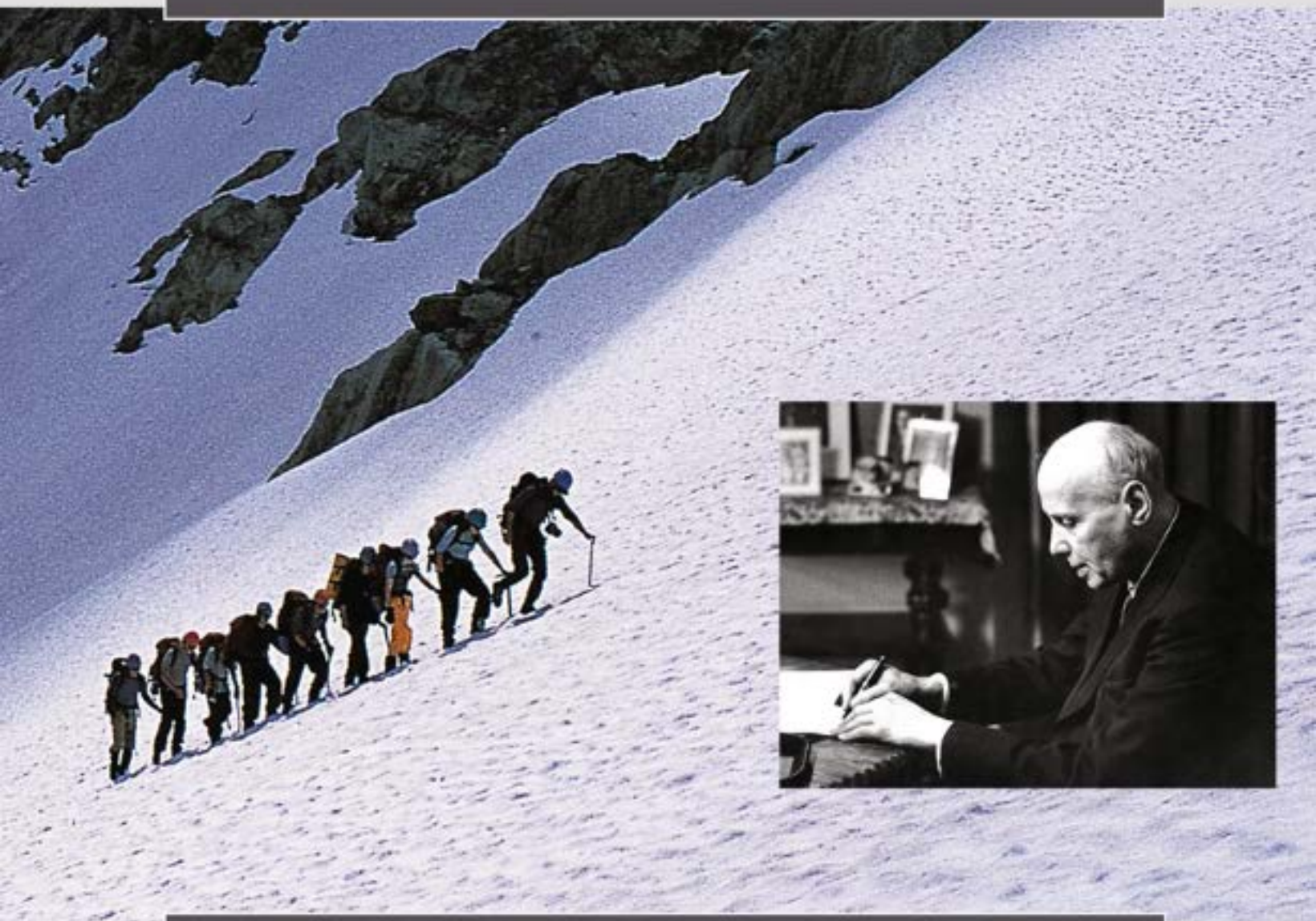


Kurt Hahn

Inspirational, Visionary, Outdoor
and Experiential Educator

Nick Veevers and Pete Allison



SensePublishers

Kurt Hahn

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the most honourable man I have ever met, my father, Jim Veevers, who died after a long illness during its construction. To him I owe my love of the outdoors.

Adam Arnold-Brown was one of the first students at Gordonstoun and later he became the first Warden at Outward Bound Eskdale (the second Outward Bound Centre opened in 1950). At Eskdale his right hand man, whom he described as invaluable, was Vince Veevers, a relative of mine. So this book, detailing the historical development of Adventure Education, which Vince was a part of, is also dedicated to him.

I was lucky enough to go to a school where we were taken to do outdoor activities. There were others but the main teacher who inspired me was Mr. (Tony) Mугan. Having been involved in the outdoors for over twenty years I know that he inspired many other students, some of whom are now presidents of mountaineering clubs and heads of Outdoor Education Departments in colleges. While for me it was him, this dedication is also to those unnamed educators, in schools and centres, who have inspired and continue to inspire their students and who sometimes don't get the full thanks they deserve at the time, like Mr. Mугan.

Nick Veevers

From a young age I was encouraged to spend time outdoors. This, not surprisingly, led to a great deal of exercise and to forging strong friendships with a range of people from around the country. At school Malcolm Jones was responsible for the Duke of Edinburgh Award which I engaged with enthusiastically. Subsequently I was involved with the British Schools Exploring Society, Outward Bound, (And) outdoor education provision through local education authorities and several voluntary organisations. Through these contacts I developed passion, understanding and a critical eye to education generally and more specifically to outdoor and experiential learning processes. I also developed some wonderful friendships which continue today. I am thankful to all of these people who influenced my own development – most of whom were volunteers concerned with sharing their own passion.

I believe that the philosophy of Kurt Hahn is as relevant today as it was during the early part of the twentieth century. I hope this book helps to illustrate the philosophy that Hahn developed and to contribute to everyday practices around the world. I remain convinced that educators can always improve what they do and through their work make the world a better place. I dedicate this book to experiential educators around the world.

Pete Allison

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Illustrations.....	xi
Acknowledgements.....	xiii
Maggie’s Edinburgh.....	xiii
The National Hospital Development Foundation.....	xiii
Foreword.....	xv
Introduction.....	xvii
Kurt Hahn.....	xix
The Aims of the Book.....	xxi
1. Changes in Germany.....	1
2. Salem.....	5
Key Events.....	5
The Aim.....	5
Activities.....	8
The Finnish Expedition 1925.....	10
Sailing.....	11
Expansion.....	12
3. Changes in Britain.....	15
4. Gordonstoun.....	19
Key Events.....	19
Activities.....	20
Sailing.....	24
Influences.....	31
Other Ventures.....	33
5. The Badge Schemes.....	37
German Sports Badge.....	37
Gordonstoun Badge.....	37
Moray Badge.....	38
County Badge.....	40
Training Centres.....	42
Scottish Summer Courses (1938 and 1939).....	44
Welsh Summer School (1940).....	44

TABLE OF CONTENTS

6. Outward Bound	47
Key Events	47
Structure	49
Training Through the Sea.....	55
7. The Norwood Report and the Education Act 1944	59
Norwood Report.....	59
Education Act 1944.....	61
8. Themes Throughout Hahn’s Educational Endeavours	65
Inclusion and Expansion	65
‘Your Disability is Your Opportunity’	68
9. Conclusions	73
Appendix A: People Influential in the Development of Outdoor Activities	79
1. Arnold-Brown Family.....	80
2. Arnold-Forster Family	80
3. Spencer Chapman	80
4. F.R.G. Chew.....	81
5. Marina Ewald	81
6. James Hogan	82
7. Lawrence Holt.....	82
8. Commander Lewty.....	83
9. Jack Longland	83
10. George Mallory	84
11. John Newsom.....	85
12. Professor Sir Percy Nunn.....	85
13. Admiral Herbert Richmond	85
14. Trevelyan Family	86
15. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young.....	87
16. Jocelin Winthrop-Young O.B.E.....	91
17. Zimmermann Family.....	92
Appendix B: Methodology.....	93
The Epistemological and Ontological Position Adopted.....	93
Method	93
Data Collection	94
Challenges.....	95
Appendix C: The Finnish Expedition 1925	97
Appendix D: The Watchers.....	99

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Appendix E: German Sports Badge 101

Appendix F: Welsh Summer Course 105

References 109

About the Authors 121

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1.	A young Kurt Hahn. Photo from the Kurt Hahn Archives, Salem School, Germany.	xx
Figure 2.	Marina Ewald. Photo from the Kurt Hahn Archives, Salem School, Germany.	10
Figure 3.	Gordonstoun school. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	20
Figure 4.	The school coastguard hut in 1935. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	21
Figure 5.	The student Fire Brigade with fire engine. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	22
Figure 6.	A 1930s expedition to the Lake District. Photo from Mark Zelinski.	24
Figure 7.	Students hauling a sled on the 1937 Lapland expedition. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	25
Figure 8.	Students travelling by reindeer sled on the 1937 Lapland Expedition. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	25
Figure 9.	The Mansfield Cumming being built. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	26
Figure 10.	The Mansfield Cumming being launched by the students. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	27
Figure 11.	The Diligent. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	28
Figure 12.	The Henrietta and crew during the 1937 Norway expedition. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	29
Figure 13.	The Prince Louis. Photo from Ian Major.	30
Figure 14.	Governors of Gordonstoun school 1942 (Gordonstoun school, 1942, p. 13). Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	32
Figure 15.	The various ‘levels’ of the Moray Badge. Photo from the Gordonstoun School Archive, Gordonstoun School, Scotland.	39
Figure 16.	Moray Badge standards (Gordonstoun record, 1937, p. 45)	40
Figure 17.	Lawrence Holt (Circa 1950). Photo from Bill Champion.	48
Figure 18.	The Outward Bound sea school at Aberdovey. Photo from Peter Carpenter.	50
Figure 19.	Launching the cutter at Aberdovey (1940s). Photo from Mark Zelinski.	51
Figure 20.	The Garibaldi. Photo from Outward Bound International.	52

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 21. Bernhard Zimmerman teaching athletics at Aberdovey.
Photo from Outward Bound International 54

Figure 22. A selection of early Outward Bound sea school badges. Photo
from Outward Bound Aberdovey. 54

Figure 23. Stone inscription at Outward Bound Aberdovey. Photo from
Peter Carpenter..... 57

Figure 24. Kurt Hahn. Photo from Mark Zelinski. 77

Figure 25. German sports badge. From Deutscher Reichbund für
Leibesübungen. (1935). Berlin – Charlottenburg 9,
Haus Des Deutschen Sports, Reichssportfeld..... 101

Figure 26. German sports badge. From Deutscher Reichbund für
Leibesübungen. (1935). Berlin – Charlottenburg 9,
Haus Des Deutschen Sports, Reichssportfeld..... 102

Figure 27. German sports badge. From Deutscher Reichbund für
Leibesübungen. (1935). Berlin – Charlottenburg 9,
Haus Des Deutschen Sports, Reichssportfeld..... 103

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The money raised through the sale of this book will be split equally between the following two charities.

MAGGIE’S EDINBURGH

Maggie’s centre is a place that anyone affected by cancer can turn to for help. The centre is open to everyone, not just to people who have been diagnosed with cancer, but also to their families, friends and carers. Maggie’s is entirely funded by public donations. www.maggiescentres.org (Charity number SCO24414)

THE NATIONAL HOSPITAL DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

The National Hospital Development Foundation is the charity dedicated to raising funds for The National Hospital for Neurology and Neurosurgery which, together with the Institute of Neurology, is a worldwide leader in the research and treatment of brain disorders. Ten million people in the UK suffer from a neurological condition, either from birth, through injury, or a slowly developing illness that occurs later in life. These include multiple sclerosis (MS), brain and spinal cancer, epilepsy, Parkinson’s disease, stroke, Alzheimer’s disease and head injury. www.nhdf.org.uk/ (Charity number 290173)

FOREWORD

Outdoor activities are widely accepted now as a core part of education. *Kurt Hahn: Inspirational, visionary, outdoor and experiential educator* traces the link between this acceptance and explosion in popularity to the educator and social reformer, Kurt Hahn.

There have been previous books about the life of Hahn and the institutions he inspired and founded, which include Outward Bound, United World Colleges, Round Square Schools and the Duke of Edinburgh/International Award program. This is the first book to provide a detailed historical account of the early development of outdoor activities centred on Kurt Hahn. An example of this is the close relationship and links between Outward Bound and the Badge Schemes (which later evolved into the Duke of Edinburgh Award).

Hahn's development, use and promotion of outdoor activities in an educative context was a distinctive part of his work and now forms part of formal education in many countries around the world. This book provides the reader with a number of contexts which came together through Hahn, and the movement which surrounded him, and led to what we see today. The book celebrates the past, informs the present and encourages the future.

The authors of this book are noted for their personal outdoor adventures and their long engagement with adventure education in many forums, including Outward Bound. They have put considerable efforts into researching the book to give the fullest historical account possible of the development of outdoor activities. Above all the book shows the authors' commitment to the ideals Kurt Hahn espoused and his efforts to reverse the declines in civilized values.

Hahn believed "That the challenge of the sea and of the mountains be part of training for all students"; that "The destiny of character is shaped outside the classroom" and in "being Actively Compassionate". These ideals have been incorporated into the curriculum and practice of many educational organizations now and this book chronicles how it all took place.

Ian Wade
Executive Director
Outward Bound International

INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt that Kurt Hahn has had a significant influence on the fields of outdoor and experiential learning, adventure education, progressive schools and, not least, badge schemes throughout the world. Leafing through books from the above fields (and many more) it is hard to get beyond the first few pages without finding at least some mention of Hahn, his life, his work and his philosophy. However, on a closer look it is surprising to find that there is very little work in depth. Indeed, there is no book that concentrates on the interest which Hahn clearly had in outdoor activities. It is no surprise then, that our experience is of seeing all kinds of work undertaken ‘in the name of Hahn’ which has left us wondering what Hahn would have to say about this (and many other things) if he were alive today.

Over the years as we have witnessed these things happening we have asked questions and gently enquired regarding people’s understandings of the life, work and philosophy of Kurt Hahn. We have been, and remain, underwhelmed by the absence of a sound grasp of his beliefs but this has also helped us to understand the plethora of practices that are undertaken in the name of Hahn. Our motivation in writing this book was to learn more ourselves and as we did so, to share our learning in the hope that his work will be understood and respected in a more coherent and comprehensive manner.

Writing such a text is not easy as Hahn wrote very little. Typically references are based on transcripts from lectures he gave. However, in preparing this book we have translated work from German to English and we have drawn together literature which has previously not been done. We have then taken a view on this literature and interviews with key people to shed light on what Hahn saw as the role of outdoor activities as a means for education.

As Hahn was one of the field’s greatest advocates, a historical study tracing his development of outdoor activities is needed. The aim is to provide the most in-depth, historical account possible (up to and including the Education Act 1944) and so provide a clearer version of events.

We believe an important part of understanding the events leading to the development of outdoor activities, and to their expansion, is to understand the people associated with Hahn and the complex relationships between them. Appendix A therefore contains a synopsis of the people involved, to provide background to their involvement.

In a UK context, Hahn, alongside the scouting movement (Barret & Greenaway, 1995; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Hunt, 1989; Loynes, 1999) and Brathay Hall (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993), is cited as having had an important influence on the provision and philosophy of outdoor education. Various authors believe that this influence extends to much of the current practice (when the articles were written) seen in the UK (Allison & Telford, 2005; Roberts, White & Parker, 1974). None of this is particularly surprising given that Hahn lived most of his life in the UK and is probably best known for starting Gordonstoun School and Outward Bound at Aberdovey.

INTRODUCTION

Barnes (2004) reflects on Hahn's influence in a wider context:

Whilst it is very hard to generalise about an area as broad and diverse as outdoor education there are some common traits in philosophy which lend themselves to examination. Perhaps in many ways the most widely acknowledged of these traits is the influence and ethos of Kurt Hahn (1886–1974) and through him the Outward Bound movement. (p. 8)

In the review of literature concerning outdoor education, the view that Hahn has played an important role is expressed by other authors (including Flavin, 1996; Horwood, 1999; Itin, 1997; James, 1980; Kraft, 1988; Loynes, 1999; McCormack, 2003; Miles & Priest, 1999; Miner, 1999; Morgan, 2002; Raiola & O'Keefe, 1999; Washington & Roberts, 1999; Watters, 1986). The influence of Hahn on outdoor education has spread throughout the world, most notably through the Outward Bound movement. There are currently 43 Outward Bound centres in 35 countries creating opportunities for over 240,000 people (Outward Bound International, 2009).

The name Outward Bound is now an international brand and, as Hopkins and Putnam (1993) state, is so well known that in many locations the term is now being used synonymously with outdoor pursuits. Wurdinger and Steffen (2003, p. 7) state that "the Outward Bound phenomena also spawned an entire movement of adaptive Outward Bound programs". Although they were referring to the United States we believe this can be seen around the world to varying degrees.

Hahn had a massive influence on the expansion of outdoor activities around the world and is viewed as a symbol by many movements – as seen by the naming of various awards in his name. He did not produce a specific piece of work which traced, in detail, his development of outdoor activities. The most detailed historical account left by him is perhaps 'Outward Bound' (Hahn, 1957a) – an extended version of a chapter he wrote in 'Outward Bound' (James, 1957). However, as the title suggests, this work deals predominantly with Outward Bound.

Although there have been studies examining Hahn's educational theory, there have been no detailed studies which have specifically investigated his development of outdoor activities in an historical context. Therefore, this work is based on the premise that for someone who had such a major influence on the development of outdoor activities, research is needed to specifically document, in detail, Hahn's development of outdoor activities. The aim of this work is to provide the most in-depth historical account possible. We believe, because Hahn was one of the field's greatest advocates and because none exists already, there should be a single study which deals specifically, and in detail, with charting his introduction and development of outdoor activities.

Many authors, as has already been discussed, believe that Hahn's influence can be seen in current practice. This supports the view that what happens in the present, and what will happen in the future, is very much governed by what happened in the past.

It is intended that this work should be used as a resource by those interested in the historical development of outdoor activities, centred on Hahn, and more specifically by students of Hahn, Outward Bound, the Duke of Edinburgh Scheme, and those interested in sail training. The work may also help to inform debates concerning

Hahn's influence on outdoor education, such as Barnes (2004) and Brookes (2003a, 2003b), by providing the first in-depth historical account of the development of outdoor activities, centred on Hahn.

We have tried to remain true to a chronological exploration of the development of outdoor activities, although some areas which occurred at the same time have been split into different chapters for clarity. The work ends with a discussion of various themes, in relation to outdoor activities, which occurred throughout Hahn's educational endeavours including the aphorism 'your disability is your opportunity'.

We take a historical standpoint and centre around various interrelated contexts: German educational practice; Hahn's and Prince Max's (owner of Salem) experiences of the First World War and its aftermath; Hahn's and Prince Max's inclusive agenda; British educational practice; the Second World War; and Hahn's expansionist aims.

KURT HAHN

Kurt Hahn was the founder and Headmaster of Salem School (Germany) in 1920 and then Gordonstoun School (Scotland) in 1934 (Kurt Hahn Archive, 2006). At both of these fee-paying schools activities such as sailing and hill-walking, often through expeditions lasting more than one day, played a prominent role in the education of the students. At Gordonstoun, Hahn expanded his educational ventures, through the use of badge schemes to include young people from the surrounding district who were not students at his school. Hahn's badge schemes involved local children partaking in set activities including an expedition (which could be sailing or hill-walking) organised by Gordonstoun, which on completion resulted in a badge being awarded.

Hahn tried to expand his badge schemes, firstly across the county in which Gordonstoun was situated, Morayshire, and then across Britain. Outward Bound, a training centre where students could go for four week courses, followed the badge scheme syllabus. It was founded by Hahn and Lawrence Holt, a shipowner, at Aberdovey (Wales) in October 1941 (Hogan, 1968). On a number of occasions before 1944, Hahn tried to influence national educational policy to include badge schemes in the education of all children. The badge schemes (Norwood Report, 1943) and Outward Bound (Holt, 1942) were drawn to the attention of the Norwood Committee (set up by the government to investigate educational change). This report influenced the *Education Act 1944* (Board of Education, 1944) which is arguably the most influential act in the history of education in the UK.

This book offers an in-depth account of the development of outdoor activities, centred on Hahn, up to and including the *Education Act 1944*. For our purposes outdoor activities are defined as sailing, hill-walking, climbing and canoeing activities which take place out of doors with an educational aim. It is not our intention to state that this should be the definition for outdoor activities but that for clarity and convenience it is the one that we will be using here. It is also a definition which is coherent with the work that Hahn undertook and the main activities that he used for educational purposes. Since that time there have been many changes and much of what is discussed can be applied (with some care) to the spectrum of activities that are offered as part of outdoor education in different parts of the world.

INTRODUCTION



Figure 1. A young Kurt Hahn.

The influence of Kurt Hahn and Outward Bound extended to the United States in the 1950s through an American, Joshua Miner who taught at Gordonstoun School (Miner, 1976, 1999; Miner & Boldt, 1981, Rubacha, 2002). Outward Bound USA has an award, named after Kurt Hahn, which recognizes individuals who have made significant contributions to the mission of Outward Bound (Outward Bound, 2002).

Once established in the United States, Outward Bound influenced others.

Someone once said that Kurt Hahn was the ‘moving spirit’ of Outward Bound when it began in Britain during World War II. Imported to the United States two decades later, Outward Bound, in turn, became the moving spirit of the experiential education movement. (James, 1980, p. 17)

Hahn, through Outward Bound, is considered influential in the wider context of experiential education. This influence is illustrated by the Association for Experiential

Education, in 1983, inaugurating the Kurt Hahn Address which has continued since (Association for Experiential Education, 2005). This Address is given annually to the person who exemplifies the Kurt Hahn spirit in contributing to the development and advancement of experiential education (Nold, 1995).

Hahn's influence has reached other countries through Outward Bound but also with other organisations and people such as Project Hahn in Australia (Lan, Sveen & Davidson, 2004) and Finland with the interest shown there by Professor Matti Telemaki (Bowles, 2002).

The extent of Hahn's influence can also be seen through the Duke of Edinburgh Award. The award was first introduced in 1956 at the instigation of Hahn (Duke of Edinburgh, 2005; Hunt, 1976) but it was a direct descendent of the badge schemes operated by him at Gordonstoun (Carpenter, 1957, 1970, 1974; Duke of Edinburgh, 2005). Each participant in the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme has to complete an expedition to obtain the award (Duke of Edinburgh Award, 2006) – which, as will be seen, was the same as the earlier badge schemes. Since 1956, four million people have taken part in the award in the UK (Duke of Edinburgh Award, 2009). On an international scale, in the year 2000, there were 58 'member' countries taking part in the scheme with another 53 who had a scheme in their country (Rattan, 2004).

What is perhaps less well known is Hahn's association with the 'Round Square' association and 'United World Colleges'. Together these organisations have a membership of over 60 schools around the world (Round Square, 2005a; United World Colleges, 2005a). They both follow Hahn's educational philosophy (Round Square, 2005b; United World Colleges, 2005a) and both organisations contain outdoor activities in their school curriculum (Round Square, 2005c; United World Colleges, 2005b). The Round Square association has only one award. This is earned by a student, at one of their schools, for an act of distinction and it is named after Kurt Hahn (Round Square, 2005d).

Images of Outward Bound, Round Square, and United World Colleges can be seen in many places but a particularly striking collection can be found in Zelinski (2010).

THE AIMS OF THE BOOK

When, where, why, how, and to whom did Hahn introduce, or try to introduce, outdoor activities. The 'how' element includes the different organisations and different ways which were used to introduce outdoor activities. It also includes the specific educational philosophy and method used when the activities were taught. However, it must be stated at the outset that this book is not an in-depth study, or critique, of Hahn's educational philosophy as a whole, for that the reader needs to go to other works (Day, 1980; James, 1980, 1990; Stewart, 1968, 1972; Skidelsky, 1969; Stabler, 1987; Richards, 1981; Rohrs, 1970). This work is a historical study charting the development of outdoor activities by Hahn and his associates. The study goes up to, and includes, the *Education Act 1944*, and involve some analysis, in the context of outdoor activities, of its effects on outdoor centres, starting with the White Hall Centre.

