Stock and Grain Markets".

50% of the peak values had been wiped out. With it went the actuality of good times though some illusions persisted. Soon the Smoot-Hawley bill raised tariff barriers in the United States to unprecedented levels; when Canada's other markets in Europe followed this example of economic nationalism, her people began to feel the bite. By 1932, with foreign trade gone and the home market over-supplied and lacking the incentive for new investment, some 9,000 businesses had gone into bankruptcy. That same winter the unemployed numbered 600,000; the income of many others was cut in half. To many industrial workers with nothing but their labour to sell, life became a stark struggle for survival. Conditions were little better in the rural districts where Nature had proved unkind. At a time when the world price of wheat had fallen from $1.60 a bushel to thirty-eight cents, a prolonged drought also lowered production of the crop by more than one half. During these years, the country drifted more aimlessly, perhaps, than did most countries. The National Government, long used to an easy prosperity under a laissez-faire policy, seemed unable to recognize the emergency. Leadership, eventually, came from other sources. In some provinces, strong individualistic men began to rise.[1] Evolutionary socialism also made its appearance with the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, which modelled its doctrines on those of the British Labour Party. By the end of 1934, when Prof.

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[1] Ontario sired "Mitch" Hepburn; Quebec gave Maurice Duplessis his chance; in Alberta, Aberhart created the Social Credit Party.

Clarke returned to England, the worst of the depression was just beginning to lift. Canada, in more ways than one, had been a microcosm of the world and we can be sure that the lessons were not lost on the historian.[1] Though these qualities had not been lacking in the past, he had now an increased awareness of the importance of the School as an institution for preparing for life, of the need for sound values,[2] and of the urgent necessity to train leaders to meet the challenges which lay in the future.

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[1] The writer feels that Clarke was probably deeply impressed by what he saw around him. His articles at this time are filled with references to materialism, the danger of false values, the rigidity of Canadian institutions in the face of change, and the decline of democracy. The following is typical:
"Canada should talk and think a little less about its vast economic resources and a little more about its still largely unexploited human resources. The typical Canadian has a certain quality of steadiness of mind, the gift of absorbing and reflecting faithfully and in due proportion the world around him. If this quality could have full play uncorrupted by easy wealth and undiverted by false values, it would bring upon the scene a Canadian people well qualified to sympathize with, and to mediate between, the conflicting ideals which are now tearing the world apart." F. Clarke, "The Prospect in Canadian Education", McGill News, Spring 1935, No. 1, Vol. 16.

[2] "What I mean by Inwardness of Life can be understood, unhappily enough, by contemplating much of the life we see around us. Is it "life" at all to be a straw blown about by varying winds ... or a fragment of iron waiting for the external magnet to show where it is to moor? ... we insist that our children shall "be educated" and expect that the teacher shall do it by external operation; we doctor the course of study to cure diseases in the teaching; we find in the wicked "communist" or the equally wicked "capitalist" ... the cause of troubles that spring really from ourselves .... Such a fashion of mind calls aloud for dictatorship .... It is the worst possible intellectual basis for any genuine democracy." F. Clarke, "Saving Democracy", The Teachers' Magazine, Montreal, Vol. XV, No. 66, p. 10.

His Impressions of Education in the Province of Quebec

To those who are concerned with education in Quebec, it should prove interesting to follow the development of the thoughts of this trained observer as provided by his writings in The Teachers' Magazine of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers.

Professor Clarke was invited some six or seven months after his arrival at McGill University to express "Some First Impressions". Cautiously, he admitted that he was " ... still exploring somewhat unfamiliar country ..." but he, nevertheless, sounded the tocsin.

> Surely nowhere on earth can History and Geography have combined to produce a situation so intricate and so full of interest to the student of educational institutions .... For here, educational means have had to be adjusted not only to a rigorous climate, to the necessities of a scattered population and to forms of economic life which have their own peculiar features. They have also had to take account of a conflict of educational philosophies which has divided the world since the days of the Reformation, which issues in the shedding of blood even in our own time. ... in Quebec, the good sense of two people, experienced in the arts of life has made possible a peaceful co-existence where fusion and even compromise could not be hoped for."[1]

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[1] F. Clarke, "Some First Impressions", The Teachers' Magazine, Montreal, Vol. XIII, No. 51, p. 11.

Quebec education was a great laboratory experiment pursued in the arena of social action.[1] The pioneer work which had gone into the foundation of such an educational system rated his highest admiration. This foundation, however, was only the beginning and not the end; further development should be directed towards increased fluidity in the schools where the " ... work was mechanical, bare and over-formal and rigid in conception".[2] Traditional methods, which had lost their aptness with the passage of time, had been allowed to remain dominant. The modern-day training of youth must be directed towards plasticity and the formation of an operative intelligence rather than the imposition of an externally-imposed routine. Not surprisingly, after what we have seen in the past, he declared the teacher to be the fulcrum of change for the future.[3] Clarke inferred strongly that

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1 "Quebec may well prove to be a microcosm of the world problem in its racial-religious form ...." Ibid., p. 11. This opinion is of interest in these days of "separatism".

2 Ibid., p. 12.

3 "Upon his shoulders the main burden of the future must fall, and the public conception of his place and function in the community must change correspondingly .... Educationally, the essence of it will consist in transfer of the central responsibility for producing the educational result from the system to the teacher. The teacher will be less a functionary working a machine, and more a professional man solving his own professional problems in the light of his own trained judgment ...." Ibid., p. 13.

Quebec had all of the essentials for an excellent educational system with the single exception of vision.[1]

While one may have doubts about the tact and discretion of the new arrival, one cannot help admiring his courage and conviction.[2] By calling for the institution to preside over its own dissolution, he declared a gentlemanly war on the establishment. Parkinson's Law, while not then formulated, was operative. To make haste more slowly might have been politically wiser. To a man of the character of Professor Clarke, however, such hesitations may have appeared picayune.

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[1] "I have impressions of spacious and well-appointed school-buildings ... of sturdy active children providing excellent social material; of keen teachers who could achieve more than the system seems to permit; and generally of a powerful force of discipline shaping into a citizen pattern the widely diversified material that comes within its scope. All this is good and full of promise. But without vision it may all come to nought, and even, in some respects, to something worse than nought. To achieve vision one must clamber a little way up the heights, and for vision to be effective it must take shape in the teacher ... I am convinced that the demands of the immediate future, in Quebec as elsewhere, are such as to call for fundamental changes in the policy that was sufficient for the simpler conditions of another age." Ibid., p. 14.

[2] The writer suspects that there is some factor in the situation which is unknown to him. Professor Clarke, heretofore, has been noted for his diplomatic social relations. To start off at a charge seems unlike him.

If Professor Clarke had felt like an explorer on unfamiliar ground a few months before, it did not take him long to be sure of his bearings. Two months later, in June of 1930, he returned to the charge in his most ambitious article in The Teachers' Magazine; he not only analyzed the weaknesses of the system further but proposed specific and far-reaching remedies.[1] He laid down, immediately, that a clear distinction had to be drawn between education and administration: administratively, the situation in Quebec was unique; educationally, it was not and Quebec, if she would but listen and learn, could profit from the experience of others.[2] To supply vision, the lack of which he had noted so quickly, he recommended an impartial survey, "a careful domestic stock-taking" which would define the problems in regard to primary and secondary education, the position of the teacher vis-à-vis the prescribed curriculum, the education of the below- and

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[1] Considering all of the exigencies of writing and publishing, this is a very short interval. Perhaps there had been some sharp criticism of his opinions which made a quick definitive reply imperative.

[2] " ... in the educational life of Protestant Quebec as a whole, administrative issues bulk so largely that the more vital issues of education itself are in some danger of receiving inadequate consideration .... But administration is not education. Once the administrator has succeeded in establishing contact between pupil and teacher the real work of education can begin." F. Clarke, "Notes on Education in the Province of Quebec", The Teachers' Magazine, Montreal, Vol. XIII, No. 52, p. 25.

above-average pupils, medical and physical care of pupils, and the qualifications of educational inspectors. He requested full approval of the duly constituted authorities of Quebec and offered the resources of the Department of Education at McGill for the purpose.[1] Pending this survey, he suggested that the work of improvement begin immediately in three main areas: 1. the de-mechanization of the school work; 2. the diversifying of courses in the secondary schools; 3. the selection and training of pupils for higher education.

Under the heading of de-mechanization, he included the freeing of the teacher from deadening routine and bondage to regulations[2], the relaxation of the rigid grades system in favour of individual pupil progress[3], and all at the earliest possible

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[1] This suggestion, according to Dr. John Hughes, bore fruit in the shape of the Hepburn Survey of Education some time after Clarke had left Canada.

[2] "In England, the "system" ... is what the teacher makes it. In Quebec, the teacher is what the system makes him. Here, the teacher counts for too little; he is not a professional man solving his technical problems in the light of his own free trained judgment, but is rather a standardized part of a standardized machine, doing what the machine required of him and thought of as capable of being shifted from point to point in the machine, while still discharging much the same function." Ibid., p. 26.

[3] "For the conception of a set routine of absorbing curriculum formulae in measured stages(or grades), there has to be substituted the conception of an ordered growth in individual power, under the guidance of a skilled controller of pupil activities." Ibid., p. 26. It is interesting to note that a scheme to promote this fluidity is coming into operation in September of 1963 at Rosemere High School, near Montreal.

moment.[1] While the implementation of these reforms might appear formidable or even insoluble, they could all be worked out in practice in a Demonstration School and applied to the whole.[2]

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[1] "It is in the early stages of education especially, that free and plastic methods are so essential, and it is the intelligent children who suffer most from the imposition of a mechanical routine. Their lives soon develop a most unhealthy dualism, their genuine personal interests and vital energies going one way, while formal school activities go another. School and its concerns quite early become suspect; the child conforms because he finds it wise to do so, but school activities are not the means by which he satisfies his real interests. His full abilities are never brought to bear in school. Under such conditions, he acquires very early the trick of offering the minimum to satisfy the teacher and with it a whole crop of habits of intellectual indolence and perfunctoriness which are usually quite contrary to his real nature. So a school that might have been a fruitful medium for fostering the germs of culture becomes an effective means of immunizing him against it. The result is seen in later years; in the intellectual listlessness that sees all systematic mental effort as a task; in a "learning" process that consists of a memorizing of text-books and notes; in the failure of a "carry-over" of studies into life ...; in a Philistinism that considers mental and spiritual culture as something effeminate and not consonant with the dignity of a virile he-man; and in a civil war of the soul between tasks and diversions that makes obvious havoc of the life both of the individual and of the community." Ibid., p. 27.

[2] It may be apropos to mention here that Professor Clarke never did get his Demonstration School. Perhaps the closest he came to it in Canada was at the Baron Byng High School in Montreal. Dr. John Astbury, the Principal at that time, has recalled: " ... I think it is true to say that Baron Byng made some considerable appeal to him. We were fortunate in that we had in the school a number of people who had this creative urge and initiative that he so much approved of ... if people had experiments they wanted to try, they tried them. If they didn't work out ... we had discovered something. Professor Clarke used to come up to our school and make himself very much at home. He said to me on one occasion that he felt it was more like being in England because the school had its own character ...." From a tape-recorded interview, now in the author's possession, with Dr. John S. Astbury.

Once corrective measures against the deadening effect of ossification had been put into operation, the whole concept of Secondary Education could be examined. It should be thought of as a type of education rather than as a mere continuation of the Primary School. Diversification and enlargement of the present curriculum was imperative. To continue to impose the traditional university requirements on all alike was only to intensify those evils of unreality and warfare of soul already referred to. If all were to be given a secondary school training, then the range of offerings should be as wide as the range of applicants. Care must be taken that added courses were not haphazard or of the "department store" type or "soft options". Even the poorer student had need for intellectual discipline. He proposed the founding of Junior Technical Schools to take certain pupils for three or four years up to the age of sixteen; workshop practice would form a major part of their curriculum. Though many of the ordinary subjects, such as English, History, Science and Mathematics were to continue to be taught, their interpretation was to be more utilitarian and focused directly on the needs of the manual worker. In an echo of his South African achievements, he suggested that these schools draw on the resources of industry and commerce to a much greater extent. Part-time schools might be considered later to cater to the needs of juvenile labour. He also foresaw the need of a further stage of adult education.

Professor Clarke was an increasingly strong believer in the need for special training to develop the intellectual cream of the nation. If it was vital to remodel education for the good of the majority of the population, it was crucial to select the proper candidates for the future leaders of the nation. A cult of excellence, an intellectual aristocracy, must be created if the nation were to survive and flourish.[1] This selection was to be made not later than twelve years of age; those chosen were to be grouped into small classes of not more than twenty persons in the better schools where specialized instruction would be available. A particularly interesting suggestion concerned the addition of a fifth year[2] to the secondary school system to be open to all who could benefit from it. All but those who were destined by nature to be tradesmen were eligible. The slightly-above-average student could add a sharper edge to his mind. To the exceptional one who might reach the Matriculation standard too young to profit from University life, it should prove a godsend. Membership in such a class would be regarded as an extra opportunity to be earned by superior ability and merit,[3] and not a right. The formal teaching would be

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[1] "No misreading of the principle of Democratic Equality should be allowed to obscure the clear urgency of the need." Ibid., p. 28.

[2] Not to be confused with the "twelfth year" of the present day.

[3] "The main purpose of such a class would be the consolidation of intellectual powers, self-discovery and the encouragement of the free student spirit, rather than to extend the High School course by one year uniform in quality with those preceding." Ibid., p. 29.

reduced to the minimum, free work assignments would be the major aim. Pupils would be offered the opportunity to delve into their favourite studies or to break new ground by taking on new subjects. The University would thus be assured of a supply of undergraduates equipped to take full advantage of their facilities as soon as they were enrolled and capable of qualifying for advanced work in due time. Such a class would also have a beneficial effect downwards as its influence seeped to the elementary school.[1] Professor Clarke could see no good reason why such classes should not be instituted at once. The pupils were there; given encouragement, the teachers would also emerge. Back on his favourite topic, the care and training of teachers, he delivered himself of some of his biggest salvos: "To the new-comer, few things are more striking in Quebec education than the well-nigh unanimous refusal of capable young men at the University to consider for a moment the choice of teaching as a life-career".[2] Financial reasons might

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[1] Professor Clarke denied by inference that this was "undemocratic" but it was not until later that he put the thought into words: "The real problem of Equality is to interpret the idea in terms of an organic society. That is, a society which is something more than the collection of pushful and enterprising units that was possible in America in those 19th Century days of expansion and optimism. It is a society like that of Plato, a system of harmonized functions to which all the individuals are related in some way or other. Certain of these functions, like Government, stand higher in the scale of value than certain others, like garbage disposal. The principle of Equality is fulfilled and not violated if each individual functions where he is best fitted, and has the rights and "privileges" belonging to his function." F. Clarke, "Saving Democracy", The Teachers' Magazine, Montreal, Vol. XV, No. 66, p. 8.

[2] F. Clarke, "Notes on Education in the Province of Quebec", The Teachers' Magazine, Montreal, Vol. XIII, No. 52, p. 29.

be cited in defence of such a stand but he felt that the real reasons went much deeper and that they were largely social.[1] That the educational system could not replace its own staff from its own products was the most damning commentary that he could make:

> ... Yet there must be many young men who are not in themselves deaf to the call of a high vocation, who do not seek riches and fortune, and who would go into teaching with enthusiasm as a form of social service if they felt they could do so as free men, preserving their right to use their trained powers to the full. What is needed, therefore, is not a new race of teachers but a much changed concept in the public mind of the teacher's function, along with readiness to accord the status, the emoluments, and the freedom that is consonant with such a function.[2]

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[1] " ... a man who contemplates entering it may have to face, I am told, the prospect of finding himself cut off from University friends and associates who have entered other professions .... I suspect very strongly that a powerful ... [reason] ... would be found in the glaring contrast between the degree of professional liberty(and therefore of dignity and self-respect) that is possible in teaching as compared with other professions ...." Ibid., p. 30.

[2] Attention is drawn to the word "public" in this quotation. Professor Clarke did not lay all the blame on the education authorities. More than once, he remarked that they would go faster and farther if a bourgeois public did not hobble them. " ... Reflection of this bourgeois idcology in structure and spirit of Canadian education is plain enough. It is seen in the crowds who throng High School and University led by no real desire for education as such but by the lure of the "success", social, economic, or what not; in the excessive values attached to labels, graduation diplomas, degrees, and so forth; in the working of a Grade system which, to use a Baconian phrase, "levels men's wits" by insisting upon an equal progression lest some should too easily get ahead; and by a certain unavowed dislike of real excellence, and unwillingness to go all out to encourage it, lest one should strengthen too much an already dangerous competitor in the "success" race." F. Clarke, "The Prospect in Canadian Education", McGill News, Spring 1935, Vol. 16, No. 1.

A few months later, in December, 1930, Professor Clarke returned to the pursuit. The basis of his criticism was now the custom of allowing the budding teacher to take his "training" as a part of his degree work; as an extra, it received cavalier treatment.[1] He demanded a whole year for this professional training. This was desirable from the viewpoint not only of more time and maturity but also because of the need to achieve a satisfactory "teaching attitude". The student-becoming-teacher has to learn to see his subjects from an angle other than the one to which he has become accustomed.[2] The following year, he won what might be called his first victory. A notice appeared in The Teachers' Magazine informing all that "the Protestant Committee of the Council of Education at its last meeting gave approval to a new scheme submitted by McGill University for the training of the High School Teacher".[3] Beginning tentatively in the 1932-33 session, the prospective teacher's undergraduate years would be free of "training"(with the exception of Course I in Education and

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1 "The degree claims the main dishes and the training must pick up what crumbs it can." F. Clarke, "A Graduate Year of Training for High School Teachers", The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XIV, No. 61, p. 34.

2 "To approach the work of teaching with an unadjusted "examinee" mind is to invite futility, woodenness and the perpetuation of a devitalizing formulism ... re-training ... is a process that takes time, and calls for much meditation and demonstration in the light of actual school conditions, for a good deal of fresh study of the subjects themselves, and for much quiet simmering in the scholastic pot. For a whole year, there should be a constant play of interpretation back and forth between college lecture-room and school class-room, so that what were once "subjects" now become, without ceasing to be subjects, real professional technique ...." Ibid., p. 34.

3 Ibid., p. 34.

some work in Psychology) for his greater advantage in gaining an education; concentrated systematic training would be reserved for the final graduate year. There would also be the provision for use of more adequate professional equipment. To facilitate and encourage the attainment of such objectives, the degree of M. A. in Education was established and four scholarships of $500. each were offered.

McGill had shown the way and, apparently, Professor Clarke felt that he had gone as far as he could go. It now remained for others to accept the challenge. After this first volley of articles, it was almost three years(April, 1933) before his next appearance in The Teachers' Magazine[1] in response to a request from the editor. In it, he no longer addressed himself directly to the situation in Quebec about which he had been so concerned. In "Saving Democracy", he was interested in a much more important topic, the alleged failure of Democracy. At this time, Canada was wallowing in the depth of the depression and Germany was on the point of committing herself to the guidance of Adolf Hitler. Unequivocally, Professor Clarke declared:

> ... I am prepared to maintain that democracy has not failed. What has failed is an ill-conceived technique of applying the democratic idea. Few things are more striking to an observer of the North American mind than the inveterate and disastrous trick of confusing a Principle with some particular Technique of applying it. North American experience has produced a mind that is strongly extrovert, disposed to think of welfare and achievement in terms of external mechanisms and of remedies in terms of "reconstructing" the machine.

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[1] F. Clarke, "Saving Democracy", The Teachers' Magazine, Montreal, Vol. XV, No. 66, p. 8.

Though not on the subject of education, he struck many a shrewd blow for it. As in the "Mouse Trap Scene" in Hamlet, one is tempted to read this article on two levels.