INTRODUCTION

Much of the research involved people who were ‘there at the time’ and this is contained in a written format. The literature reviewed includes those authors who have written about Hahn since.

In what might be referred to as standard texts, Stewart (1968, 1972), Skidelsky (1969), Stabler (1987) and Rohrs (1970) have carried out detailed examinations of Hahn’s educational theories. These have included a historical context but have not focussed specifically on providing a full and detailed account of the development of outdoor activities.

Two authors, James (1980, 1990, 1995) and Richards (1981, 1991, 1999, 2003a, 2003b), have produced various articles on Hahn over a number of years. Richards carried out his Doctoral thesis on Hahn in 1981, and is known to have lectured on him for Outward Bound (Outward Bound, 2004). Day, a former Headmaster of a Round Square school also produced a Masters thesis on Hahn in 1980. These works contain historical accounts but they do not specifically focus on giving a full and detailed historical account of the development of outdoor activities.

Cook (1999, 2000, 2001) has produced three historical accounts of the development of outdoor education which have included Hahn but have not focused solely on him, and these have not provided a detailed account of his development of outdoor activities. Cook’s work has been used to give a British context to Hahn’s activities and the *Education Act 1944*. Alexander and Parker (1930) have also been used to provide a German context to Hahn’s activities.

Through the literature search, in the field of outdoor education, it appears that there are few academic studies, with a historical emphasis, where a methodology could be viewed. Those that were located had a variable historical content: Carpenter (1958), Cook (2000), Day (1980), McCulloch (2002), and Nicol (2001). However, they were helpful in providing ideas in terms of methodology; most used some form of thematic or chronological analysis (also recommended by McDowell, 2002) and have helped to inform the way we have displayed information in this book. A more detailed explication of the process of researching the book is included in appendix B.

CHAPTER 1

CHANGES IN GERMANY

The German educational system towards the end of the 19th and at the start of the 20th century underwent profound change. This change involved a number of inter-related factors which will be highlighted in this chapter - the work of Kerschensteiner (an advocate of a new educational movement), the development and influence of the *Wandervogel* (variously translated as birds of passage, wandering or migratory birds) movement, the founding of Country Boarding Schools, and the development of *Schullandheim* (School Outdoor Centres).

German teachers, prior to these changes in education, treated their students “with studied coldness and severity” and “they assumed little responsibility for the personal development of their pupils” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 320). This is highlighted by one of the authors (an American teaching at a German school) who, in 1913, took his pupils on hikes but “did not know at first that I should not associate with my own pupils” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 321). The formal and authoritarian teaching style, with rows of desks and students “reciting memorized lessons” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 4), was gradually replaced by a more student centred approach with “education going far beyond the traditional ‘three R’s’ subjects of instruction” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 283).

Dr. George Kerschensteiner advocated, in 1880, that there should be “five definite angles of approach to the educational problem: the physical, intellectual, social, aesthetic and moral phases of human nature” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 121–122). This through an *Arbeitsschule* (School of Activity), where pupils could be involved in a number of activities, including, woodwork, metalwork, projects, arts, crafts, or poetry. Therefore, there was a movement away from the three R’s to a wider curriculum with the aim being more than just instruction, and involving all round development. This is perhaps highlighted by the headings, from a student’s report, circa 1924 (Table 1). In an article in 1928 Hahn describes the educational theories of Kerschensteiner, quoting extensively from him, and is obviously familiar with the concept of the School of Activity.

In 1921 the New Educational Fellowship was founded, an international organisation which contained a German Branch (Alexander & Parker, 1930). Rohrs (1970) describes this movement and places it in a world context.

The New Education movement had its origins in the quarter-century before the First World War, and was based on cultural criticism and dissatisfaction with the acknowledged educational system. The main representatives of this global movement were Dewey, Kilpatrick, Ferriere, Decoly, Kerschensteiner, and Blonsky. The idea of founding new schools...spread all over Europe and North America (country boarding schools, Landerziehungsheime, country day

CHAPTER 1

Table 1. German student report headings (Circa 1924)

- I. Family situation.
 - II. Physical condition.
 - III. School record.
 - IV. Mental characteristics:
 1. Intellectual tastes and vigor.
 2. Temperament.
 3. Will, initiative and social adaptation.
 4. Method of work.
 5. Endurance.
 6. Attention.
 7. Power of observation.
 8. Memory.
 9. Imagination.
 10. Powers of understanding, thought and judgement.
 11. Language.
 12. Special interests and talents.
- (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 306)

schools, laboratory schools)...In 1921 the New Educational Fellowship, with sections in several countries, was founded as an organizing centre of the movement. (p. 136)

Flavin (1996) states that in Germany, by 1930, there were about a dozen, independent, Country Boarding Schools which had appeared as an alternative to the state system. These included those schools founded by Hermann Lietz and known as the *Landerziehungsheime* (Country Home Schools) which “belonged to the vanguard of Germany’s ‘modern schools’” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 179) – the first using the activity method. It is worth noting here that Lietz and Cecil Reddie, the founder and Headmaster of Abbotsholme School in the UK, knew each other and influenced one another’s educational thinking (Cook, 2000). It is also worth noting that Hahn had been familiar with, and impressed by, the educational thought of Lietz and the *Landerziehungsheime* from 1902 (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Stewart, 1972).

Another group of schools (Alexander & Parker, 1930) within the Country Boarding Schools movement was the *Freie Schulgemeinden* (The Free School Communities). These schools were similar to the *Landerziehungsheime* in many respects, they also had the aim of giving their students a “well rounded education” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p.180). In 1925, at a meeting of the Central Institute of Education and Instruction in Berlin, involving the leaders of both the *Landerziehungsheime* and the *Freie Schulgemeinden*, these schools placed physical, moral and social education on a par with knowledge (Alexander & Parker, 1930). Hahn, in 1928, mentions and describes both the *Landerziehungsheime* and *Freie Schulgemeinden*.

Martin Luserke’s ‘School by the Sea’ (opened 1924) was one of the *Freie Schulgemeinden* (Kolde, 2000). It included various practical activities in its curriculum: drama; teaching through nature; dune stabilisation; metal work; book-binding (Luserke, 1925); morning gymnastics and morning swim in the sea; sailing, with

the students sailing the boats (dinghies) they had built themselves (Kolde, 2000). Sailing played a major role in the school and its function was that of ‘team building’ (Kolde, 2000). Hahn, in 1928, specifically mentions the ‘School by the Sea’.

The Wandervogel movement began to emerge in the last decade of the 19th century but was formally created as an association in November 1901 (Koch, 1975). This was a youth movement whose wish was that youth should rediscover and experience nature (Koch, 1975). This involved young people hiking through the countryside and finding shelter each night wherever they could (Koch, 1975). They opposed smoking and the use of alcohol by their members (Alexander & Parker, 1930).

A large number of different organisations were formed, in the traditions of, and as a part of, the Wandervogel movement. According to a National Council of German Youth Organisations Report in 1927, 40% of all young people aged between fourteen and twenty-one belonged to an organisation of this type (Alexander & Parker, 1930). The combined membership of these organisations was one million in 1914, rising to more than eight million in 1930 (Alexander & Parker, 1930). They were heavily involved in hiking,

As their desire for longer excursions and several days’ stay in the country they were eager to acquire huts or camps that would shelter them and where they would feel more free and at home than in rural inns. In a short time there were dozens of nests, either owned or leased by the Wandervogel...” (Alexander & Parker, 1930. p. 19)

Alexander and Parker (1930) state that these ‘nests’ or hostels contributed to the development of the *Wandertag* and Schullandheim and these will be mentioned later in this chapter. During this period, and from their formation, the Landerziehungsheime had organised and placed importance on school journeys. They had taken students to Italy, Egypt, England, Holland, Austria, France, Switzerland and Scandinavia (Alexander & Parker, 1930). Influenced by the New Education Movement and the Wandervogel movement, a trend developed for teachers in state run schools to lead their classes out of doors which developed into longer and longer journeys:

In the beginning an hour or two of exploration in the neighbourhood would suffice. Then, with knapsacks on their backs, pupils and teachers were off for a whole day in nearby villages or forests. Soon it came about that nightfall would find a class far from home, seeking shelter with a good-natured farmer, taking lodgings at a quiet inn, or putting up at one of the hostels for youth, which had spread like a network over the land to accommodate just such wandering bands of young people. (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 6)

It was considered that there was “no better procedure or method than school excursions [when] seeking to educate children through self-activity” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 43).

The expansion in school led journeys is pronounced with “classes of older boys and girls...travelling and tramping through the country” (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 268). In a chapter entitled ‘The Average School Today’ they emphasise that outdoor

sports have expanded in “endless variety” and to all parts of the German educational system.

A visit to a German rural school gives proof that the reform of education has penetrated to the remotest corners of the land, making the activity method and education through experience common-place phrases to the village school-master and realities in his daily practice. (Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 260)

A law was passed requiring every school class to spend one day a month, to be known as a Wandertag (wandering day), outside the school grounds. Parker and Meldrum (1973) specifically mention Articles 142–150 of the Weimar constitution which “actively encouraged the principles of the Schulwandering (school journey) and the Wandertag (expedition day) – indeed the whole of the Mittelschule syllabus offered progressive training in expedition work culminating in fifteen-mile hikes” (p. 44). These changes had a number of aims – to encourage student’s health; enrichment of the curriculum and to reshape society, particularly after the First World War when Germany economically, politically and socially was in a state of turmoil (Alexander & Parker, 1930).

Some schools established their own Schullandheim (school expedition centre) as an annex to the regular school (Alexander & Parker, 1930; Parker & Meldrum, 1973). This can be compared with a *Landheim* (outdoor educational centre) which does not belong to a school but can have the same role (Alexander & Parker, 1930; Parker & Meldrum, 1973). The Schullandheim were often funded and built by the school communities (students, parents, teachers) themselves with the aim being to support the school journeys (Alexander & Parker, 1930). A description is given by Alexander and Parker (1930),

The schools began to develop out of their own organisms a new educational type, the Schullandheim, which Dr. Hilker defines thus:

The Schullandheim are rural homes which are occupied by single schools or clubs of pupils for days, weeks or months, and which are under the control of the teaching staff in order to foster the physical development and educational achievement of youth. In most cases some instruction is given, incidentally, in concentrated units, or in subject courses, yet study may be dropped altogether if a group is making only a short stay. The essential thing in the Schullandheim is the educational and developmental influence of social life in a rural, healthful situation. (p. 67)

Classes could be sent there for two to four weeks of regular school time, as well as in the holidays (Alexander & Parker, 1930). The numbers of Schullandheim increased with five established in 1919, fourteen in 1922 and thirty-three in 1923 (Alexander & Parker, 1930). The total numbers involved were 120 in 1925, 140 in 1926, and an estimated 200 in 1930 (Alexander & Parker, 1930).

Hahn indicates that he is aware of the Country Boarding Schools in 1903 and 1928, but we can find no specific mention of Schullandheim or Wandervogel in his writings. Although, given the radical and profound nature, and extent, of these developments, and the fact that Hahn wrote a book about education in 1910 and helped found a school in 1920, it seems reasonable to speculate that he was aware of them.

CHAPTER 2

SALEM

KEY EVENTS

Salem School was founded on the 21st April 1920, in a castle, in the state of Baden, southern Germany (Ewald, 1970; Kurt Hahn Archive, 2006). Prince Max, a German aristocrat, politician, and a former chancellor of Germany, owned the property. Hahn had been his private secretary during the latter stages of the war and afterwards helped write his memoirs. Together they founded the school, and Hahn became its Headmaster (Kurt Hahn Archive, 2006).

The school expanded with other branches being added: Hermansberg, 1925; Spetzgart, 1929, on the shores of the Bodensee (Lake Constance); Hohenfels, 1931; Birklehof, 1932 (Kurt Hahn Archive, 2006). It is important to note that these schools were located some distance away from each other and only Spetzgart was located near an area where sailing could occur (Flavin, 1996). Therefore, from 1929, it became possible, or at the very least much easier, to use sailing as an educative activity, during the school day, simply because Spetzgart was located near a lake. Sailing as a medium for learning is discussed further later in this Chapter.

G. Winthrop-Young first met Hahn at Salem in 1926, while he was carrying out educational research, although he knew of Salem's existence prior to this because his two nieces studied there in the early 1920s (Hankinson, 1995). G. Winthrop-Young's son, Jocelin, started at Salem in March 1931 and G. Winthrop-Young spent two months teaching there in 1932 (Hankinson, 1995). Flavin (1996) reports that Salem had a flourishing exchange programme at the time (Prince Philip of Greece was also a pupil).

On March 11th 1933 Hahn was arrested, for speaking out about the Potempa (Beuthen) murder (Flavin, 1996). He was released on March 16th and exiled from Baden (Flavin, 1996). It was around this period that many pupils left Salem, including J. Winthrop-Young and Prince Philip. Hahn was helped, in Germany, at this time, by Lady Cumming, G. Winthrop-Young and Ka Arnold Forster (Hankinson, 1995) - the latter two subsequently urged him to demonstrate what became known as the 'Salem system' in the UK (Hahn, 1950). Hahn left Germany and arrived in England on the 12th July, 1933 (Hankinson, 1995).

THE AIM

In 1924 the reasons for the founding of Salem were stated:

The school was founded in the conviction that the most pressing task of the hour was to save the younger generation from falling victim to the moral

degeneration, which calamity has brought on the German people. (Hahn, 1924, p. 1)

Hahn stated this on a number of other occasions (Hahn, 1938a, 1950). It must be remembered that Germany after the First World War was in a state of political, economic, and social turmoil. Hahn (1950, p. 1), when talking about the formation of Salem, states that Prince Max's "ambition was no less than to heal the diseased state". Therefore, education was seen as a way of 'healing' the German nation.

Hahn (1950) called the defeat in the First World War, and the turmoil afterwards caused by it, the 'first lesson' that influenced Prince Max's thinking (Hahn, 1950, p. 1).

The second lesson was learnt through his (Prince Max's) bitter disappointment with wise and learned men who raise their warning voice and then withdraw into noble helplessness, lacking what Lord Wavell calls the 'toughness in pursuit'. The worth of a faith, so he said, does not consist in the clarity with which it is stated but in the steadfastness with which it is defended.

From these lessons grew the Rule of Salem. This rule is embodied in the final report from which the parents learn about their boy's public spirit, his sense of justice, his ability to give precise evidence, his power to pursue what he thinks is right when facing discomforts, dangers, boredom, his own scepticism, a hostile public opinion. They also learn about his scholastic work and his physical fitness. (Hahn, 1950, p. 1)

Due to Prince Max's experience at this time, he felt that the German people had been let down by politicians who were 'wise' but did not 'possess toughness in pursuit'. Consequently, to try to ensure this did not happen again in the future, for the sake of the nation, education should include the development of character. Some authors (Brereton, 1968; Flavin, 1996; Mann, 1970) think that this is aligned with Hahn's own experience during the war with his work for the German Foreign Office when he met people who were not prepared to stand up for what they believed to be right. Consequently Hahn felt "there was a need to educate people to speak out and act upon their convictions" (Flavin, 1996, p. 7–8). These experiences, combined with protecting the young from the turmoil in Germany at that time, influenced Salem's educational aims.

The Salem Report headings in the previous quote (and contained in more detail in [Table 2](#)) show that the character of the pupil, at Salem, is given at least equal importance to their academic achievements. This concept is not unique to Salem as other schools also had this motivation. This included both independent and state schools – if the Report Headings in the state system are compared with Salem's Report headings, it can be seen that they are similar ([Table 2](#)).

At Salem education was seen as including more than just the academic, involving the development of character, and in many ways can be seen as holistic education, which can be summed up in this quote:

We do not let ourselves be enticed by remarkable gifts in any one direction to permitting the one-sided development of a child. It has been Germany's ruin

Table 2. Comparison of German and Salem report card headings

<i>German student report headings (Circa 1924)</i>	<i>Salem report card (Circa 1928)</i>
Family situation.	Esprit de Corps
Physical condition.	Sense of Justice
School record.	Ability to state facts precisely
Mental characteristics:	Ability to follow out what he believes to be
1. Intellectual tastes and vigor.	the right course in the face of discomforts,
2. Temperament.	hardships, dangers, mockery, boredom,
3. Will, initiative and social adaptation.	scepticism, impulses of the moment
4. Method of work.	Ability to plan
5. Endurance.	Ability to organise shown in the disposition
6. Attention.	of work [and] in the direction of younger
7. Power of observation.	boys
8. Memory.	Ability to deal with the unexpected
9. Imagination.	Degree of mental concentration – where
10. Powers of understanding, thought and	the task in question interests him – where it
judgement.	does not
11. Language.	Conscientiousness - in everyday affairs – in
12. Special interests and talents.	tasks with which he is especially entrusted
	Manual dexterity
	Manners
	Standard reached in school subjects:
	German, Ancient languages, Natural
	Sciences, Modern languages, mathematics,
	history
	Practical work (Handicraft etc.)
	Art Work:
	Physical exercises:
	Pugnacity
	Endurance
	Reaction time
(Alexander & Parker, 1930, p. 306)	(Hahn, 1928, p. 3–4).

that the world of thought and the world of action have lived in distinct and often hostile camps. We had men of foresight in plenty, but they lacked either the nerve or the common-sense to lead us on the way that they had pointed out. We regard it as the duty of Salem to train [*sic*] the born intellectuals to decisive action, not merely for their sake but for the sake of Germany. (Hahn, 1924, p. 2)

The underlying theme can be seen in 1917 from a speech by Prince Max (Hahn, 1948a, p. 20) when he states that “he who would help his people must unite the power to think with the will to act”. It appears that Hahn hoped to achieve this all round development, at least in part, through the use of activities - those things organised by the school, for the pupils, but not involving academic work.

This work is not intended as an in depth examination of Hahn’s educational thought and development, for this see Day (1980) and Richards (1981). However, to

understand the development of outdoor activities (centred on Hahn) the reader must have an understanding of what Hahn was trying to achieve at Salem, within the interrelated contexts of German history and German educational thought, and Hahn's and Prince Max's personal history.

A theme, which occurs throughout Hahn's educational endeavours, is that of opening his educational enterprises to all sections of society, and this can be seen at its start at Salem. Hahn (1950, p. 1) quotes Prince Max when they discussed, at a meeting in June 1919, the starting of a school: "...make the school independent from wealth by grading the fees according to the income of the parents". This concept is based on Prince Max's and Salem's association with the Cistercians who had owned Salem in the past and while there had assisted all sections of the community (Hahn 1950; 1957a). From the very beginnings the concept of an independent school which is open to a wide range of students is present.

This was put into action and in 1924 at Salem, out of a school population of 60, there were "17 who paid the full fees, and 13 who were taken entirely free, the rest paying very much reduced fees according to their means" (Hahn, 1924, p. 4). In 1924 massive inflation had drastically reduced the endowments given to the school by Prince Max (Hahn, 1924). The 'Association of the Friends of Salem' was set up to collect funds to contribute to the fees of the free scholars (Hahn, 1924). The appeal stated that "educational and social principles" lie at the heart of Salem and it is "under obligation to support the present large numbers of free scholars" which is "one of the chief justifications for its existence" (Hahn, 1924, p. 5). This is supported by Ewald (1970, p. 23), from first hand experience, who states that "from the first there was a mixture of social classes and backgrounds". Hahn's commitment to this ideal is seen in 1933, after his exile, when he wrote that "he would rather the school shut down than reduce the number of scholarship students drawn from the least elite classes" (Flavin, 1996, p. 150). At Salem, and later at Gordonstoun, Hahn ensured that students from less wealthy backgrounds were welcome at his schools.

ACTIVITIES

"Purposeful activities, intellectual, spiritual and practical" (Hahn, 1948a, p. 21) played an important part in the education of the students at Salem (as at many other German schools at this time). Their origins can be seen in the activity method advocated by Kerschensteiner and employed at the Lietz Schools (see Chapter 1). Hahn (1948a, p. 21) stated that Prince Max used the "framework of the Landerziehungsheim" for Salem.

Various first hand accounts exist of the nature of the activities at Salem between 1920 and 1933 (Ewald, 1970; Flavin, 1996; Mann, 1990). These activities included: morning run; mid-morning athletics break; individual projects; two afternoons a week working on the school farm; Saturday afternoons devoted to guilds – naturalists, landworkers, mechanics, heralds (devoted to dramatic, literary and archaeological pursuits); metalwork; carpentry; choir; school fire department (Flavin, 1996).

Other activities included 'war sports'. Hahn, in 1923, after the occupation of the Ruhr, let his pupils do military drill (Ewald, 1970; Flavin, 1996) and after 1930

allowed his pupils to participate in the “camps for military sports organized by the Stahlhelm” (Ewald, 1970, p. 33). The *Stahlhelm* (Flavin, 1996) was a right wing organisation of World War I veterans.

Activities which occurred outside the school walls included: bicycle tours, some lasting three days, and some without supervision (Mann, 1990; Flavin, 1996); mountain climbing (Mann, 1990); walking tours (Flavin, 1996); map making in the countryside (Flavin, 1996); a girls’ camping expedition to England in 1928 (Hahn, 1930); or simply “expeditions in the surrounding countryside” (Ewald, 1970) which are not specified. Skiing also took place (Hahn, 1930; J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, January 15, 2006) and huts were used in the nearby Alps for training (J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, January 15, 2006). It is unclear if these were similar to the Schullandheim mentioned in the previous chapter. As Flavin (1996, p. 18) in his diary at the time wrote “‘adventures’ were...part of the school program”.

In 1948 Hahn, in the context of activities, talked about the discovery and benefits of expeditions:

We discovered that expedition training and expedition tests counteracted the unhealthy effect of undeserved hero worship. Not a few specialist athletes revealed in adversity a certain flabbiness of will-power which was well hidden in their ordinary life. The expeditions were sometimes of an arduous nature - long treks in the Alps, exploratory expeditions to Iceland and on the Payenne and the Seima Lakes in Finland. Again and again the average and even clumsy athlete excelled on such expeditions... (Hahn, 1948b, p. 3)

Hahn (1948b) talks about how he discovered this through Wilhelm Schmidle, the Director of Studies at Salem from 1923 – 1930 (Ewald, 1970) and his “prima donna” athletes:

Schmidle disliked what he considered the exaggerated importance which Salem attached during the late twenties to athletic distinction. He was then, although already 70 years of age, still a wonderful explorer of hills. There was inexhaustible energy in his small body. I record a significant incident. Biberstein, our great rival, had come to Salem for an athletic contest and were beaten by a few points. Victory was surrounded by what Schmidle considered excessive fuss. He surprised me by suddenly announcing that he would take both teams early next morning on a geological excursion just for the day. The heat was fierce and one by one, trekking up and down the hills to examine geological mysteries, the athletes fell by the wayside. Every time he came across groans or grunts indicating exhaustion and hunger and thirst, I understand that there emerged from Schmidle an audible chuckle. He came back and said, ‘I did not think much of your athletes’. When asked why he had arranged the excursion, he twinkled with malice-‘it is the antidote’. (p. 4)

Therefore, Hahn discovered, through the medium of expeditions, another way of developing the all round character of his pupils. J. Winthrop-Young (personal communication, January 15, 2006) reports that walking expeditions were carried

CHAPTER 2

out at Salem during his stay there. The excursion taken by Schmidle was for a day but this developed into longer expeditions using different activities.

THE FINNISH EXPEDITION 1925

In the summer of 1925 two teachers from Salem, Marina Ewald and Otto Baumann, took twenty pupils on a four week school expedition to Finland (Mann, 1990). A synopsis of the expedition based on various descriptions follows. A fuller account of the expedition is contained in Appendix C. One of the descriptions is a first hand report by a pupil on the expedition, Golo Mann, a student at Salem from 1923–27, who later became a history professor (Mann, 1990). The other is by the leader of the expedition, Ewald (1970).

The idea for the expedition came from Ewald, (Mann, 1990) and “meant the realisation of a dream” for her (Ewald, 1970, p. 34). Ewald was also the leader



Figure 2. Marina Ewald.