When his next article was published in this magazine in February, 1935, Fred Clarke was no longer a member of McGill University nor of the Quebec educational system. For this reason, his "Retrospect" is of particular interest. A smaller man might have taken this perfect opportunity to vent his spite. As always, his valedictory was polite and unassuming, though clear enough. In a significant fashion,[1] he addressed all of his remarks to the teachers of Quebec. After warning them pointedly to avoid the myopia which results from insularity and recommending that they look to the Department of Education of McGill for leadership, he advised them to

> ... seek always the path of unity and cooperation ... [to] use to the full the freedom and the resources that already exist .... The demand for further freedom will come with irrestible force when we have made full use of the freedom we have ....[2]

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[1] His only recommendations for Quebec were that " ... the Protestant Committee should be smaller and its personnel be made subject to change at stated intervals; that regulations might well be reduced in number and complexity, and the Island of Montreal should certainly be one unit for the purpose of Protestant Education." A measure similar to the first of these was recommended by The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education of 1963. Fred Clarke, "Retrospect", The Teachers' Magazine, Montreal, February, 1935, Vol. XVII, p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

Professor Clarke's Conflicts with his Canadian Colleagues

The very restraint of "Retrospect" underlined the implication that there was a lack of rapport between Professor Clarke and certain of his Canadian contemporaries in regard to education. Little that is definite can be ascertained so long after. To delve too deeply would serve no useful purpose. The circumstances are mentioned here simply because such friction was an intimate part of Professor Clarke's career while he was at McGill University and may have contributed to his breakdown and, therefore, is worthy of passing attention. With the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal he was, apparently, on good terms.[1] Within the University, while some friction did develop, it was not a particularly serious matter, and the majority of his colleagues remember him with affection and respect.[2] That there was a

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[1] Professor John Hughes has said: " ... I remember that David Cameron Logan, who was then Superintendent of Education for the Protestant School Board, had the very highest regard for him and paid the most deferential attention to any suggestion he made. They were firm friends and each won the other's confidence ...." From a tape-recorded interview now in the author's possession(No. 48).

[2] One confrere recalls that some friction arose over the question of a new degree, the B. Sc.: " ... Regretfully, Prof. Clarke refused to consider any degree but the B. A. as constituted. In consequence, no B. Sc. graduates appeared later as teachers ... science teachers had to be obtained from outside Quebec or from Bishop's University ...." This friction with "science" colleagues extended to two other professors. All prefer not to be identified here. Other opinions will be found quoted on page 120 of this thesis.

With the Principal, Sir Arthur Currie, Professor Clarke was on the best of terms: " ... on Sir Arthur's own frank confession, he had only the slightest academic claims to such an office as a university principalship; on the other hand, he had great human qualities and great powers of evaluating men and getting the best out of men, of winning their confidence, of judging their strengths and weaknesses, and to such a man, Fred Clarke appealed greatly. They both respected one

lack of warmth between the McGill Department of Education and the Macdonald School for Teachers and, through it, the Department of Education of the Province of Quebec, cannot be denied. Generally, interested observers conclude that it was occasioned mainly by the great differences between the two personalities and educational philosophies of those concerned:

> I think it is true to say that the two men had different conceptions of how education in general and teacher-education in particular should be carried on. I think it would be true to say that Dr. Sinclair Laird was in close touch with the Provincial system of education and that he would feel that it was the duty of those engaged in the preparation of teachers to work in the most intimate association with the official bureaucracy in Quebec City. Clarke took the other view, that the University had its own separate, distinct and independent contribution to make, not only to general education on all levels--grade school, high school, college, university--but also in the preparation and education of teachers .... He felt that the University could make its best contribution if it were absolutely unfettered by any obligations of a financial kind to the Provincial Government. He was very nervous of this and was always cautioning his friends and colleagues of that particular danger ...." [1]

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another enormously and Sir Arthur leaned heavily on Fred Clarke to make up his own weakness in academic training. I wouldn't be surprised to hear that Professor Clarke supplied Sir Arthur Currie with much of the material of his public utterances ... this enabled Fred Clarke to exercise a dual influence in the five short years he was here ... in his own right and ... indirectly and confidentially, through the Principal ...." John Hughes, op. cit.

[1] The speaker prefers to remain unidentified; the writer can vouch for his sagacity and integrity.

Since Macdonald School for Teachers had the final word on the evaluation of the student-teachers, there was no way to avoid this conflict between two men who were probably equally sincere and dedicated.. A high official in the Provincial Department of Education at the time has stated that his main disagreement with Clarke was on the basis of philosophy, particularly the latter's advocacy of the "11-plus" system.[1] Another fellow-member of the Protestant Committee holds the opinion that the group was indisposed to consider new ideas and, to them, Clarke appeared to be a radical thinker.[2] If so, it was unfortunate; had his ideas been accepted, Quebec might have claimed the honour of being a leader in educational thought.

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1 "He was a decided advocate of the "11-plus" system in England. With this view I disagreed strongly as I thought it wrong to tag boys and girls at so early an age and condition their lives on the basis of that examination. We did not talk much about it but we each held our own view." From a questionnaire returned by Dr. W. P. Percival, former Director of Protestant Education of the Province of Quebec(No. 84).

2 " ... I think that the members of the Protestant Committee at that time were not able to recognize this basic conservatism and made the going rather difficult for Sir Fred in this new situation because of their opposition to the radical approaches which they could see." A request for clarification elicited the following response: "Towards the end of the thirties, there was the Hepburn Survey of Quebec Protestant Education. Briefs were submitted, a careful study made and most schools in the Province were visited. When the Hepburn Report was submitted to the Protestant Committee, it was ignored and another report drawn up by the secretary was adopted. These instances illustrate the attitude of the Protestant Committee of the thirties. Perhaps you can imagine the response of a man of Fred Clarke's quality to this sort of thing; first, amazement that this was possible, then complete lack of faith in Protestant authorities' abilities to set things right and resentment at their confidence that they knew all the answers. At no time were they ready to sit at the feet of this very wise and experienced educationist." From personal correspondence with Mr. Orrin B. Rexford, M. A., former Teachers' Representative on the Protestant Committee(No. 94).

The Personality of Professor Clarke[1]

The McGill phase of Professor Clarke's career is also very interesting since it is here that we get our clearest and deepest impression of the many-faceted personality of the mature man and educator. Now past the half-century mark, he was, by most reports, an impressive person, not by reason of bulk but through an air of kindly authority. Though not tall--five feet, nine inches is the consensus--he gave the impression of being much more commanding than he really was; the erectness of his bearing added to this effect. His body was inclined to be stocky without being heavy and his trunk and shoulders were noticeably well-developed and solid. The twinkling large brown eyes, laughter-wrinkled at the corners and set deep into the freshly-complexioned face, are almost invariably the first recollections of all who knew him. Beneath the bushy, sandy-reddish eye-brows, they looked at one directly and

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[1] In an effort to be as objective and "scientific" as possible on this highly-subjective topic, the writer prepared a list of almost one hundred descriptive adjectives which might be applied to anyone in his position(see Appendix D, page 3). There was a high standard of agreement among those who used it; not one, for example, omitted to indicate his modesty. The concurrence was very impressive on such words as cheerful, democratic, generous, genial, human, humorous, lovable, mature, open-minded, philosophical, scholarly, stimulating, sympathetic, unaffected. Others, such as ambitious, boring, didactic, dogmatic, egotistic and the like, received not a single vote. The following description is built up from many such responses.

kindly but challengingly, sometimes piercingly.[1] As time thinned the reddish hair which fringed his rather massive head, the dome became more impressive. The nose was well-shaped, rather large but not out of proportion. The lips were held firmly, even tightly, the upper one being thin and the lower one fuller and slightly protruding. The shadow of the smile which lurked around the corners of the mouth relieved it of the suggestion of severity. Almost a part of the mouth was the famous Clarke pipe which competes with the twinkling eyes for first mention. The jaw was prominent(even jutting, according to some) and clean-cut; the chin was firm and slightly cleft. The quickness of his movements was noticeable and he seemed to radiate energy. "The gestures of his hands were eloquent and complimented the eloquence of his tongue ...."[2] This suggestion of ruddy health is left behind in all minds even though Professor Clarke suffered a serious nervous breakdown during one Winter session. Everyone agrees that there was nothing of the "stuffed-shirt" about Fred Clarke. His manner, though invariably considerate[3] and controlled was inclined to be somewhat breezy. He was never sartorially remarkable, inclining to the casual and informal. He dressed as one to whom it was a matter of little importance.

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1 "One would not fear the man but one might well fear the truth he portrayed ...." From the Questionnaire returned by Mr. R. C. Saunders, Assistant Personnel Director, Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal(No. 98).

2 Ibid.

3 It seems remarkable to the writer that not a person has indicated any form of rudeness or impatience; he must have been under great pressure, at times.

Professor Clarke as Seen by his Students

The subject of this essay has been quoted as saying that a teacher may fool his inspector, his principal, and, even, his colleagues, but not his pupils for very long. He would not object to being judged by his own. As is so often the case, the true man was revealed by the stimulation of the classroom where studied mannerisms are soon forgotten.[1] His enthusiasm was contagious and it is generally agreed that practically no one was ever bored during a Clarke lecture. There is good reason for feeling that this is where he felt most at home; administration he did as a necessary evil, but teaching was his first and last love. There are those who suggest that he had a definite gift, even a genius, for teaching. His style[2] was individual and it did not entail standing still for any length of time. Instead, hands in pockets and pipe in mouth, he ranged the length of the classroom and among the students. Each student had the impression that Clarke was speaking to him. His voice was not remarkable but mellow, rich, pleasant and, when it was not muffled by the puffs and gurgles of his pipe, clear. He seldom laughed aloud but chuckled often. His lectures were apparently organized in advance but he did

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[1] For the flavour of his speech, see Appendix "E", p. 222.

[2] " ... Clarke did not want ... teachers trained to perform according to rules and methods .... Each teacher must develop his own "style"--his word ...." Clarke put this idea into these words many years later. From a personal letter to the author from Mr. L. J. Pryor, Superintendent of Teacher Education, Melbourne, Australia (No. 91).

not feel obligated to follow his plan slavishly, often yielding to the inspiration of the moment as he warmed up.[1] Questions could be asked at any time.[2] He used examples and metaphors frequently and drove home his points with rather homely little jokes. Often, cryptic remarks were thrown off as though to persuade his hearers to do some personal reading in the books he had suggested at the beginning of the term.[3] Poetry came to his lips spontaneously;[4] today, some of his students can still repeat his more familiar lines, although, on the whole, he played no favourites. That he would have made an excellent Professor of English all agree. Repeated references were made during the course of his lectures to the better-known of the educational

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[1] Mr. R. C. Saunders was most impressed " ... by his ability to get to the heart of a situation ... his outstanding capacity to express the most intangible thoughts in a short phrase ... every lecture was a crystallization of years of study, toil and worthwhile experience ...." From a Questionnaire in the possession of the author(No. 98).

[2] " ... I would say he struck sparks ... there was a good deal of discussion ... there was something uniquely Clarke in his lectures ...." From a tape-recorded interview with Reverend J. W. Kerr, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, P.Q.(No. 52).

[3] " ... during my stay at McGill, the book we studied in detail was Dewey's Democracy and Education ... we spent the whole session discussing this book and its implications. He was an inspiring teacher ...." Personal letter from Professor J. G. Lang, now at the University of Bristol(No. 56).

[4] Mr. Roy Ewing once heard Professor Clarke introduce W. B. Yeats at the People's Forum in Montreal; he testified that Clarke was competent to assess even such a guest's quality(No. 31). Though Clarke did not lay claim to any poetic gift, he considered it the highest form of the expression of Truth. Prof. A. J. D. Porteous(No. 88) recalls reading some of his poetry while both were at McGill. On at least one occasion, he took refuge in it to express his deep grief at the death of a niece. From an interview with Mrs. H. A. Painter (No. 81).

philosophers, such as Plato, Rousseau, Dewey and Whitehead,[1] but not in the sense of one who hopes to gain credit by reflection. Rather, they were the beginning-points around which he could weave his own tapestry of thought. He recognized their limitations as well as their virtues. Many remark on the fact that he gave the impression of actually thinking while he spoke and that they were witnessing the birth of new realizations of familiar concepts. Occasionally, he spoke from his notes and, very seldom, he dictated. Generally, the making of verbatim or copious notes was expressly discouraged.[2] A few did find him too intellectual for their tastes. Over and over, he drove home salient facts. Humour leavened every thought, a broad, amusing, easily-understood, universal humour which pointed the lesson without distracting the mind; it might almost be said that Professor Clarke used humour as a teaching device. If so, it was a most efficient tool; decades later, some of his allusions are still remembered and told with amusement.[3] A few of his expressions became

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1 " ... He was an admirer of St. Augustine's "Confessions" and advised us all to read [it] ... if only to show us that righteousness was not the decorous observance of a conventional code ...." Kerr, Rev. J. W., op. cit.

2 "I found it would be much more profitable to put down my pen and just think ...." summed up one ex-student, Mr. G. Potter(No. 89). "Actually, once you could grasp the central principle of his thinking, he was an extremely easy person to follow ...." Kerr, op. cit.

3 "In demonstrating the contrasting reactions of different types of humans to the same stimulus, he chose to consider a barbarian and a civilized person being introduced into the Redpath Library. The first impulse of the barbarian would be to seek for something to eat and that of the latter, to find an interesting book. The situation got out of hand when the civilized person became his friend, Stevie Leacock; his impulse would be to look for something to drink!" Potter, G., op. cit.

stock-phrases.[1] Homely advice was given often.[2] He was noted for his "humanness" and sense of fairness.[3] This understanding and consideration was also demonstrated in his official visits to the classrooms of probationary teachers. They were not dreaded occasions which gave rise to what he called "rigor inspectoris". His custom was to enter the classroom and sit at the back of the room; there would be no obvious note-taking or open assessing; yet his remarks at the end of the session left no doubt that he was fully conversant with what had gone on and with what the student was trying to achieve. Occasionally, in his own inimitable manner, he would demonstrate how a point might have been made more effectively. In his "Methods" courses, he was the same unassuming, quietly-jolly man who preferred to show how one taught rather than to preach about it. In line with his professed beliefs,

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1 "If you can't laugh at Punch, there's something wrong, but not with Punch." "Be a sharp-pointed B. A. Don't be like the boy who, as he received his diploma, was heard to mutter, 'Thank God, I'm educated.'" From a personal letter to the author from Miss Bernice C. Underhill, R. N., Montreal General Hospital.

2 "Learn from everyone, even the truck-driver." "You often hear people say, 'You can't believe half you hear.' I'll go further than that, you don't know ninety per cent of a person's story, background, problems, etc., therefore you cannot judge." "So many people say, 'I can't see what Jill sees in Jack or what Jack sees in Jill.' You are not supposed to, otherwise, as the Indian said, 'Everyone would want my squaw.'" Ibid.

3 "He was a very fair man, a fair man as a marker in exams, a fair man in marking term papers, although he demanded a fairly high standard of literary expression." Kerr, J. W., op. cit.

he put little emphasis on the instillation of techniques. Needless to say, his students have both respect and great affection for their former teacher.[1] Some look back on him as one of the most formative influences in their lives.

Fred Clarke as seen by his Friends

Fred Clarke was not that unlucky type of man who is at ease only with his inferiors; he had a talent for winning the complete loyalty and love of those he chose to be his friends, and there were many of them in all walks of life.[2] He liked people without being gregarious. His regard was won by the individual concerned rather than by his status in society.[3] One feels that the secret of his universal appeal was his sincerely honest interest in and liking for his fellow-man and his intuitive understanding of humanity. To him, every man was important because he was a human soul and his attitude conveyed that belief.

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1 "It is a rare privilege to meet a man who is a man, fearless, courageous, gentle, lofty in thought, humble in manner, faithful to his ideals and to his God." Saunders, R. C., op. cit.(No. 98).

With Hendel, Leacock and others, he was " ... among the great men who make university experience worthwhile." Rexford, O. B., op. cit.(No. 94).

"He gave me a greater sense of vocation than any other man ever gave me and I have never ceased to be grateful that I had the opportunity to be under him." Astbury, J. S., op. cit.(No. 5).

2 He never, so far as this writer is aware, joined any lodge or fraternal organization.

3 "He was a man who was utterly sincere and direct ... he detested what he called 'hollow pretensions and over-valuation of mere labels and showy facades' ..." Astbury, J. S., op. cit.(No. 5).. For example, though he had two honorary Doctorates, he never referred to himself by that title; all of his articles were signed quite simply "F. Clarke" or, at most, "Fred Clarke".

He was not all things to all men but one thing to all men. He was modest to the point of humility.[1] His demeanour, despite the nervous tensions and the over-work which were part of his job, was always calm, mature, quietly friendly. He was never, in any sense, a moody man.

He did not seek the lime-light nor, apparently, did he avoid it. Most felt that he was not personally ambitious. He, himself, said that his real ambition was "to retire to a cottage at Boar's Head, near Oxford",[2] to get to know Nature better. The occasional observer has felt that he must have had his fair share of ambition or he would not have progressed so far, but none has been sure enough to stress it. Obviously, it was not allowed to dominate his life. But Fred Clarke was not an inoffensive Mr. Chips. The modest, dedicated, somewhat absent-minded Professor could rise up in his wrath when a value he set store by was threatened.[3]

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1 " ... He impressed so many people with his humility, but it was a humility in the strict sense of the word. It wasn't the Uriah Heep type of humility; it was a humility in which he seemed to have accepted the world and its difficulties and himself with his own personal difficulties very cheerfully, indeed ...." Kerr, J. W., op. cit., (No. 52).

2 Painter, Mrs. H. A., op. cit.(No. 81).

3 " ... At a convocation at the Diocesan Theological College, he was present and the special speaker was a most typical example of the North American "success" clergyman. He advised the students to read books on salesmanship. Fred Clarke jumped up after his speech, asked permission to speak, and tore him apart--literally tore him apart ...." Kerr, J. W., op. cit.(No. 52).

He delighted in congenial company[1] and would eagerly receive it or seek it out, not in the manner of one who makes friends to influence people but of one partaking in a natural pleasure. He was easily stimulated by social discussion and, in turn, stimulated it. He spoke easily and well, quietly, never didactically, making his points in high good humour but without forcing any issue. He never attempted to dominate the room or the group but was always ready with an apt witticism or a humorous allusion which arose from the circumstances and fitted the occasion. He employed the epigram with evident enjoyment but never woundingly; sarcasm and irony, by and large, were foreign to his thinking. He had a genuine, smiling, homely wisdom which appealed to the best in everyone.[2] There were those who felt that his sense of humour was a little too Puckish and mischievous,

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[1] "I first met Fred Clarke at McGill University in 1932 when I was visiting America and Canada. I remember tramping through rather deep snow feeling far from home. I remember so well being greeted by him. The warmth of his personality seemed to make the coldness of the snow disappear .... I have rarely felt so much at ease and at home so quickly." Personal letter to the author from Sir William Alexander (No. 2).

[2] "He sucked his pipe and round its bowl and fragrance, he distilled his wisdom .... I call it wisdom because it was judicious, humorous, gentle and informed and backed by wide experience and it was offered in the purely liberal spirit of live and let live .... He was a comfortable person. He believed in human beings too much to be sophisticated; he was too thoughtful to be dogmatic. His was not a cutting mind. Rather, it overflowed and infused the atmosphere like a benevolent emanation. It could stimulate without irritating. He was a most lovable human being. I always felt better for being with him. He adored children and they adored him." Personal letter to the author from Professor T. W. L. MacDermot of Bishop's University, Lennoxville, P.Q.(No. 62).

but these are a minority. He never dodged a good argument; while not overly-aggressive, when thus engaged, he played to win. It pleased him to have his ideas and opinions accepted. In those days, says one regular hostess,[1] he was always "harping" on the dual culture of Quebec. He found little agreement at the time but present-day developments have made several conclude that he really was, in the words of Dr. Hughes, "a shrewd prognosticator of the likelihood of future events."