(Ewald, 1970) and the only woman on the trip (Mann, 1990). The trip was described as “a long and hazardous expedition” (Hahn, 1930, p. 10–11) and involved travelling by steamer to Finland and buying boats (barges) there (Mann, 1990). These were then tied together in a line with the first having an outboard motor which pulled the rest along (Mann, 1990). The trip started on Lake Saimaa and involved travelling overland by truck and then putting the boats back onto the water on Lake Paijanne (Mann, 1990). The party camped on remote islands (Mann, 1990) and lived “partly by shooting and fishing” (Ewald, 1970, p. 35). It was:

...like a voyage of discovery. For all the participants it was one of the happiest experiences of those years. Because of its success, Kurt Hahn therefore attached the greatest importance to expeditions carefully planned beforehand and carried out with endurance. They have become an essential part of his educational programme. (Ewald, 1970, p. 34)

Ewald was a childhood friend of Hahn’s, who had been involved at Salem from its inception (Ewald, 1970). She was held in the highest regard by Hahn (1968) and became Director of Spetzgart when it opened in 1929 (Ewald, 1970) - see Appendix A. It therefore appears that this event, inspired and organised by Ewald, also influenced Hahn’s future educational thought as regards expeditions. The activities which had been a feature of Salem had been expanded to include expeditions.

SAILING

Luserke, whose school involved sailing as an educative activity, is mentioned by Hahn (1928) and Ewald (1970, p. 35) with “his school on the sea aimed at bestowing on the pupils the strength he derived from the sea”. In an article published in England, in January 1934, Hahn details his views on the educational effects of sailing:

This second senior school under our responsibility, Spetzgart, was even more successful in bracing the nerve and broadening the chest of the delicate boy.

This was done by the work on the Lake carried on under the direction of two Naval Officers, sailing and rowing in cutters proving particularly effective. The crowning test came to a number of boys, some of them originally delicate, by long and hazardous expeditions, both on water and land which were at intervals planned by the school and which were intended to form a vital part of our system. In the summer vacation of 1925, 18 boys went to Finland. They bought their boats, crossed the Payenne and Saima, lived to a certain extent by fishing and shooting and then sold their boats again. (Hahn, 1934a, p. 3)

It is interesting to note that Hahn specifically mentions the Finnish Expedition, and this appears to be the first time a major expedition was tried by Salem. This is linked with sailing at Spetzgart which indicates the possibility that one led to the other. It must be remembered that Spetzgart opened in 1929, four years after the Finnish expedition. A strong connection is that Spetzgart’s first Director was also the person who had inspired and led the Finnish Expedition, Ewald, and she was also aware of Luserke’s use of sailing as an educative activity. Ewald also had an interest in

sailing, owning her own yacht, the *Schwaben* (which was based close to Spetzgart) on which the pupils sailed (Flavin, 1996).

Spetzgart developed and evolved the educational line followed at Salem. In the first place, it was possible to go in for water sports on Lake Constance. These were entrusted to retired naval officers and based on proper nautical training. These activities furthered accuracy, enthusiasm, team spirit and the spirit of enterprise – at least as much as Salem’s hockey did. Furthermore, sailing encouraged the observation of Nature, developed physique and moreover, gave the girls more chances to excel in sport than were provided for them in hockey. (Ewald, 1970, p. 35)

The archivist at Salem confirms that sailing started at Spetzgart when it opened in 1929 (Weidlich, personal communication, March 10, 2006). It is a possibility that sailing developed at Spetzgart simply because it was situated near to the Bodensee (Lake Constance), rather than being a planned activity, which is the view of Flavin (1996). The other branches in the Salem community of schools were not located near the Bodensee. Sailing at Spetzgart had the same purpose as the other activities at Salem, it simply used a different method to try to achieve this. J. Winthrop-Young (personal communication, January 15, 2006), a student at Spetzgart from 1932–1933 reports that sailing was “part of the normal routine of the school”. It is perhaps also interesting to note that girls went sailing just as the boys did (Ewald, 1970).

Herr Wutsdorf, who had been a submarine captain, was in charge of the sailing (Flavin, 1996). The school had two “cutters for the beginners, propelled either by ten oars or under sail after the two masts had been erected” (Flavin, 1996, p. 73). As the pupils became more proficient they progressed to the yachts *Schwaben* and *Godenwind* (Flavin, 1996). The *Godenwind* was owned by Mr. Chew, an Englishman teaching at the school, who took students sailing and who later joined Hahn at Gordonstoun (Flavin, 1996) - See Appendix A.

Flavin (1996) states that different teachers took students on four day tours in the holidays, one of which was a sailing tour. In the diary that he kept at the time, Flavin (1996) wrote about a tour taking place in the second week in July, 1933, led by Wutsdorf which sailed around the Bodensee. This involved using cutters which could be rowed, sailed or towed by a motor boat – in a similar way to the Finnish Expedition (Flavin, 1996).

Flavin (1996, p. 72) states that sailing at Salem had “never engaged Hahn’s attention” which raises the possibility that Ewald was the driving force behind its inception. J. Winthrop-Young (personal communication, June 6, 2005, p. 9) also describes sailing at Salem as “like yachting, pleasant yachting” and “you can’t say that sailing on the Bodensee added really anything at all” in terms of education. These two views are in contrast to Hahn’s later development and appreciation of sailing at Gordonstoun (discussed in Chapter 4).

EXPANSION

Hahn expanded Salem from one to five schools during his tenure as Headmaster and Ewald (1970, p. 36) states that there were “plans for making the Salem schools

the starting point for a ‘Salem movement’”. Flavin (1996) also states that Hahn had plans to introduce the Salem system to a day school. Hahn’s thoughts, at this stage of his career, were turning towards expansion.

Ewald (1970) also reports that Hahn wanted to pass some of his ideas to the former pupils of the Landerziehungsheime. In what appears to be the same undertaking Hahn (1928) raises the idea of The Confederation of Old Salemers (former students of Salem) and The Confederation of Old Landheimers (ex-students of the “Association of the Free Schools” (*Vereinigung der freien Schulen*) and Landerziehungsheime (Country Home Schools)) undertaking a new challenge.

In 1928 Hahn states that the Confederation of Old Salemers have taken upon themselves the following engagements:

- (a) In every year four weeks of athletic training, “poison-free”, (i.e. without alcohol or tobacco), with the intention of fulfilling the conditions laid down for obtaining the German Sports Badge.
- (b) Attendance at one strictly organised course, such as in addition to improving their physique shall inculcate disciplined subordination within a community.
- (c) Practical social work over a period of at least three months, such as shall bring them into immediate contact with the working classes and facilitate an understanding of the social situation. (p. 23)

Examples of the ‘strictly organised course’ are given which include “courses for Popular Sport in Feldstetten, the Riding and Driving School in Eutin, and the Hansa High Sea Sport Association in Neustadt” (Hahn, 1928, p. 23). It is stated that “there is every prospect that these conditions will be adopted by the Confederation of ‘Old Landheimers’” (Hahn, 1928, p. 23).

This concept is in keeping with Hahn’s theme of expanding his ideas outside of Salem to a greater audience, although it cannot be said with certainty that this expansion was his idea. It has not been possible to gain further information on the Hansa Sea Sport Association so its connection to sailing remains as speculation. Although Mann (1990) makes reference to Salem Alumni taking part in a month of physical activity with no smoking or drinking, three months work in a factory and six weeks in a sailing, flying or riding school. Therefore it does seem probable that Mann (1990) is referring to the same thing and the Hansa Sea Sport Association does involve sailing.

This scheme could be viewed as the precursor to the ‘badge schemes’ which Hahn introduced nine years later at Gordonstoun. Connected with this is Hahn’s intention for the Confederation of Old Salemers to join forces with the Lietz Schools and open a house at one of the German Universities which would act as a sort of training centre for the scheme (Hahn, 1928) - possibly the first of his training centres.

CHANGES IN BRITAIN

This chapter provides some of the social and political context in Britain during the early part of the 20th century. This allows the reader to have a greater understanding of the development of Hahn's philosophy with reference to outdoor activities. As well as providing an overview, specific points are mentioned which relate to and are referred to, in the following chapters. The reader must understand from the outset that many of these points are interrelated in a complex tapestry.

Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby School (1828–42), symbolised the development of organised games as a means of developing character, in the UK, in independent (fee paying) schools (Barrett & Greenaway, 1995; Cook, 2000; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; McIntosh, 1972). This concept spread and the Clarendon Commission, set up to investigate the management of nine public schools (including Rugby School) in 1861, “recognised the value of organised games in training character” (McIntosh, 1972, p. 50). Hopkins and Putnam (1993, p. 23) state that ‘character training’, at that time, “came to stand for an emphasis on all-round personal development and the belief in the value of service and leadership in the context of a school or community”.

There was a massive growth in the importance of games (for the development of character) during this period with games achieving cult status (McIntosh, 1972; Rosenthal, 1986). This cult status led to “the glorification of physical prowess and the worship of boy heroes [which] gradually obscured the moral purposes for which... the Arnoldians [followers of Arnold] had originally supported organised games” (McIntosh, 1972, p. 52). It appears that this change could also be seen in Germany which Hahn reacted to by not allowing games to dominate at Salem (Ewald, 1970; Flavin, 1996; Mann, 1990).

In 1883 The Fellowship of the New Life was founded (Darling, 1981). It was a “socialist-utopian” association (Stewart, 1972, p. 384) concerned with the need to improve society and one of its aims was “setting up a community where everyone could cultivate a ‘perfect character’” (Stewart, 1972, p. 389). Patrick Geddes, a Professor at Dundee University, who believed in holistic education, and in particular the synthesis of thought and action (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Mellor, 2004) was associated with the Fellowship. The Fellowship wanted to open a new school, and Cecil Reddie, who had met Geddes at Edinburgh University, founded Abbotsholme School in 1889 (Stewart, 1972).

Abbotsholme School, according to Parker and Meldrum (1973), was the first British attempt to formalise the outdoors as an educative medium. The school syllabus shows a strong emphasis on activities including farm work, forestry, games, printing, and architecture (Geddes, 1905). It should also be noted that some students in 1904 were also working on mending and painting canoes, implying that canoeing also took place at the school (Geddes, 1905).

Reddie had studied at Gottingen University (Germany) in 1883 and had visited Lietz who introduced him to the Country Boarding Schools (Cook, 2000). In 1896–97 Lietz taught at Abbotsholme and wrote the book *Emlohstobba* (Abbotsholme spelt backwards) about his experiences, which Hahn later read (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Cook, 2000). This illustrates that there were connections between Britain and Germany and what appears to be a cross fertilisation of ideas.

The foundation of Abbotsholme has been described as the start of the New School Movement in Britain (Hunt, 1989; McCulloch, 1991; McIntosh, 1972). This Movement was made up of progressive schools which to a certain extent “represented a reaction to the prevailing forms of public school education, with their emphasis on chapel, classical studies and team games” (Hunt, 1989, p. 22). It grew in Britain (and abroad – see Chapter 2), and in 1921 the New Education Fellowship was formed which was made up of progressive schools (Cook, 2000; Darling, 1981).

Various authors (Cook, 2000; Hunt, 1989) state that Education Acts prior to 1921 had enabled school camps to take place. In 1891, a demonstration camp was organised by the Board of Education (Wood, 1919, as cited in Cook, 2000) and by 1928, fifteen education authorities were organising school camps (Hunt, 1989). It is unclear whether these were summer camps or permanent camps. However, it is clear that during the interwar years, camp schools were established and by 1939 twenty camp schools existed which were permanent boarding school type establishments (Cook, 1999, 2000). The Camps Act in 1939 legislated for 50 permanent camps to be constructed (Cook, 1999). It appears that the main purpose of the camps before the war was one of health and fitness changing to evacuation use, for schoolchildren from cities, during the war. A headmaster of a camp school in 1944 (Headmaster, 1944) stated that, in addition to academic work, students worked in the school gardens, on local farms and took part in walking excursions. Skerrett (1944, p. 161) stated that “if character training and the formation of wholesome sentiments were more important than the accumulation of knowledge, then the camp school experiment had been worthwhile, for it undoubtedly provided unusual scope for the development of character”. Therefore, character training, at least with some, was an aim of the camp schools.

A number of youth organisations were formed which used the outdoors during this period: Boys Brigade formed in 1883 (Cooke, 2000); Boys Life Brigade formed in 1899; Boy Scouts formed in 1908; Kibbo Kift Kindred formed in 1920. All of these organisations advocated national training camps (Rosenthal, 1986). In addition the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry were formed in 1916, who also founded the progressive Forest School (Cook, 2000). Finally, the Woodcraft Folk were formed in 1924 (Rosenthal, 1986).

The Boy Scouts were the largest organisation. They were formed after an experimental camp on Brownsea Island (Poole harbour) in 1907 by Baden Powell (Rosenthal, 1986). The movement grew rapidly with 100,000 members in 1910 (Hunt, 1989) to over 1 million in 1922 (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993). It encouraged “young people to camp, hillwalk and generally use the countryside for exploration” (Parker & Meldrum, 1973, p. 34). Baden Powell was influenced, in part, by the training given to young people in Germany (Rosenthal, 1986). An article in the *Times Educational*

Supplement (Training boy scout leaders, 1940) details the outdoor training given to scout leaders: camping, hiking, physical fitness, forestry, cooking, nature law, mapping, and pioneering. Gilwell Park in Essex opened in 1919 as a Scout leader training centre (Training boy scout leaders, 1940). It was described as the “power-house” of the training scheme (Training boy scout leaders, 1940, p. 54) and between 1919 and 1940 ten thousand leaders had been trained there. As will be seen in chapter 4 this centre influenced the first warden of Outward Bound Aberdovey, James Hogan.

Government literature during this time included the Hadow Report (1926). One of its recommendations, for primary and secondary state education, was that teaching should be concerned with activity and experience rather than simply knowledge (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Hunt, 1989; Parker & Meldrum, 1973). In 1933 the Board of Education’s ‘Syllabus for Physical Training in Schools’ supported “‘walking tours, school journeys, and camps’ especially ‘during the period of growth, when body, mind and character are immature and plastic’” (Cook, 2000, p. 139) – perhaps indicating the feeling, in state education, at that time, that character could be influenced by these activities.

As can be seen, in Britain, there is a lengthy history as regards the notion of sport and activities influencing character (Barret & Greenaway, 1995; Cook, 2000; McIntosh, 1972). The concepts of character training, camps, expeditions, and outdoor activities, can be seen. For a detailed examination of this period the reader should refer to Cook (2000). It was into this context that Hahn came in 1933 from Germany to Britain.

CHAPTER 4

GORDONSTOUN

This chapter will examine the syllabus at Gordonstoun, with particular emphasis on outdoor activities, alongside related developments. Development of the badge schemes (Gordonstoun, Moray and County) occurred at Gordonstoun. Although it will be shown that these are closely linked with the activities and aims of Gordonstoun, for clarity, they will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

KEY EVENTS

From September 1933 to May 1934, Hahn taught a small number of pupils at Rothiemurchus (near Aviemore) and then Duffus House (near Duffus Village, Elgin) (J. Winthrop-Young, 1997). The School entered Gordonstoun House (near Duffus Village), with Hahn as Headmaster, in May, 1934, (Gordonstoun Record, 1938) and presumably, from this point was known as Gordonstoun School.

Towards the end of 1933 and into 1934, meetings had been held concerning the starting of a school. These meetings included Hahn, G. Winthrop-Young, Admiral Herbert Richmond and Mrs. Arnold-Forster. In addition, Charles Trevelyan, a former Labour Minister of Education, was also interested (Gordonstoun School, 1934a). G. Winthrop-Young, Mrs. Arnold-Forster, and Lady Cumming (who is also described as helping to start the school (Gordonstoun Record, 1938, Gordonstoun School, 1942b)), knew Hahn from Salem.

The sons and other relatives of those who helped to found Gordonstoun were amongst the first pupils taught by Hahn and included J. Winthrop-Young, Mark Arnold-Forster, Alistair Hill (nephew of Lady Cumming), and Bill Richmond (Gordonstoun School, n.d.(a); J. Winthrop-Young, 1997). Many of those who later became governors at the school (see Appendix E) were involved at its inception: G. Winthrop-Young, Mrs. Arnold-Forster and Admiral Richmond (Hahn, 1948a).

It was during one of the early meetings that the 'British Salem Schools Limited' was set up as the company which would control the school (Gordonstoun School, n.d. (a)). As the name suggests, the system at Gordonstoun was designed to mirror and demonstrate the system at Salem (Gordonstoun School, n.d.(b); Flavin, 1996; Gordonstoun School, 1936a; Hahn, 1944). Brereton, later to become Headmaster (see Appendix A), joined Gordonstoun in 1935 as Director of Studies, and on arrival was told that it was a 'demonstration of the Salem system' (Brereton, 1970, p. 46).

It was stated by Hahn (1937, 1948a, 1957a) that the site was chosen because of its proximity to the sea and the mountains, thereby providing opportunities for outdoor activities. Hahn already knew the area because of his visits there prior to the First World War (Brereton, 1968, 1970).



Figure 3. Gordonstoun school.

The school stayed at this site until June 1940 when it moved to Wales. This move was caused by the onset of the Second World War - a distrust of Germans at the school in combination with the school being in a military sensitive area (Flavin, 1996). The majority of the school moved to houses which had been offered by Lord Davis (who Flavin (1996) states was a parent) on his estate, Plas Dinam in Montgomeryshire (Gordonstoun Record, 1941; Gordonstoun School, 1942a). Around 30 boys moved to accommodation in Aberdovey, because of a lack of space at Plas Dinam (Brereton, 1968), where they stayed for two terms until moving to accommodation near the main school (Gordonstoun School, 1942b) – Aberdovey is over 30 miles from Plas Dinam. It is important to note that the school, while in Wales, was still called Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1942a; 1944).

ACTIVITIES

The activities at Gordonstoun are normally described and listed as: seamanship, games and athletics, riding, building, expeditions, farm, chapel, facilities for guilds or other activities, scouts, and building (Gordonstoun School, 1937a, 1937b, 1937c, 1937d, 1937e, 1938a). Seamanship always appears to be prominent amongst this group and this prominence will be discussed in the following section on sailing.

Reading the school magazines (The Gordonstoun News and The Gordonstoun Record), between the start of the school and 1944, the reader is left with a strong impression as to the range of activities and the importance given to them by the school. Student Societies, Guilds or Groups were formed with activities including: debating, literature, drawing, natural history (Gordonstoun Record, 1936); riding, handcrafts, art and history (Gordonstoun Record, 1937). Notable, was the importance the school attached (Brereton, 1968; Hahn, 1954) to the student staffed rescue services - coastguard service established in 1935 (known as the Watchers – Appendix D) and Fire Brigade in 1941 (Gordonstoun Record, 1945). A student during the early days of the school, Arnold-Brown (1962), states that activities took place at least six times a week.

Riding seems to have played an important role in activities, and was described as one of Gordonstoun's most important activities (Gordonstoun School, 1942a). It started in November, 1935 and in the summer term of 1936 was made compulsory for all boys – the act of riding and looking after the horse was deemed to have “character building properties” (Gordonstoun Record, 1936, p. 15). A number of riding expeditions are known to have taken place in 1938 (Gordonstoun Record, 1938) and 1940 (Gordonstoun Record, 1941).

In a document titled *Preliminary Particulars of a School to be Established by Mr. Kurt Hahn in Scotland* (Gordonstoun School, n.d.(b), p. 1) it is stated that the Salem method places “great stress” on activities with games and sports not being allowed to dominate. The activities are further described by the school Bursar in



Figure 4. The school coastguard hut in 1935.



Figure 5. The student Fire Brigade with fire engine.

January, 1937 (Gordonstoun School, 1937e, p. 1) “as an essential part of the Headmaster’s projects”. The importance of activities to Hahn (1941b, p. 21) is emphasised when he created the position of Director of Activities in 1941 “to safe-guard the all round development of the individual boy”. Hahn had created a Director of Studies in 1935 to oversee academic achievements and now, on an equal footing was a Director of Activities (Hahn, 1944). It therefore appears that the system developed at Salem was put into place at Gordonstoun, with the aim of all round development and character building as defined by the similar report cards at Salem and Gordonstoun (Table 3).

Within this context the extra-mural activities can be placed. Various editions of the Gordonstoun Record up to 1944 emphasise the large number of pupils taking part in activities away from the school. These included cycling, walking, climbing, skiing, and camping trips (Gordonstoun Record, 1937, 1939, 1945; Gordonstoun School, 1939a), some of which involved the whole school (Gordonstoun record, 1939). The school also ‘acquired’ a hut called Lyngarrie, near Nethy Bridge in the Cairngorms, to be used for school expeditions (Gordonstoun Record, 1939, 1945, 1946a, 1946b), very similar, it appears, to a Schullandheim (see Chapter 1).

Orienteering was introduced to Gordonstoun by Dr. Zimmermann, a German émigré at the school who arrived in 1938 (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). The purpose was to “teach the boys how to handle a compass, how to read a map, and how to make simple sketches in connection with estimating distances, training in description and exploitation of the open country” and involved simple competitive games (Gordonstoun Record, 1941, p. 22). Peter Carpenter, Zimmermann’s son, and a pupil

Table 3. Comparison of Salem and Gordonstoun report cards headings

<i>Salem report card</i>	<i>Gordonstoun report card</i>
Esprit de Corps.	Esprit de Corps.
Sense of Justice.	Sense of Justice.
Ability to state facts precisely.	Ability to share facts precisely.
Ability to follow out what he believes to be the right course in the face of discomforts, hardships, dangers, mockery, boredom, scepticism, impulses of the moment.	Ability to follow out what he believes to be the right course in the face of Discomforts, Hardships, Dangers, Mockery, Boredom, Scepticism, impulses of the moment.
Ability to plan.	Ability to plan.
Ability to organise shown in the disposition of work [and] in the direction of younger boys.	Imagination. Ability to organise, shown in the disposition of work and in the direction of young boys.
Ability to deal with the unexpected.	Ability to deal with the unexpected.
Degree of mental concentration – where the task in question interests him – where it does not.	Degree of Mental Concentration, where the task in question interests him, where it does not.
Conscientiousness - in everyday affairs – in tasks with which he is especially entrusted.	Conscientiousness, in every day affairs, in tasks with which he is specially entrusted.
Manual dexterity.	Manners.
Manners.	Manual Dexterity.
Standard reached in school subjects: German, Ancient languages, Natural Sciences, Modern languages, mathematics, history.	Standard reached in School Subjects.
Practical work (Handicraft etc.)	Practical Work.
Art Work:	Art Work.
Physical exercises:	Physical Exercises, fighting spirit, endurance, reaction time.
Pugnacity.	
Endurance.	
Reaction time.	
(Hahn, 1928, p. 3–4)	(Hahn, 1947b, p. 8)

at Gordonstoun at the time, doubts whether they were continued after his father left in 1940, but were extensively taught at Aberdovey when Zimmerman was there in 1941 (Carpenter, personal communication, March 2, 2006).

An early Gordonstoun prospectus (Gordonstoun School, 1939b) states that students would be expected to take part in at least one annual school expedition (sailing, skiing, canoeing, walking or exploring) in the school holidays. In 1939, Spencer Chapman, a teacher at the school, took ten pupils aged between 15 and 19 on an expedition to Lapland (Gordonstoun Record, 1939). The group cross country skied between Norwegian state huts, which they used for accommodation, and used sleds (which they hauled) and reindeer to transport their equipment (Gordonstoun Record, 1939). In 1944 (Hahn) the careful planning and preparation required, of students going on expeditions, was emphasised.



Figure 6. A 1930s expedition to the Lake District.