Those who knew him best regarded him as a man of complete integrity with a deeply religious sense. He was a man who took his Christian beliefs so literally, so completely seriously, that the average mind might find it difficult to follow. These Christian values were an integral part of his character, simplifying it, warming it, moulding it, until his personality became almost child-like in its

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[1] From a personal interview with Mrs. A. McMurray, Montreal(No. 68A). Dr. Harold M. Nason, coincidentally, has also remarked on this point: "He worked with Sir Arthur Currie at McGill day and night in an attempt to assist in the cultural adaptation that was taking place between the English and French philosophies. Sir Fred had a keen sense of the values inherent in the English-French traditions." Personal letter to the author from Dr. H. M. Nason, Director, Elementary and Secondary Education, Nova Scotia(No. 76). Such insight might be expected of one of his background. What is more difficult to understand is the apparent fact that he never learned to speak the second language of Canada. French newspapers were subscribed to, it is said, but they were for the benefit of the girls. Painter, H. A., op. cit.(No. 81).

universal appeal.[1] Visitors to his home also knew Fred Clarke as a good family man who enjoyed being a parent.[2] He did not see as much of his family as he might have liked as he was endlessly busy. He had a passion for writing and, when the desire was strong, he retired to his study and was not to be disturbed.

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[1] In the opinion of the Reverend John W. Kerr, who has given the matter considerable thought: " ... I think he was a man who was touched with even a bit of mysticism ... he was an Anglican and ... a weekly attendant at the eight o'clock celebration ... he was not the sort of man who would simply be formally religious ... He would be called an Anglo-Catholic, I would think ... he would hesitate to label himself but the particular parish to which he attached himself in Montreal was an Anglo-Catholic parish, St. John the Evangelist ... " Kerr, J. W., op. cit. (No. 52).

Professor Clarke's successor at McGill has agreed: "... He was a devout Christian ... He was the supreme optimist, confident always, even in the most sombre times ... He believed in the Doctrine of Original Sin. He was no sentimental woolly-minded emotionalist ... He looked at the facts of life, stark as they were, and accepted them as a realist ... and one of the facts of life is sin ... he believed that all things worked together for those who loved the Lord ... and that is a basic determinant of his whole attitude towards life, towards humanity, towards education ..." Hughes, John, op. cit. (No. 48).

[2] Mrs. Roy Ewing, a former student who visited his home, recalls that the atmosphere was informal and affectionate. She remembers that " ... they were great friends with one another ... every time they [the girls] passed him, they patted him on the shoulder. Once, when he misplaced some object, one of his daughters confided, 'Poor old Daddy, he's always losing something!'" Tape-recorded interview with Mrs. Roy Ewing, Montreal (No. 32).

Professor Clarke may have been absent-minded in small things. He once told this story about himself: "One evening I went home to change into evening dress because I was going to an official dinner. I went up to my bedroom and started to take off my day clothes. I must have been pondering fairly deeply about something or another because the next thing I knew was that I was in pyjamas and nicely curled up in bed!" Personal letter from Mr. J. Wickham-Murray of the National Union of Teachers, England (No. 123).

Professor Clarke, while he was in Canada, was regarded as being very "English",[1] though with none of the connotations of that conscious superiority of the too-British visitor to these shores. Though he was a "Round Tabler", he was also somewhat of an iconoclast in regard to affairs of the Empire.[2] He often referred to the insularity of the British[3] and he looked at colonialism with a rather cold eye. Occasionally, he was caustic about the Americans in a good-natured way, as when he referred to the products of their universities as "blunt-nosed B. A.'s" or joked about their preoccupation with statistics.[4] While in Canada, he was most memorably "English" in his disregard for the weather. He never lost his love for walking and seldom used any other means of travel between his home and the University. Even in the dead of the Canadian winter, against the advice of everyone, he strolled to the campus daily, making only one concession on

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[1] Interestingly enough, when he returned to England, he was considered rather "colonial".

[2] " ... He was not an Imperialist, at all, in fact, he predicted in my hearing the fate or destiny of the British Empire. Now, this was in the early thirties, when thoughts like these were considered pretty heretical in certain sections of Canada. He said that the British people had come to the conclusion that the accumulation of Empire was useless; the phrase he used was, 'It doesn't feed the unemployed', and he thought in terms of the Commonwealth as a few self-governing nations within a sort of federation ...." Kerr, J. W., op. cit.(No. 52).

[3] Somewhat later, his favourite joke about it was the headline of the Daily Mirror of London: "Heavy fogs over the English Channel, the Continent completely isolated". Personal letter from Mr. R. E. Halliday(No. 39).

[4] "The Americans are crazy about statistics, they come to Canada carrying their statistics to impress us, they have so many, the statistics are dropping all over the sidewalks; you can actually hear them fall." Underhill, Bernice C., op. cit.(No. 115).

the bitterest days; he wore what he called his "gangster cap" with its pull-down flaps. Contemporaries report that he and his "bevy" were familiar sights on the foot-paths of Mount Royal. The whole family also enjoyed other outings, such as picnics, when botanical specimens were collected. Although he appears to have had no favoured hobby, he was fond of music;[1] though he did not perform, he insisted that all of his girls take lessons. Regularly, too, he visited his relatives, the Painters, where he would sit comfortably in the big arm-chair in the living-room for hours, listening to the C. B. C. Sunday symphony concert over the radio. It is surmised that his favourite composer was Bach. Though he read widely,[2] he did not often discuss books. There is some suggestion in one of his essays that he actually controlled the amount of his reading in the interests of having more time for thought.[3] He had some knowledge and interest in paintings though he was not an artist. He is said to have had several good ones in his own home; his preference, in Canada, at least, was towards the Group of

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[1] He was later to refer to the widespread interest in music as one of the great hopes of "liberalizing" the education of the people.

[2] In Essays in the Politics of Education, for example, more than twenty different writers are quoted.

[3] Professor F. M. Quance of the University of Saskatchewan was struck by this facet of Fred Clarke: "I sometimes think of life as consisting of activity and reflection. For most, it consists of from 95% to 99% activity. It takes a man with a certain special quality of mind to increase substantially the proportion of one's life spent in reflection. Sir Fred, as I remember him, was endowed with that quality of mind ...."(No. 92).

Seven.[1] He was interested in examples of craftsmanship and collected homespuns and home-made chairs and, in this connection, along with his friend, Col. Wilfred Bovey, he was a patron of the Canadian Handicraft Guild. Several persons have suggested that he may have been keen on golf but there is little evidence to substantiate an interest in sports of any kind.[2] The writer suspects that Professor Clarke had little time for such activities. His real hobby was probably people.

Professor Clarke as Seen by his Colleagues

To his colleagues, Fred Clarke often revealed a new dimension. Mingled with their liking for him as a man was a genuine respect for the professional, for his obvious ability, his scholarship, and his exceptional and admirable depth of experience. Some comment on his willingness to work as a member of a team as one of his greatest assets.

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[1] Dr. H. M. Nason has suggested a refinement of this idea: "His main hobbies and interests, as I knew him, were the collection of paintings, and items of literature and history from the various parts of the Commonwealth that indicated the time when each part began to reflect in its paintings, its history, and its literature, its own culture rather than the British culture. For example, he showed me a copy of the first Christmas card that had on it a Canadian scene." Nason, H. M., op. cit.(No. 76).

[2] Only one person has given concrete evidence of such an interest: " ... I met Sir Fred ... when he visited Saskatoon for a day. I recall that he wanted to have a game of golf in the afternoon and that I arranged ...." Quance, F. M., op. cit.(No. 92). There is no record of his ability at the game or that he ever belonged to a club. One informant has suggested that he did occasionally visit golf clubs but that the object was conversation with the golfers rather than to perform himself.

As a committeeman, apparently, he possessed an unusual talent.[1] His quick mind could extract the heart of what was being said and hold it up for all to examine. He was most successful as a Chairman; with his flair for delegation, he succeeded in getting all the members of a committee to play a part. He was always understanding of the view-points of others and ready to support a good cause, though tenacious of his own opinions. In conclusion, a tribute from an old colleague is too penetrating and well-phrased to omit:

> As a colleague at McGill his highest value, I think, derived from his engrained habit of seeing education whole. His background was classical and humanistic, it is true, and he insisted strongly on the importance to anyone who wished to claim an educated mind, of founding his views and work on the ideas and culture of the humane outlook. He was no scientist in the technical sense, and perhaps--at that time[2]--was not sufficiently aware of the enormous influence that scientific thought was having and was to have on the fundamental ideas of thinking people. This, I think, was a limitation. At the same time, I feel sure that he would have been highly stimulated by the views associated with C. P. Snow and would have applied himself to Snow's analysis of "the two cultures" with vigour .... The tendency to see education whole, however, led him to be interested in whatever his

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[1] " ... I was most impressed with his skill in seeing meaning in what could well be our fumbling attempts to express what we wanted to say. In conferences and meetings, we would, time and again, have Sir Fred extract from them the meaning attempted, a meaning we could recognize once he had drawn it out ...." Rexford, O. B., op. cit.(No. 94).

He impressed Mr. T. M. Dick, another contemporary, with " ... his desire to cooperate and not to impose his will on others, although steadfast in his own views ...." From the questionnaire of Mr. T. M. Dick, Montreal(No. 24). This talent was to receive more scope in England.

[2] See "conflicts", p. 102 of this thesis.

> colleagues were doing [1] ... a small group of us--men like T. C. Matthews ... Dr. Woodhead, Prof. W. Waugh, and others--used to meet with some regularity over dinner at the Faculty Club, to discuss education in any guise it might take. For part of the time we used a small volume by Clarke [2] ... as a basis for discussion. Some of the theory expounded was, in the view of some of us, too intangible and involved, even woolly, and we had no hesitation in saying so .... But this did not faze Clarke. He was more concerned with creating an attitude of mind than with concrete practical measures. He enjoyed debate, and it was part of his value as a colleague and teacher that he managed so successfully to provoke discussion. This is what he was after .... I cannot assess Clarke's influence on education as a whole, I can only say that he was always bent on releasing the powers, the imagination, the intelligence, the ideals of those whom he taught. It is an overworked word, but his approach to this huge question was "statesmanlike".[3]

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[1] The same observer has commented on Clarke's realism and practicality in connection with the existing poor relationship between the university and the school system: " ... He very soon discovered there was a gap here which did no good to either. The failure of the university instructor to keep in touch with the school instructor, often his superior air towards the latter, and his somewhat pharisaical tendency to blame the weaknesses--in English, mathematics, fundamental training generally--of under-graduates on the schools; all this Clarke was alive to and deplored. He believed that much could be done to close the gap. University instructors should know their opposite numbers in the schools, and vice versa. The university itself should remember its responsibility for setting and maintaining standards; not only high marks and scholarships, but curriculum requirements and teaching methods which would mitigate the tyranny of the examination and the stultifying concern with matriculation. He tackled this problem very practically. I remember well how he worked to bring instructors from school and university together, socially and in formal meetings, to discuss their problems which Clarke insisted were common to both, and I also remember how much this was appreciated by teachers in the schools." MacDermot, T. W. L., op. cit.(No. 62).

[2] Probably Essays in the Politics of Education.

[3] MacDermot, T. W. L., op. cit.(No. 62).

Professor Clarke leaves McGill University

Though Professor Clarke did not know it until the 1934-35 session had begun, circumstances had worked in such a way that he was soon to be released from his present environment to use his constructive energies to greater effect in another bigger theatre. The Carnegie Corporation of New York had made a grant of $67,500 to the University of London Institute of Education for the purpose of establishing an Oversea Division. It was stipulated that an educator of the highest calibre, one with an established reputation in one of the Dominions of the Commonwealth, should head it. Professor Clarke, with the background we already know, was the first and only choice. He accepted the offer with alacrity. An inter-regnum committee of three, including Clarke, was entrusted with the responsibility of finding a successor for the Macdonald Chair of Education. Professor John Hughes, an educator whose courage in speaking out publically against the beginnings of "apartheid" during the recent Conference on Education in Cape Town[1] had earned Clarke's approval, agreed to replace the latter at McGill. Professor Clarke now made a last tour of the Canadian universities(what he referred to as his "university-crawl" in imitation of the well-known "pub-crawl") and prepared to leave. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal requested that he address the

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[1] In the summer of 1934, Professor Clarke had accepted an invitation to be one of the main speakers at the Conference of the New Education Fellowship at Cape Town and Johannesburg. According to Professor Hughes, who was also a speaker, Clarke was "lionized" and the people flocked to his lectures. He was honoured by General Hertzog who arranged a garden party for him at the country club in Victoria. The latter also proposed the visitor's health to which he replied in "a delightful speech in perfect Afrikaans". Hughes, John, op. cit.(No. 48).

Montreal public for the last time on education in Quebec. The opportunity to hit out, to cause embarrassment to his detractors was here, but he refused to take it. One of his audience recalls that Professor Clarke was non-committal on this occasion.[1] Although he was impatient to be gone, his new position of Adviser to Oversea Students beckoning him, he stayed behind for a full month with his successor to make clear every phase of the work and, presumably, to suggest plans for the advancement of education in the Province.

Probably Professor Clarke was contented enough to return to England.[2] There is little doubt that he liked the Canadian people; relative to his anticipations in 1929, however, what had happened in the past five years had been in the nature of a defeat.[3]

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1 If the lecture was similar in content to the article, "The Prospect in Canadian Education" which appeared in the McGill News about the same time, he said little that he had not said regularly for the past five years.

2 " ... Curiously enough, though he had been for only five years in Canada and almost twenty in South Africa ... it was of Canada that he always spoke to me when we met in later years. Canada seemed to have a special place in his heart ...." Hughes, John, op. cit.(No. 48).
Clarke himself once wrote: "One of the chief sources of joy in my recent visit to Canada was the evidence on every side that I was being received as a Canadian ... I realize more than ever how strong are my affinities with the North American way ...." F. Clarke, letter to Dr. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation, October 29, 1939.

3 Dr. John Astbury, a good friend, has confessed that he " ... always had a feeling that he, himself, when he was here had a bit of a sense of frustration ... the complexity of the situation in Quebec and the fact that there appeared to be so much inertia ... led him to feel that it was scarcely worthwhile and I think that he was very happy to go back to England ...." Astbury, J. S., op. cit.(No. 5).

Ahead there lay great possibilities in his favourite field of education.[1] Once more something had "turned up", as it had at the Hartley, and at Cape Town. The road ahead would be far from smooth; of the nine "active" years remaining to him, almost six would be overshadowed and racked by World War II. This war, however, was also to be the great opportunity; it was in this England under stress that public acceptance of his ideas would catch up with him. In a sense, when he left McGill, he was keeping a rendezvous with history. It is pleasant, in this connection, to report that one of his last experiences at McGill was most agreeable. The students of his Education I and Education II made him a going-away present of a set of Dunhill pipes. On January 24, 1935, he thanked them in a characteristically humorous fashion:

> It was a very pleasant surprise to me today to receive through Bill Gentleman the very generous parting gift from Education I and 2.
>
> I appreciate the gift all the more because of the evidence it affords of a close and sympathetic observation of my more animal habits and of a readiness to condone them. Moreover, the gift is durable, a constant reminder. One does not throw away Dunhills! (How much more satisfactory than candies, after all.)
>
> My warm thanks to both classes with my regrets that circumstances would not permit me to stay on for the whole session as I would have wished. I am not likely to forget the kindly treatment I have always had from McGill students and I shall, as it were, burn incense in remembrance of them.[2] My best wishes to all ....

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[1] During his early years in Canada, the vision of a central institute of educational training and research on the British Commonwealth and Empire had seized his imagination and he had written five articles on the subject.

[2] It is not the least tribute to him that Miss Bernice Underhill has treasured a copy of this letter all these years(No. 115).

CHAPTER VI

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION, 1935-1945

The Political Background of Europe in the Thirties[1]

The Britain of the mid-thirties to which Fred Clarke returned was a country in great turmoil, economically, politically and spiritually. Like all other highly-industrialized nations, and worse than most, England had been seriously hurt by the Great Depression. Unemployment had mounted above the 2,000,000 mark and budget after budget had revealed cavernous deficits. Unbelievably, even the Bank of England had been forced to call on foreign aid to meet the "runs" on its deposits occasioned by the erosion of confidence in British institutions. That other bastion of British prestige and solidarity, the Royal Navy, had known a "mutiny" sufficiently serious to bring cancellation of the Autumn manoeuvres when the lower ratings had objected to bearing their share of the burden of government "economies". The "gold standard" had been suspended and Britain had veered from her vaunted Free Trade policies to an increasing reliance on tariff protection. Foreign policies were also haunted by the insecurity which resulted with the rise of Hitler and the coming of rearmament in Germany. The impregnable stability which had been synonymous with Great Britain had been severely buffeted by the "winds of change" of the day and it was a fact which would not be lost on Mr. Clarke. To a man of his personal integrity and Christian beliefs, of his historical bent and global outlook, the years that

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[1] J. Alfred Spender, "English History", Encyclopedia Britannica, 1942, Vol. 8, pp. 552-552F. The foregoing article has been used for the facts of this section. The interpretation of them is that of the author.

followed must have been sadly thoughtful ones. As he appraised the degeneration of leadership and the malaise of the national soul which progressively revealed themselves, he must have reflected that these symptoms were not mere accidents but, in the final analysis, the logical end-product of the educational system.

When he arrived, quite literally, the worst was yet to come. Less than a year after he set foot in Britain, Mussolini marched into Abyssinia in defiance of his own word and of the League of Nations. In the same month, October, Mr. Stanley Baldwin won an election, at least partially, by concealing information from the public in regard to the need for rearmament for the national security. The infamous Hoare-Laval scheme to allow Italy to have her aggressive way in Africa in order to hold her "friendship" underlined the sickness of international morality and raised a furore even in the disillusioned Britain of the day. In the meantime, Germany, opportunistically, had occupied the Rhineland. Several months later, when civil war broke out in Spain, both Fascists and Communists turned it into an ideological struggle, while the democracies, in an agony of uncertainty, fluttered on the side-lines, vainly attempting to maintain neutrality. The situation was brought closer to home as Fascistic uniforms began to appear in the East of London itself, and then anti-Semitism; in op-

position, the Communists rallied their forces. The very structure of constitutional government was endangered during the crisis which ended with King Edward VIII abdicating his responsibilities. The solidarity of the Dominions and the strength of the constitution in this crisis perhaps afforded a brief gleam of hope, as did the partial lifting of the depression as the effects of rearmament and an increase in world trade began to be felt. In 1937, however, the dismal Chamberlain era began. Italy signalled the beginning of the end as she left the crippled League of Nations to join the Axis, thus tilting the precarious balance of power in the direction of the totalitarian states. In March of 1938, Hitler annexed Austria with barely-disguised effrontery and the march to war increased its tempo. Czechoslovakia, the ally of France and Russia(and thus, morally, of Britain) was now in the pincers; they closed to the accompaniment of six months of almost-unbearable tension as the Sudetenland crisis ripened into the black Munich Agreement. Elsewhere, Italy was chanting "Tunis, Corsica, and Nice" to a disdainful Franco while Russia looked quizzically at her "allies". By April of 1939, Hitler was demanding concessions in the Corridor from his ally, Poland. Trying vainly to find some stability in this shifting kaleidoscope of events, democratic Britain then guaranteed the territorial integrity of totalitarian Poland. On August 23, when Germany concluded a non-

aggression pact with Russia, the democracies had little left to sustain their hopes; France, as it turned out, had nothing. Britain, fortunately, had salvaged enough moral courage to give the world new hope.[1] A week later, Poland was invaded and the sorry tale had run its course.

Adviser to Oversea Students at the Institute of Education

As already intimated, there can be no doubt that Fred Clarke was heartily in accord with such a development in education as that envisaged by the new Department of Oversea Students. He had been advocating something of the kind for a number of years. In the new era heralded by the Statute of Westminster, the prescient mind of the historian had seen beyond the severing of legal ties to the increased possibilities of free cooperation in future Commonwealth relations. But if England was to maintain her leadership, it must now be in the powerful realm of ideas. Her great advantage was in the English tradition, the appeal and the strength of which showed in the fact that it had been accepted and preserved voluntarily even in areas such as South Africa and Quebec, where British stock was not dominant. On this

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[1] It is interesting to note, in this regard, that Professor Clarke, writing to his friend, Dr. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation, on October 29, 1939, during the period of the "phoney war", ended up his remarks with the following words: "At any rate, pray for us, that if the demand for moral heroism is made upon us, we may prove not unequal to it." The writer has taken the trouble to recount the events of the troubled thirties because of a deep conviction that Professor Clarke and his ideas cannot be appreciated unless both are seen against the history of their times.

shared foundation of "Res Britannica" could rise a better Commonwealth, a "community of believers" with "consent as the basis and community of Faith the cement". Needless to say, "a concert of policies in education is the real institute of government for such an entity".[1] First, a synthesis must be reached. A central Institute of Education would make available for systematic study a wealth of material dealing with British methods and institutions.[2] In time, this concept could be extended from the Commonwealth to include the U. S. A. and Europe. Eventually, there was no reason why Africa should not be included. There are clear suggestions that Professor Clarke envisioned the eventual possibility of a supra-national government founded on the English tradition and Christian principles. As the years passed with little achieved, a note of urgency crept into his writings. The United States was seen to be taking over Britain's defaulted leadership. He also came to feel that the need might be greater than realized, that democracy might actually be just an accident of security. Perhaps here lay the seeds of a new planned order, the answer to the Fascism which was beginning to plague the world.

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[1] F. Clarke, "A Central Institute for the study of education in the Empire", Report of the centenary meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, September, 1931. (This article is reported to have been published in The Journal of Education, November, 1931, p. 767.)

[2] The basis of such research was an adequate central library with a complete collection of official publications. This idea was translated into actuality in the middle of World War II.

The Institute of Education at Southampton Row[1]

When Mr. Fred Clarke arrived in London to assume his new post, the Institute of Education of the University of London was situated on Southampton Row. First built in 1907 for the London Day Training College, the building had been occupied for a quarter-century and it was showing the effects of hard wear. Over-crowding was also chronic. As the new Adviser stepped into this familiar scene, he could have been excused a wry smile. To the alumnus of Hartley, it must have seemed that the more things changed, the more they were the same.

There was nothing in its physical surroundings to suggest the university status which the Institute had enjoyed since 1932. It was one of a block of tall, solid, somewhat shabby, gray buildings in a business district, the identical twin, except for a small plaque which proclaimed its title, to the plebeian commercial establishments on both sides. Through the nearby streets ran a constant stream of rattling trams, buses and other vehicles and it appears to have been a favoured spot for road repairs. Because of the din the windows remained sealed all year. The resulting poor ventilation was intensified by the fact that the ventilating system, like the elevator, worked only spasmodically. Once inside the doors, the relative quiet was welcome but short-lived, as it was punctuated at intervals by the bell

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[1] Maura B. Gwynne, "Our Buildings", Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, pp. 97-101. The above has been used as the authority for this section.

which rang for the change of classes. Each room then disgorged hordes of students who converged on the one and only means of entrance and exit, the narrow central staircase which connected the five floors of the building. Like Times Square, here was the place where all men were said to pass. Wherever else he looked, no tax-payer could have protested that his hard-earned money was being wasted on useless educational frills. The classrooms were bare and drab and filled with the maximum number of battered desks. Only one lecture-room, with pew-like seats, a gallery and a rostrum, existed. Students who sought escape from the prevailing lack of beauty in the common-room found it to be a model of austerity. Nor could it be said that the staff were being pampered at the expense of the students. The room of the Director, himself, was inclined to be small and bleak; the administration office was merely a room with a telephone and two typists. To provide even a modicum of space for the burgeoning staff, other rooms had been partitioned off. But though the shell of the Institute reflected that parsimonious, rather neglected appearance too common to teachers' colleges, inside it pulsed with life and purpose. All agree that it was a closely-knit community with the warmest-possible relationship between administration, staff and students.

Luckily for Mr. Clarke,[1] the first year was one of relative leisure and he was able to ease himself gradually into his environment where he soon " ... won the affection and respect of staff and students."[2] Luckily for the writer, several reliable witnesses were present and it is through their kindness that it is now possible to trace some of his earliest movements:[3]

> One of his first concerns was to build up good relations with the Education Authorities in Great Britain and to find out where particularly progressive and interesting work was being done so as to arrange visit-programmes for these senior people. His innumerable friends and contacts all over the country and the new ones he so easily made, proved invaluable ... In order to enable the students from oversea to study the educational problems of each other's countries, we started to build up a departmental library on education in the Dominions and India which was later expanded to include other countries, and has now grown into an important library of comparative education ... From the first, Sir Fred established wonderfully friendly and human relations with students and staff alike. He had a genius for going out to other people and entering into all their problems and difficulties. He never gave the impression of taking more interest in some than others but each one was given his individual attention. Anyone who needed help or advice was certain to get it, and could be sure that

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1 Since the appointment as Adviser did not carry a Chair, officially he was called Mr. Clarke; actually, most gave him the courtesy title of "Professor". Personal letter to the author from Miss Grace M. Wacey, O.B.E., long-time Secretary of the Institute(No. 118).

2 Ibid.

3 Since Clarke's appointment did not really begin until October 1, 1935, he first went on a tour of Australia and New Zealand provided by the Carnegie Corporation.

> his problems would be given the most careful consideration. Time seemed no object - the only consideration was that each one should receive the help and encouragement he needed. One thing that always struck me was his wisdom. You felt that you could completely rely on his judgement because it was never given in haste and without understanding. I think it is true to say that he inculcated in those who worked with him an attitude to the students and their needs that became characteristic of the Oversea Division of the Institute and Oversea students who have been to other colleges told me on a number of occasions that what they appreciated most was this understanding attitude to their personal problems and the fact that they were always known and remembered individually. Sir Fred was equally human in his relations to those who worked with him and always made one feel one had a real part in the personal aspect. In this way, even seemingly dull things like correspondence came to life, and we were able to make real contact with prospective students before they actually arrived. This, I was told, was much appreciated by people of very different cultures who, with some trepidation, were coming to Europe for the first time.[1]

Mr. C. E. Smith[2] was already acquainted with Professor Clarke, having met him once at the Ontario College of Education when the latter visited that institution in 1934. He became one of the Adviser's first charges and, later, a fellow-member of the staff:

> He took great pains to arrange for Carnegie Fellows to visit places of professional interest and to meet leaders of English education. He must have written innumerable letters that year on behalf of students - many of them by hand since clerical help was rather meagre. Professor Clarke gave a weekly seminar to the Carnegie Fellows(8 of them) in a dusty little room which had that year been turned over to the Fellows for use as a common room. There was little comfort in the old chairs, but when the seminar began no one remembered his discomfort...[3]

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[1] Personal letter to the author from Miss K. A. Usher Smith, former librarian, Institute of Education. (No. 116)

[2] Now Professor of Education, University of British Columbia.

[3] Personal letter to the author from Professor C. E. Smith.(No. 106)

Though this institution of the seminar was later to become widely accepted as a teaching technique,[1] there were those who were not impressed with it; Professor Clarke, in common with all other teachers, had his failures.[2]

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[1] "...Ours was a mixed group - two representatives from each Dominion, an American Professor, and sundry odd bods who joined us for shorter periods. We talked, studied, and travelled together and the cut and thrust of views was very valuable..." Personal letter from G. L. Mather, Selwyn College, Auckland, New Zealand. (No. 67)

"...in all of our seminars, as he called them, his opening gambit was to ask permission of the women members for the men to smoke. His was the first pipe to billow smoke; as he settled comfortably into his chair, everyone relaxed and felt free from any tension..." Personal letter from R. T. Crosthwaite, Board of Secondary School Inspectors, Melbourne, Australia. (No. 21)

"...During the first few weeks I learned more, through discussion with the other Carnegie Fellows, about the education systems of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand than I did of the English system... I do not think this would have been possible in a less sympathetic atmosphere..." Personal letter from Dr. Abraham J. van Zyl, Principal, Pretoria Technical College, South Africa. (No. 117)

[2] "...One impression which has remained with me is his "go slow" attitude compared with the impatience of the Carnegie Fellows to get busy and make the most of their year overseas. This state of affairs led to a minor rebellion, I remember, on the part of some of the Fellows...It is obvious that Sir Fred was developing his educational philosophy and his stature as a teacher and administrator at that time. It is very obvious from his subsequent writing that he subsequently became a much greater man. But, to many of the Carnegie Fellows of my time there was undoubtedly more than a little disappointment expressed. I think we all liked him well enough... But some, at any rate, did not find in him, <u>at that time</u>, the stature which they had hoped to discover in the head of the institution they came to from distant parts - an institution associated with the names of Munn and Burt."
Personal letter from Dr. T. L. Robertson, Director-General of Education, Western Australia. (No. 95)

Director of the Institute of Education

In 1936, one year after joining it, Fred Clarke became Professor of Education and Director of the Institute of Education. That this came as a surprise to him is unlikely.[1] Sir Percy Nunn, the previous Director, had been ill for some time and, for three years, he had been forced to go abroad from January to March. To replace such a legendary figure was no mean feat for any man:

> ... I can see him now, very quiet, gracious and extremely courteous. He combined the readiness to listen to other persons' point of view with a power to persuade people to his way of thinking. A large number of candidates for admission to courses were always interviewed by the Principal, and Sir Percy seemed to have a very happy knack of putting them at their case. He used also to see, whenever he could, new members of the administrative staff, afterwards they would tell me how interested he was to hear about their own activities and those of their brothers and sisters--a very human person.[2]

If such a description sounds familiar, perhaps we are close to understanding why the committee, in its wisdom, chose Fred Clarke to inherit Nunn's mantle. If anyone could carry on this happy tradition, it was he. Professor Clarke's ideas on the functions of the Institute

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[1] " ... It is seldom that vacancies such as heads of colleges are advertised and Sir Fred might have known that there was some possibility that he would succeed to the Directorship ... Everyone at the Institute was delighted with the appointment and I did not myself hear anyone criticize it." Wacey, G. M., op. cit.

[2] Grace M. Wacey, "Organisation and Administration", Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, p. 88. Attention is drawn to the close resemblance between this picture of Sir Percy Nunn and that drawn by Miss Usher Smith of Professor Fred Clarke on page 131-132 of this thesis.

were well known.[1] A deep friendship had also existed between the two principals for some time.[2]

A change in the top leadership is a critical period for any institution; this would be particularly true in the case of one built so completely on human personality. Like a design when the main element is removed, the whole structure of the Institute re-grouped to meet new demands. In the succeeding years, change manifested itself on all sides. The student body itself not only grew but changed in character as the Colonial Department expanded and the arrival of the Carnegie Fellows began to be felt. More British teachers were also enrolling for higher degrees. The staff consequently found that their duties and responsibilities had broadened

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[1] "The Institute of Education exists, as I understand it, to focus the task and to provide the means for its execution by a further adaptation of the traditional British way...This will involve the comparative study of techniques of school administration, of objectives and methods and forms of organization. Each constituent community of the Commonwealth will thus heighten its own educational self-consciousness, will explore systematically the content of its own form of the Idea, and all will come together to share the findings... It is thus conceivable that, when the scheme is fully working, every administrator or other educator in the Commonwealth who is in a position to shape educational policy will have had some sort of contact with the central organization..."
F. Clarke, "The London Institute of Education," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 41, Spring, 1934, pp. 56-57.

[2] Miss Grace Wacey has stated that they were in communication by letter for some years. (No. 118)

in all directions, sometimes, beyond recognition. Instead of the relatively simple concentration on the training of Diploma students, now, overseas seminars, graduate seminars, and scientific experiments and tests with research students began to usurp the main role. Courses in comparative education, visual education, child study, and visits to Greece, Paris, Brussels, and elsewhere imposed additional burdens. The resultant expansion of the staff had also brought the realization that the old order was indeed changing and some difficulties of adjustment were to be expected. Human nature being what it is, tensions increased. It was also difficult to avoid some decrease in the intimacy of the staff-student relationships, although the Director could be relied on to fight impersonality by precept and example.

It was doubtless a great burden which the new Director had assumed and one which few men would have borne without some sign of strain. A member of the staff has recalled:

> ...he found the burden of administration irksome. It was an uneasy situation he found himself in. The difficulties of the move from Southampton Row into the new buildings, behind the Senate chamber, posed many problems, and the scare of war in 1938 and the final outbreak of war in 1939 with the moving of the Institution to Nottingham must have been an administrator's nightmare. Without the devoted help of Miss Grace Wacey, his private secretary, he once confessed to me that he could never have stayed with it...[1]

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[1] Personal letter to the author from Professor C. E. Smith. (No. 106)

This mounting stress in the no-longer-youthful educator ended with his collapse in October, 1937, and his prolonged absence until the Autumn of 1938.[1] Perhaps there were also elements of Providence in that the break came then and not later, when the need of him was so much greater. The enforced retirement may have afforded Professor Clarke the relief from obsessive administrative detail and the leisure for the quiet reflection from which he drew so much of his strength. Perhaps during those long, unhurried days and nights of recuperation, he gained a fresh perspective of himself and of the tasks that lay ahead, both personal and national. It is remarkable that he was to

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[1] Miss Wacey has commented: "...I personally think that Sir Fred was happier as a teacher than as an administrator... I think Sir Fred, who was highly strung, did not find it easy to follow a man of Sir Percy's calibre and, to make matters worse, the Principal of the University, Sir Edwin Deller - a very good friend of the Institute - was killed most tragically in October, 1937, when going over the new university building in Bloomsbury..."
Miss Grace Wacey, personal letter to the author. (No. 118)

[2] A chance remark reported by Miss Winnifred M. Warden, a new staff member, provides additional corroboration in his own words: "...At the end of the first term he asked how I was enjoying my work and I answered, 'Very much, except that I'm very conscious that I am not Miss Wyss'. He looked out of the window, took his pipe out of his mouth and said, 'Don't worry too much about that; it will pass. You may be surprised to know how often I feel like that, too.' I did not know Sir Fred as well then as I did later. But I think this feeling and the death of Sir Edwin Deller did much to contribute to his illness at the end of that year..."
Warden, Winnifred M., "The Institute after Sir Percy Nunn," Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, p.52.

recover so completely and that he was not to be ill again until after his retirement.[1]

Three years thus passed, years of strain and toil but also of quiet triumph, years in which the work of the Institute was broadened into an ever more global approach, in which staff and student morale was heightened, and in which the basic structure of the Institute was strengthened in integration and flexibility. In the world outside, however, a contrasting process had been taking place. By May of 1939, when the new building in Malet Street, Bloomsbury, was officially opened, the moral crimes attached to the names of Abyssinia, Spain, Czechoslovakia and others already mentioned had torn great rents in what remained of the delicate fabric of international peace and mutual trust, and the

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[1] There can be no doubt that he was very seriously ill; only one article came from his pen in 1938("The Crisis in Education," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 8, No. 1, January, 1938) and it is reasonable to suspect that this might have been written before his collapse. The following year was also a bare one with the exception of Education and Social Change, which was written in a short time under intense inspiration.

That he came back more hale and energetic than ever seems certain: "...At the beginning of the third term of that last academic year before the war, Professor Clarke returned. I had heard of his power as a lecturer, so I attended his first evening lecture to M.A. students somewhat expectantly. The result was simply astounding. At the end of an hour, he indicated to a spellbound group of mature teachers that he had a few more remarks to make but would finish at the next lecture. One student asked him to continue then and there. This request was repeated from various parts of the room so he went on for another hour. At the end of that time I saw something I had never before seen nor will, I think, see again. The whole group of about one hundred spontaneously applauded and cheered as if at a successful first night of a play or opera. Clarke was visibly affected by the display and found it difficult to thank us." Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, Op. cit., p.125 (Quoted from the same T. L. Robertson mentioned on page 133 of this thesis)

Munich Agreement had demonstrated to what desperate straits the Western democracies could be driven. Aside from his patriotic and humanitarian feelings, the war was a cruel blow to Fred Clarke;[1] it meant that he, personally, would never realize his dreams for the Institute.

When the evacuation to Nottingham took place, however, Professor Clarke was not present to preside over the disaster and the efficient Professor Hamley, Assistant Director, superintended the removal, as he had the previous one from Southampton Row. A short time before, Professor Clarke had been informed that he was being

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1 "...I think the war hurt him personally, and he was hurt at having to disperse his staff..."
Professor C. E. Smith, Op. cit. (No. 106)

He would have been less than human had he not grieved at losing his new building after getting so close to possession. After the overcrowded conditions of Southampton Row, the new establishment in Malet Street was an educator's dream. In place of the dinginess, noise and congestion, the high white building with its tower and large open court-yards with attractive walks offered, for the first time, a true university setting for the Institute. Inside, the halls were of marble and the stairs of princely proportions. There were also sufficient lecture-halls, a permanent stage and the common-rooms had left the old austerity far behind; even the "lifts" worked. The students now had all modern conveniences, including lockers and showers. The cramped Director's room had blossomed into a spacious office on the first floor, the carpeting of which alone attested to its high status. The same was true, generally, of the other staff quarters. The administrative cubby-hole had grown into a modern office, divided into compartments and complete with telephones, grilles and a counter; there were two attendants and two page-boys. The only features missing, oddly enough, were a cafeteria and a library. After Gwynne, Maura B., "Our Buildings," Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, pp.101-103

honoured in the Autumn Convocation at Columbia University, New York City.[1] Apparently misreading the political situation, with one of his daughters he crossed the Atlantic to accept the award personally. It may be possible that he also had official business with the Carnegie Corporation which had recently renewed the grants for Fellows for another three years. Certainly, he had many discussions with Dr. Keppel, the head of the Carnegie Corporation, and formed a close friendship with him.[2] Before the Clarkes could return to England, World War II had begun and, in common with thousands of other travellers, they found their passage home impeded. Rather than wait impatiently in the Gulf for a convoy to be formed, Professor Clarke paid a flying visit to Montreal to see his friends there. At the same time, he began writing to the Canadian Carnegie Fellows to advise them not to go to England.[3] What transpired during the crossing of the Atlantic in September of 1939

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[1] The official citation to his honorary Litt. D. read as follows:

Fred Clarke, Litt. D.
Professor of Education and Director
of the Institute of Education in the
University of London

> Leaving Oxford for a career, well understood in our American life, devoted to the administration of education not only in England but in South Africa and in Canada; constantly giving evidence of a leadership and a foresight of marked value to his profession; now charged with the guidance of one of the most influential centers in Great Britain for the training and inspiration of teachers.

From a personal letter to the author from Mrs. Carla H. Leone, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. (No. 59)

[2] " ... I retain the warmest memories of the visit to New York and it was a particular delight to be able to have those talks with you ..." Letter from Fred Clarke to Dr. Keppel, October 4, 1939.

[3] It was too late to do anything about the other Dominions. One Australian turned up and he joined the navy before the end of the year.

is not known to the writer but it apparently left an impression on the minds of those concerned.[1] With a dramatic quality which would have seemed over-drawn in fiction, the Clarkes actually landed in England just before the opening of the Institute at its new quarters at the University of Nottingham. By taking the first available train, he was able to slip into his seat at the head of the conference table and preside over the first meeting of the staff. What could have been tragedy ended happily enough.