SAILING

In a document with the title *Preliminary Particulars of a School to be Established by Mr. Kurt Hahn in Scotland* (Gordonstoun School n.d.(b)) it is stated that Hahn intended to incorporate sailing into the curriculum. This view is supported by J. Winthrop-Young who possesses the first Seamanship logbook ever written at Gordonstoun. This logbook covers the period from the start of the school until October 1934 and it states “it was the intention before the founding of Gordonstoun to have Naval Training for the boys” (J. Winthrop-Young, 1957, p. 48). Indeed at a meeting in October 1934 it was discussed that a “whaler or similar boat should be obtained from Germany” (Gordonstoun School, 1934b). Other evidence comes from a former student at Gordonstoun who wrote about the first term in 1934:

One day Kurt Hahn took me to the rocky coast of the Moray Firth nearby and looking across the sea, he said: ‘My boy, we shall have a school boat and it will sail across the North Sea, manned by boys.’ I was incredulous. Three years later that vision materialised. (Nohl-Oser, 1976, p. 20)

Breteron (1968) also quotes Hahn, who wrote at the end of the first term:

The sea has not played the part in the life of our boys which was intended. Sole reason: there was no money for the kind of boat we want. I regard the building-in of seamanship into its proper place as vital for the purpose of the school. (p. 194)



Figure 7. Students hauling a sled on the 1937 Lapland expedition.



Figure 8. Students travelling by reindeer sled on the 1937 Lapland expedition.

Therefore, there is evidence that from the start of Gordonstoun, sailing was intended to play a large part in the development of the students. Hahn's first students, J. Winthrop-Young and M. Arnold-Forster, were both sent, in the spring of 1934, to work in a local boatyard to build boats which the school would later use (J. Winthrop-Young, 1997), thus mirroring the sailing activity at Salem and combining Hahn's



Figure 9. *The Mansfield Cumming being built.*

emphasis on projects and carpentry. The first boats built were the Mansfield Cumming followed by the May Cumming, both boats were described as ‘cutters’ and could be sailed or rowed (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Gordonstoun Record, 1936) – very similar to the boats found at Salem. The small dinghy Salem followed soon after (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Gordonstoun Record, 1936).

An ex-Royal Navy officer, Commander Lewty, joined the school in 1934 as the first Head of Seamanship (J. Winthrop-Young, 1957; Lewty, 1976). Lewty had been in charge of 120 boys at Devonport Navy Base (Lewty, 1976) (See Appendix A). This mirrored Salem which also employed a German ex-naval officer as the person in charge of sailing.

It appears that while the cutters and dinghy were being built boating took place in a small boat called the *Gairloch* on a lake in the school grounds (J. Winthrop-Young, 1997; Gordonstoun Record, 1936). Also, in June 1934, a sailing boat was hired from local fishermen and boys taken sailing on it (J. Winthrop-Young, 1997; Gordonstoun Record, 1936; Gordonstoun School, 1935). In what was described as the ‘early days’ a small yacht was bought by a syndicate of teachers and loaned to the school for students to use (J. Winthrop-Young, 1957; Gordonstoun Record, 1936).

During this time the seamanship activity grew with all students sailing (Gordonstoun Record, 1936, 1937; Gordonstoun School, 1935, 1939b) and this continued until the start of the Second World War. The first sailing expedition (two days) was made using the cutters and the teachers’ yacht, which crossed the Moray Firth



Figure 10. The Mansfield Cumming being launched by the students.

in June 1935 (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Gordonstoun Record, 1936; Gordonstoun School, 1935). The next year a four day cruise was undertaken (Gordonstoun Record, 1936). This appears to be the start of a trend with more sea expeditions following.

In July 1936, the school obtained a ketch called the Diligent (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Gordonstoun Record, 1936). This boat was used for a ten day cruise to the Shetland Islands in August 1936 and afterwards travelled through the Caledonian and Crinan Canals to the Clyde to take part in the Public Schools Sailing Race (Gordonstoun Record, 1936). Other cruises followed in the Diligent in 1936 and 1937 (Brereton, 1968; Gordonstoun Record, 1936, 1937).

The following year a large twenty-eight berth yacht, called the Henrietta, was lent to the school and made a 20 day voyage to Norway in August, 1937. The boat sailed into Hardanger Fjord and the party then climbed the nearby glacier which involved camping and staying in huts (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Brereton, 1968; Gordonstoun Record, 1937).

In 1938, the school was given a 23 berth, 100 ton Schooner, the Masie Graham (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). The boat was formerly a training ship used by the Graham Sea Training School, run by Scarborough Education Committee (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). The boat was renamed the Prince Louis (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). A private company, 'The Gordonstoun Training Society Limited' was formed in 1938, as a separate undertaking from the school, so that no financial liabilities could fall on the school in the event of difficulties with the boat (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). It was hoped that the boat would undertake overseas cruises and be crewed by Gordonstoun students, boys who were not students at the school but members of



Figure 11. The Diligent.

the ‘Watchers’, and members of other sea training organisations (Gordonstoun School, 1938b) - in effect an organisation very similar to many sail training organisations today.

In the summer of 1938, the Prince Louis cruised for three weeks around the west coast of Scotland (Brereton, 1968; Gordonstoun Record, 1938) and in 1939 spent two weeks in the same area (Brereton, 1968; Gordonstoun Record, 1941; Hahn, 1944). In September, war was declared and seamanship had to be curtailed (Gordonstoun Record, 1941) with the school moving to Wales in June 1940.

As the schools’ location in Wales, Plas Dinam, was over thirty miles from the sea the chances of sailing were considered to be limited (Brereton, 1968; Gordonstoun Record 1941) but “it was by good fortune and not by design that we had placed ourselves in almost the only area of the British Isles where school seamanship could be continued” as there were few wartime sailing restrictions near Aberdovey (Brereton, 1968, p. 163).



Figure 12. The Henrietta and crew during the 1937 Norway expedition.

The two cutters, the Mansfield Cumming and May Cumming, were transported by rail from Scotland to Wales (Brereton, 1968; Flavin, 1996; Gordonstoun Record, 1941). An attempt was made to use a small lake called Llyn-y-Tarw near Plas Dinam and the May Cumming was dragged up the side of the hill to reach it (Brereton, 1968; Flavin, 1996; Gordonstoun Record, 1941). This was for a short summer course taking place at the time (Gordonstoun Record, 1941). Unfortunately the lake proved to be too shallow for sailing and the boat had to be taken off (Brereton, 1968; Flavin, 1996; Gordonstoun Record, 1941). After this it was decided to send the cutters to Aberdovey “as there was an excellent estuary about eight times the size of Findhorn Bay” (Gordonstoun Record, 1941, p. 23).

Assisted by the Ferryman at Aberdovey the cutters were put on the water and sailing commenced (Gordonstoun Record, 1941). The students staying at Aberdovey sailed the cutters during the week (Gordonstoun Record, 1941). The students staying at Plas Dinam travelled the thirty miles by train to Aberdovey and sailed there at the weekends (Gordonstoun Record, 1941; Brereton, 1968).

Brereton (1968, p. 164) reports that at this time, the Prince Louis, the “queen of the school fleet...was lying idle”. As the students knew of the earlier cruises they persuaded Hahn to let them sail her down from Scotland to Aberdovey (Brereton, 1968). Agreement was reached with the Admiralty, and the Blue Funnel Shipping Line provided a skipper, but the vessel was crewed by students (Brereton, 1968; Flavin, 1996; Gordonstoun School, 1944). In 1941, at the end of the summer the



Figure 13. The Prince Louis.

vessel started a three week journey which involved getting lost in the middle of a convoy at night and narrowly escaping being rammed (Brereton, 1968). In August, the boat arrived in Bangor, North Wales and was met by Hahn and Lawrence Holt:

After a three weeks voyage she arrived safely at Bangor to visit the Training Ship H.M.S. Conway. The Headmaster met the crew there with his friend, Lawrence Holt, of the Blue Funnel Line, Chairman of the Conway Committee. He writes: "I shall never forget my own release from anxiety and the glow of achievement on the faces of our boys – they had rendered a good account of themselves. Lawrence Holt turned to the Captain of the Conway and me: 'You must pool what you have in experience and good sense and, with your joint support, we can start a sea school at Aberdovey'." That was in August 1941 and the Outward Bound Sea School was started in October. (Brereton, 1968, p. 164).

This event, and outcome, is also stated in the document 'Gordonstoun School' (1944). The start of 'Outward Bound' is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Holt, through the company Alfred Holt and Co., which owned and operated the Blue Funnel Line, had been involved with Gordonstoun and Hahn since 1937. He sponsored two local fishermen's boys to go to Gordonstoun with the intention of later entering the Line as midshipmen (Gordonstoun School, 1938c, 1938d; Hogan 1968, 1970) and is specifically mentioned as the instigator of the event (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). Holt's son Julian was also a pupil at Gordonstoun between 1940 and 1942 (Hogan, 1968, 1970b) and in a private letter to the school Julian states that in the 1930s Holt and Co. had given considerable financial help to Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1982).

Holt was also the Chairman of the Board of Governors of H.M.S. Conway (Hogan, 1970) which was one of the few schools that had introduced the County Badge (Gordonstoun Record, 1939). H.M.S. Conway and Gordonstoun also started a joint enterprise called the Conway Gordonstoun Scheme (Brereton, 1968) in May, 1942, (Gordonstoun Record, 1945; Hahn, 1946) to train merchant navy officers at Gordonstoun (Brereton, 1968). Holt's suggestion to start a sea school must, we believe, be seen in the context of the relationship between them.

It appears that, after those students living at Aberdovey found accommodation near Plas Dinam in April, 1941, the school maintained Aberdovey as a 'seamanship centre' (Gordonstoun School, 1942a) until Outward Bound started in October, 1941. On November 27th, 1941 at a Governors Meeting, Hahn (1941b, p. 6) said "the foundation of the 'Outward Bound Sea School' at Aberdovey had more than restored our seamanship" under the guidance of the Blue Funnel Line. Therefore the starting of Outward Bound assisted Hahn with the continuation of sailing at Gordonstoun. In 1942 it was stated, that whole classes went to Aberdovey for seamanship training (Gordonstoun School, 1942b) and in 1944 that all students got the opportunity of attending one or more seamanship courses at Aberdovey during their school career (Gordonstoun School, 1944). Therefore, seamanship was continued (and probably improved upon) at Aberdovey, for Gordonstoun students, by the intervention and help of the Blue Funnel Line and Holt. This, we believe, is likely to have been a contributory reason for its foundation.

Hahn (1948a, p. 22) stated that at Gordonstoun "training under sail becomes the main character training activity". This view is supported by Brereton (1968, 1970) and by comments in the Gordonstoun Record (1947, p. 3) "[Gordonstoun] always had seamanship for its senior activity". Therefore, if sailing was one of the activities at Salem while at Gordonstoun it was the main activity, then what are the reasons for this?

INFLUENCES

It is known that after Hahn's departure from Salem he was still in touch with Ewald (Flavin, 1996; Mann, 1990), who appears to have played a significant part in the development of sailing at Salem. Chew (who took students sailing at Salem) after leaving Salem in 1933 joined Hahn at Gordonstoun (Flavin, 1996) and he may also have been an influence.

J. Winthrop-Young (2005) believes that there are influences stretching even further back. Mansfield Cumming who showed Hahn Morayshire before the First World War and whose wife, after his death, lived at both Salem and Gordonstoun,

was a senior officer in the Royal Navy (J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, June 6, 2005). J. Winthrop-Young (personal communication, June 6, 2005) believes he was an influence through his naval background. Certainly the first boat built at Gordonstoun was named after him and the second after his wife (Arnold-Brown, 1962, Gordonstoun Record, 1936).

Admiral Richmond, one of the founding governors of Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1934c), who was involved with Hahn after his arrival in Britain, was involved in sail training, and education in the Royal Navy (Trevelyan, 1948) - see Figure 14. Richmond believed educational benefits could be gained from small boat sailing (G. Winthrop-Young, 1950; J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, June 6, 2005) and he is quoted as saying that "Education has for its object the formation of character" (Arnold-Brown, 1962, p. i; J. Winthrop-Young, 2001, p. 3) - thus mirroring Hahn. It appears there is little information available concerning Richmond.

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JOHN MURRAY, ESQ., M.A., LL.D., Principal of the University of the
South West.
PROFESSOR SIR PERCY NUNN, M.A., D.Sc., Hon. Litt.D., Hon. LL.D.
F. W. OGILVIE, ESQ., M.A., LL.D., Director General of the B.B.C.
J. H. OLDHAM, ESQ., M.A., D.D., Secretary of the International Missionary
Council.
H. PERCIVAL POTT, ESQ.
*MRS. JOHN PATON, of Grandhome, Aberdeenshire.
*JOHN PATON, ESQ., of Grandhome, Aberdeenshire.
W. T. R. RAWSON, ESQ.
*MISS L. M. RENDEL, Hon. Director of the Caldecott Community.
MISS BELLE RENNIE.
ADMIRAL SIR H. W. RICHMOND, K.C.B., Master of Downing College,
Cambridge.
SIR CAMPBELL STUART, G.C.M.G., K.B.E.
G. M. TREVELYAN, ESQ., O.M., C.B.E., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
G. C. TURNER, ESQ., M.C., The late Master of Marlborough College.
JOHN W. WHEELER-BENNETT, ESQ.
COMMANDER WINSER, R.N.
*G. WINTHROP YOUNG, ESQ., M.A., Reader in Comparative Education,
London University.

Figure 14. Governors of Gordonstoun school 1942
(Gordonstoun school, 1942, p. 13).

G. Winthrop-Young, who knew Hahn at Salem, and was one of the founding governors of Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1934c), is perhaps most well known as a distinguished mountaineer, President of the Alpine Club, mountain writer, and instigator of the British Mountaineering Council (Hankinson, 1995). However, his biographer, Hankinson, states that he came from a family of sailors and his “first great passion was for watersports” (1995, p. 3). G. Winthrop-Young was interested in educational matters and during his life was a teacher, school inspector, and lecturer at London University on educational matters (Hankinson, 1995). As a school inspector he visited naval training establishments, which contained a strong element of small boat training, and met Richmond there (Hankinson, 1995). J. Winthrop-Young (personal communication, January 16, 2006) dates this as 1910. From this meeting he is quoted as saying “The adventure of the sea in a small boat, the skill and responsibility of sailing...had their share in the only education in the round which then existed in our country” (Hankinson, 1995, p. 131). We interpret ‘education in the round’ as meaning all round education, not only academic, involving what could be described as character. G. Winthrop-Young (1950) believed that sailing played its part in this all round development.

This fitted in with his educational philosophy, as before the First World War he had discussed with his brother, Georis, that there were flaws in the English public school system (Hankinson, 1995; Pye, 1927). Along with George Mallory (of Everest fame) and David Pye, they discussed a school which would spend half the school year in the classroom and half on “practical open-air activities and crafts” involving camps with less emphasis on games and “adoration” of sporting stars (Hankinson, 1995, p. 226) – J. Winthrop-Young (personal communication, June 6, 2005) states that these ‘open-air activities’ involved sailing, mountaineering, and expeditions.

Therefore, it can be seen that Richmond and G. Winthrop-Young believed in the educational benefits of small boat sailing, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that they had an influence on the development of sailing at Gordonstoun. As G. Winthrop-Young met Hahn in 1926 (Hankinson, 1995) and they became friends it raises the possibility that he (and through him Richmond) could have influenced the development of sailing and/or expeditions at Salem as well as Gordonstoun.

G. Winthrop-Young also had other influences: “simply by his birth, he was enlisted into a complex network of families and friends, acquaintances and contacts – the Trevelyans, Arnolds, Arnold-Forsters, Huxleys...” (Hankinson, 1995, p. 6). Hankinson states that G. Winthrop-Young used this circle of friends and relatives to help Hahn set up Gordonstoun. These connections, we believe, were reinforced by those he made at Trinity College, Cambridge, and during his service in the First World War (Hankinson, 1995). We believe it would certainly have been harder for Hahn to start a school without G. Winthrop-Young’s help, perhaps even impossible.

OTHER VENTURES

Hahn at Gordonstoun, as at Salem, was involved in educational activities outside of the remit of teaching his fee-paying students. Many of these were connected, and the more well known of these, The Badge Schemes and Outward Bound, are discussed in subsequent chapters but others existed and are worthy of note.

CHAPTER 4

Documents which examined the possibility of starting a new school (later to become Gordonstoun) show that the concept of grading the fees according to the ability of the parents to pay was an aim from an early stage (Gordonstoun School, n.d.(b)). A scholarship fund was discussed in 1936, which would follow the system in place at Salem (Gordonstoun School, 1936a).

The majority of the Gordonstoun boarders should be picked and chosen without regard to the financial position of their parents. At present we are again and again forced to reject boys who, on the strength of their heredity and experience, are well equipped to serve the purposes of this school. (Hahn, 1936c, p. 8).

This is reinforced in 1942 when it is stated that the fees at Gordonstoun are graded (Gordonstoun School, 1942a). In 1942 it is also stated that it was “never intended and it never will be” the intention to build Gordonstoun into a “plutocratic community” (Hahn, 1944, p. 24). Indeed there is a need for a greater number of boys from poorer backgrounds (Hahn, 1944). In 1945, Hahn discussed the Gordonstoun Society, whose purpose appears to be to raise money for a scholarship fund, contained within this is his wish that he did not want parents who were snobs (Hahn, 1945). In 1957 Hahn reiterates the need to grade the fees according to the ability of the parents to pay. In 1936, there were plans for a day school to be attached to Gordonstoun, presumably for local boys, where the fees would be graded and for many this would be a nominal sum (Hahn, 1936c).

In 1936, Hahn stated that he would like to develop:

...a Seamanship School, with a sailing centre at Findhorn, open to day boys from the district, and boarders from further away. They would come to us for courses of six weeks. The Hopeman and Findhorn centres would be open from May to October. Like the German sailing schools, we should like to own schooners or barques, big enough to take 30 to 40 boys, and use them as training ships. In the second year boys trained in the first year would go for an expedition, on which picked Gordonstoun Sea Scouts would serve as bosun’s mates. These expeditions would generally go to some foreign country, and lovers and knowers of such countries would accompany them as guides. (1936c, p. 8–9; also contained in 1936d, Chapter II, point 4)

The reference to German sailing schools is perhaps the same one Hahn was referring to in Chapter 2. The important points to note from this are the date, 1936, and that boarders from ‘further away’ would use the centre. Hahn was thinking along these lines five years before *Outward Bound* started in October 1941. In 1936 he also envisaged a School Farm and Horsemanship School which would be available for all boys, involve boarding in a dormitory house of their own and the courses would last ten and six weeks respectively (Hahn, 1936c).

In January 1938, Hahn reports that there were 25 local boys in an organisation called the watchers (Hahn, 1938a). This organisation was made up of boys from the surrounding locality, as well as Gordonstoun boys, and they were trained each week in seamanship, including how to act as coastguards, by Commander Lewty (Hahn, 1938c). Appendix D contains a description.

Hahn, in 1936, examined the possibility of opening a house near Gordonstoun and using it for 'short courses for girls' between the ages of sixteen and nineteen (Gordonstoun School, 1936b, Short Courses for Girls Section). In December 1938, it was reported that the Governors had postponed a decision as whether to open a hostel for girls (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). After this decision it is reported that Hahn investigated the possibility of opening the hostel himself (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). This proposed venture appears to have been Hahn's alone, as he would have been financially responsible for it, with no financial liability falling on Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). These courses would have lasted for 10 weeks, no smoking or drinking would be permitted, and the timetable would be:

8.00	Breakfast.
8.45–9.45.	Housework.
10.15–lunch	Horsemanship and riding.
2.30–4.00	First aid and Home Nursing, Handwork, Games.
5.15–7.00	Modern Languages (German, French).
After Supper	Orchestra, Choir, Highland Dancing, Debating Society, Lectures.

(Gordonstoun School, 1936b, Short Courses for Girls Section)

This appears to be the first time in Britain that Hahn discussed the concept of a short course for girls. The educational aim of the course was not stated and the centre appears not to have opened.

CHAPTER 5

THE BADGE SCHEMES

This chapter explains the development of the badge schemes – a collection of connected schemes which all culminated in the successful participant being awarded a badge – a symbol of recognition of the participant’s achievements. The development of the badge schemes is explained chronologically, from their use at Salem, to Gordonstoun, and then to the wider population through County Badges and centres.

This chapter is especially interwoven with the Gordonstoun chapter as it occurred during the same time period, and it will be demonstrated that it should be seen as an extension of what Hahn was doing at Gordonstoun during that time.

GERMAN SPORTS BADGE

The German Sports Badge (*Sportabzeichen*) was introduced in Germany, after the First World War, by Carl Diem, and was based on a Swedish Proficiency test (Carpenter, 1958). It consisted of five sections, with each section containing a number of sporting events. Each participant had to choose one event from each of the five sections, and was then required to reach a set standard in each of these, within a year, to qualify for the award. Originally the award was for boys only and became available for girls in 1925 (Carpenter, personal communication, March 2, 2006). Appendix E contains the German Sports Badge syllabus from that time.

In a number of articles, connected to the badge schemes, the German Sports Badge is attributed with helping to revitalise the health of the German people after the First World War (Hahn, 1936e; 1938c). Hahn states that the German Sports Badge was used at Salem (Hahn, 1936e, 1940c) and that the badge schemes developed at Gordonstoun have their origins in the German Sports Badge (Hahn, 1936a, 1936d, 1938a).

GORDONSTOUN BADGE

It appears that the Gordonstoun Badge was first mentioned on February 20th, 1936 in a *Memorandum on Gordonstoun Development* (Hahn, 1936a, p. 9):

The Gordonstoun Sports Badge

I should like to see the young of Elgin and district train in our stadium and at the end of their training gain the Gordonstoun Sports Badge, the conditions for which will roughly correspond to those of the German Sports Badge, but will be modified according to the view of the English experts. During their training period I want to practise the boys in self-discipline, for instance make them forego drinking and smoking and ration their cinemas...

This passage indicates that the Gordonstoun Sports Badge, at this time, was very similar to the German Sports Badge and, as with Hahn's earlier extra-mural schemes, participants would not have been allowed to smoke or drink. An important point is that it is intended that the award be for youngsters from the town and district of Elgin, not exclusively from the school. It appears that the award was modified and a month later, on March 24th, 1936, the Gordonstoun Sports Badge became the Gordonstoun Badge (Hahn, 1936b).

MORAY BADGE

After March 1936 (a specific date cannot be identified) the Gordonstoun Badge became the Moray Badge:

During the year 1936 the public became increasingly alarmed about the lack of fitness in the young of this country. Gordonstoun and Elgin Academy joined forces to design the Moray Badge; the main purpose was to induce the young to go into training. F.R. Chew (Gordonstoun) and A. Henderson (Elgin) were responsible for working out the various athletic and swimming tests. They also introduced the "expedition tests" and the "training conditions". (Hahn, 1944, p. 8)

This is the earliest reference to expeditions, as a part of the badge schemes, which has been obtained during our research. Chew, because of his earlier teaching experience at Salem, may have had experience of the German Sports Badge. Henderson was a teacher at Elgin Academy which was a state school (Hahn, 1957a). It is stated that the modifications were carried out from the 'inspiration' of Hahn, (Gordonstoun School, 1939a). From the quote above, and other references (Gordonstoun Record, 1937; Hahn, 1938c), one of Hahn's stated reasons for beginning the Moray Badge was a desire to raise the health and fitness of the population.

The changes from the German Sports Badge to the Moray Badge included more than the name:

- (a) By presenting two standards under each of the above headings [jumping, running, throwing and swimming]. One within reach of the normal boy prepared to stretch his natural powers; the other only within the reach of boys capable of at least all-round distinction.
- (b) By insisting on expedition tests (walking, climbing, animal-watching, exploring, sailing and riding).
- (c) By insisting on certain training conditions which demand self-discipline (not smoking and drinking during the training period).

(Hahn, 1938c, A Badge for Fitness section)

Expeditions could also include exploring (Hahn, 1936d), climbing (Hahn, 1936e), bird-watching, and historical expeditions (Hahn, 1938a) – presumably expeditions with a historical theme.

In 1937 (Gordonstoun Record, 1937) the framework for the Moray Badge, designed by both Gordonstoun and Elgin Academy, is laid out:

- 1. The badge is split into three age groups – Senior over 16, Intermediate under 16, Junior under 14.
- 2. The Senior, Intermediate, Junior age groups are each divided into two sections called Silver and Standard – therefore there are six different levels, each varying according to the age and ability of the participant.
- 3. Expedition – a mountaineering, riding or seamanship expedition lasting at least two days. “The expedition must be approved by the judges” (Gordonstoun Record, 1937, p. 46).
- 4. Athletics (throwing, jumping, running) and swimming.