The Institute of Education at Nottingham

While at Nottingham, Professor Clarke's more ambitious plans for the future were brought to a sudden stop and retrenchment became the order of the day. At first, the situation was chaotic but gradually some form of order emerged. He accepted the fact that he could expect to do little more than hold the fort until the position was clarified:

> ...No one can calculate with certainty in the midst of a situation which even yet has not revealed all its formidable possibilities. My own line is clear enough, however. It is to hold on to all I possibly can of the Institute organism in the hope that there may be an even greater call for its services in the future. Of course, its very existence pre-supposed a world where things make sense. Not all of that world has gone yet... [2]

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[1] "...I never expected anything else than that I should reach here safely, but the process took just four weeks...I will only say now that the experience was exceedingly interesting and has left me with a warm appreciation of the efficiency of the British convoy system..." Letter to Dr. Kappel, October 4, 1939

[2] Letter to Dr. Kappel, October 29, 1939

Some Difficulties of War-time Training

In spite of Professor Clarke's determined optimism, however, the Institute was back again in the familiar constricted conditions. Though the University of Nottingham was generosity itself, sharing its new buildings in the fairest possible way, administrative tensions were bound to arise.[1] It was a situation in which flexibility was imperative; without it, it is quite possible there would have been little left of the Institute to build on after the hostilities. Some additional accommodation was gained by renting a large town house for lectures and library and common-room facilities of the oversea and other senior students; a number of prominent educationists were also persuaded to come up from London for special seminars. As the number of senior students diminished, however, the house had to be relinquished. The number of regular teachers in training also dwindled constantly. About two hundred of both sexes had made the migration from London in September of 1939; within a year, as the "call-up" proceeded, there were few men left. Though housed in relatively comfortable lodgings and hostels in Nottingham, morale of the women was often very low as they worried about the war and the fate of their men in the Forces.[2]

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[1] Fred Clarke's recipe was characteristically pragmatic: "Get over the first roar and he'll do anything for you," he advised in reference to a seemingly-fierce and belligerent administrator who controlled their "privileges". Warden, Winifred M., "The Training of Teachers", Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, p. 53.

[2] On one occasion, some of the students had decided to go home for good; Professor Clarke called them together and explained that teacher-training was a form of war service and that they had no more right to quit than a servicewoman. "If anyone has a special reason for absence, come and ask the Commanding Officer for leave." Ibid., p. 53.

Aside from such natural distractions, conditions were not conducive to good study habits. The lodgings, though comfortable, offered little privacy. Many felt an obligation to do war-work in Nottingham in their spare time. All were required to do fire-watching on the roof and other such duties. The long week-end away from home was a constant temptation which had to be curbed by the administrator. A positive side also showed itself, however, in closer relations between the staff and students than normal. In time of national and personal peril, all grew closer together as humans. In the informality of the black-out, there was much friendly visiting from lodging to lodging. Give-and-take discussions were carried on between students and staff during walks around the lake after meals. Some classes were carried on outdoors in"Plato's Grove" with the participants literally sitting at either ends of the same log in that most ideal educational situation.[1] In summer, all participated in picnics, tennis and boating and, in winter, skating. The local pubs, "The Salutation" and "The Trip to Jerusalem" often provided a setting for more informal gaiety. Professor Clarke, wisely, did not object but joined these gatherings occasionally.[2] We are told that he was everywhere in those

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[1] Bereft of the facilities which, previously, they had considered essential, a number of fresh techniques and lessons in teaching were gleaned; these were carried back with them after the War.

[2] These students said of themselves that they " ... learned least about teaching and most about living." Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, p. 81.

dark days of 1940, when the fate of the nation hung on the Spitfire, guiding, advising, admonishing, his constant theme being, "No need to get in a panic, we must take a long view; this business is going to take a long time but we shall win through in the end."[1] When France fell, " ... he called everyone together and gave a wonderful talk which I am sure relieved some of the tension which had been building up."[2]

At the end of the first year, the Director felt that it would be possible to return to London. Arrangements were actually completed for the Institute to be housed in King's College. The day chosen for removal, unfortunately, coincided with the resumption of air raids on London. All plans had to be cancelled and the former accommodations in Nottingham were retained. Professor Clarke, however, kept constantly alert for another possible "home" in London when circumstances would permit the transfer. Reconciled to exile, a more settled routine emerged. Professor Clarke continued his lectures on "principles" and the increasing importance of education in the post-war world. Dr. Fleming and Dr. Jenkins taught Psychology. Dr. Weitzman conducted courses on the English educational system and the history of education. Visiting educators were brought up for lectures and seminars during the summer term.[3]

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1 Warden, Winifred M., op. cit., p. 53.

2 Personal letter to the author from Miss Grace Wacey(No. 118).

3 Karl Mannheim was the first to come and he visited each year until the return of the Institute to London. In 1945, one of Director Clarke's last actions was to arrange a new Chair of Sociology for him. Sir Philip Morris, Mr. S. H. Wood of the Ministry of Education and Mr. (now Sir) John Wolfenden were others.

A Record of Great Achievement

While others may have relaxed the demands upon themselves to some degree under the difficult conditions at Nottingham, the Director did not permit himself this luxury.[1] The results justified his self-discipline. During the hectic year of 1940, his list of publications grew at a surprising rate.[2] He also commenced a bibliography of the library; the publication of these lists in 1943 began to demonstrate to the world the importance of the Institute. His teaching was never neglected. Throughout the war, he kept his flat at Tavistock Square and most of his week-ends and his summer vacations were spent there. His advanced students would meet in his study where he lectured, they discussed and all drank tea. His full participation on a number of national committees on education[3] also demanded much travelling and effort. It is understandable that he felt somewhat isolated at Nottingham and thought constantly of returning to London. With this

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1 Because of the lack of space, he shared an office with Miss Wacey and she has recalled: " ... I was privileged to share Prof. C's room and often used to think I must have been a great nuisance, especially when I had to dictate letters and interview students. But he used to sit comfortably in an armchair and write--he was always writing." Personal letter of Miss Grace Wacey(No. 118).

2 A list of these writings would take so much space that the reader is requested to turn to Appendix "C".

3 He was invited to become a member of the McNair Committee in 1942. It is presumed that he visited a number of training colleges, university training departments, youth training centres, that he heard numerous submissions of interested groups, and that he helped prepare the influential Report, "Teachers and Youth Leaders," during this time.

in mind, Professor Clarke and Miss Wacey went to London about once every two weeks, alternately visiting estate agents and assessing the merits of their offerings. By the beginning of 1943, a large mansion on Portman Square had been decided on. On looking back, the "sojourn at Nottingham" may be said to be memorable for three main accomplishments: one, the holding together of the Institute under adverse conditions, has been discussed; the other two, the publication of Education and Social Change[1] and Professor Clarke's work on the McNair Committee, must receive more detailed attention now.

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[1] Fred Clarke has told us something of the background of this book which, though drafted in 1939, was not published until the following year.

"Some time in 1939, I was invited to join a small private discussion group of which Mannheim was already a member. This group consisted of a few men who felt already the pressure of the crisis in Western civilization and were feeling towards some principles of policy that might steer the course of the tremendous transition that was so obviously impending. At the first meeting of the group that I attended, the subject for discussion was a paper in which Mannheim had set out his own conception of the relevant principles. He had supplemented this by an indication of the form these principles might take when applied in certain specific fields of life and action; politics, economics, social relations, education and so forth.

"In the course of discussion, it was suggested that the practical bearing of Mannheim's ideas could be more clearly seen if they could be worked out in some detail in application to some one or other of the particular fields in question. The suggestion was accepted, the field of education was chosen for the purpose, and I was asked to prepare a paper, translating as it were, Mannheim's principles into the concrete terms of a possible educational policy.

"I was able to prepare the draft of a paper during a voyage to Canada in the summer of 1939. Upon my return the paper was discussed by the group and I was urged to publish it as a small book." Fred Clarke, "Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education--The Beginnings", an unpublished address, 1948, p. 1.

Education and Social Change[1]

It was while Britain was fighting for her very existence in a world dominated by most un-Christian virtues that Fred Clarke characteristically stood up as he had so long ago in the Diocesan Hall in Montreal and pointed out the simple truth of the matter as he saw it. Though others were concerned, he was the spear-head. Though no exact comparison is intended, there is something a little Churchillian about this quiet man as he courageously put forward his point of view; while the battle literally raged about him, he calmly drew up the blueprint for a post-war era which England, by the law of probabilities, might never see.

"It is the duty of Christians to be aware of what is happening and, while the situation is still fluid, to exercise their utmost influence upon the course of events," said the preface to this little book. In it, Clarke broke very little fresh ground--the truth is seldom news--but, rather, restated his case, the one he had been making regularly for years, with a more purposeful aim than ever. Cogently, he laid down his fundamental belief that not innovation but reinterpretation was required. The English must now be practical and do openly what they had always done covertly. Britain's impregnable

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[1] Clarke, Fred, Education and Social Change; an English Interpretation, London, Sheldon Press, 1940.

security had always been the shield behind which she had adjusted to change in a leisurely fashion. That defence was gone for all time. In the future, change would strike without warning; the new Britain must be geared to react quickly. The violent ideologies which could sunder her system were now present and either they were integrated peaceably or destruction would result.[1] There were no alternatives. Actually, there was little danger if the nation acted in time. The English tradition was so strong and flexible that it could be adapted indefinitely without losing its national character. Nor were the stakes merely national. England was the microcosm of a world in travail. The problems which faced the world were not Russian or German or Communist or Fascist but historical and, therefore, inescapable. England must find a solution to the modern complaint for others as well as herself. When this present war was over, even the defeated totalitarian states would look to her for guidance. England must determine her goal for the future and then lay out a scientific course to reach it. Education was the only practicable means to the end and that education must be conceived from the view-point of the society it was planned to produce and safeguard.

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[1] Fred Clarke saw Germany as a nation which had failed to solve these same conflicts within her national life and had sought an alternative in violence.

The Pre-War Educational System in England

Since re-interpretation rather than revolution was his desire, he surveyed the existing educational structure for signs of usable material. He saw a machine which had evolved without conscious purpose and was made up of many poorly-fitting parts. At the base was the national system of elementary schools which taught the necessary rudiments of the common culture. Above, was a proliferation of secondary schools which ran an uninhibited gamut from the traditional aristocratic grammar school through a maze of public and private schools to the technical institutions of various kinds. There were many roads to higher education but the vast majority were blind alleys. The short-sighted attitude of the people had encouraged this prolixity. Further education existed but in the shape of a bewildering variety of technical, evening, adult, day continuation, and other schools with little in common but their lack of relationship. Education of many diverse types was also carried on by a number of community activities, including everything from the Boy Scouts through the young farmer institutes to the B.B.C. listening groups. They had all risen in response to felt needs but little had been done to relate them to an integrated whole. As such, they were relatively ineffective. His main criticisms were levelled not only at the illogical and self-defeating complexity of the system, but also at the absence of cross-connections between these many roads, and at the fact that the great mass of the population of the secondary schools was virtually excluded from any

reasonable hope of reaching a university. "Selection" thus became a key problem, not a "sheep and goats" shuffling but a systematic sorting by criteria of aptitude and abilities as distinct from prerogatives of class.[1]

The Post-War Educational System in England

The Britain of the future was to be an egalitarian society where each individual was developed to his highest potentiality. To attain this, he defined the objectives of education as being charismatic,[2] cultural and specialized. All three must be merged into an integrated whole; with the typical English refusal to concentrate on the production of any narrowly-specialized type, whether scholar or technician, there must be both culture and competence.[3]

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[1] Britain must attain " ... the preservation of aristocratic quality and temper and standards in its government and social functioning while using only democratic criteria in its devices for social selection ...." Ibid., p. 45.

"For consider what has to be done; attainment of a sufficiently high level of acquirement to participate with mutual advantage in the common culture; command of techniques, both those which are general to the community and those which are special for the individual vocation; knowledge of the nature and sources of power in the modern world ...; insight into the motives and forces of individual and community action, together with trained moral perception and the integration of all that is learnt into the stable volitional structure that we call Character; these are only some of the objectives which must be striven for." Ibid., p. 58.

[2] By charismatic, he meant "education by infusion of grace" with the objective of refining and developing the spiritual sense of the individual. Cultural and specialized need hardly be explained.

[3] "Science has to be thought of not as a mysterious and highly-complex cult pursued by highly-specialised "scientists"; not as a many-sided magician producing wonders for the populace and profits for the enterprising; not yet as a technical necessity of modern life for which, however reluctantly, any self-respecting school must make some provision. It is rather modern life itself in one of its most fundamental

The Imperative Changes Required for the Future

Obviously, to achieve such a functioning machine, that which exists will have to undergo many changes; first and foremost, it will have to be unified over the whole range. This did not imply a bureaucratic, centralized state system; English schools must always retain their freedom to develop their resources in accordance with their own professional judgment. The parents, too, must have reasonable choice of the school for their children. But these two freedoms had to be maintained within the larger frame of the national aspirations.

It was in the area of secondary education that the main theatre of reconstruction lay.[1] Clarke felt that the age of nine was a better stage than eleven at which to separate secondary and elementary training. By this time, the child has gained some command of the rudimentary tools of knowledge and his physical system has matured to a point where he could be capable of a sustained degree of effort. To go into senior school at this time would avoid much of the waste in the higher elementary grades today, where an approach to learning inappropriate to the stage of maturation of many is often employed. Also, if the essential of a common culture with the beginnings of personal and vocational specialization were to be achieved, six uninterrupted years were not too much.[2] Their studies in the early years of the secondary

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aspects, and therefore an essential basis of a modern education for everybody. Not the whole basis by any means, but an essential part of the whole." Ibid., p. 26-27.

[1] The reader will recall that, to Clarke's way of thinking, secondary education referred to a stage of growth rather than to a series of grades.

[2] The architects of the Education Act of 1944 preferred eleven as the decisive stage.

school would be broadly uniform until experience had indicated the type of further education which would be most useful to each pupil. The first review of talent could come at age thirteen, by which time the lines of personality, interest and ability should be broadly defined. Considerable transfer to grammar schools or technical schools or other types of secondary institutions should be anticipated.

Since the organization of the various "grades" was to be guided by the stage of adolescence, the preparatory or junior school would accommodate those from nine to thirteen; the middle school, from thirteen to fifteen; the upper school, from fifteen to eighteen. The "full" secondary school would take all pupils at nine and retain them until they were eighteen. The technical schools would be similar but without a preparatory stage and their courses would be oriented to industry and technology, though not to the point of being professional. The junior technical school would share in the selection of pupils at the thirteen stage and retain them until sixteen or eighteen. In all cases, the school certificate should be relegated to the status of an internal examination, both to reduce its "tyranny" over the pupil and to free the hands of the individual schools to increase the diversity of curricula and the integration of the middle and senior schools. The form of the society of the future was to be classless. The rather aloof public schools should also take their boys from the great common

pool at thirteen. Rather than break up these segregated educational communities, the great amount of ability locked up in them should be released to the entire nation.[1]

The ten years thus planned could not inculcate all that was needed. As any educator knows, adolescent students lack maturity and breadth of experience; there are also some forms of experience which no school can provide. What must be supplied was some form of continued education, of "educative restraint", for those who leave school at fifteen years to guide them until the age of eighteen, when they would be ready for adult education.[2]

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[1] "Their standards of truth and honour are high and real, even though in application they may go a little awry through intellectual limitation or the unconscious influence of class prejudice. In such a world as this, this alone is no small treasure ...." Ibid., p. 56.

Since Fred Clarke came from a lower income group and was not a public school boy, there is a temptation to feel that his opinions may have been coloured by his own experiences. That this might be unfair is suggested by a recollection of one of his ex-students: " ... I can also recall his faith in the upper class in England and his somewhat critical attitude toward the middle class or lower middle class students in London Institute. He felt the latter were too serious, too concerned, too subjective, perhaps, too puritanical. He voiced the opinion frequently to the Carnegie group." Personal letter to the author from Professor L. A. Duchemin, Mount Allison University(No. 28).

[2] "What is wanted is a generous and flexible system of wise and friendly tutelage drawing freely upon every kind of social resource that can be brought into its service. It might even be discreet not to talk about "Schools" at all in this connection more than is unavoidable." Ibid., p. 59. It is interesting to note that Professor Clarke anticipated the trends of educational organization in the late forties and early fifties as they were to be outlined in such publications as School and Life and Teachers and Youth Leaders. He was, of course, concerned with both.

Professor Clarke's second imperative change, after this unity of organization, was the transcending of the cultural-vocational distinction. Since no society can remain free where its workers are merely technical hands, each must be taught the contribution he is making to the common culture.

Of vital importance in any educational system constructed to meet the vicissitudes of life was the consistent application to curricula of the test of relevancy. Every subject in the curriculum must be surveyed constantly to test its pertinency to daily life in relation to the aptitude of the students, the needs of social well-being and, especially, the conditions determining freedom in a modern industrial democracy.[1] Perhaps the first to fall by the wayside would be the traditional curricula based on Latin and Greek.[2] In the case of the technical courses, this test of relevancy was more than ever important. There must be no administrative flinching or retreat in the face of reality.

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[1] When he felt this last condition was in danger, he wrote Freedom in the Educative Society to combat it.

[2] "This curriculum does not meet the contemporary tests of relevancy sufficiently to justify the retention of its dominant position. In the first place, the claims for a common culture are too insistent, and for the great mass of the population, the classical curriculum is quite without relevancy, except in so far as in the course of English and history, provision is made for the intelligent study of the ancient inheritance ... The ancient languages and literature will still be the subject of specialized study by selected pupils. The secondary schools course will acquaint all pupils alike with some literature in translation, and those who plead that Greek rather than Latin is the more relevant study for these times may well be justified. But the full classical curriculum in its old form seems destined to lose very soon its place of predominance ...." Ibid., p. 64.

Professor Clarke recommended, as another imperative, a need for a change of basic attitude towards education. There must be a development of a popular philosophy of education, a change of attitude towards state action, a new realization of the value of culture in a vocational society. Last, but certainly not least, was the acceptance that the "heart of education's business"[1] was the "making of souls". Society coheres by faith and love. The enemy of such aspiration is not only the totalitarian concept but also administrative efficiency for its own sake, of idolatry of mere instruments, of an undetected provincialism that subordinated the greater loyalty to the less and set institutions and interests above men. Against such menaces, recognition of the sovereignty of the concept of "soul" was the only safeguard.

The McNair Committee on Teacher-Training

Participation in the work of the McNair Committee was another major occupation which lay close to the heart of Professor Clarke during these middle war years. Over and over, he had demonstrated his conviction that a body of sound, well-trained and well-educated teachers was the indispensable core of any efficient educational system. The McNair Committee with its inviting terms of reference, "To investigate the present sources of supply and the methods of recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders and to report what prin-

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[1] "It may be, then, that the most essentially religious thing in us is that by virtue of which we cohere as a society, and that here is the heart of education's business." Ibid., p. 69.

ciples would guide the Board in these matters in the future",[1] opened the door to a new era. When, after almost two years of intensive study and investigation, the Committee advanced its recommendations, the status of the teacher in the "educative society" was assured. Accepting as an axiom that the nation needed its best citizens in the national service, the Report, Teachers and Youth Leaders, was emphatic that all efforts must be made to induce such persons to enter the profession.[2] Almost equally important were their recommendations on the institution of recognized Young People's Colleges, the appointment of Youth Leaders, the organization of adult education and others too numerous to mention. On all of these matters, the Committee arrived at a unanimity of decision. On the vital question of the content and organization of teacher-training, however, a serious division of opinion arose. One faction favoured the continuance of a modified Joint Board Scheme. The opposing group, of which Professor Clarke

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[1] Teachers and Youth Leaders, London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1944, p. 5.

[2] It was strongly recommended that all necessary inducements be offered, such as increased salaries, additional maintenance allowances and payments for previous experience to older recruits, and more paid posts of increased responsibility in the school organizations; mothers and other qualified persons should be urged to return to teaching, on a part-time basis, if necessary. Teachers should also be encouraged to participate in community affairs, even to the point of re-organizing their teaching schedules. A campaign should be undertaken to persuade the brighter students in the secondary schools to enter the profession.

was perhaps the leading spirit,[1] would accept nothing but a "major constitutional change in the organisation and administration of the education and training of teachers".[2] Ultimately, since no compromise was possible, the Committee agreed to advance both proposals, leaving the final decision to the Board of Education.[3] In due time, what came to be known as the Area Training Authority, based on the second proposal, was implemented, thus determining the direction of

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1 In regard to the part played by Professor Clarke in these negotiations, two members of this Committee have commented:

" ... It would be fair to say that Fred Clarke made a very considerable contribution to the deliberations and conclusions of this Committee ... He willingly and I think I could say enthusiastically subscribed to the paragraphs to which the group of which he was a member all agreed. To the rest of the Report, about which there was no disagreement within the Committee, his experience from within the training of teachers system was indispensable. It was made available generously and in a form in which it was both valuable and useful ...." Personal letter to the author from Sir Philip Morris(No. 72).

" ... On the McNair Committee, he was the main influence in convincing S. H. Wood(of the Ministry of Education) that teacher training should be integrated with the Universities ...." Returned Questionnaire from Mrs. Mary Stocks(No. 109).

2 Teachers and Youth Leaders, London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1944, p. 48.

3 The Joint Board Scheme had been in operation since 1930. By it, training colleges were organized in groups and each group was associated with an appropriate university or university college. Joint examination boards which included representatives of all concerned were expected to develop the necessary cooperation to ensure the success of the scheme. In the opinion of many, this cooperation had not developed. Those supporting a modified version of this idea were the Chairman, Sir Arnold McNair, Dr. A. P. D. Fleming, Mrs. Lionel Hichens, Miss A. H. Ross, and Mrs. J. L. Stocks.

education in England for generations to come. Those who favoured this proposal, in addition to Professor Clarke, were Sir Frederick Mander, Mr.(later Sir) Philip Morris, Mr.(later Sir) Ben Bowen Thomas, and Mr. S. H. Wood. Their recommendations merit a full quotation:

> (a) that each university should establish a School of Education, it being understood that some universities may find it desirable to establish more than one such school;
>
> (b) that each University School of Education should consist of an organic federation of approved training institutions working in co-operation with other approved educational institutions; and
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> (c) that University Schools of Education should be responsible for the training and the assessment of the work of all students who are seeking to be recognised by the Board of Education as qualified teachers.[1]

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[1] Teachers and Youth Leaders, p. 54.

The Institute of Education at Portman Square

More than two years in the temporary quarters at Portman Square separated the Nottingham sojourn from the final triumphant return to Bloomsbury in 1945. Portman Square was a large mansion which had to be converted to academic purposes; the process required some ingenuity and much accommodation on the part of the 125 students concerned. The Director took a large bedroom for his office, the secretary moved into the former boudoir, and the tutors found for themselves cubby-holes in the servants' quarters. The old library, drawing-room, and living-room became temporary lecture-rooms while the kitchen was, naturally enough, the tea-room. An art-room was created out of the coach house and the rooms in the cottage of the departed coachman acted as dark little tutorial dens. A former senior student of this period recalls:

> ...There were no canteen facilities and we had to go outside to obtain our rationed snacks. Sir Fred was approached and very soon we had our own little canteen in the basement. There were perhaps only two choices on the menu, but we liked it. I sat many times next to Sir Fred ... at an almost bare table, eating meatless sausages. Once this canteen was opened, Sir Fred made a point of using it every day ...[1]

It was while the Institute was at Portman Square that, on January 1, 1943, the Queen saw fit to create a new baronet - Sir Fred Clarke. [2]

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[1] Personal letter to the author from the Very Reverend Michael Walsh, S.M.A. (No. 122).

[2] "Sir Fred always placed his hat on his umbrella in the corner of his office. When he received his knighthood, it is claimed that the first remark he made was, "Now I shall have to buy my wife a new hat." Personal letter from Dr. H. M. Nason (No. 76). It would appear that he was not unduly impressed by his eminence.

Gradually, progress was made in many directions. In January, 1944, on the suggestion of the Board of Education, Sir Fred reopened the Department of Child Development for the purpose of training leaders in the field of child education for the post-war years; because of crowded conditions, lectures and seminars had to be held in the evenings. Sir Fred also guaranteed it against financial loss should it prove impossible to keep it open during a resumption of air raids. It was a prophetic kindness. The V-1's and V-2's did come as the last vicious flare of the war erupted. It was to bring both destruction[1] and death to the Institute:

> ... In 1944, there occurred a sad event during the Diploma examinations which took place at King's College on the Strand. It was the time of the V-1's and they were coming in with such frequency that general alarms were no longer being sounded. Instead, a roof-spotter blew a whistle when he thought that a bomb was coming the way of his particular building. Just after lunch and before the final paper, King's College roof-spotter blew his whistle. I was in the glass-roofed lecture-hall of King's and quickly moved into the corridor. Then the crash came, not on King's but on Bush House just across the road. Many people were killed and injured, among them some of the students who had been taking the examination ... Sir Fred was very upset by what had happened and I learned later that he decided there should be no failures in that examination, whatever the answer papers were like. That was typical of the man - not just an impersonal professor high and mighty on the rostrum, but a simple man with the most human feelings.[2]

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[1] "... On one of my fire-watching nights, we had incendiaries on the whole Square. A few houses were burned to the ground and the whole top of the Institution took fire. The bombs which went to the basement fortunately did not go ablaze. There were four of us on duty and between us we kept the fire (if not in check) at least confined to the top of the building. It was important as the Library was on the floor underneath. After some hours an already over-busy and tired fire brigade arrived and took over ..." Walsh, M. W., op. cit.

[2] Ibid.

And so it went, another summer, another winter, and, the following spring, the war came to an end. That the Institute had held the line and was, in fact, ready for a great leap forward, was owing largely to the quiet determination and unshakeable vision of one of the unsung heroes of the war. That he could still respond to a challenge was demonstrated in the closing hours of his stewardship.[1]

When, in December of 1945, the Institute finally returned to Malet Street, Professor Clarke had retired and he was thus saved the worst of the shock of finding his beautiful building old before its time. Several bombings and the idle devastations of anonymous civil servants had dulled the marble walls and ink-spotted the carpets. The spaciousness of the corridors had been swallowed up in a proliferation of tiny offices. Because the training of men teachers had almost ceased during the war, with demobilization there was a huge and instant demand. To meet it, staff increased, attics were utilized and temporary accommodation made its appearance. The constant struggle of educational facilities to stay ahead of the demand made on them began again. This time, however, it was not the responsibility of Sir Fred and, therefore, it does not concern us here.

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[1] Dr. T. L. Robertson, Director of Education, Western Australia, has written: "... I returned to England in 1945 ... to organise a training scheme for Australian servicemen left idle in the United Kingdom on the cessation of hostilities ... I suggested to Sir Fred that the Institute might conduct a refresher course ... He was most enthusiastic and readily accepted the task. In a three-week's course, he gathered a galaxy of the best-known names in British education, such as Professor Burt, Dr. Macalister Brew, Professor Hamley, Professor Schonell, Sir Graham Savage and many others, including himself ... Even then, despite its being temporarily and inadequately housed in Portman Square, the Institute was maintaining its place as the education centre of the British Commonwealth ..." Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, p. 126.

CHAPTER VII

SIR FRED CLARKE IN RETIREMENT, 1945-1952

In September of 1945, Sir Fred retired from his post as Director of the Institute of Education--but not from active service. The "retired" years, like those which had gone before, were replete with constructive activities. Rather than "retired", perhaps it would be more accurate to describe him as having reverted by choice to an earlier, freer phase of his career where his responsibilities, though by no means light, were not uncomfortably onerous. By all accounts he was happy and satisfied.[1] Though his burden would have staggered many a younger man, he was relaxed[2] and alert, and fully in control of his life. In addition to serving as part-time Adviser to Oversea Students, he contributed greatly to a number of important national committees on education, served in various professional capacities for outside universities and organizations, spoke in public frequently, and continued to author a surprisingly high number of educational articles and book reviews. Only as his physical strength ebbed did he relinquish his responsibilities, one by one. Never, at any time, did he give up. He had a Jubilee Lecture in preparation when he died and his last article, "Man and his Earth", appeared posthumously.

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1 "I have lived to see my hopes come true one by one," he is reported to have said just before his death. "W. R. N.", The Times, London, January 14, 1952.

2 Mr. L. J. Pryor met him in 1948 at the U. N. E. S. C. O. Seminar on Teacher Training, Asridge, Herts: " ... I recall now the happiness and serenity of a man who played his part in education at key points in the world ...." Pryor, L. J., op. cit.(No. 91).

Sir Fred Clarke, Adviser to Oversea Students Once More

Professor G. B. Jeffrey, Astor Professor of Mathematics at University College, London, a man noted for his great administrative efficiency, succeeded Sir Fred Clarke at the Institute of Education. He was faced immediately with problems having to do with the provisions for the vast expansion of the student population as war veterans returned to civilian life and with the need to implement the Area Training Authority which had resulted from the McNair Committee recommendations.

> ... Dr. Jeffrey had the wonderful idea of sounding Sir Fred to see if he would come back to his original post as Adviser to Oversea Students. Fortunately for the Institute and for the oversea students, he agreed to do so. I think he was immensely happy to come back and I do know that he was a tower of strength ....[1]

That this was a wise decision on the part of all seems evident.[2] With the end of the war, in the session 1945-47, the Carnegie Fellows from the Dominions began to return and Professor Clarke worked closely

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[1] Wacey, Grace M., op. cit.

[2] Several years later, Sir Fred, in referring to this period, wrote: " ... My dream about the Institution of Education has very largely come true. The number of students from Oversea in attendance this session approached 300. They come from most parts of the world and exhibit a wide range of interests and degrees of seniority. Jeffrey was stumped to find anybody who could steer them, especially the more advanced seniors. So I am back part-time in the job to which I came originally in 1935 ...." Letter of Fred Clarke to T. H. Matthews, May 14, 1950.

with the most senior of them. The years of attrition, apparently, had caused no diminution in his powers nor altered the personality which was now becoming famous in higher educational circles. In his position, such an unfortunate event would have called forth instant observation. If anything, the humility, simplicity of character and trenchant penetration of his mind appear to have been enhanced by the passage of time. Without exception, the students of the day treasured their contact with the elder statesman of education.[1]

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[1] "My main impression of him was the extreme warmth of his personality--you felt that here was one whom you would like to know as a friend." Personal letter from G. B. Beath, Principal, Dunedin Teachers' College, New Zealand(No. 7).

"He was an amazing personality and we became not tutor and student, but very great personal friends, my visiting his home quite often ... I think I shall remember him mostly for his unfailing sense of humour and his ability to "bait" one into some controversial educational or philosophical topic while he dribbled from his old pipe and adopted a sophisticated attitude, with a twinkle in his eye, just to provoke the other person sufficiently to raise him to a point of almost anger. This would immediately subside with his chuckle, and, in most cases, he would agree with many of the points he had been arguing against a few seconds before... I would call my sessions with Sir Fred one of the highlights of my 14 months abroad, and I shall always remember him ... somewhat in the light of a gentle Bernard Shaw and as one who could bring the best and the highest thought out of anybody who was privileged enough to be in his confidence." Personal letter from R. E. Halliday, Director and Executive Officer, National Fitness Council of Western Australia(No. 39).

"What was remarkable about him was his sympathy and understanding of the "colonial". He treated us as full colleagues although we were students and he the doyen of English educational philosophers of the time. He was completely humble and unassuming, although with a vast amount of experience and learning behind him ...." Personal letter from L. R. Bedggood, Adult Education Centre, University of Auckland, N. Z.(No. 8).

Sir Fred's Service on Educational Committees

In addition to his duties as Adviser to the Oversea Students, Sir Fred gave freely of his time to many committees on which he sat. Perhaps the most important of these was the Central Advisory Council for England.[1] In December of 1944, Mr. R. A. Butler chose Sir Fred to be the first Chairman of this body and the choice was widely welcomed. Unlike its predecessor, the Consultative Committee, which was composed only of educators, this Council included men and women qualified to speak for different interests in the national life, for industry, for science, and for the churches, as well as for education. It included many famous names.[2] Because of its diverse composition, such a group would be particularly difficult to guide in any given direction[3] and at least one member considered this to be

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1 Section 4 of the Education Act of 1944 states that there shall be two Central Advisory Councils, one for England and one for Wales and Monmouthshire; the duty of such Councils was primarily to advise the Minister on matters connected with educational theory and practice.

2 Members of the Central Advisory Council were: Sir Fred Clarke (Chairman), Miss M. F. Adams, O.B.E., Lady Allen of Hurtwood, The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bristol, Dr. C. F. Brockington, Mr. Harold Clay, Sir Henry Clay, Professor B. Dobree, O.B.E., Sir Claude Gibb, Mr. Ronald Gould, Professor Willis Jackson, Lieut.-Col. The Hon. N. A. S. Lytton-Milbanke, Sir Philip Morris, Professor R. A. B. Mynors, Miss M. E. Reeves, Mr. W. O. Lester Smith, Professor J. A. Scott-Watson, C.B.E., The Hon. Josiah Wedgwood, Mr. J. F. Wolfenden, C.B.E., The Hon. Mrs. Youard, Miss M. S. Smylie (Secretary), Miss J. M. Crafter (Assistant Secretary), Miss M. E. Forsyth (Clerk), Sir Charles Darwin, K.B.E., M.C., F.R.S., and Miss M. E. Dodds also served for a limited period.

3 "Mr. R. A. Butler ... chose Sir Fred Clarke to be the first Chairman of the Advisory Council for England, and the choice was warmly welcomed. There could be no stronger evidence of the esteem in which Fred Clarke was held in educational circles." Personal letter to the author from Mr. W. O. Lester Smith, Deputy Chairman of the Advisory Council (No. 107).

the flaw which had seriously undermined its ultimate usefulness.[1] As Chairman, Sir Fred was entrusted with a grave responsibility. The Deputy Chairman[2] of the Council has evaluated his success:

> ... As the Education Act had just become law, the time was not opportune for a report calling for legislation or pressing for new advances. There was a need rather for diagnosis of the contemporary situation and the educational problems that it involved. Fred Clarke was the ideal Chairman for such a task ... while keeping his mind on all the issues under discussion, he had a flair for constructive delegation. He was most successful in getting all members of the Council to participate keenly; and his usual practice, when coming to grips with a problem, was to invite two or three members to study it as a group and report. There were usually several such study groups at work and their reports were a basic feature of the Council's agenda. Under his friendly, thoughtful guidance and kindly stimulus, the Council worked wholeheartedly as a team; and although there were well-sustained arguments, lively and frequent, there was never an awkward moment. By his gracious, tolerant leadership, he made every member eager to give of his (or her) best.[3]

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[1] Personal letter to the author from Rt. Rev. Bishop F. A. Cockin of Bristol, England (No. 19).

[2] W. O. Lester Smith, op. cit.

[3] Sir Philip Morris, another member of the Council, has substantiated this opinion: "I served under Sir Fred Clarke on the Central Advisory Council for England ... As the first Chairman of a statutory council of this character, Fred Clarke was responsible not only for establishing the right relationship between the Council, including its staff, and the Minister of Education and his Department, but also for laying down the lines upon which the Council was to set about its work and discharge its responsibilities. He showed his statesmanship as regards the former and his imagination and foresight as regards the latter." Personal letter to the author from Sir Philip Morris, Vice-Chancellor, The University, Bristol, England (No. 72).

The Central Advisory Council for England chose as its terms of reference:

> ... the transition from life at school to independent life. It will examine the content and methods of education in those schools from which the actual transition is made, and proceed to the influence of earlier education from the nursery school onwards, and at the other end of the scale to the special problems of part-time education. The general purpose of the enquiry will be an appreciation and criticism of existing education as a preparation for a useful and satisfying life.[1]

In this connection, the Council produced two valuable Reports: School and Life in 1947 and Out of School in 1948.[2] The former studied the transition from the protected life of the school to the working life; the latter dealt with the social and recreational needs of children after school hours. The first of these is of particular interest to admirers of Sir Fred Clarke, illustrating, as it does, so many of the distinctive marks of the Chairman's intellect and aspirations.[3]

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1 School and Life, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1947, p. 6.

2 Both are available at H. M. Stationery Office, London.

3 In simple, untechnical language, designed to make a greater appeal to the non-professional reader, the Report re-examined the topics of better schools and smaller classes, cooperation between school and industry and the home, and the improvement of the physical and moral health services in the school and in the Youth Services. It attempted to provide a number of practical answers to the problems inherent in each. Permeating all was that pragmatism and "sense of urgency" associated by those who knew him best, with the Chairman. "... One of his favourite phrases was "a sense of urgency". He was fond of pleading for causes near his heart by pressing for "a sense of urgency" towards them." W. O. Lester Smith, op. cit. (No. 107).

"... Living when he did, he had a great sense of urgency. He once said to me: 'One can only write tracts for the times.' He was too much involved in the changes that were going on even to produce the magnum opus on education which many of us hoped he would write ..." Personal letter from M. V. C. Jeffreys, Director of the Institute of Education, University of Birmingham (No. 51).

Sir Fred Clarke was also busy on the Secondary School Examinations Council which had been established by the Minister of Education pursuant to the Education Act of 1944 to establish and control school examinations. His contribution was much appreciated; the Chairman, Sir Philip Morris, has stated:

> I found Sir Fred Clarke's experience and judgement of very great value and this was of especial importance because there was very little general agreement on many controversial aspects of school examinations ...[1]

The same high authority has also referred to Professor Clarke's work with the National Advisory Council for the Training and Supply of Teachers which grew out of the McNair Report:

> ... this Council inevitably became the leading body on the training and supply of teachers in the country. To the work of this body, Sir Fred Clarke made a substantial contribution.[2]

He also served as the President of the Education Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1947, when the University of Bristol Institute of Education was founded, it was to Sir Fred Clarke that it turned in seeking a Chairman for a committee to guide the labours of the South African Research Fellow in Youth Work.[3] Sir Fred was also External Examiner in Education at the University of Liverpool Department of Education for three years, 1945-8.

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1 Sir Philip Morris, op. cit. (No. 72).

2 Ibid.

3 From this research developed three University of Bristol Institute of Education Publications: Youth Councils, an Interim Report; Training for Full-time Youth Leadership (with a Foreword by Sir Fred Clarke); and Youth Work in England.

Throughout most of this period, Sir Fred also held the post of Educational Adviser to the National Union of Teachers, where his contributions and realistic attitude to educational problems was appreciated greatly.[1] It was this organization that he persuaded to assume the responsibility of the support and direction of the National Foundation for Educational Research of which he became the first Chairman.[2]

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[1] "He recognized we wanted to know what we could do in any set of circumstances. He found this atmosphere congenial compared with the analysis of those who felt they had no responsibility", comments Sir Ronald Gould, Secretary of that powerful body. He also adds, "Lady Clarke was pathetically grateful for the friendship shown him. Fred and she always seemed to think we were doing him a favour by employing him - whereas we counted ourselves fortunate to have him." Personal letter to the author from Sir Ronald Gould, General Secretary, National Union of Teachers, London. (No. 38)

Several anecdotes may suggest the camaraderie which existed between these good friends: "Fred Clarke held the post of Educational Adviser to the National Union of Teachers. On the morning of the day he was due to commence duty, I heard a knock at the door of my office. I opened the door. There stood Fred Clarke. He sprang to attention and gave a smart salute, 'Coming aboard, sir!' he said and gave me his mischievous grin."