Further details of the conditions and standards required for the Moray Badge in 1937 are contained in [Figure 2](#). Carpenter (1958) states that the concept of dividing the badge schemes according to age groups was a new development from the German Sports Badge.



Figure 15. The various 'levels' of the Moray Badge.

Intermediate Silver: Philip.		Intermediate Standard: Ian Sinne.	
Junior Silver: Victor Montrezn.		Gordon Mann.	

At the beginning of the Christmas Term it was decided that the original swimming standards demanded were too high, and after a meeting held at Elgin Academy definite alterations were made.

It was also decided that the walking times were too easy, and both in the Senior and Intermediate the times have been reduced.

Full details of conditions and standards demanded for the Moray Badge are given on this page.

SENIOR.				
Group I.	Group II.	Group III.	Group IV.	Group V.
Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 6 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 6 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 6 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 6 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 6 in.
Jump Silver 4 ft. 30 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 30 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 30 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 30 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 30 in.
Life Saving Long 15 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 15 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 15 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 15 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 15 ft. 6 in.
Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.

INTERMEDIATE.				
Group I.	Group II.	Group III.	Group IV.	Group V.
Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 3 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 3 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 3 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 3 in.	Swimming High Standard 4 ft. 3 in.
Jump Silver 4 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 4 ft. 6 in.
Life Saving Long 14 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 14 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 14 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 14 ft. 6 in.	Life Saving Long 14 ft. 6 in.
Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.	Jump Silver 10 ft. 6 in.

JUNIOR.			
Group I.	Group II.	Group III.	Group IV.
(a) Swimming 120 yds. in 20 sec.	High Standard 3 ft. 6 in.	Throwing the Crocket Ball— Standard 90 ft.	60 yards— Standard 11 sec.
(b) Standard 25 yds. in 30 sec.	Jump Silver 4 ft.	Standard 90 ft. Silver 100 ft.	Silver 10 2-3 sec.
(c) 30 sec. 30 yds. in 30 sec.	Jump Standard 12 ft. 6 in. Silver 12 ft. 6 in.		
(d) Diving			

45

- EXPLANATION OF GROUPS.**
- Senior.*
- GROUP 1.** Swimming and Life-Saving Test.
a. 500 yards swimming.
b. Standard—25 yards in 23 sec.
 Silver —25 yards in 20 sec.
c. Two dives—side, spring-board, 3 ft.
d. 50 yards swimming with clothes (shirt, long trousers, socks and shoes).
e. 10 yards life-saving, both dressed. Knowledge of defence.
f. Demonstration of two different methods of resuscitation.
g. Within three minutes, diving from the surface of the water and fetching up an object from a depth of 6 ft.
 Holders of the Bronze Medallion of the Royal Life Saving Society are exempt from having to pass points *c, d, e, f* and *g*.
- GROUP 3.** Weight Put, 12 lb. shot.
 Javelin, 600 grams.
- GROUP 6.** Expedition. This must be a mountaineering, exploring, riding or seamanship expedition lasting for at least two days. It must be approved by the judges.
- Intermediate.*
- GROUP 1.** Swimming and Life-Saving Test.
a. 300 yards swimming.
b. Standard—25 yards in 27 sec.
 Silver —25 yards in 24 sec.
c. Two dives—side, spring-board.
d. 25 yards swimming in clothes (shirt, long trousers, socks and shoes).
e. Knowledge of defence.
f. Demonstration of two different methods of resuscitation.
g. Within three minutes, diving from the surface of the water and fetching up an object from a depth of 5 ft.
 Holders of the Bronze Medallion of the Royal Life Saving Society are exempt from having to pass points *c, d, e, f* and *g*.
- GROUP 3.** Weight Put, 12 lb. shot.
 Javelin, 600 grams.
- GROUP 6.** Expedition. This must be a mountaineering, exploring, riding or seamanship expedition lasting for at least two days. It must be approved by the judges.
- 46

Figure 16. Moray Badge standards (Gordonstoun record, 1937, p. 45).

Further details about the expedition are given in 1938 (Gordonstoun Record, 1938, p. 49): “This will involve at least a two-day expedition and a working knowledge of map-reading, compass work, the stars, and something of camp hygiene, cooking and equipment”. Carpenter, a student at Gordonstoun who obtained the Senior Silver Badge and who took part in an expedition in the late 1930s, reports that his expedition lasted three days and involved walking in the Cairngorms (Carpenter, personal communication, March 2, 2006).

Elgin Academy and Gordonstoun were (and still are) situated in the county of Morayshire and this appears to be the reason for the choice of the name of the badge. It should be noted that Elgin Academy was co-educational and girls were taking part in the scheme there (Education Experiment, 1938). However, a county name was chosen “because it should be equally open to all boys in the county” so the intention appears to be to include only boys from the wider area (Education Experiment, 1938, Education experiment section).

COUNTY BADGE

Hahn (1938b) advocated the introduction of a County Badge Scheme across the whole of Britain. This would be based on the Moray Badge and just as the Moray Badge was named after the county it was located in, Morayshire, other counties would also give their name to, and have, their own Badge Schemes (Hahn, 1938b). Collectively these would be known as The County Badge Scheme (Hahn, 1938b).

It was emphasised by Hahn that the award was not to be a national award but a nationwide award – the framework was to stay the same but each county could design their own requirements within this framework (Hahn, 1938b).

To further the expansion of the County Badge Scheme a ‘County Badge Experimental Committee’ was formed in 1940 (Lindsay, 1940). The committee, in 1941, was made up of a number of educational luminaries (see [Table 4](#)). This list is included to highlight the apparent extent of the support for the Scheme but also because many of these names appear to be instrumental in the development of outdoor activities at a later stage.

Hahn was not a member of this committee (Hahn, 1942, 1944) but supported it and chose its first Secretary, James Hogan. This happened after Hogan had visited Hahn at Gordonstoun (in Wales) during a summer course (Hogan, 1968, 1970a, 1970b).

Perhaps a German, during a war with Germany, appearing to be closely connected to a project would not have helped that project to develop because of the anti-Germanic feeling caused by the war. The County Badge Committee’s purpose was to help further investigation and help provide demonstrations (Hogan 1968; Hogan & Oldham, 1941; Lindsay, 1940). Around June, 1941, Hogan (1970a) was seconded from his teaching job for three months after an anonymous donor funded him during this period. Appeals were made, by the committee, for funds for two separate enterprises – the extension of the badge scheme to day schools (the implication being state schools) and, importantly, “the establishment of a boarding school for demonstration of the County Badge form of training, preferably in close association with Gordonstoun itself” (Hogan, 1970b, p. 62).

At this time the County Badge Experimental Committee, with the help of Members of Parliament (Noel Baker, Henry Brooke) had attempted to influence the Government “to adopt the Country Badge plan as its official policy” (Hahn, 1948a, p. 23).

Table 4. The county badge experimental committee in 1940

A.D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford University (Chairman)
 Professor Julian Huxley
 Professor Fred Clarke, London University
 Professor Maurice Jacks, Director of the Education Department, Oxford University
 Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond
 (Hogan & Oldham, 1941)

Later additions to the committee included:

Robert Birley, Headmaster of Charterhouse school
 Walter Oakeshott, High Master of St. Paul’s School
 Henry Brooke M.P.
 Sir Farquhar Buzzard
 Sir Walter Moberley
 Miss Colson
 Wing Commander J.G. Paterson, formally of the Industrial Welfare Society
 Mr. W. Mc G. Eager, of the National Association of Boy’s clubs
 Dr. J.H. Oldham, Editor of the Christian News
 (Hahn, 1957a; Hogan, 1968; Lindsay, 1940)

The government refused but this led to the belief within the committee that a ‘training holiday’ of four weeks, where students would follow the County Badge syllabus was needed (Hahn, 1948a).

In a defining moment, the booklet *The County Badge Scheme or the Fourfold Achievement* was produced by Hogan and Oldham (Hogan, 1968) in the autumn of 1941 (Hogan, 1970a). In effect this was a brochure, syllabus and a statement of intent (to expand). The syllabus was based on Hahn’s earlier Badge Schemes but now included a Project and Service requirement to add to the Sporting and Expedition requirements (Hogan & Oldham, 1941) – both the project and service elements were clearly visible at Salem and Gordonstoun but not as part of the earlier Badge Schemes. The reasons for the introduction of the County Badge were stated: to improve health; as an antidote to the narrow academic nature of education; the fact that education for the majority stopped at 14; training for citizenship. There was also a relevance to the war effort at the time with the feeling that people who completed the scheme “might make a real difference to the outcome of the war” (Hogan & Oldham, 1941, p. 22).

The scheme does not appear to have been adopted widely across Britain, but was carried out “extensively” across Hertfordshire (Hahn, 1944, p. 17). It is important to note that Hertfordshire County Youth Committee included girls as well as boys in their scheme (Hogan & Oldham, 1941). Hogan (1968) is in no doubt that the reason for Hertfordshire’s involvement was due to its Chief Education Officer John Newsom and his deputy Jack Longland – both Newsom and Longland were involved in the development of outdoor activities after 1944. It is probably relevant that G. Winthrop-Young had known Longland when he attended Trinity College, Cambridge (see Appendix A). Hertfordshire’s involvement with the scheme continued for a further seven years (Hahn, 1957a). It appears that the scheme then stopped.

At the end of his three month secondment Hogan had organised a training course for ‘leaders, teachers and organisers’ which took place at Gordonstoun (Wales) during the last week in August 1941 (Hogan, 1968). As there was no more money to continue paying him as Secretary, Hogan was concerned about his and his family’s future and he envisaged going back to teaching in a school (Hogan, 1968). This strand of history will be continued in Chapter 6 – Outward Bound.

TRAINING CENTRES

This section must be seen in the context of the other training centres which were proposed or implemented at Gordonstoun, but which do not appear to be linked to the badge schemes (see chapter 4) and therefore have not been included in this chapter.

In January, 1938, Hahn (1938a) makes reference to a “community centre” being built. It would be “a boarding-house to be a home for short-term trainees aged from 15 to 18 selected by voluntary organisations, preferably from crowded areas, all of whom would share for a time the life of the bigger community” (p. 18–19). The trainees would follow a four week programme based on the Moray Badge Scheme (Hahn, 1938a). This would involve activities such as horsemanship, fieldwork, and seamanship, and deal with the participants’ “physical and spiritual fitness” (Hahn, 1938a, p. 18–19). In addition, the centre would provide “the stimulus towards the

expedition tests which are the pivot of the Moray Badge Scheme” (Hahn, 1938a, p. 16). The National Fitness Council was an organisation concerned with encouraging physical training and recreation in the community (Cook, 2000, Gosden, 1976). Hahn wanted the Regional Fitness Committees of this organisation to take the lead, and start and then expand this idea, which would be based around “impressive and attractive homes” (Hahn, 1938a, p. 18–19) – one of the stated aims of the course was that of fitness. To further the aim of establishing a centre, Hahn tried to interest a Trust in funding an ‘Adolescent College’ in November, 1938 (Hahn, 1938c). As no centre was established there it ended in failure.

Around the same period, 1938, an independent company, The Gordonstoun Training Society Limited, was formed (mentioned in Chapter 4) and on July 21, 1938, its expansionist aims were laid out,

To further the distinctive activities of Gordonstoun designed to strengthen the spiritual and physical health of the young. To serve, through Gordonstoun and these activities, the youth of the surrounding district, in particular those at work or out of work, by putting at their disposal the Gordonstoun term time to provide these services for the young of the district only but, during the holidays, to do so also for boys from other parts of the country, particularly for those coming from schools or occupations less favourably located. For these purposes to do all or any of the following:

- (a) To own and operate sea-going craft particularly for the purpose of training in sail and of overseas expeditions. To charter such craft to other persons or bodies when not required for the purposes of the company.
- (b) To own, operate and equip playing fields and sports grounds, swimming pools and facilities for other sports.
- (c) To own and keep horses and maintain a school of equitation.
- (d) To further the development of the Moray Badge Scheme.
- (e) To organise and carry out expeditions and exploring parties and to provide all facilities necessary thereto.
- (f) To promote the study of nature and wild life and of historical and archaeological features of the countryside.
- (g) To promote activities demanding skill and craftsmanship both in the workshop and on the land. (Gordonstoun School, 1938b, p. 6)

Clearly, this is a continuation of Hahn’s earlier aims shown at his schools and through the badge schemes. An important point is that a private company, a separate venture, had now been set up to further these aims. At this stage it appears that there were not enough funds available to start the new ventures, as in 1939–1940 Hahn twice applied to the President of the Board of Education for funding to establish a training home to carry out these activities (Hahn, 1944). The intention was for this to be attached to Gordonstoun, and cater for 1000 boys a year who would

follow the County Badge syllabus (Hahn, 1944). Hahn reports that it was rejected (Hahn, 1944).

SCOTTISH SUMMER COURSES (1938 AND 1939)

The Northern Regional Committee of the National Fitness Council was responsible for running three, two-week, residential summer courses (Hahn, 1957a) - two in 1938 at Guisachan House, Strathglass, Invernesshire and one in 1939 at Gordon Castle, Morayshire (Hahn, 1944, 1957a). The two courses at Guisachan House took place between the 16–30 July and 30 July –13 August (Unknown Author, 1938). The programme was based on the Moray Badge and was run by the Warden, Lord David Douglas-Hamilton and Sub Warden, A. Henderson (Hahn, 1944, 1957a) – Henderson had originally helped to develop the Moray Badge. The courses included boys and girls and expeditions were carried out (Hahn, 1957a).

The courses in 1938 led to the Northern Regional Committee inviting Gordonstoun to put in an application for funding to the National Fitness Council to set up a “Training Home for monthly boarders at Gordonstoun” (Hahn, 1944, p. 10). This was done in 1938 but no answer was received before war broke out (Hahn, 1944) – all funding from the National Fitness Council ceased at the outbreak of war (Gosden, 1976).

From this experience Hahn considered that four week courses would produce much better results than two week courses - “one could look for enduring results” and “unforgettable memories would certainly have been planted” (Hahn, 1957a, p. 440). This is supported by him writing, in 1938, that “the Guisachan demonstration last summer has revealed a truth which was new to me” (Hahn, 1938b, p. 11). There are no indications as to whether he was physically there or not, but Carpenter (personal communication, March 2, 2006) believes that Hahn would have visited there. In any case Hahn does state that he was “closely associated with...Lord David Douglas-Hamilton, in what may be called the first Outward Bound experiment” (Hahn, 1957b, p. 6). Brereton (1970) describes Hahn and Lord Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton as friends and we consider it probable that Hahn asked Douglas-Hamilton to run them. Henderson (1961, p. 167), in a letter to the Times Educational Supplement states that when considering the origins of Outward Bound these “experimental” courses should be considered.

WELSH SUMMER SCHOOL (1940)

Captain G.W. Wakeford, Director of the School of Navigation at the University of Southampton, with two deputies Brereton and Henderson, ran a course from August 14 to September 6, 1940, at Gordonstoun School (Wales). Wakeford (1961) states that the course was inspired by Hahn and that it was Hahn who asked him to be its Director.

The course was made up of 61 boys, who were from the army, independent and state schools, boys clubs, and cadets from H.M.S. Conway (County Badge, 1940; Hahn, 1944). The boys slept in three tents, known as red, white and blue, and took part in competitions between them (Gordonstoun Record, 1941).

The course was based on the County Badge syllabus, with Badges Awarded and involved seamanship training (knots, splices), walking expeditions, first aid training (Wakeford, 1961), Norwegian compass games, and lectures in the evening by visiting speakers (County Badge, 1940; Wakeford, 1961). Jack Longland was one of those who gave a lecture (Gordonstoun Record, 1941). It was intended to sail a boat on a small lake which was situated in a hilly area, and to this end a boat weighing two tonnes was hauled up the side of a hill to get it there (County Badge, 1940). This was described as “perhaps the most remarkable feat” of the course (County Badge, 1940, p. 356). Appendix F contains a detailed description of the course. It was during this course that Hahn first met Hogan (Hogan, 1968, 1970a, 1970b). The purpose of the course seems to have been to promote the County Badge Scheme as a means of pre-service training, (Hahn, 1944, 1957a).

The Scottish and Welsh courses have been described as ‘experimental courses’ (County Badge, 1940; Hahn, 1965a). The implication being that there was experimentation, with the aim of finding the best method of transmitting the Badge syllabus. Certainly Hahn (1965a, p. 1), stated that “these courses provided experiences which decisively influenced the design of Outward Bound”.

The concept of using a building as a base for residential students, from outside Gordonstoun, to undertake badge scheme activities had been described, by Hahn, throughout the 1930s. Various names were used but the concept was the same, ‘experimental courses’, ‘community centres’, ‘training home’, ‘boarding school’, and ‘hostel’. In many ways they were similar to the Schullandheim in Germany after the First World War. The research indicates that Hahn did not state the source of this idea but it is our belief, based on the evidence, that the Schullandheim probably influenced Hahn’s thinking.

OUTWARD BOUND

KEY EVENTS

In Chapter four, it was described how Gordonstoun's sail training vessel, the Prince Louis, was sailed from Scotland to Wales, in August 1941, by a crew including ten Gordonstoun students. After an eventful voyage the Prince Louis was met at Conway (Wales) by Hahn and Holt. Holt was a long time supporter of Hahn and through his company, the Blue Funnel Line, had supplied the captain and other members of the crew (Brereton, 1968; Hahn, 1944). After meeting the boat, Holt had said to Hahn, that they should start a 'Sea School' at Aberdovey (Brereton, 1968; Hahn, 1944).

It is not known when the Sea School became the Outward Bound Sea School but Hahn (1957a) states that the choice of 'Outward Bound' was Holt's. From this point on, for brevity, it will be referred to as Outward Bound.

During the last week in August, 1941, Hogan was running a training course for 'leaders, teachers and organisers' of the County Badge Award at Gordonstoun, in Wales (Hogan, 1968), as described in Chapter five. This was the last week of Hogan's three month secondment from his teaching post and, as he had a family, he was concerned about the future (Hogan, 1968). Hogan had spoken to Hahn about this and various options had been discussed including him residing at Gordonstoun - Hogan had thoughts about returning to his old school (Hogan, 1968). Towards the end of the leaders' course Hogan states that Hahn came to him: "He then formed the idea that my services could be retained if I were to become the Warden of a training centre; to demonstrate the method rather than be Secretary of a committee merely recommending it" (Hogan, 1970b, p. 62).

Hogan thought that as enough money could not be raised to fund his continuation as Secretary of the County Badge Committee it was unlikely that enough could be obtained to start a school (Hogan, 1968, 1970b). Hahn however was adamant that a "training centre in which we could put on a 'compelling demonstration'" was needed (Hogan, 1968, p. 25). This would be a place where youngsters could be given a "training holiday" and Hogan should be the Warden of such a centre (Hogan, 1968, p. 25). Hogan was convinced that this idea had been in Hahn's mind for a long period of time "which now for the first time he judged to be ripe for development" (Hogan, 1970b, p. 63). It can be seen from Chapters two, four and five that Hahn had indeed been thinking about the concept of training centres for a number of years. In the summer of 1941 Hahn (1957a) had been looking for funding to start a 'short term school'.

Hogan (1970, p. 33) states that Hahn "knew of a wealthy shipowner who would certainly support us if we could put up a convincing case. All I had to do was prepare the case". This was to be Lawrence Holt, who Hogan (1970b) states had long been an admirer of Hahn's educational practice.



Figure 17. Lawrence Holt (Circa 1950).

As Holt was a governor of the training ship Conway, Hogan (1968, 1970) believed that he and Hahn must have had discussions about how both schools' traditions could contribute to the new venture. Sources (Brereton, 1968; Hahn, 1944) indicate that this happened when the Prince Louis, after travelling from Scotland, stopped at Conway, as described in Chapter five. Hogan also felt that Hahn knew that the Prince Louis would need financial and logistical support to continue, and Holt, with his background, would have been an ideal candidate to support it (Hogan, 1968).

Hogan had to quickly prepare a scheme as Hahn had arranged for him to visit Holt at his offices in Liverpool (Hogan, 1968). He knew that Holt had "tremendous admiration" for Hahn's educational vision and knew of Holt's "faith in the virtues of sail-training" (Hogan, 1970b, p. 64). Hogan also knew of Holt's belief that men were dying unnecessarily during the Battle of the Atlantic which was happening at the time (Hogan, 1970a). When merchant ships were torpedoed the crew were

forced to take to the lifeboats. Due to their experience being largely in powered craft, as opposed to sailing vessels, many were not surviving – those that did survive had experience of small boat sailing and “had developed a sense of wind and weather, a reliance on their own resources – physical, nervous and technical” (Hogan, 1968, p. 26–27).

When once one knew of Lawrence Holt’s deep concern about these matters it was comparatively easy to present a proposal which would give young seamen the preparation for emergency which Holt regarded as imperative, and at the same time demonstrate Hahn’s County Badge training scheme idea under favourable conditions. (Hogan, 1970b, p. 64)

Hogan, presented the scheme to Holt in such a way as to secure his funding, but, at least in Hogan’s eyes, the intention was to demonstrate the County Badge training scheme. In any case, as will be demonstrated, the scheme appears to have changed little from the Moray Badge carried out at Gordonstoun.

Hogan visited Holt and he agreed to fund the scheme and also supply technical aid in terms of trained seamen and supplies (Hogan, 1968, 1970a, 1970b). As Gordonstoun already had a small sailing base at Aberdovey, which could be developed further and also meant the Gordonstoun students and Hahn could be involved, it was chosen as the location of the new venture (Hogan, 1970b). Outward Bound, at Holt’s insistence, started five weeks later on the 4th October, 1941 (Hogan, 1968).

STRUCTURE

Dr. B. Zimmermann and George Lowthian Trevelyan were both teachers at Gordonstoun and they had both also instructed on the ‘leaders’ course there, for the County Badge Committee in August, 1941 (Hogan, 1968). It is also known that Zimmermann instructed on the Welsh summer course at Gordonstoun in 1940 (Campbell, 1976). As G.L. Trevelyan was also working at Gordonstoun then it is probable he instructed on it as well. They were described by Hogan (1968) as being highly experienced in the athletics and expeditions offered at Gordonstoun and this is probably the reason they were seconded to Outward Bound. Chew, another teacher from Gordonstoun, was also seconded from the Highland Fieldcraft Training Centre at Glenfeshie (running a course resembling the Moray Badge (Hahn, 1957a)), to work at Outward Bound, and he was succeeded at Outward Bound by Farnell, another ex-Gordonstoun Housemaster (Hogan, 1968).

Zimmermann eventually left Gordonstoun and worked at Outward Bound full time (Hogan, 1968). He was in charge of the Physical Education Department there which included expeditions (Carpenter, personal communication, March 2, 2006). Hahn (1957a, p. 445) described him as “Hogan’s chief helper”. Zimmermann’s son, Peter Carpenter, an ex-pupil of Gordonstoun, and later a lecturer at Oxford University’s Institute of Education, assisted him from 1942–45 (Carpenter, personal communication, December 2, 2005).

The accommodation at Aberdovey was limited at first, with room for only twenty-four boys – eight each from Gordonstoun, Conway, and Alfred Holt and Company



Figure 18. The Outward Bound sea school at Aberdovey.

(Carpenter, 1958; Hogan 1970a, 1970b). Progressively more accommodation came into use until a year later over one hundred boys were being accepted on 11 courses a year, each lasting for 28 days (Hogan, 1970b). Originally Gordonstoun and Conway only sent boys for a week at a time – they changed over every Saturday while the eight from Alfred Holt and Company stayed for the full four weeks (Hogan, 1968). Eventually this changed and all boys stayed for 28 days (Hogan, 1968).

The boys were aged from 16 to 19 and, as the numbers increased, came from “an extremely wide cross-section of society” (Hogan, 1970a, p. 41). The eclectic nature of the student population is confirmed by other sources (Brereton, 1968; Carpenter, 1974; Hahn, 1952, 1957a; Hogan, 1968, 1970b) - as well as coming from Gordonstoun, Conway and Alfred Holt and Company, there were boys from state schools, other public schools, other merchant shipping lines, from factories, from offices, and boys awaiting call up (to the forces). It is clear that the student population was made up of both those who had an interest in entering the Merchant Navy and those who did not.

The County Badge syllabus was followed at Outward Bound (Carpenter, 1974; Hahn, 1944, 1957a; Hogan, 1968, 1970a). The project element was based on sailing and seamanship, the service element was based on training for rescue operations (lifeboat drills, coastguard and mountain rescue training), physical training included athletics and hiking trips, and expeditions were land and sea based (Hogan, 1970b). During the course the students also had to demonstrate active citizenship and be helpful members of the community (Hahn, 1948a, 1957a, 1957b).



Figure 19. Launching the cutter at Aberdovey (1940s).

Hogan (1968) and Carpenter (personal communication, December 5, 2006) described the facilities as being basic at first but gradually improving over time. In the beginning the two Gordonstoun cutters and the Prince Louis were used for the seamanship but eventually more boats were brought from Scotland and more built (Hogan, 1968). In the summer of 1943 another large sail training vessel, the ketch Garibaldi, was supplied to Outward Bound by Alfred Holt and Company (Gordonstoun Record, 1945; Hogan, 1968). It was handed over in a formal ceremony where Professor G.M. Trevelyan (Master of Trinity, Cambridge), G. Winthrop-Young and Lawrence Holt each gave speeches (Gordonstoun Record, 1945; Hogan, 1968). It appears that Hahn was not present.

The layout of the programme appears to be very similar to that on the Welsh summer course (Appendix F). The students were divided into watches of 10–12 people (Hahn, 1957a). Each watch stayed together for each activity, with marks being awarded for the activities in an inter-watch competition (Hogan, 1968). The watch with most marks were than allowed to fly their watch pennant from the school flagstaff for that day (Hogan, 1968). Each student also had to keep ‘training conditions’ during the course (Carpenter, 1958; Hahn, 1957a; Hogan, 1970b) and not smoke or drink (Hahn, 1957a).

Each day there was a morning run, followed by fifty skips, prayers, and then each watch cleaned its own accommodation (Carpenter, 1958; Hogan, 1968). After this



Figure 20. The Garibaldi.

activities took place which included seamanship, expeditions and athletics (Carpenter, 1958; Hogan, 1968). First-aid, life-saving, (Hahn, 1957a) and swimming (Carpenter, 1974) were also part of the programme.

Seamanship involved both theoretical and practical elements, the practical included sailing in small boats and then going to sea in either the Prince Louis or Garibaldi (Gordonstoun Record, 1945; Hahn, 1957a). The small boat sailing involved travelling under oars and sail, with the instructors leaving the boat as soon as possible to allow the students to learn from their own mistakes (Hogan, 1968). Therefore, the boating was very similar to that which had taken place beforehand at Gordonstoun and Salem.

Students were taught map and compass skills, and expeditions were introduced which through the course of the month gradually became technically harder and longer (Hahn, 1957a; Hogan, 1968). Zimmermann used Norwegian Compass Games (orienteering) to introduce some skills (Carpenter, personal communication, March 2, 2006). The course culminated in a thirty mile trek across the Welsh mountains (Hahn, 1957a; Hogan, 1968).

Athletics were taken by Zimmermann (Carpenter, personal communication, March 2, 2006; Hogan, 1968) with each student aiming to reach the standards contained in the County Badge Scheme (Hahn, 1957a). Zimmermann “inspired every youngster to discover his hidden reserves, and was far more interested in the diffident and clumsy boy than the gifted athlete” (Hahn, 1957a, p. 445). His aim was not only to teach athletics but through athletics to achieve “all-roundness” in the individual (Hahn, 1957a, p. 445).

Zimmermann considered it more important for a boy to learn how to overcome his innate weakness than to develop his innate strength. To him the training of the body was no end in itself-it had to serve the whole man.... Zimmermann was never tired of saying, “Give them the opportunity to overcome adversity”. (Hahn, 1957a, p. 445)

Therefore, for Zimmermann, the aim was not primarily to teach athletics but to develop the individual through athletics. Indeed, the whole course could be viewed as having this developmental aim. It is important to note that Outward Bound originally used athletics as a medium to develop the individual, not just outdoor activities. Zimmermann believed that students could develop by overcoming their weakness and knowing that they had done so. This point will be expanded on in Chapter eight.

Hogan had been a Scout Leader before meeting Hahn (Hogan, 1970a). While in the Scouts he had visited the Scout training centre at Gilwell Park (Hogan, 1970a) (Chapter three). The visit had impressed him, in particular the ‘patrol system’ which was used to develop teams (Hogan, 1970a). The watch system developed at Outward Bound appears to be very similar to this. Despite not having the same team of dedicated and experienced instructors Hogan (1970a) stated that he hoped to emulate Gilwell Park. This is an example of influences by practitioners, as opposed to founders, which probably influenced the nature of the course.

Each student had a personal log book and all achievements were entered into it (Hogan, 1968). At first, as with the County Badge Scheme, ‘Standard’ and ‘Silver’ badges were awarded (Hahn, 1957a). Over time it became obvious that this was unfair, as participants arrived with different levels of ability, very often through no fault of their own, and despite immense efforts there was not enough time for them to reach the required standard (Carpenter, 1958; Hahn, 1957a; Hogan, 1968).

Therefore, lower standards were introduced in some athletic events but raised in others because it was found boys dramatically improved their stamina during the course (Carpenter, 1958). Carpenter (1958) states that the badge system changed to a Merit Badge and Honours Badge and different age bands were incorporated to reflect the different age group using the centre. A Membership Badge was also introduced to give recognition to those who had tried their best during the course but had not reached the required standards (Carpenter, 1958). This is supported by Hahn (1957a) and Hogan (1968) but no date given. Hahn (1957a) states that the honours badge was white, the merit badge blue, and the membership badge red. This appears to be the only change from the original format, as it is reported that the programme did not change in its essentials between 1941–1944 (Carpenter, 1958; Hogan, 1968). Hogan left Aberdovey in 1945 (Hogan, 1968).

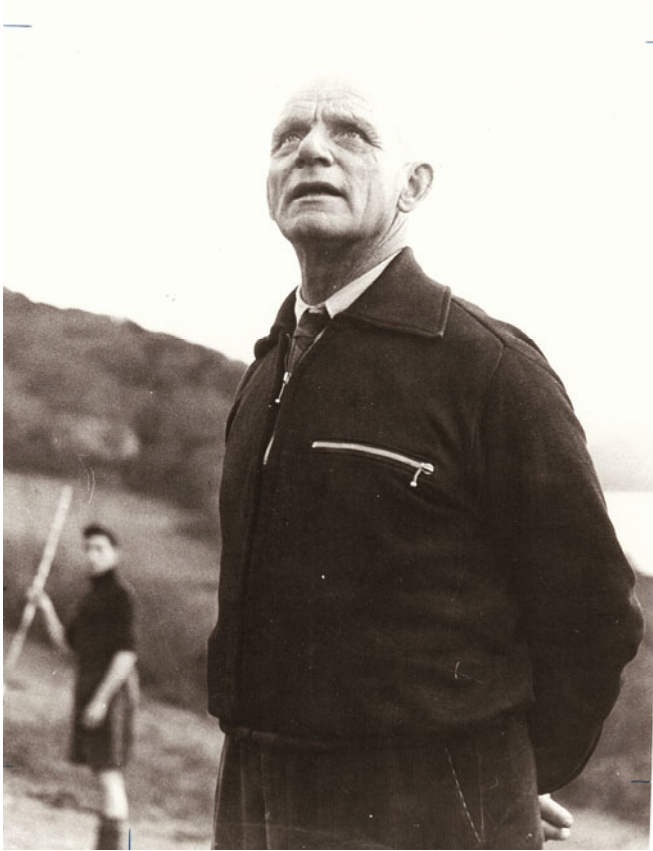


Figure 21. Bernhard Zimmerman teaching athletics at Aberdovey.



Figure 22. A selection of early Outward Bound sea school badges.

Therefore, there is a connection not only in founder, philosophy and syllabus with Gordonstoun but also personnel. In effect these also highlight connections to the County Badge Scheme.

TRAINING THROUGH THE SEA

Therefore, against a backdrop of war and through the association of Hahn and Holt, Outward Bound came into being. Hahn (1957a) later stated that in 1941 he had wanted to start a short term school but lack of funds had prevented him, until Holt, in the summer of 1941, secured the financial support of his company, the Blue Funnel Line.

The interest of the firm was mainly vocational. Holt was concerned about the young of the country. "In a democracy you can only compel by example," so he said: "the training at Aberdovey must be less a training for the sea than a training through the sea, and benefit all walks of life." But he very naturally insisted that there should be reserved on each course places for the Merchant Service apprentices... (Hahn, 1957a, p. 444)

Hahn (1957a) went on to state that Holt believed that sail training improved his employees' understanding of the sea. Therefore, according to Hahn, there were two reasons, which could be achieved in combination, why Holt's company supported the formation of Outward Bound. One was the company's wish to gain better trained Merchant Navy personnel and associated with this was Holt's believe in the virtues of sail training for his staff. The other was based on Holt's concern for the 'young of the country' and his believe that 'training through the sea' could 'benefit all walks of life'. Skidelsky (1968, p. 221) is one of the few authors to use the quote above and he supports our interpretation of Hahn's view of Holt's motivation. Stewart (1972, p. 340) is, perhaps, less certain how to interpret Hahn's statement and he simply provides the quote and leaves the reader to decide.

Holt had known Hahn from at least 1937 and during that time had sponsored scholarships at Gordonstoun (Chapter four). He had "tremendous admiration" for Hahn's "educational vision" (Hogan, 1970b, p. 64). Holt at that time also had a son at the school, and a belief in the virtues of sail training (Hogan, 1970b). He also promoted Outward Bound during his evidence to the Norwood Committee (Holt, 1942). This firm support for Hahn's educational ideas appears to be significant in the development of Outward Bound as Holt's company supported Outward Bound financially and with other resources.

The traditional explanation has been that Outward Bound was formed due to the wartime need to train young seamen in small boat handling and to improve their physical and mental capabilities, so they would be better able to cope if they were at sea. Hopkins and Putnam (1993, p. 29) are some of the few authors to raise doubts about this when they say that Holt may have had that aim but that they suspect the "truth may be more complex". Richards (1981), in his Doctorate concerning Hahn's educational philosophy, is more direct when he describes it as a 'myth'. Hahn stated that Holt's company was mainly interested in setting up Outward Bound for vocational reasons. Holt also had these vocational reasons but he was additionally

concerned for the ‘young of the country’ and he had a wish to provide ‘training through the sea’ which would ‘benefit all walks of life’. Therefore, the evidence indicates that it is not a myth but it clearly is not the sole reason.

Hahn had wanted to set up ‘short term schools’ to demonstrate the Badge Schemes for a number of years and four had been run prior to 1941 (Chapter five). Hogan (1968) had presented a scheme which had the main aim of providing a demonstration of the County Badge Scheme. G. Winthrop-Young, when speaking at the ceremony to launch the *Garibaldi*, is unequivocal that the purpose of the school was character building through adventure on the sea and in the hills (Hunt, 1989). The stated reason for the formation of Outward Bound can be questioned even further when it is considered that many of the participants on the courses did not wish to enter the Merchant Navy. According to Hahn (1957a) Holt’s company’s main reason for providing the funds was to gain trained seamen but it was perhaps fortunate that Holt appears to be the one who made the decision about the investment.

The formation of Outward Bound and the Outward Bound syllabus needs to be seen in the light of a number of inter-related contexts. First, Hahn’s education aims, as shown at Salem and Gordonstoun, and symbolised by the Report Cards at each school. Second, the methods with which he hoped to achieve this aim are represented by what Hahn was doing at Salem and Gordonstoun and epitomised in the Badge Schemes, particularly the ‘Four Fold Achievement’ of the County Badge. Third, the Second World War, and preparation for it, which led to the perception that there was a need to improve the fitness of the youth of the nation. This in turn provided the opportunity for Hahn’s ‘experimental’ courses in Scotland and Wales to take place – the forebears of Outward Bound (Hahn, 1957a).

It must be remembered here that in the early 1930s Hahn had let his students take part in camps for military sports organised by the *Stahlhelm*, as a preparation for war (Chapter two). Fourth, Holt’s, and his company’s, belief that sail training, rather than training carried out on powered craft, produced better sailors. Fifth, Holt’s ‘concern for the young of the country’ and that the training at *Aberdovey* must be less a training for the sea than a training through the sea’ which could ‘benefit all walks of life’. Closely linked with this is Holt’s association with Hahn and his belief in Hahn’s educational concepts.

Hogan (1970a) provides the sixth context when he asserts that both his and Hahn’s intention with Outward Bound was to demonstrate the effectiveness of the County Badge. Hahn (1960), when discussing Outward Bound, states that “in a democracy you can only accelerate developments by example”. Therefore, what developments, through Outward Bound, did Hahn want to take place? Hogan provides an answer:

Our real task was to create an entirely new kind of educational establishment. That is not to say that all the elements in the school were to be completely novel. As I have already shown, the intention was to demonstrate the Gordonstoun badge scheme in a short-term as opposed to a long-term community. (Hogan, 1970a, p. 37)

This demonstration, through Outward Bound and the Badge Schemes, had the intention of changing, or at least influencing, the current educational system.

Hahn (1960, p. 6) states that “as yet there is little penetration into the established system of education” and at the moment “there is no doubt: too many boys and girls climb the educational ladder, purchasing knowledge at the price of power”. Hahn was dissatisfied with the education system at the time and wished to change it.



Figure 23. Stone inscription at Outward Bound Aberdovey.

THE NORWOOD REPORT AND THE EDUCATION ACT 1944

NORWOOD REPORT

In October 1941, a committee of educationalists was appointed by the Board of Education to consider “changes in the Secondary School Curriculum and the question of School Examinations in relation thereto” (Norwood Report, 1943, p. v). In 1943, the committee produced its report entitled *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools*. This report is commonly referred to as the Norwood Report, after its Chairman, Cyril Norwood. We agree with Cook (1999, p.157) when she says that the concept of character building permeates this report.

The Committee took written or oral evidence from a number of sources (Norwood Report, 1943). Cook (1999) highlights that Lawrence Holt, the shipowner and friend of Hahn, was one of those who gave evidence (Norwood Report, 1943). What is not highlighted is the fact that a number of Hahn’s other associates (on the County Badge Experimental Committee, including the chairman, Lindsay, and Governors at Gordonstoun) also gave evidence. These were: Sir Fred Clarke, Professor of Education and Director of the Institute of Education, University of London; Mr. M. L. Jacks, Director of the Department of Education, Oxford University; Mr. A. D. Lindsay, C.B.E., LL.D., Master of Balliol College, Oxford; Mr. W. Oakshott, High Master of St. Paul’s School, London (Norwood Report, 1943). Others who have the same name as Governors of Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1942a), but who have not been conclusively identified are Mrs. E. Hubback and Mr. J. Murray (Norwood Report, 1943).

There appears to be no full record of the evidence that individuals and institutions gave to the committee and therefore it is not possible to definitely state that these individuals (apart from Holt) highlighted Hahn’s educational endeavours. As educators they may have been highlighting other points. However, it is shown through this quote that the Norwood Committee members were aware of the Badge Schemes:

We have naturally given thought to the project of awarding County or even National Badges of physical achievement, and expecting all boys and girls to compete for them. It is a scheme that at first seems attractive, but it remains our opinion that it is one thing for each individual school to put before its pupils a reasonable standard of progressive development, and quite another to set up a county or national norm. (Norwood Report, 1943, p. 83)

The *Norwood Report* had a wide view of physical achievement and all references for outdoor activities contained in the report were under the heading “Physical Education” (1943, p. 79). The Badge Scheme was rejected by the committee, for

inclusion in the state educational system, because it might have led to comparisons between schools which could have resulted in some individuals becoming “unduly depressed both in their own opinion and in that of their fellows” (Norwood Report, 1943, p. 83). As the committee were made aware of the County Badge Scheme then we believe it supports the view that Hahn’s associates were also highlighting Outward Bound. Hahn’s approach was always through the two areas of badges and centres.

Holt (1942) promoted Outward Bound to the Norwood Committee and we believe that there is a high probability that he was not the only one. It could even be suggested that Hahn targeted this committee as a key element in the expansion of his educational activities.

Hahn is not listed as giving evidence to the Norwood Committee and perhaps this is not surprising given Hahn’s political and propaganda background. Britain was engaged in a war with Germany, the outcome of which was by no means certain, and perhaps a German at this time would have raised suspicions and possibly hostility. In addition some people had tried to associate the County Badge Scheme with the Hitler Youth Movement and Hahn believed that this had discouraged some Local Education Authorities from taking up the scheme (Hahn, 1957a). Therefore, it may have been politically astute for Hahn to distance himself publicly from attempts to influence the committee.

Both Cook (1999, 2000) and Parker and Meldrum (1973) believe that the influence of Outward Bound can be seen in the following quote. The large body of text has been included because of the importance of the *Norwood Report* in influencing the future development of outdoor activities. The evidence that the educational concepts contained in Outward Bound and the Badge Schemes, through Hahn’s associates, influenced the committee is strong but not conclusive. Therefore, ultimately, it is up to the reader to decide on the extent of this influence, given the description of Hahn’s activities in earlier chapters, and for this reason a large amount of text from the *Norwood Report* has been quoted.

The raising of personal performance, won through the surmounting of individual difficulties by discipline and endurance, is of profound moral significance as well as physical. Individual effort to surpass one’s own achievement, no less than co-operation and team work, is altogether to be encouraged. Among such standards we should certainly welcome carefully devised tests of endurance, of resourcefulness and enterprise suggested by the nature of the surrounding country.

In this connection we would make mention of “Scouting” and “Guiding”, School Camps, tours, sailing clubs, which for many boys and girls provide whether in term time or in holidays an incentive and a means to training in resourcefulness, self-reliance and ideals of usefulness and independence. Beside Scouting, other “courses” and “schools” and “movements” have been brought to our notice; their aim is to bring boys and girls in touch with sea and mountain, and in open-air tasks and ventures to build up the moral strength and create the physical endurance which come from such contact. (Norwood Report, 1943, p. 83–84)

Other organisations such as the Scouts gave evidence to the Norwood Committee (Norwood Report, 1943) and appear to have influenced it. Therefore, the influence of Hahn's educational endeavours must be seen in the context of other similar activities that were occurring at the time, and which have been highlighted in chapter three. The debate centres on the extent of each organisation's influence on the committee. Our belief is that Hahn influenced the Report but the extent of this influence is difficult to quantify given other similar influences and the subtle nature of influence generally and most importantly the subtleties involved in giving evidence to policy forming committees. Perhaps the most important point is that different organisations, with a similar educational theme, succeeded in bringing education in, and through, the outdoors to the educational establishment.

Cook (2000, p. 3) and Parker and Meldrum (1973, p. 47–48) state that the *Norwood Report*, in terms of outdoor education, significantly influenced the *Education Act 1944*.

EDUCATION ACT 1944

The influence of the *Norwood Report* (1943) can be specifically seen in Section 53(1) of the *Education Act 1944* (Cook, 2000, p. 79; Parker & Meldrum, 1973, p. 48).

[It was] also the duty of every authority to secure that the facilities for primary, secondary and further education provided for their area include adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training, and for that purpose a LEA [Local Education Authority] with the approval of the minister may establish, maintain and manage or assist the establishment, maintenance and management of camps, holiday classes, playing fields, play centres and other places, and may organise games, expeditions and other activities. (Board of Education, 1944, Part II, Section 53)

Parker and Meldrum (1973, p. 49) also report that the Act made physical education in schools compulsory and “adequate facilities for the supervision of recreation by qualified teachers were prescribed”. Therefore, the *Education Act 1944* provided the framework whereby outdoor activities could be developed further, particularly through the use of ‘camps’. Cook (1999, 2000) makes the important point that this was reinforcing existing legislation.

Cook (1999, 2000) made a detailed study of the *Education Act 1944*, in terms of outdoor education, and states that it is likely that the legislators who prepared the 1944 Act would have been familiar with various organisations before 1944. These included the Scouts, Abbotsholme School, Forest School, Camp Schools, Woodcraft Movements, Air Training Corps, Sea Cadet Corps, Army Cadet Corps, Women's Junior Air Corps and Girls' Training Corps. Cook (1999, 2000) states that Hahn's influence, through Outward Bound and the Badge Schemes, was one element in this.

As the legislation that was to become the *Education Act 1944* passed through Parliament, MPs debated the Bill. The MP, Admiral Sir William James, who represented a Portsmouth constituency, was adamant that, in section 53(1) of the Act, Local Education Authorities should have a ‘duty’ rather than a ‘power’ (Cook, 2000).

As can be seen this was changed and significantly reinforced the legislation. Cook implies that James' motives were based on a perceived need for pre-service training to improve the standard of recruits to the armed forces (Cook, 2000). Cook states that both the *Norwood Report* and the *Education Act 1944* reflected the need, at the time, to prepare and make the young fit for war (Cook, 2001).

Another MP, Kenneth Lindsay, advocated that boarding schools should be attached to secondary schools (cited in Cook, 2000, p. 87). Lindsay "referred to camp schools 'where country life and environment have given children a new sense of well being' and he urged that the government should 'cash in on this war experience'" (cited in Cook, 2000, p. 87). These ideas were similar to Hahn's. Despite investigation it is not known if there is a family connection between Kenneth Lindsay MP and A.D. Lindsay, Chairman of the County Badge Experimental Committee.

During the debates references were made to Woodcraft Movements but it is unlikely that these influenced their decisions (Cook, 2001). It appears that outdoor activities, associated with physical challenges and character building (linked with public schools), were the ones to be promoted (Cook, 1999, 2000). This was within a more general movement to give pupils in state schools "a taste of public school life" (Cook, 1999, p. 166). The *Education Act 1944* provided a framework within which outdoor education could develop in the state sector. It was a similar situation in Scotland where the Education (Scotland) Act 1945 (Part 1, Section 3) stated that education authorities had a duty to provide, for students, "adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training" (Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, p. 4) which could involve the establishment of camps and the organising of expeditions.

The first permanent LEA centre that opened after the 1944 Act was passed, has been widely quoted as the White Hall Centre for Open Country Pursuits in 1950 (Cook, 1999, 2000; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Hunt, 1989; Loynes, 1999; Parker & Meldrum, 1973). This was Derbyshire's LEA centre and it was opened through the determination and vision of Jack Longland (Cook, 1999; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Hunt, 1989; Parker & Meldrum, 1973).

It appears, and is stated by Parker and Meldrum (1973, p. 48) that "Local Education Authorities were able to interpret these provisions for recreation as they saw fit in their own areas". This indicates that Longland was able to define the structure and philosophy of the centre, although other influences were probably present. Cook (1999) states that the centre developed a character building ethos. White Hall then provided the example and template for other LEAs who then embarked on similar projects (Cook, 1999; Parker & Meldrum, 1973; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993).

Cook (1999) suggests that an individual's connections have an influence on educational outcomes. This concept of personal connections was also highlighted by Nicol (2001, p. 33–34) who traced an unbroken line of personal connections from Longland and Jim Hogan, both of Outward Bound, through to the first LEA run outdoor education centre in Scotland and the type of programme delivered there.

It is perhaps significant that Longland, as well as being associated with the Badge Schemes and Outward Bound, was, before that, as a student at Cambridge,

friends with G. Winthrop-Young (Hankinson, 1995). G. Winthrop-Young is described as being an inspiration to him (Westmacott, 1993). In the context of outdoor education, G. Winthrop-Young had raised ideas very similar to Hahn's, concerning the use of outdoor activities in formal education, before the First World War (Chapter four). Hankinson (1995) reports that G. Winthrop-Young had encouraged his protégés at Cambridge to take young people into the hills. As Longland became heavily involved in using the outdoors as an educative medium it seems probable that G. Winthrop-Young was a major influence. Therefore, the personal connections of Longland extend even further to G. Winthrop-Young.

THEMES THROUGHOUT HAHN'S EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVOURS

Throughout our research, two themes, which have occurred across many of Hahn's educational endeavours, have become evident. The two themes are inclusion and expansion and 'your disability is your opportunity'. These are contained and discussed in this chapter because of their importance to the development of outdoor activities.