"During his Presidency of the Education Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he came into my room and said, 'You are bringing academic dress to the meeting, aren't you?' I didn't want to bring it, so I said, 'No' and went on to say that my hood was old and full of little holes. 'Let's have a look at it,' he said. 'When it's academic dress, the Officers of the Section at least must be properly dressed'. I got out the rather tattered hood and showed it to him. He examined it carefully and then said, 'Nothing wrong with that which my missus can't put right. I'll take it home with me!' He did, and his 'Missus' worked the miracle." Personal letter to the author from Mr. J. Wickham-Murray, former Deputy Secretary of the N. U. T. (No. 123).

[2] Personal letter to the author from Sir William Alexander, Secretary, Association of Education Committees, London. (No. 2)

Freedom in the Educative Society[1]

In 1948, Sir Fred Clarke published his last major work and one which the writer believes is destined to achieve much greater appreciation in the future. He was feeling a deep concern about the bent of the new Welfare State. Freed from the worst inequalities of the old system, a new danger was threatening the health of English society. When so much emphasis was being put on material well-being, there was a tendency among the citizens to equate play and possessions with the good life itself.[2] All had a right to security but each also had a responsibility, that "... responsibility he will discharge, first and foremost, by honest and faithful work."[3] In this education being given to the youth of the nation, there must be renewed emphasis on the affinity of work and leisure and on the "common culture". Adult education was also elevated in status as a means of inducing correct action in those beyond the reach of the regular educational system.[4] To teach such things as duty is not enough:

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1 Fred Clarke, Freedom in the Educative Society, London, University of London Press, 1948

2 "The choice between us may come to be one between security and freedom ... a system of social security is a blessing. But without that condition freedom , it may well prove a curse, a curse of the kind which fell upon the rich fool in the parable." Ibid., p. 33

3 Ibid., p. 43

"The Christian Bible presents God Himself as a worker, finding satisfaction in His work. We are inclined to treat work rather as the curse of Adam." Ibid., p. 43

4 "The effect of adult education ... at its upper levels, will be to ensure the emergence of the kind of elite that a free society must have. They will not form a 'class'; they will have no distinctive social or political place, and they will be found at all social levels and in all vocations. Their power will be the power of influence ... More general education at the lower levels will have as one of its functions the awakening in the mass of capacity to recognise a member of the elite when he appears and to know what it is that makes him so." Ibid., p. 48

> Where common standards for regulating the most fundamental judgements are lacking, how can there be any sense of common duty? Even if the idea of duty remains operative, as it would hardly do universally, there would be a clash of decisions as to what duty required on a given issue. The prevalence of moral relativism, if it is really thoroughgoing, may bring about just this kind of situation.[1]

There must be an ultimate standard of judgment for all and mankind has developed only one,[2] the concept of Original Sin. Belief in it

> ... in some form is necessary both for social cohesion and for an adequately purposeful education. We cannot be fully critical either of society or of ourselves, except from a standpoint which transcends both .[3]

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1 Ibid., p. 92

2 Clarke traced the development of the concept of Original Sin not only to the birth of Christianity but back through the Psalms, Isaiah, St. Paul and the Greeks. It was this central tension between the two opposites in human nature which gave breadth and stability to character; that permitted dignity and humility to reside in the one person in perfect balance without lapsing into pomposity or servility. To him, it was more than a religious idea, it was the key to the understanding of all that was human. An appreciation of this fact is also the key to the understanding of Fred Clarke. Ibid., p. 93

3 Ibid., p. 93

The Later Travels of Sir Fred Clarke

Though he travelled abroad several times in his late years, Sir Fred may have been content to spend his last years in the beloved England from which he had been absent so long during his career. It may also have been owing to factors beyond his control.[1] In 1947, after the completion of the Report, School and Life, he accepted an invitation to participate in the Easter Conference of the Ontario Education Association.[2] Perhaps this was a welcome opportunity to visit with old Canadian friends whom he had not seen since 1939. The Montreal Star of March 31 and of April 16, 1947, noted his passage through that city. On his way back, he gave a series of three lectures, arranged jointly by the McGill Department of Education and the Montreal Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, on the subject of education

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1 Sir Ronald Gould of the N. U. T. has mentioned that Sir Fred's dedication to education had cost him dearly: "... he lost heavily by these changes of employment for his pension on retirement was small ..." Sir Ronald Gould, op. cit. (No. 38)

Sir Fred referred to the subject on several occasions: "... I remember one foggy, cold December night I met him on Tottenham Court Road and I said, 'Where are you going tonight, Sir Fred?' He said, 'I am going north to give a lecture.' I replied, 'I certainly would not go any place to give a lecture on this type of night.' He replied, 'I wouldn't either if I didn't need the money.'" Dr. H. M. Nason, op. cit. (No. 76)

"Knighthoods are all very well and decorative but they don't pay rent or buy houses. Au contraire!" Sir Fred Clarke in a letter to T. H. Matthews, May 14, 1950.

2 Professor Elizabeth Ramsden Eames, now of the Department of Philosophy, Washington University, was a young student eager to get a Carnegie Fellowship to the Institute. She recalls him then: "... with some hesitation I phoned him and he immediately invited me to meet him at his hotel. He was extremely friendly and we talked about many matters only indirectly related to education and the Carnegie award in particular. I remember he was oppressed by the stuffiness of Toronto, the Royal York, and some professional educators, and made me feel that being a live human being interested in ideas was more important in student and teacher than any number of professional credits". Personal letter from Professor Eames to the author. (No. 30)

in Great Britain. Two years later, in January and February of 1949, he journeyed to Cairo to deliver a series of eight public lectures on Education and Culture at the Institute of Education, Ain Shams University, Cairo.[1] From that time on, he stayed at home, though his thoughts probably wandered to his friends of younger days in the Dominions.[2]

In addition to this heavy programme, Sir Fred somehow found the time and energy to continue his public speaking and his literary output. The stream of contributions which had begun more than four decades before in Hampshire continued, though in a decreasing flow. Over the years between 1945 and 1951, he averaged a dozen public addresses, original articles and book reviews. His speeches came to an end in 1950; the articles continued to flow for another year, but the book reviews, which increased in number as the others decreased, continued on to the end. Nevertheless, by 1950, it was becoming apparent that the hard-worked machine was wearing down. Sir Fred noted it and so did others.[3]

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1 These lectures were later published in Arabic in a special number of The Journal of Education, London, July, 1949.

2 "... I should like to come out again to look up old friends of whom there will still be some around. Indeed, I mean to do so as soon as opportunity offers." Sir Fred in a letter to T. H. Matthews, May 14, 1950.

3 "... They find quite enough for me to do here and energies are not what they were ... I reach 70 in a month or two and the time is not far off when I doff what's left of the harness ... I hope before long to plant myself in some quiet spot near the south coast if the limited resources which a wandering life and an expensive family have left me make that feasible ..." Ibid.

"... During his years with us it was clear that his health was failing. I remember on one occasion when in Committee his nose started to bleed profusely and we had to lay him down and send for a Doctor. A year later he was dead." Personal letter to the author from Professor John G. Lang, University of Bristol Institute of Education. (No. 56)

The End of the Career

Sir Fred never did retire to Boar's Head or to the south coast. On the morning of January 6, 1952, on the Feast of the Epiphany, he attended the early service at St. Pancras Church and then returned to his home at Tavistock Square. After a leisurely breakfast, he climbed to the second floor of his home; a short time later, one of England's most beloved educators was dead.[1] It was a loss which was to be regretted more and more as time went by.

Shortly after his death, the Institute of Education reached its fiftieth birthday and commemorated that fact by the Jubilee Lectures[2] which were delivered during the Spring term of 1952. Though Sir Fred was gone, it was obvious that he was not forgotten. Speaker after speaker invoked his memory. Dr. G. B. Jeffrey struck a memorably clear note:

> ... For all of us who belong to the Institute there must be a strain of sadness in our meeting this evening. When this series of Jubilee Lectures was first planned, we took it for granted that Sir Fred Clarke would have his place. There were two things he could have done with superb skill and with persuasive eloquence. Speaking after the other lecturers who have treated different aspects of our work, he could have drawn the threads together and woven them into a worthy pattern; or he could have spoken from his heart about our work with oversea students which had been his special care ....

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1 "When he died, the clerks in my office were in tears ...." Sir Ronald Gould, op. cit.(No. 38).

2 Jubilee Lectures, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952.

> The privilege of hearing what would have been a great lecture is not to be ours. For some months, the lecture had been much on his mind, and indeed our last talk together was about it, but he left nothing on paper except one brief note ....[1]

This note left behind by Sir Fred Clarke read as follows:

> Sense in which this country may have a mission. World-wide dissemination of valid ideas of human dignity and fellowship derived from what is best in national experience, checked and universalized so as to transcend differences of race and colour, while taking varied local form in accordance with distinctive cultural idioms. What it may require of us as a people--patience, humility, imagination.[2]

Summed up thus briefly was his philosophy of life and education and his legacy to the world. It is most fitting that his last three words should have been "patience, humility, imagination".

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1 Ibid., p. 91.

2 Ibid., p. 107.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LEGACY OF SIR FRED CLARKE

Though only posterity can fix the position of Fred Clarke in the educational constellation of his time, to the writer and certain of his contemporaries he was touched with something approaching greatness. The more intimately one becomes acquainted with his life and his philosophy, the more intriguing grows the personality that lay at the root of this unusually fruitful career. The details of his progress from the remote hamlet in Oxfordshire to the position of influence from which he helped to determine the destinies of untold millions of his countrymen are now known. But one cannot help wondering what was the true creative force behind that long journey. Driving ambition might carry the possessor thus far, but the general consensus of those who knew Fred Clarke best is that, far from being personally ambitious, he was fundamentally a truly humble and contented person. Though he was undoubtedly most able, there is no reason to believe that he was a man of such unique genius that it demanded expression. For all that fame meant to him, one suspects that he would have been equally satisfied to till his own little vineyard. The religious might feel that Providence played a role, though this idea, by its very nature, cannot be assessed. The cynical might point to luck or circumstances; though he was "lucky" to be a man of his times and circumstances did help to keep him moving, thus acquiring that vast experience that was his particular distinction, by themselves these factors were far from determinant. While all are not to be ignored as contributing factors,

the writer believes that they fall far short of a satisfactory explanation; the nucleus of all and the key which gave them meaning was the personality of Fred Clarke and particularly his sterling character.[1] He possessed this indefinable property in the highest sense and few who came into contact with him, even for a short time, escaped its influence entirely. The two most significant facets--the soul and the mind, one might say--of his character were his complete acceptance of the total Christian concept and his practical, undeviating grasp of the realities of this earthly life. His attitude towards the concept of Original Sin illustrates both of these.[2] The one created his inspiration and his goal; the other enabled him to comprehend and sympathize with the eternal dichotomy of mankind. From his religious core flowed his unfeigned universal interest in and sincere love for his fellowman of whatever status, his quiet assumption of his duty to be his brother's keeper, and his evangelistic urge to be about his business. His conspicuous simplicity, modesty,

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[1] It may be that Fred Clarke realized this himself; he put a great deal of emphasis on character in education. He was fond of quoting Martin Buber's "Genuine education for character is genuine education for community".

Dr. G. B. Jeffrey in his commemorative article in Nature(Vol. 169, January, 1952, p. 95) stressed this point: " ... As education was in his view primarily concerned with laying the foundations of character, it was to him all-important."

[2] The reader will recall that Original Sin to him was at one and the same time the affirmation of man's kinship with God and the recognition of his own feet of clay. He quoted St. Paul in this regard: "The things that I would, I do not. The things that I would not, that I do."

friendliness, cheerfulness and other endearing qualities flowed quite naturally from such a philosophy of life. His pragmatism derived from his clear-eyed lack of illusion about man and the imperfect world he creates in his image. Though often inclined to be highly idealistic, his saving sense of reality always found him on the side of the possible though defective, as opposed to impossible perfection. Like Christian, he was willing to struggle manfully, confident that eventually he would arrive at the Celestial City. These two, love and pragmatism, are, the writer believes, the keys to the understanding of Fred Clarke, the educator, as well as of the man. When brought into intimate contact with alien local and national problems which, decades later, were destined to explode on to the world stage, he saw past the facades and reached certain inescapable though unpopular conclusions well in advance of his times. Like most prophets, he suffered for his prescience; unlike most, he completed his Odyssey to be appreciated in his own country. The England of the forties and fifties, in her agonizing reappraisal, caught up with many of his judgments and he lived to know that he had, indeed, been useful. For such a man, it must have been the supreme guerdon.

The Final Philosophy of Education of Sir Fred Clarke

The world of Fred Clarke was one in which a steady shrinkage of the globe confronted each individual with mounting demands on his integrity and flexibility at the same time that the inexorable growth of the specialization consequent on increasing technocracy continually narrowed his powers to meet these challenges. Civilization, the only hope of man, was crumbling into "meaningless antics" because of a lack of any sense of sustaining purpose. The proper education of all was imperative if we were to realize God's will for man. Thus, God, the individual, and society became central concepts in his thinking.

The goal of life and, therefore, of education for life, was the "right understanding of the eternal and the expression of that understanding in and through the ways of common life"[1] or the "making of souls".[2] The individual and society were inextricably blended. He reasoned that the individual is trained by and for his society and he really has no sure values outside of that society, that he is not really educated until he used the "we" like "I". The society, of course, is nothing more than the mosaic of these individuals. It follows that if education is going to have its greatest force for good to the society, it must derive directly from that culture and

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[1] F. Clarke, Essays in the Politics of Education, Cape Town, Juta & Co., Ltd., 1923, p. 1.

[2] F. Clarke, Education and Social Change, London, Sheldon Press, 1940, p. 69.

not be handed down or on from elsewhere. If it is going to have its optimum value to the individual, it must equip him for all aspects of the national life and not merely to serve as a cog in the state industrial machine. Both "cultural" and "vocational" training are equally essential, not separately, but as one integrated whole. God found satisfaction in His work and so should man; work and leisure are two sides of the same coin and not opposing values. Clarke, then, opposed the concept of self-realization of the individual as the basic goal of education in favour of the sociological viewpoint. Civilization, itself, was given high status as the means by which man literally raised himself by his bootstraps from the morass of his instincts to a half-way station composed of the best that man had thought through the ages. This, in turn, became a launching-platform for the attainment of the main aim, the testimony of God's goodness through daily living.

By education, Professor Clarke included all means of instruction from the cradle to the grave; any institution which had developed in response to the felt needs of man also had an intrinsic function to teach the young. Of these many institutions, the School came to occupy one of the chief places. All children were to attend organized schools, together at first, then, gradually, grouping themselves into relevant

courses of study through their own demonstrated interests and achievements until at least the age of fifteen. All but the brightest students, at this time, would then continue their education for another three years outside of the school but under a form of tutelage or guidance supplied by organized Youth Services, at the end of which period, it was hoped, the individual would be attracted to adult education. The opportunity for higher education of the brighter students would be determined by their own natural limitations. In this way, the large mass of men and women of the population would gain the basic qualifications necessary for constructive life in a democracy and, at the same time, a pool of leadership, an elite of the intellect, would have been created for the future needs of the nation. This, far from being an undemocratic procedure, was of the essence of true equality; it would also safeguard that form of government from its inherent weaknesses and from the ambitions of rival systems.

To make such a prescient, responsive organization feasible, only the finest of human components were permissible. Fine buildings, smaller classes, flexible curricula were all desirable, but that the teachers in the front line be of the highest standard attainable was essential. Whatever was necessary in the way of inducements to attract those of such calibre from all walks of life into the service of the nation must be done by those in authority. Once intellectually and professionally qualified as ambassadors of our society to the

young, they must be given the maximum of freedom.[1] The well-meant safe-guards of the unimaginative were, only too often, the bonds of the resourceful. The job of the administrators, though also essential, was clear; bring the two principals together and then retire to a decent obscurity until their services were again required. Centralized authority, while it had its place, must never be allowed to degenerate into an end in itself; when this happened, the plasticity of education hardened into bureaucratic routine, regimentation and regulations. It followed that education should really be the chief business of the entire nation and the facilities of industry and commerce should be amalgamated into the whole. As far as English education was concerned, he saw it as being of more than purely national importance. England had a historic role to fulfil, a sense of urgency was required. A shrinking world racked by industrialization was creating dynamic problems as diverse cultures impinged upon one another. The English tradition had already proved its elasticity and its "exportability"; it must be got ready for the new test. Comparative education should become a scientific study. Centres should be set up for the research into educational problems and for the world-wide exchange and dissemination of ideas.[2]

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[1] "Finally, it will become clear that if, as we become more acutely conscious of the real test and the spiritual centre of all our policy and education, we build our education upon and around the ideal of a Free Personality, the training of the teacher assumes a central influence. Almost, we begin to see the lineaments of the philosopher-king." F. Clarke, "The Conflict of Philosophies", Year Book of Education, London, University of London Press, 1936, p. 25.

[2] If, stated thus baldly, this philosophy seems very similar to what most educated people think today, then the world is catching up with Professor Clarke.

A Summation of the Achievements of Sir Fred Clarke

There are those, far better qualified to judge than the writer, who feel that in this sociological, supranational interpretation of the unified educational system, Professor Clarke had made a very considerable contribution to his times.[1] Such intangibles are notoriously difficult to measure. But the record of his legacy need not cease with his philosophical teachings. The permanent material achievements of Professor Clarke were many, enough in the field of university administration alone to have satisfied most careerists. The "out at elbows" South African College was given a teacher-training centre which was to become the nucleus of the modern Faculty of Education of the University of Cape Town. McGill University, in Canada, benefitted from his experience through the formation of the Department of Education which now is the core of the burgeoning Institute of Education of Macdonald

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[1] "I consider him to be one of the foremost educational thinkers of the first half of the 20th Century ...." Dr. J. F. Burger, op. cit. (No. 14).

" ... He was, in my opinion, the outstanding educational philosopher of his time ...." Returned Questionnaire of C. H. Savage, former Superintendent of Education, Westmount, P.Q.(No. 99).

"I think myself that it was Sir Fred Clarke's clear and continued emphasis on personality at a time when Nazi 'culture' was asserting aims destructive of genuine personal values, ... that accounts for his great influence on contemporary education ...." Personal letter to the author from Rev. R. D. Maclennan, Scotland(No. 63).

"He is, without doubt, one of the great leaders in education whose influence lives on, particularly throughout the educational services of the British Commonwealth." Sir William P. Alexander, op. cit. (No. 2).

College. The University of London Institute of Education was, at a critical period in its history, given a new orientation[1] and personality, nursed through the greatest war in history, and preserved to become the foundation for a post-war expansion which has made it one of the greatest names in education.[2] The Institutes of Education of Britain have derived inspiration from that of the University of London. Several of them were the recipients of the personal interest and guidance of the retired Sir Fred. In a similar way, the first Chair of Sociology, which was established by him, has become an invitation to others to do likewise.

Once the demands of his immediate responsibilities were satisfied, Professor Clarke invariably allowed his energies to be directed into many other wider, national channels which were connected in some way with education. In South Africa, as we have seen, he was educational adviser to Prime Minister Smuts; he worked to bring industry and education into close collaboration through the Apprenticeship Acts

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1 "The outstanding feature of his tenure was the development of strong ties between educationists in the older Dominions and the Institute ... under his direction, the Institute became a centre for exchange of educational ideas and experience for the whole Commonwealth." G. B. Jeffrey, op. cit., p. 94.