INCLUSION AND EXPANSION

Salem was inclusive in its outlook. In Chapter two it was highlighted that scholarships were considered an extremely important part of the school. A meeting before the school was even founded stated the intention to have scholarships (Hahn, 1950) and by 1924, 75% of the student population were on a full or part scholarship (Hahn, 1924). Hahn's personal support of this is seen when he states that "he would rather see the school shut down than reduce the number of scholarship students drawn from the least elite classes" (Flavin, 1996, p. 150). J. Winthrop-Young (2006, p. 16), a student of Hahn's at Salem, believes he was "genuinely" in favour of the scholarship scheme.

At Gordonstoun, even before the school was founded there was discussion of grading the fees according to the ability of the parents to pay (Gordonstoun School, n.d.(a)). The setting up of a scholarship fund was discussed again in February 1936 (Gordonstoun School, 1936a). In November 1936, it was stated that there was a need for a greater number of poorer boys among the boarders and that the majority of students should be picked without regard to the financial position of their parents (Hahn, 1944). In 1944, (Hahn, 1944) it was stated that fees are graded according to the ability of the parents to pay. When reading the original literature surrounding Gordonstoun during this period, the reader is left with the impression that the firm intention was to provide a large number of scholarships but the funds were lacking to provide the desired number.

This theme of inclusion is joined by the theme of expansion. At Salem the school expanded significantly in thirteen years, from one new school in 1920 to five branches of the same school on different sites in 1932 (Chapter 2). Flavin (1996) also reports that Hahn had plans to introduce the 'Salem system' to a day school. Alongside this school-based expansion is expansion outside the school environment. Hahn was involved in a programme, for the 'Confederation of Old Salemers', whereby they would take part in three months of practical social work, four weeks of athletic training (following the conditions of the German Sports Badge), and attendance on

a course (e.g., horse riding) (Hahn, 1928). Training conditions (not smoking or drinking) had to be followed during the four weeks of the athletics (Hahn, 1928). Hahn hoped that this course would later include ex-pupils of other German independent schools (Hahn, 1928). In many ways this looks like the precursor of the badge schemes, and possibly Outward Bound as a house was to have been made available, as a sort of training centre, for the students (Hahn, 1928). This might have been what Ewald (1970, p. 36) meant when she says that Hahn had plans for Salem to be the starting point of a “Salem Movement”.

Expansionist (and inclusive) aims were continued at Gordonstoun. In 1936 there were plans for a day school to be attached (presumably for local boys) with graded or nominal fees for the students (Hahn, 1944). There were also plans for a seaman-ship school, open to local boys, and boarders who would come for six week courses – the implication is that this would be for small boat sailing (Hahn, 1936d, 1944). Associated with this were plans for sail training ships, capable of carrying 30–40 boys on foreign expeditions, which were similar to German Sailing Schools (Hahn, 1936d, 1944). In 1936, there were also plans for a school farm and horsemanship school, each having a dormitory house with courses lasting 6–10 weeks which would be open to all boys (Hahn, 1944).

In 1937, the King George’s Field cinder track was built to act as a training centre for the people of the local district with Gordonstoun students acting as coaches (Hahn, 1944, 1948a, 1957b; Gordonstoun School, 1939a). In 1938 local boys from Morayshire were involved in the Watchers organisation at Gordonstoun involving a mix of sailing and coastguard work (See Appendix D). In the same year there were plans to open a ‘hostel’ so that 10 week courses for girl boarders could take place. These courses would involve various activities (including horsemanship) and students would not be allowed to smoke or drink (Chapter 4).

Chapter five highlighted the introduction of the Badge schemes – from the Gordonstoun Badge and Moray Badge in 1936 to the County Badge in 1938. When the Moray Badge was publicised in 1936 it was clearly stated that the intention was to expand (Hahn, 1936e). Even the sequence of badge names serves to highlight the expansionist and inclusive aims – Gordonstoun; Moray; County. Perhaps the best indicator of inclusion and expansion was when Hahn joined with Elgin Academy to take the scheme to a larger and wider audience. The badge schemes would be advocated through the twin track approach of training in schools and in training centres (Chapter 5). Hahn stated that training centres should be used as a delivery method of the scheme in January 1938 (Chapter 5). In the same year, an independent company, the Gordonstoun Training Society was set up to further his expansionist educational aims, partly through the Moray Badge Scheme, for all students (Gordonstoun School, 1938b). Hahn and others used the related concepts of fitness (An Educational Experiment, 1938; Gordonstoun Record, 1938; Gordonstoun School, 1939a; Hahn, 1938a, 1938b, 1938c, 1957a; Huxley, 1942) and pre-service training (Hahn, 1942, 1944, 1957a) in the late 1930s as a means of promoting his schemes.

It is in the contexts of inclusion, expansion, fitness, and pre-service training that the training centres can be seen - Scottish Summer Courses (1938 & 1939),

Welsh Summer Course (1940), and *Outward Bound* (1941). In 1942 Hahn (p. 6), when talking about the County Badge syllabus, stated that “what we should have done in peace time as an act of social justice, we have to perform today as a military necessity”. Indicating that the scheme was first introduced as an act of ‘social justice’ and later also included the aim of assisting the war effort. Note that the term ‘social justice’ has undergone significant change of use and meaning since that time which is briefly discussed below. In the same document Hahn states that he “cannot rest until similar opportunities... are made accessible to an ever-increasing number of youths” (Hahn, 1942, p. 8).

This idea of social justice is seen in 1936 when Hahn felt that through the inclusion of boys from the district of Morayshire, “We shall have demonstrated that a school of public school type need not be restricted to the well-to-do classes” (1948a, p. 7). The concept of social justice, often with the Cistercian message of giving health to the district (which originated at Salem), is stated by Hahn on a number of occasions (1936b, 1944, 1954, 1957a, 1957b). This is a concept that is supported by other Gordonstoun literature at the time (Gordonstoun Record, 1938; Gordonstoun School, 1939a).

Hahn, or other close associates, often referred to the training centres as ‘demonstrations’, ‘trial camps’, or ‘training demonstrations’ (Brereton, 1968; Hahn, 1942, 1945, 1949, 1957a; Hogan, 1970; G. Winthrop-Young, 1957). Therefore, the intention was to demonstrate Hahn’s view of education, and this was to include all aspects of society.

In striving to achieve the aim of expansion, through demonstrations, Hahn had appealed to private trusts (Hahn, 1957a; Hogan, 1970) and Government departments (Campbell, 1976; Hahn, 1957a) for money. Hahn (1957a, p. 444) used the word “paralysed” to describe the summer of 1941 as there were no funds to establish “one short-term school”. The meeting between Hahn and Holt and the starting of *Outward Bound* needs to be seen in this context. The starting of *Outward Bound* involved more than the stated need to train seamen.

In this context of expansion, in 1938 Hahn, had tried to convince the president of the Board of Education to include a badge for physical education in the School Certificate examination (Cook, 2000). It has not been possible to obtain this document so it is not known, with 100% certainty, if this is the same badge as contained in the badge schemes. However, the research indicates that the badge schemes were the only schemes involving badges that Hahn was associated with. Therefore, there is a strong probability that Hahn tried to get the badge scheme into formal state education. This highlights that, along with the attempts to influence the Norwood Committee with the County Badge Scheme, Hahn’s expansive aims need to be seen as an attempt to influence state education on a national scale.

The reason for this expansive aim might be seen when Hahn (1941b, p. 9) at a governors meeting at Gordonstoun, talked about the continued existence of Gordonstoun “for the reform of the national education system”. Hahn (1938e, p. 1), referring to 1934, wrote that Gordonstoun had hoped “to be more than a Boarding School” and aimed “at becoming the core of a health-giving movement”. On another occasion Hahn quoted G. Winthrop-Young by saying “We are more than a school – we

are a movement” (Hahn, 1941b, p. 9). Later Brereton (1958, p. 13) and G. Winthrop-Young (1951, p. 29) also used the term ‘movement’ to describe Gordonstoun, the badge schemes and Outward Bound.

G. Winthrop-Young and Hahn had very similar views on education. G. Winthrop-Young, from before the First World War to after the Second World War, stated that the education system should include the holistic education of students, through activities, rather than just academic education and the cult of games. Hahn had been holistically educating his own students since 1920 and, on a number of occasions, explicitly argued that state education was based too much on academic learning (Hahn, 1942, 1947, 1949, 1965a). Hahn’s personal support of holistic education is indicated by a student of Hahn’s, in the 1920s, reporting that Hahn felt he “needed real, good experiences and physical work to counteract the effects of all my reading” (Mann, 1990, p. 81).

It therefore appears that this movement, through demonstrations of its educational system and soliciting educational institutions, tried to change, or at the very least influence, the educational system at the time, to change it for one that was holistic in nature dealing with the development of the ‘whole’ person. This was to be the ‘Salem system’ that Hahn had used at his schools and which was represented in the County Badge Award with its four elements - project, expedition, service, and sporting achievement. These four elements have subsequently become known as the four pillars. As Huxley (1942, p. 34), a member of the County Badge Committee stated “the County Badge is not an organisation: it is a method”. It was this method that the ‘movement’ advocated.

‘YOUR DISABILITY IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY’

Hahn’s aim was holistic education, which was based on his (and Prince Max’s) experiences in Germany during and after the First World War (Chapters 1 and 3). Hahn believed that this aim would be achieved through a balanced curriculum, with activities added to classroom education (Chapter 2). Therefore, for a balanced curriculum with the aim of holistic education, it is the combination of elements that is important with subsequent learning in each of these elements. As it is likely students will have strengths and weaknesses in different areas then it is important not only to develop these weaknesses but also, Hahn believed, to ‘teach’ them how to overcome these:

Make children meet with triumph and defeat. After you have replenished their tanks of vitality, by discovering and maintaining their strengths, but not before, you should tackle their weaknesses. It is possible to wait on a child’s inclinations and gifts and arrange carefully for an unbroken series of successes. You may make him or her happy that way – I doubt it – but you certainly cripple him for the battle of life. It is our business to plunge the children into enterprises in which they are likely to fail, and we may not hush up that failure; but we should teach them to overcome defeat. “To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life”...Success in the sphere of one’s weakness is

often as great a source of satisfaction as triumph in the sphere of one's talents. (Hahn, 1934b, p. 3)

This concept of triumphing over adversity is something Hahn returns to time and time again in all of his educational endeavours (Hahn, 1930, 1941a, 1942, 1947b, 1948a, 1948b, 1957a, 1957b, 1960). Hahn uses phrases such as: "he that overcometh, eats from the Tree of Life" (1947b, p. 7; Hahn, 1948b, p. 5); "your disability is your opportunity" (Hahn, 1960, p. 4) or "the boy has defeated his defeatism" (Hahn, 1942, p. 7) to describe the concept. "Make the children meet with triumph and defeat" was the second 'law' (of seven) of Salem in 1930 (Hahn, 1930).

This concept is believed to be a central part of the 'Salem system' by authors associated with Hahn at the time - Brereton (1970), Hogan (as cited in Cook, 2000), and Huxley (1942). Hogan & Oldham (1941) who defined the 'Salem system' in the booklet 'The County Badge Scheme or the Fourfold Achievement' state that the value of the County Badge was deemed to lie in the combination of the four elements, as indeed was the combination of the different elements in the sporting section (Hogan & Oldham, 1941). These four elements are a project, an expedition, service, and sporting achievement. The impact of Hahn can clearly be seen in this statement:

In the past a boy has too often been allowed to concentrate on the activity in which he can most likely excel. This is to encourage his strength; but he also needs to be helped to overcome his weakness. The majority of boys will face one or two tests with the feeling that they can never master them. They need to be shown how to defeat their defeatism. (Hogan & Oldham, 1941, p. 11)

This also highlights, although he was not a member of the County Badge Committee (Chapter 5), Hahn's influence on that committee.

The concept of overcoming your weakness can be seen in the German Sports Badge which contained different sections with students having to reach certain standards in all sections to get the award (Chapter 5). As Hahn wished to see development in all aspects of an individual, different elements were added to the German Sports Badge (service, expeditions, and project).

Expeditions were added as Hahn believed they required the individual to carefully plan them and carry them out with endurance (Ewald, 1970; Hahn, 1941a). He had found that expeditions provided the antidote to the effects of undue hero worship on the student athlete who was often "no friend of wind and weather" (Hahn, 1936d, p. 2-3; 1938a, p. 11-12; 1938c, p. 1; 1944, p. 9). Therefore, expeditions provided a different type of test of the athlete and also provided the opportunity for the shy or non-games player to shine, fulfilling his aim of holistic education.

The vicissitudes of an expedition make him discover not only his 'wants' but also his unsuspected resources. On the other hand, the sturdy but clumsy games player, often humbled in face of the glories of the playing field, benefits equally by the expedition tests. Unexpected avenues of distinction open out before him; by his tenacity and care he often outshines the brilliant athlete. Thus our clumsy boy tastes that glow of importance which we would like to give to as many as possible. (Hahn, 1938a, p. 25-26)

The method of education that Hahn (1941a, p. 5) was advocating allowed for the individual to have “discovered his strength and begun to cure some of his weakness”:

The average boy when first confronted with these tests will nearly always find some which look forbidding, almost hopelessly out of his reach, others he will find easy and appealing to his innate strength; but once he has started training he will be gripped by magic – a very simple magic, the magic of the puzzle, for you cannot help going through with a game of patience that has begun to “come out” – and he will struggle on against the odds until one day he is winning through in spite of some disability. There always is some disability; but in the end he will triumph, turning defeat into victory, thus overcoming his own defeatism. (Hahn, 1941a, p. 5–6)

Hahn believed that the incentive to complete the scheme and gain the badge, at Outward Bound or through the County Badge Scheme, provided the individual with the motivation to overcome areas of weakness. Thereby learning would occur (or be likely to) and “the boy has defeated his defeatism, and now becomes a self-trainer, determined to persevere” (Hahn, 1942, p. 7).

The expedition test is one part of this method but “the expedition test is considered more important than any other, for any expedition worthy of its name contains conditions of adversity” (Hahn, 1941a, p. 7). Hahn stated, on a number of occasions, that he regarded the expedition test as “vital” (Hahn, 1938a, p. 11–12; Hahn, 1938c, p. 1). Hahn described why he believed they were vital and where they should be introduced: “Expeditions can be a great help in training the ‘power to overcome.’ They should have a place of honour in the timetables of schools” (Hahn, 1961, p. 3).

Hahn felt that the young had an innate urge to test themselves (Hahn, 1937). In the context of war therefore, education should contain “risks, supreme tests and a glamour which will make the romance of war fade” (Hahn, 1941a, p. 13). A phrase that he used often was that these should be ‘conquests without the humiliation of the conquered’ (Hahn, 1937, p. 1; 1941a, p. 14; 1947b, p. 8; 1957b, p. 8).

At Salem and Gordonstoun (Chapters 2 and 4) a wide range of activities were used to try to achieve the aim of holistic education. In the context of expeditions it was the same, as expeditions could “vary according to a boy’s tastes. It would [could] be a sailing, climbing, riding, exploring, bird-watching, or historical expedition” (Hahn, 1938a, p. 11). Therefore, Hahn considered that the concept of ‘overcoming’ on expeditions, could be applied to a number of activities not simply activities such as sailing and climbing.

When talking about the activities that Outward Bound schools are based around Hahn states that “endless variations are possible – practical seamanship; bird-watching; a chapter of contemporary history; mountaineering; the handling of forestry tools; pre-mining training; bee-keeping; free stone-masonry; horsemanship” (Hahn, 1950, p. 2). This notion is reiterated two years later:

The sea and the hills are by no means the only possible transmitters... We have in mind Short Term Schools in which the training is built around the Forest, or the Mine, or Horsemanship. There is really no limit to the possible variations. (Hahn, 1952, p. 6)

In 1936 Hahn had stated his wish to start a 'horsemanship' school with students from outside the school who would board in their own house (Hahn, 1944). In 1936 a similar scheme but this time for girls was been discussed (Gordonstoun School, 1936b). It appears (Hahn, 1938a, 1950) that the intention of these hostels was the holistic development of the individual but this time through the activity of 'horsemanship'.

Although Hahn is associated with outdoor activities we believe it is an important point, and possibly overlooked, that he believed the concept of 'overcoming your disability' could be applied to many activities. Expeditions provided 'vital' tests but these expeditions could be centred on a number of activities. The important point was that the activities provided the students with the opportunity to overcome their disability. Many authors (Brereton, 1968, 1970; Heckstall-Smith, 1962 Miner & Boldt, 1981; Richards 1981) believe that Hahn developed this concept when he was recovering from a serious illness before the First World War.

CONCLUSIONS

In 1902 Hahn had shown interest in the type of education advocated by Lietz and Reddie, who were part of the New Educational Movement. This probably influenced his decision to write a book on educational matters in 1910 which contained a severe criticism of existing German schools and education. This interest in education combined with his, and Prince Max's, experience of the First World War and its aftermath and, alongside a trend in Germany for redevelopment of the nation through education, caused them to found Salem.

Through the experience of the First World War and its aftermath, and knowledge of the New Educational Movement, Hahn (and Prince Max) believed that education should include more than the academic development of the individual. It should be holistic in nature with the intention to develop character, character as defined by the Salem, and later Gordonstoun, student report headings. Encompassing holistic education with a strong sense of service to the community, linked with the "ability to follow out what he believes to be the right course in the face of discomforts, hardships, dangers, mockery, boredom, scepticism, impulses of the moment" (Hahn, 1928, p. 3).

Kerschensteiner, Lietz, and German educational thinking at the time, influenced Hahn, particularly through the 'School of Activity' – activities being those things organised by the school, for the education of its students, but not involving traditional academic areas. In this there is an emphasis on the importance of a 'balanced' curriculum in the development of the 'whole person'. Therefore, for Hahn, activities (alongside academic work) were to be the method through which all-round development would most likely occur in the individual. For him they provided the individual with opportunities to develop those areas in which they were weak, and thus develop holistically. Significantly, they would also enable the individual to 'learn', and realise, that they could overcome their weaknesses, and thus 'your disability is your opportunity'. This is, perhaps, the most important factor in Hahn's educational thinking, relating to activities. It is a point that has not been emphasised, or even stated, in much of the previous literature concerning Hahn.

In Germany the trend towards activities appears to have combined with the Wandervogel movement, resulting in the extensive use of the outdoors by schools for walking expeditions. This included the widespread use, by teachers and students, of School outdoor centres (Schullandheim) to carry out their expeditions. Although students at Salem used huts in the Alps for skiing trips no evidence has been found that the School had its own outdoor centre.

At Salem, as at other German schools at the time, a wide variety of activities played an important part in the holistic education of the students. It was at Salem

that Hahn ‘discovered’ that walking expeditions could play a significant part in this education. In the context of German education at the time this was not an uncommon teaching strategy, especially as legislation had been passed obliging schools to take students on walking expeditions.

A teacher at Salem, Ewald, through a four week ‘sailing’ expedition to Finland in 1925, appears to have influenced Hahn to include sailing as a pursuit that could be used in the activities of the school, especially through expeditions. In 1929, when Spetzgart opened with Ewald as Director, sailing was one of the activities undertaken by the students. Before this Luserke, a Headmaster at another German independent school, had been using sailing as an activity with his own students and probably influenced this development.

When Hahn opened Gordonstoun in Scotland in 1934 he used the ‘Salem system’ of education and walking and sailing were among the activities there. Evidence indicates that sailing was always intended to be Gordonstoun’s main activity and this raises the possibility that G. Winthrop-Young and Richmond were influential in this development. Both had been convinced of the educational benefits of sail training in the development of the ‘whole person’ since 1910 – as Winthrop-Young knew Hahn from 1926 he may also have influenced its development at Salem. Before the Second World War the School also acquired Lynggarrie, a house in the Cairngorms, which was used as a base for expeditions – a sort of Schullandheim.

G. Winthrop-Young used his connections to significantly assist Hahn in starting Gordonstoun and these connections were also a great help in later expanding the ‘Salem system’ of education (including outdoor activities) in the form of the badge schemes and Outward Bound. Appendix A highlights the complex nature of family and friendships which assisted the ‘movement’ and which included strong involvement from relatives of Thomas Arnold (who had come to symbolise the development of character through games). Geddes, an associate of Reddie and educational innovator in his own right had also married into one of these families. It is doubtful whether Hahn, without this liberal intelligentsia, would have been able to start and develop Gordonstoun, the badge schemes or Outward Bound. Certainly it would have been much more difficult.

Hahn had always encouraged students from different backgrounds to be a part of his schools and this inclusive policy was joined by one of expansion. Hahn had tried to expand his educational vision at Salem but at Gordonstoun this developed into a major preoccupation. This expansionist aim was always through the dual policy of badge schemes and training centres, which ultimately led to the formation of Outward Bound. This expansion has to be seen in the context of health and fitness, and preparation for war. During this period Hahn had tried to influence educational policy on a national scale and his educational vision was one of those that influenced the *Norwood Report* and consequently the *Education Act 1944* in terms of outdoor activities.

Using the legislation contained in the *Education Act 1944*, relating to outdoor activities, Longland was significant in defining the structure and philosophy of the White Hall centre. This in turn provided the template for many centres after the Second World War. Longland was part of the ‘movement’, centred on Hahn, which

advocated the use of outdoor activities. Thus, Hahn was an influence not only on the Act itself but also on how the Act was interpreted.

The ‘movement’ included others such as Richmond, Holt, Hogan, G. M. Trevelyan and G. Winthrop-Young. It is recommended that Hahn is seen in the light of this ‘movement’, because of the significant amount of help he received from them, rather than simply as an individual. Our research has also revealed that many members of this movement gave evidence to the *Norwood Report* which in turn influenced the *Education Act 1944*, in terms of outdoor activities.

Connections, centred on Hahn, have been shown to exist in the development of sailing in an educative context. In Britain, at the start of the 20th century, Richmond, was involved in sail training for the Royal Navy and alongside G. Winthrop-Young believed in the all round educational benefits to be gained from sail training. In Germany, in the 1920s, Luserke had similar ideas and used sailing extensively at his school. Ewald, alongside Hahn, knew of Luserke’s activities and she introduced sailing to Spetzgart, one of the schools that made up Salem. Hahn, in 1936, stated his wish to open sailing schools in the United Kingdom, modelled on German sailing schools, which used schooners and barques as training ships for 30–40 boys at a time (Hahn, 1936c, 1936d). As has been seen, sail training was used at Salem, Gordonstoun, Outward Bound, and students taking part in the Badge Schemes had an option to undertake sailing as a part of the award.

In 1948 Hahn was heavily involved in starting a second sea school, the Moray Sea School, at Burghead in Morayshire (Leslie, 1976; Flavin, 1996). There are also indications (Byatt, 2006; Goodwin, 1956, 1976) that Hahn was influential in the formation of the Sail Training Association (STA) in the United Kingdom in 1956 – although other sources do not mention this (Hamilton, 1988; McCulloch, 2002). Further investigations to further clarify these links would, we believe, be beneficial in providing an historical account of the development of sail training in the United Kingdom.

This research has shown that Outward Bound did start in 1941 but other training centres, with the same syllabus and aims, started much earlier. Hahn had envisaged a similar concept, with a similar syllabus, to Outward Bound, in Germany, in 1928. He reiterated the concepts of training centres and short term courses in the 1930s, although it must be stated that these did not always follow the badge scheme syllabus, some syllabi concentrated on individual activities such as sailing or horsemanship. Hahn tried on a number of occasions, prior to 1941, to get funding for these schemes but without success. Four short term courses which followed the badge scheme syllabus also took place prior to 1941. It is recommended that the start of Outward Bound should be seen in this context in the future.

This study has also highlighted that the syllabus, methods, and aims at Outward Bound (and the four other short courses Hahn was involved with), up to 1944, were the same as that for the badge schemes which were the forerunners of the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme. Indeed the only difference was that one occurred in a short space of time, in a concentrated way at a centre and the other occurred over a much longer time period, in a less intense way, as an extra-curricular activity at a school. Both involved activities other than outdoor activities and this reflected the

practice in Hahn's schools (Salem & Gordonstoun). In addition it has been revealed that Hahn had promoted a similar scheme to the later badge schemes, in 1928, in Germany, eight years before the Gordonstoun Badge was first mentioned.