2 "The Bulletin" of the Institute of Education, Macdonald College, of June 1, 1963, under the heading of "Staff Notes" records that six of its staff would be pursuing higher degrees in the next session. Significantly, two of them are going to the Institute of Education in London to join the one already there.

and the Juvenile Affairs Board; and he sat on almost every educational commission and conference in the area during his tenure. By his attendance at the International Labour Conference in Geneva(1925) and at the Imperial Educational Conference(1927) as the official delegate of South Africa, and through his articles in newspapers and periodicals and his influential book[1], he began to impinge on the international scene. At McGill University, in Canada, his talents were soon placed at the service of General Sir Arthur Currie, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University and at the disposal of the Protestant Committee on Education of the Province of Quebec. In the former case, the educational pronouncements of the Principal were, presumably, shaped by the vision of Clarke; Professor John Hughes has also credited him with initiating the impetus which culminated in the Hepburn Survey of Education in the Province of Quebec. In England, his extensive services to education outside of the University of London can never be defined exactly, for he worked largely as a member of committees. His worthy contributions to the recommendations of the Secondary Examinations Council has already received tribute from the Chairman of that group. As a member of the McNair Committee, we cannot

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1 Essays in the Politics of Education was published simultaneously in Cape Town and London.

doubt that he played an important and, perhaps, a decisive part in formulating the recommendations which led to the key "Area Training Authorities". The founding of the National Foundation for Research also owed much to Fred Clarke. In all of these countries, he laboured to promote a sense of high responsibility within the teaching profession.

While it is true that Professor Clarke's Education and Social Change has been hailed by competent judges as a leading influence on contemporary thought at a strategic time,[1] it would be manifestly unwise and unjust to the many others who took part in the great creative ferment which culminated in the Education Act of 1944 to seek to claim undue credit for one individual; there is no doubt, however, that he was in the vanguard of thought. This resolutely-modest man was proud to feel that he had played a not-insignificant

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[1] "His Education and Social Change with its blend of tradition and far-sightedness had an immense influence on British thought about education circa 1944 ...." W. O. Lester Smith, op. cit.(No. 107).

part in the creation of this historic Act.[1] To those who are familiar with the thoughts of Sir Fred Clarke as expressed freely over a generation, some of the provisions of the Act do strike a most familiar chord, though too much weight should not be given to this similarity.[2] More important, perhaps, is the fact that the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler, himself an educator and with all of England from which to choose, personally selected Fred Clarke " ... whose remarkable qualities made him my choice as first Chairman of the Central Advisory Council ...."[3] to head that group which was to advise him on anything to do with educational theory and practice that they saw fit.

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[1] " ... I recall him telling me that after the publication in 1940 of his Education and Social Change, he had lunch with Mr. Butler and some of his ideas may have influenced the 1944 Education Act ...." Personal letter from Prof. A. J. D. Porteous, Professor of Education, University of Liverpool(No. 88).

Sir Fred Clarke once wrote, " ... I have been given reason to believe that it had some influence on the course of events, helping, as it did, to guide and crystallize the body of opinion out of which came the Education Act of 1944." F. Clarke, "Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education--The Beginnings", 1948, page 2 of the original manuscript.

[2] The reader may recall such recommendations as the raising of the compulsory attendance at school to fifteen, the continuance of part-time education for those leaving then until the age of eighteen, the expansion of Youth Services, increased facilities for technical and adult education, expansion of school health services, increased religious instruction, more control of private schools, smaller classes, declining importance of the matriculation examination, remodelling of secondary school curricula, reform of methods of training and recruiting teachers, more opportunities for poorer students, etc. Dent, Harold Collett, "Education", Britannica Book of the Year, 1944, p. 250.

[3] Butler, R. A., "The 1944 Act seen against the pattern of the times", Jubilee Lectures, London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1952, p. 39.

Beyond the shores of his own "countries", the ideas and ideals for which Professor Fred Clarke stood, like John Brown's body, go marching on to achieve their incalculable effects far into the future and all over the world. In his life-time, he addressed audiences on three continents; he also published well over two hundred articles, some in newspapers, but most in learned journals which disseminated his thoughts into the most fertile soils. Lastly, and even more considerably, is the most impalpable influence of all, that of the beloved teacher on his receptive students. For almost fifty years, Professor Clarke faithfully taught his classes and led discussion in his seminars. At times, in London, particularly, his auditors may have been from more than a score of countries; the total of his students would number into the many thousands. When each left to return to his own environment, he carried with him some of the thoughts and attitudes of the master. Today they hold power in many hierarchies of education. Thus, the ideas, the principles, the techniques of one man could have penetrated most parts of the globe. Annually, the ripples widen as new waves of beginning teachers are insensibly shaped by the best thoughts of a mind they never knew. The imagination is almost staggered by the possibilities.

APPENDIX "A"

A Bibliography of Correspondents and Others Who were Kind Enough to Respond to a Request for Information

No.

1 Adair, E. R., former Professor of History, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

2 Alexander, Sir William P., Secretary, Association of Education Committees, London, England.

3 Allum, A. R., Headmistress, Girls' High School, New Plymouth, N. Z.

4 Anderson, Florence, Secretary, Carnegie Corporation of New York, New York City, N.Y., U. S. A.

5 Astbury, Dr. John S., former Principal, Baron Byng High School, Montreal, Canada.

6 Bassett, Dr. G. W., Professor of Education, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

7 Beath, G. B., Principal, Dunedin Teachers' College, Dunedin, N. Z.

8 Bedggood, Dr. L. R., Adult Education Centre, University of Auckland, N. Z.

9 Borrill, Rev. John, Vicar of St. Pancras Church, London, England.

10 Brand, Lord, Rugby, England.

11 Brown, George, Education Officer, Protestant Central School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

12 Bullock, Alan, The Master, St. Catherine's College, Oxford University, England.

13 Bunting, Elizabeth, Senneville, P. Q., Canada.

14 Burger, J. F., Emeritus Professor of Education, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

15 Butler, Rt. Hon. R. A., former Minister of Education, London, England.

16 Cameron, Virginia, Assistant Registrar, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

17 Carr, M., Assistant Adviser to Oversea Students, University of London Institute of Education, London, England.

18 Clarke, Claudia, L., Goldsmiths' College, London, England.

19 Cockin, Rt. Rev. Bishop, F. A., Marlborough, Wilts, England.

20 Connor, D. V., Senior Lecturer in Educational Research, The University of New South Wales, Kensington, Australia.

21 Crosthwaite, R. T., Board of Secondary School Inspectors, Education Department, Melbourne, Australia.

22 Currie, Dr. Cecil, Professor of Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

23 Davenport, J., Ministry of Education, Salisbury, Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

24 Dick, T. M., former member of Protestant Committee, Council of Education, Quebec, Canada.

25 Dickinson, E. G., Toronto, Canada.

26 Downie, P. M., Chief Librarian, Ministry of Education, London, England.

27 Dreaver, A. R., Headmaster, Pukekohe High School, Pukekohe, N. Z.

28 Duchemin, L. A., Professor of Education, Mount Allison University, Sackville, N. B., Canada.

29 Duminy, J. P., Principal, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

30 Eames, E. R., Professor of Philosophy, Washington University, Saint Louis, U. S. A.

31 Ewing, Roy D., Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

32 Ewing, Mrs. Roy D., Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

33 Feetham, Hon. Richard, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa.

34 Files, H. G., Greenshields Professor of English, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

35 Garrett, E. J. K., Streatham Hill, London, England

36 Glazebrook, G. P. de T., Office of the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

37 Goodings, Richard, University of London Institute of Education, London, England.

38 Gould, Sir Ronald, General Secretary, National Union of Teachers, London, England.

39 Halliday, R. E., Director and Executive Officer, National Fitness Council of Western Australia.

40 Hancock, Professor Sir Keith, Department of History, Institute of Advanced Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

41 Hatcher, W. H., former Professor of Chemistry, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

42 Hendel, Charles W., Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, Emeritus, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

43 Henderson, Norman K., Professor of Education, University of Hong Kong.

44 Hendry, Dr. J. A., Chief Psychologist, Department of Education, Wellington, N.Z.

45 Heslam, G. H., Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec, Montreal, Canada.

46 Hodson, H. V., Provost, The Ditchley Foundation, Enstone, Oxfordshire, England.

47 Hofmeyr, J. H., Professor of Agronomy, University of the Orange Free State, South Africa.

48 Hughes, Dr. John, former Macdonald Professor of Education, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

49 Jackson, R. W. B., Director, Department of Educational Research, Ontario College of Education, Toronto, Canada.

50 Jamieson, Dr. H. W., Executive Director, Canadian Universities Foundation, Ottawa, Canada.

51 Jeffreys, M. V. C., Professor of Education and Director of the Institute of Education, The University of Birmingham, England.

52 Kerr, Rev. J. W., Macdonald College, Ste.-Anne-de-Bellevue, P. Q., Canada.

52A Keys, Dr. David A., former Professor of Physics, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

53 Lafleur, John T., General Secretary, The Graduates' Society of McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

54 Lamb, The Reverend Canon J. P., Principal, St. John's College, York, England.

55 Lang, A. W., Executive Secretary, Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, Montreal, Canada.

56 Lang, John G., Professor of Education, University of Bristol Institute of Education, England.

57 Lauwerys, Joseph, Professor of Comparative Education, University of London Institute of Education, London, England.

58 Lay, S. V. G., New Barnet, Herts, England.

59 Leone, Carla H., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.

60 Macdonald, John, Emeritus Professor, University of Alberta, Canada.

61 Macdonell, Hon. J. M., Toronto, Canada.

62 MacDermot, Professor T. W. L., Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Canada.

63 MacLennan, Rev. R. D., former Professor of Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

64 Malherbé, Dr. E. G., Principal, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa.

65 Mannheim, Professor Hermann, The London School of Economics and Political Science, London, England.

66 Massey, Rt. Hon. Vincent, former Governor-General of Canada, near Port Hope, Canada.

67 Mather, G. L., Selwyn College, Auckland, N. Z.

68 Matthews, T. H., former Registrar, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

68A McMurray, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander, Montreal, Canada.

69 Mitchell, F. W., Professor of Education, University of Otago, Dunedin, N. Z.

70 Mitchell, Gifford, Supervisor of Music, Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

71 Morrah, Dermot M., Editor, The Round Table, London, England.

72 Morris, Sir Philip, Vice-Chancellor, The University, Bristol, England.

73 Mullany, Denis, Editorial Librarian, The Cape Times, Cape Town, South Africa.

74 Murphy, W. T., Secretary, Evans Brothers Limited, London, England.

75 Murray, Professor E. G. D., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

76 Nason, Dr. Harold M., Director, Elementary and Secondary Education, Halifax, N. S., Canada.

77 Naylor, The Venerable R. Kenneth, Rector, Trinity Memorial Church, Montreal, Canada.

78 Needham, Gregory, Lecturer in Education, Department of External Studies, University of Queensland, Australia.

79 Niblett, W. R., University of London Institute of Education, London, England.

80 Owen, Dr. E., Director of Curriculum, Department of Education, Quebec, Canada.

81 Painter, Mrs. H. A., Montreal, Canada.

82 Parkyn, G. W., Director, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, N. Z.

83 Patterson, A. Temple, Reader in History, The University of Southampton, England.

84 Percival, W. P., former Director of Protestant Education, Department of Education, Quebec, Canada.

85 Perrie, John, Personnel Director, The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

86 Phimister, Dr. Z. S., Director of Education, The Board of Education for the City of Toronto, Canada.

87 Plant, Professor Sir Arnold, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, England.

88 Porteous, A. J. D., Professor of Education, University of Liverpool, England.

89 Potter, Gordon A., Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

90 Potter, Mrs. Gordon A., Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

91 Pryor, L. J., Superintendent of Teacher Education, Education Department, Melbourne, Australia.

92 Quance, Professor F. M., University of Saskatchewan, Regina, Canada.

93 Quigley, Professor Carroll, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

94 Rexford, Orrin B., former member of the Protestant Committee, Council of Education, Quebec, Canada.

95 Robertson, Dr. T. L., Director-General of Education, Perth, Western Australia.

96 Rowles, E., D.P.A.(Oxon), Clerk of the Council, Witney, Oxfordshire, England.

97 Russell, David H., Professor of Education, School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, U.S.A.

98 Saunders, Roy C., Assistant Personnel Director, Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

99 Savage, Charles, former Superintendent of Education for the City of Westmount, Canada.

100 Scarfe, Professor N. V., Dean of the College of Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.

101 Schonell, Dr. Fred J., Vice-Chancellor, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

102 Scott, Professor Frank R., Dean of the Faculty of Law, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

103 Shaw, Dr. A. Norman, former Professor of Physics, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

104 Smieton, Dame Mary, Ministry of Education, London, England.

105 Smit, Dr. C. J. J., Faculty of Education, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

106 Smith, C. E., Professor of Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.

107 Smith, W. O. Lester, former Deputy Chairman of Central Advisory Council for England, Merioneth, Wales.

108 Sommerville, T., former Director of Education and Secretary-Treasurer, Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Canada.

109 Stocks, Mary, former Principal, Westfield College, University of London, England.

110 Taylor, Stephen, Editor, Witney Gazette, Witney, Oxon., England.

111 Thomas, Sir Ben Bowen, Welsh Department, Ministry of Education, London, England.

112 Tomlinson, Rt. Hon. George, former Minister of Education, London, England.

113 Trotman, R. R., Headington, Oxford, England.

114 Turner, I. R., Principal, The Teachers' College, Department of Education, N. S. W., Australia.

115 Underhill, Bernice, C., Montreal General Hospital, Montreal, Canada.

116 Usher Smith, K. A., former Librarian, University of London Institute of Education, London, England.

117 Van Zyl, Dr. Abraham J., Principal, Pretoria Technical College, Pretoria, South Africa.

118 Wacey, Grace M., O. B. E., former Secretary, University of London Institute of Education, London, England.

119 Wagner, Professor F. W., University of Southampton, England.

120 Walker, Douglas D. F., Librarian, University of Leicester, England.

121 Walker, Professor Eric A., St. John's College, Cambridge, England.

122 Walsh, Very Reverend, M. J., S. M. A., St. Augustine's, Manchester, England.

123 Wickham-Murray, J., former Deputy Secretary, National Union of Teachers, London, England.

124 Winterbourn, R., Professor of Education, The University of Auckland, N. Z.

125 Young, H. G., Department of Education, Quebec, Canada.

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APPENDIX "D"

The Questionnaire

SIR FRED CLARKE AND HIS INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION

Some opinions by _____

1. What was there about Fred Clarke which made him memorable as a friend?

_____

_____

as a colleague? _____

_____

as a teacher? _____

_____

as a man? _____

_____

In which capacity did you know him best? (Please indicate one)

Close friend _____
Colleague _____
Teacher _____
Acquaintance _____

What influence did he have on you, personally?

_____

_____

_____

2. "It is difficult to over-estimate the width of Sir Fred Clarke's influence on educational theory and opinion in his time."
("W.R.N.", The Times, London, January 14, 1952)
What, in your opinion, were Sir Fred Clarke's main contributions to education?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(Please turn over if more space is required)

3. Do you know of anything in the life and background of Sir Fred Clarke which may have contributed to his devotion to the cause of education?

...to his great belief in the future and the greatness of the Commonwealth?

4. Can you recall any favorite or typical expressions, attitudes, comparisons, anecdotes, mannerisms, idiosyncrasies, likes and dislikes, etc., of his?

5. What were his main hobbies and interests, exclusive of education?

6. How would you describe Sir Fred, as to physical characteristics?

Can you suggest where a good likeness of Sir Fred might be obtained?

7. Below is a list of adjectives which might be used to describe the characters of many people. Which of these do you think could apply <u>particularly</u> to Sir Fred Clarke? (Please circle)
No disrespect is implied by the inclusion of any term.

affected, ambitious, benevolent, boring, cautious, cheerful, conscientious, decisive, demanding of high standards, democratic, dictatorial, didactic, disdainful, dogmatic, eclectic, egoistic, egotistic, energetic, extroverted, frank, fun-loving, generous, genial, human, humble, humorous, imaginative, impractical, individualistic, industrious, inflexible, introspective, jocular, learned, literary, lovable, mature, modest, moody, moral, mystical, noble-minded, open-minded, originative, orthodox, painstaking, perceptive, persuasive, petty, philosophical, pious, pithy, Platonic, poised, pompous, pragmatic, prepossessing, pretentious, priggish, profound, prophetic, proud, race-conscious, religious, sagacious, satirical, sceptical, scholarly, self-consciously superior, self-centred, self-sacrificing, self-sufficient, seminal, sensitive, simple, sophisticated, sprightly, stimulating, strait-laced, supercilious, sympathetic, synthesizing, trenchant, epigrammatic, unaffected, unpretentious, unsympathetic, upright, warm-hearted, well-balanced, witty.

If others occur to you, please add them below:

8. In the event that you have any private material in the way of notes, correspondence, etc., would you be willing to permit a photo-reproduction to be made?

9. Could you suggest the names(and addresses,if possible) of others who might be in a position to add information which would make this study more authentic?

10. Is there anything NOT mentioned in this opinion-sheet which you feel is essential to a proper understanding of this great educator?

APPENDIX "E"

Some Hitherto-Unprinted Quotations from the Lectures and Conversations of Professor Fred Clarke during his McGill Period [1]

1. Always be careful of cocksure people; they are always leaving something out.

2. Many teachers have two theories - a "working" one and a "show" one.

3. The study of history should be concerned largely with the search for constants among variants.

4. Science and democracy are in essence the same. Science is a disinterested attitude towards truth; democracy is a disinterested attitude towards the common weal.

5. Routine is necessary towards the completion of personality, but at every stage it should be made intelligible.

6. On the ideal level, education is necessary because man is a creature tortured with an itch for perfection, and obedience to the conditions for perfection is essential.

7 Standards of reference in education should be, not the contemporary ideal, but the best.

8. It can't be guaranteed that out of any given material one can produce any desired kind of individual.

9. Christian tradition has wrongly emphasized the distinction between body and spirit.

10. Instinct in the human young is a blur or smudge. The significance of this is that it leaves the widest possible range for education; which is a very fortunate fact.

11. Every practical activity implies a theory; but all theories need not be dragged into the light.

12. Good theory is sound practice, conscious of itself; good practice is sound theory, fulfiling itself.

13. Factual knowledge does not imply spiritual progress. Beastliness plus the bathroom may very well describe the modern situation in some sections of society.

14. The danger with scientific methods of measurement in education is that the teacher may fail to return to the true human teacher's attitude.

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[1] From the notes of Dr. John S. Astbury, Montreal, P.Q.

15. Some measuring in educational study is not only desirable, but inevitable; but its applicability must be strictly limited.

16. There is a disposition to reduce the content of education - to squeeze out what matters most. The result is 'pedagogy', with its language of 'pedaguese'. This tends to neglect the dynamic character of education, as a growth, a constantly changing thing.

17 In a machine age, we are apt to apply machine ideas to our educational work.

18. We should educate, not for vocational efficiency, but for illumination.

19. Capitalism is said to have failed. It has rather succeeded in what it set out to do, namely, to provide for the needs of man. Capitalism has not failed; control of capitalism has failed. We have the machine, but we don't know what to do with it.

20. Man does not live by bread alone. The 'marketable' man is never the complete man. Conversely, the whole man is never 'marketable'.

21. Vocational training is self-defeating, since it violates two kinds of fulness; the total life of the community, and the whole range of individual needs. Economic ends are not ends of intrinsic value. They are related as means to the real intrinsic ends. The attempt to make economic ends dominant ends in a devitalizing of the cultural life of the community as a whole.

22 The State's attitude towards religion is more reasonable than towards education. The State's attitude towards religion consists in seeing fair play. It should be left to the vitality of the community to determine the quality of its own education.

23. The community is the social whole - a natural fact; the state is an artificial thing, devised by the community.

24. National systems of education tend to lay stress on uniformity, and show preference for what is easily measured. The modern form of all this is the prescribed syllabus, with its ritual of examinations and recognition of the successful. The danger is that we substitute 'incantations' for knowledge.