At Salem, Gordonstoun, the training centres, and through the badge schemes, Hahn believed that a broad range of activities, not just outdoor activities, could be used in the all round education of young people. This concept was influenced by German educational practice in the early 20th century. Hahn is widely identified with outdoor activities and it is recommended that he should be more widely known as an advocate of what today, could be termed, experiential education (Association for Experiential Education, 2006). The fact that Hahn believed that all round development could take place through a range of activities might be viewed as an implication for current practice.

In the introduction it was shown that Outward Bound has been a significant influence, in terms of outdoor activities, all around the world and particularly in the United States. The Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme was also shown to be influential in bringing outdoor activities to many countries around the world. However, in the United States, where the Award is known as the Congressional Award (Congressional Award, 2006), it has not been as successful. In total 5000 people have received Congressional Awards since 1979 (when the award started) (Senate, 2006) compared to over 110,000 students, in the Americas, who went on an Outward Bound course in 2009 (Outward Bound International, 2009). It may be viewed as an implication for future practice, that those who are interested in promoting education through direct experience, in the United States, such as the Association for Experiential Education (2006), could follow the historical example of Hahn. As well as promoting centres they could promote the Congressional Award and hope to emulate the large numbers involved in the Award Scheme in the UK (three million students since 1956) (Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, 2006).

Expeditions and Schullandheim (School Outdoor Centres) were an important factor of German educational practice at the start of the 20th century but no evidence, indicating that these were influential in Hahn's thinking, has been found. Our opinion, based on the evidence, is that they probably did influence him and through him Outward Bound, the badge schemes, and then the *Education Act 1944*. Linked with this is the German view, at the start of the 20th century, that education should involve all round development rather than being based on purely academic studies and this could be achieved through activities. Thus, German educational practice was significant, or appears to have been, (in terms of expeditions and Schullandheim), in influencing, through Hahn, the development of activities and outdoor activities in the UK and then around the world. In previous texts, the influence of German educational practice, on Hahn, has often been understated or not mentioned at all.

The aim of this research was to document and provide a clearer picture of the development of outdoor activities centred on Hahn. It has provided new insights and found that it is much more complicated than simply Hahn's founding of Outward Bound in 1941. The study has provided a detailed historical account and thereby supplied a context to what happened after 1944. It is hoped that it will also have informed debate concerning Hahn's influence (Brookes, 2003a, 2003b; Barnes, 2004)

by highlighting aspects of his educational thinking. Hahn believed that ‘overcoming adversity’ could and should occur through a broad range of different activities and situations and his early endeavours reflected this.

Ultimately, we believe Hahn’s development of outdoor activities can be seen in terms of philosophy, structures (schools, badge schemes and Outward Bound) and associates (G. Winthrop-Young, Richmond, G.M. Trevelyan, Longland and Hogan) which are all interlinked. This study will be relevant to those interested in the history and development of outdoor activities and in particular to those interested in Hahn, Outward Bound, the Duke of Edinburgh Award, and sail training.



Figure 24. Kurt Hahn.

APPENDIX A

PEOPLE INFLUENTIAL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES

- 1. Arnold-Brown Family
- 2. Arnold-Forster Family
- 3. Spencer Chapman
- 4. F.R.G. Chew
- 5. Marina Ewald
- 6. James Hogan
- 7. Lawrence Holt
- 8. Commander Lewty
- 9. Jack Longland
- 10. George Mallory
- 11. John Newsom
- 12. Professor Sir Percy Nunn
- 13. Admiral Herbert Richmond
- 14. Trevelyan Family
- 15. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young
- 16. Jocelin Winthrop-Young O.B.E.
- 17. Zimmermann Family

1. ARNOLD-BROWN FAMILY

Adam Arnold-Brown started as a student at Gordonstoun in September 1934 (A. Arnold-Brown, 1962). During the Second World War he was stationed for a time at the Highland Field Training Centre at Glenfeshie in the Cairngorms (Arnold-Brown, 1962). In 1950, he became the first Warden of Outward Bound Eskdale in the Lake District (Arnold-Brown, 1962).

Prior to joining Gordonstoun A. Arnold-Brown had been a student at Abbotsholme (Arnold-Brown, 1962). He probably went there because his father, Robert Arnold-Forster, was an ex-student of the school and was on Abbotsholme's executive committee (Arnold-Brown, 1962). Unusually R. Arnold-Brown was sent to Abbotsholme at the insistence of his sister Lillian, rather than his parents (Arnold-Brown, 1962). His sister later married Sir Patrick Geddes (Arnold-Brown, 1962), educational innovator, supporter of Abbotsholme and friend of Abbotsholme's founder Cecil Reddie (see chapter 4). R. Arnold-Brown was also one of the Abbotsholme students who met Hahn in the Alps in 1902 and gave him the book *Emlöhstobba* which Lietz had written about Abbotsholme and which influenced Hahn's life (Arnold-Brown, 1962) – see Chapter 1. R. Arnold-Brown was also a Governor of Gordonstoun in 1942 (Gordonstoun School, 1942b).

This one family highlights many of the interconnections at the time.

2. ARNOLD-FORSTER FAMILY

William Arnold-Forster was an 'old friend' of G. Winthrop-Young and he married Ruth Turner, the widow of another friend of his, George Mallory (J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, January 15, 2006; Hankinson, 1995). Ka, as she was known, and William Arnold-Forster sent their son Mark Arnold-Forster to Salem with J. Winthrop-Young, whom he had known since 1924 (Hankinson, 1995). The Arnold-Forster family were related to the Trevelyan family (Shannon, 2006).

Ka Arnold-Forster was in Germany and helped Hahn when he was imprisoned and exiled from Salem in 1933 (Hankinson, 1995). When he arrived in Britain she was one of those urging him to demonstrate the 'Salem system' (Hahn, 1950). Ka Arnold-Foster was also involved in the meetings which were held concerning the setting up of a new school (Gordonstoun School, 1934a, 1934b) and her husband was the first Chairman of the Board of Directors (Brereton, 1968). William Arnold-Forster was a grandson of Thomas Arnold (J. Winthrop-Young, 2001), the Headmaster of Rugby School who symbolised the development of organised games as a means of developing character (see chapter 4). Christopher Arnold-Forster, his brother, was also involved at Gordonstoun and he recruited Lewty as the first Head of seamanship (Lewty, 1976). Professor Julian Huxley, a member of the County Badge Committee, was also a relation, and a great-grandson of Thomas Arnold (Olby, 2006). Another relative, H.C. Arnold-Forster, was a Gordonstoun Governor in 1942 (Gordonstoun School, 1942b).

3. SPENCER CHAPMAN

'Freddy' Spencer Chapman had known G. Winthrop-Young when he was a boy (G. Winthrop-Young, 1951) and later when he was a student at Cambridge where

he was described as a protégé (Hankinson, 1995). It is probable that this connection helped him find work at Gordonstoun and he started work there in the summer of 1938 (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). Chapman was an explorer and had accompanied Gino Watkins on two Greenland expeditions, as well as climbing in the Himalayas, prior to joining Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun Record, 1938). He took the students on expeditions (Gordonstoun Record, 1938) and Carpenter (personal communication, March 2, 2006) remembers him taking him to the Cairngorms for a Moray Badge expedition. During the war he fought in the Far East and was described as a war hero (Hankinson, 1995). He was also described as a pioneer of Outward Bound (Hankinson, 1995) although no corroborating information seems to be available about this although he did lecture the students on the Summer Course, at Gordonstoun, in Wales, in 1940 (Gordonstoun Record, 1941).

4. F.R.G. CHEW

F.R.G. Chew, known as ‘Bobby’ Chew, was educated at Cambridge University and was described, while there, as being one of G. Winthrop-Young’s protégés – other protégés included Jack Longland and Spencer Chapman (Hankinson, 1995). This association with G. Winthrop-Young was probably the reason Chew went to work at Salem. He spent four years working at the Spetzgart Branch of the school (Day, 1980; Hankinson, 1995). While there one of the subjects he taught was sailing (J. Winthrop-Young, 2005). Chew left Salem, just after Hahn, in 1933 and started work at Gordonstoun in 1934 (Day, 1980; Flavin, 1996).

Chew taught climbing and sailing at Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1934c) and Arnold-Brown, a student at the school, recalls him taking students on expeditions to the Cairngorms (Arnold-Brown, 1962). During the war Chew was stationed for a while at the Highland Fieldcraft Training Centre in Glenfeshie and then seconded to Outward Bound Aberdovey (Hogan, 1968). After the Second World War he became the Director of Activities at Gordonstoun (Flavin, 1996; Miner & Boldt, 1981) and started a mountain rescue service at the school (Flavin, 1996) – Chew was a member of the Alpine Club (J. Winthrop-Young, 2005). Chew was Headmaster of Gordonstoun School from 1953 until December 1967 (Day, 1980).

5. MARINA EWALD

Ewald and Hahn had been friends since their schooldays when they had both followed the development of the Lietz Country Boarding Schools with enthusiasm (Ewald, 1970). Ewald taught at Salem from its inception and became director of Spetzgart when it opened in 1929 (Ewald, 1970). She organised the Finnish expedition in 1925, and in 1937 took a group of students to Iceland (Mann, 1990). When Hahn left Germany in 1933 she kept in touch with him and visited him until the outbreak of the Second World War (Mann, 1990).

Ewald was described by Hahn (1968, p. 1) as “a co-founder of Salem. She was a partner in all the major decisions – an educator in her own right...Her contribution is held in high regard”. Mann (1990), a student at Salem and later a history professor,

APPENDIX A

also describes her as Hahn's educational partner. This is reiterated by another former pupil at Salem, Sommerhoff (1996, p. 28), who describes her as "Hahn's most intelligent and wise collaborator". Flavin (1996) reports that, after the Second World War, Ewald became the Director of the Salem schools and represented them in a 'Conference of Internationally Minded Schools'. The French government also awarded her the 'Ordre des Palmes Académiques (Order of Academic Palms) for her educational accomplishments (Flavin, 1996).

6. JAMES HOGAN

Hogan was a teacher by profession and also from 1934 a keen Scout leader (Hogan, 1970). Together with his scout troop, he discovered how fun expeditions and camping could be (Hogan, 1970a). The scout troop became expert at these activities, winning various competitions which gave him immense satisfaction (Hogan, 1970a). It was during this time that he gained the Wood Badge (Hogan, 1970a). This involved training at the scout training centre at Gilwell Park in Essex, the syllabus was similar to today's mountain leader award (Training boy scout leaders, 1940). His experience as a scout leader convinced him that relationships formed in the informal setting of the Scouts were educationally of greater significance than those normally found in the classroom (Hogan, 1970a). Cook (2000) states that Hogan was a Scout Commissioner before starting Outward Bound.

While a teacher at Wolverhampton Grammar School, Hogan heard of Hahn using outdoor activities at his school and visited Gordonstoun, at that time in Wales (Hogan, 1970a). The meeting was a success and Hogan was seconded from his teaching job for three months to become the Secretary of the County Badge Committee (Hogan, 1970a, 1970b). When this secondment was almost finished Hahn asked him to visit a shipowner, Lawrence Holt, to persuade him to fund a sailing school based on the County Badge syllabus (Hogan, 1968, 1970a, 1970b). This meeting was successful and Hogan became the Warden of what became known as Outward Bound Aberdovey. Hogan was the Warden at Aberdovey from its opening in October 1941 to 1945 (Hogan, 1970a).

Hogan became an assistant education officer with West Riding L.E.A. in 1952 and in 1959 was promoted to Deputy Education Officer which he held until his retirement in 1972 (Cook, 2000). It is reported that Hogan was instrumental, along with Sir Alec Clegg, in setting up Bewerley Park as a West Riding L.E.A. Outdoor Centre (Cook, 2001; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993). He encouraged the use of outdoor activities amongst youth clubs (Cook, 2000) and with Clegg he helped to introduce outdoor programmes in many of the Authority's schools and introduced in-service programmes for teachers dealing with interpersonal as well as technical skills (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993).

7. LAWRENCE HOLT

Holt was a ship owner in the family firm of Alfred Holt and Co, which owned and operated the Blue Funnel Line (Hogan, 1968; Norwood Report, 1943). He was also

Chairman of the Board of Governors of HMS Conway (Hogan, 1970b) – a school training young cadets for the Merchant Navy (Hogan, 1968). Holt was also a great believer in the virtue of sail-training and an admirer of Hahn’s educational vision (Hogan, 1968, 1970a, 1970b).

In 1937 Holt sponsored two sons of Moray fishermen to go to Gordonstoun with the intention of later entering the Blue Funnel Line as midshipmen (Gordonstoun School, 1938c, 1938d). Holt also sent his son, Julian, to Gordonstoun, from 1940–42, and he went on an Outward Bound course in July 1942 (Gordonstoun School, 1982). In a letter, dated March 31st 1982, Julian states that in the 1930s Holt and Co had given considerable financial help to Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1982). It is stated that Holt gave the sailing ship, the *Garibaldi*, to Outward Bound Aberdovey in 1943 (Hogan, 1968).

Holt was the financial benefactor who had supplied significant funds and staff which enabled the Outward Bound School at Aberdovey to start (Hogan, 1968, 1970a, 1970b). He also promoted Outward Bound to the Norwood Report, concerning the future of Secondary Education (Holt, 1942).

8. COMMANDER LEWTY

Lewty was the first head of seamanship and the first teacher in charge of the ‘Watchers’ (auxiliary coastguards) at Gordonstoun (Byatt, 1976). He was an ex-Royal Navy Officer who, during his service, had spent two years in charge of a boys training ship (Lewty, 1976). Lewty joined Gordonstoun in 1934 and left at the outbreak of war in 1939 (Lewty, 1976).

9. JACK LONGLAND

Jack Longland, while a student at Cambridge, was a protégé of G. Winthrop-Young (Hankinson, 1995). In Longland’s obituary it is described how G. Winthrop-Young inspired him (Westmacott, 1993). G. Winthrop-Young was, by that stage a famous climber and mountain writer, and Longland an aspirant one. Longland was part of the Everest expedition in 1933 (Hankinson, 1995, Parker & Meldrum, 1973; James, 1957) and British East Greenland Expedition in 1935 (James, 1957). These expeditions made him well known in the mountaineering world (James, 1957).

Longland did post-graduate work in Germany after his graduation but the details are not known (Westmacott, 1993). During the Second World War he was Hertfordshire’s Deputy Education Officer and Hogan (1968) is in no doubt that it was Longland and the Chief Education Officer John Newsom who were the driving force behind the introduction of the County Badge scheme, in 1941, to the county. Longland also spoke about his Everest experiences to the students on the Summer Course at Gordonstoun, in Wales, in 1940 (Gordonstoun Record, 1941).

From 1949–1970 Longland was Director of Education for Derbyshire (Westmacott, 1993). He is credited with being the driving force behind the setting up of what has been described as the first Local Education Authority Outdoor Centre, White Hall, in Derbyshire (Parker & Meldrum, 1973; Westmacott, 1993). This was because

he wished to give children from poor and disadvantaged backgrounds, a ‘taste’ of public school life together with outdoor activities (Afford, 1978).

Longland was heavily involved in the outdoors as President of the climbers club, Chairman of the Mountain Leader Training Board 1964–80, and President of the Alpine Club 1973–76 (Westmacott, 1993). He was also on the Board of the Outward Bound Trust, had close connections with Abbotsholme School, and spoke at the conference on ‘The Countryside’ in 1970 (Parker & Meldrum, 1973). Longland also chaired the Central Council of Physical Recreation Outdoor Activities Committee (Hopkins and Putnam, 1993).

10. GEORGE MALLORY

George Mallory was a student at Winchester College (a large independent school, which was one of the schools in the Clarendon Commission) and whilst there was taken on climbing (Pye, 1927) and walking trips (Holzel & Salkeld, 1986) by his teachers. In 1909, at Cambridge University, he met G. Winthrop-Young and they started climbing together (Hankinson, 1995). Mallory is described as a climbing protégé of G. Winthrop-Young’s (Hankinson, 1995; Hansen, 2004). Certainly there was a firm friendship and when Mallory married Ruth Turner, G. Winthrop-Young was his best man (Hankinson, 1995).

Mallory took a temporary teaching post at Dartmouth Naval College before the First World War (Holzel & Salkeld, 1986) – as G. Winthrop-Young had connections with the College it is possible that he helped him get this position. Mallory obtained a job at Charterhouse (one of the Clarendon Commission schools) and while there took his students on expeditions (Hankinson, 1995; Pye, 1927). Holzel & Salkeld (1986) make the point that as Mallory benefited from expeditions as a student it was only natural for him to do the same with his students. The author, Robert Graves, in his autobiography *Goodbye to All That* (1929), states that when he was a student at Charterhouse, Mallory took him climbing on Snowdon in the school holidays. It is perhaps interesting to note that Baden-Powell, was a student at Charterhouse and he benefited from the ‘character training’ nature of the school (Rosenthal, 1986).

G. Winthrop-Young was interested in Mallory’s student expeditions (Holzel & Salkeld, 1986). After the First World War, David Pye, Mallory and G. Winthrop-Young discussed in detail the starting of a new school (Hankinson, 1995; Holzel & Salkeld, 1986; Pye, 1927). The timetable for the school would be a “half year at class work and the summer months in permanent camp engaged on open air activities” (Hankinson, 1995, p. 226). The school project was not carried out (Pye, 1927) but it indicates the line of thought taking place at the time.

After Mallory died on Everest in 1924, his widow, Ruth Turner married William Arnold-Foster, a friend of G. Winthrop-Young, and father of Mark Arnold-Foster, a student at Salem and one of the first two students to be taught by Hahn in Britain (J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, December 5, 2005; Hankinson, 1995). Ka Arnold-Foster, as she was known, also assisted Hahn in Germany and later in England – see the section on the Arnold-Foster family.

11. JOHN NEWSOM

Newsom had been Chief Education Officer at Hertfordshire LEA in the early 1940s when the County badge scheme was introduced (Cook, 2001). In 1963 he was the author of a report (Newsom Report) which placed great emphasis on the residential experience, particularly for the average and less than average pupil (Parker & Meldrum, 1973).

12. PROFESSOR SIR PERCY NUNN

Professor Sir Percy Nunn, was the Director of the Institute of Education, London University in the early 1930s (Day 1980). This would have made him the manager of G. Winthrop-Young who was working at the institute at this time (Hankinson, 1995). Nunn became one of the first Governors of Gordonstoun (Day, 1980).

13. ADMIRAL HERBERT RICHMOND

Richmond was unusual in the respect that he crossed barriers – he was an Admiral in the Royal Navy, an academic (Professor and Master of a College at Cambridge), and educationalist (in the Navy and outside it).

Richmond entered the Royal Navy as a cadet in 1885, and two years later went to sea as a midshipman in HMS Nelson, a warship powered by engines but also fully rigged as a sailing ship (Trevelyan, 1948). He also “served as a lieutenant in the *Active*, flagship of the sailing Training Squadron which survived until 1898” (Trevelyan, 1948, p. 7). Richmond is reported as appreciating this early education in sailing ships and regarded it as a “school” (Trevelyan, 1948, p. 5). Later he was appointed to a senior position which involved the supervision and administration of all training in the Royal Navy (Trevelyan, 1948) and “was one of the chief figures in the evolution of naval education and the formation of Dartmouth” (Day, 1980, p. 116).

It was through Dartmouth Naval College that he came into contact with G. Winthrop-Young (G. Winthrop-Young, 1950; 1957) who described him as a “keen educational reformer” (G. Winthrop-Young, 1957, p. 99). Richmond thought “it was the result of the spirit of adventure and independence released in their daily and solitary small-boat sailing” that made the education at Dartmouth superior to Public School education (G. Winthrop-Young, 1957, p. 99). Whilst in the Navy he was also interested in Naval History and produced many academic papers (Trevelyan, 1948). Richmond retired from the navy in 1931 with the rank of Admiral (Trevelyan, 1948).

After retiring he became a professor of Naval History at Cambridge University and in 1936 was elected to the Mastership of Downing College, Cambridge (Trevelyan, 1948). Richmond’s sister married Charles Trevelyan, former Labour Minister of Education (Trevelyan, 1948). Therefore, he was related to Charles’ brother, George Macauley Trevelyan (the historian and Master of Trinity, Cambridge (Cannadine, 2006), who wrote a detailed account of his life for the National Academy (Trevelyan, 1948). G.M. Trevelyan described Richmond as a “dear friend” (Hunt, 1982, p. 234).

There is a web of family connections, and friendships, between Richmond, the Trevelyan family, and the Winthrop-Young family. I believe it is probable that G. Winthrop-Young introduced Richmond to Hahn as Richmond was present at some of the meetings concerning the starting of a school in Scotland and later he became one of the founding Governors of Gordonstoun (Gordonstoun School, 1934a, 1934b). Richmond's association with Hahn continued and he was at the first meeting of the Outward Bound Council at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1946 (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Summers, 1957).

Richmond is quoted, on two occasions, as saying that "Education has for its object the formation of character" (Arnold-Brown, 1962, no page number – opposite book publication details; J. Winthrop-Young, 2001, p. 3) but no references were given and it has not been possible to locate any further details concerning his educational thoughts. Day (1980, p. 116) states that Richmond had "a strong influence on Hahn through his belief in the value for character-training experiences in small boats" and it is probable that this was the case. Richmond died on 15 December 1946 (Trevelyan, 1948).

14. TREVELYAN FAMILY

George Macauley Trevelyan came from a liberal family and was the son of a knight of the Realm and Liberal M.P. (Cannadine, 2006). He was an historian, academic, and became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1940 (Cannadine, 2006). In addition he was also interested in outside pursuits and became President of the Youth Hostel Association in 1930 (Cannadine, 2006).

The Trevelyan family were friends with the Winthrop-Young family, and other families whose names are mentioned in this dissertation – the Arnolds, Arnold-Forsters, and Huxleys, some of whom were related (Hankinson, 1995). G. M. Trevelyan was related to Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby (Cannadine, 2006), who had come to symbolise the development of games as a means of developing character. G.M. Trevelyan and G. Winthrop-Young went to Trinity College, Cambridge together and served together during the First World War (Hankinson, 1995). They knew each other for over sixty years and George Trevelyan is described as one of "Geoffrey's greatest friends" (Hankinson, 1995, p. 244).

It is probable that G.M. Trevelyan met Hahn in the company of G. Winthrop-Young. In 1943 it was G.M. Trevelyan who named and blessed the new boat, the Garibaldi, at Aberdovey when it was given to the school (Hankinson, 1995) – G.M. Trevelyan's greatest work was on the Italian, Garibaldi (Cannadine, 2006). G.M. Trevelyan was at the meeting which founded the Outward Bound Trust at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1946 (Summers, 1957).

G.M. Trevelyan's brother was Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was a Labour M.P. and spent two stints as President of the Board of Education (Education Minister) in 1924 and 1929 (Morris, 2006). C. Trevelyan is described as being close friends with G. Winthrop-Young (Hankinson, 1995). C. Trevelyan married Admiral Herbert Richmond's sister (Trevelyan, 1948) and they had a son, the educationalist Sir George Lowthian Trevelyan (Trinder, 2006). G. L. Trevelyan worked as a teacher

at Gordonstoun School in the early 1940s (Farrer, 2002; Gordonstoun Record, 1941; Gordonstoun School, 1941; Trinder, 2006) and was later involved in the Findhorn Foundation (Trinder, 2006).

The connections between Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and the Trevelyan family serve to highlight the powerful connections that Hahn was able to link into on his arrival in Britain.

15. GEOFFREY WINTHROP-YOUNG

We believe that Winthrop-Young significantly assisted Hahn in his educational endeavours and for that reason his background and educational philosophy have been examined in detail. This section should be seen in the context of Chapter 4 as it concerns many of the themes and people explained there. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young will be referred to as Winthrop-Young and other members of the family will be identified by their first name in addition to their surname.

James (1957) provides an overview of Winthrop-Young which will be expanded on in this section:

Geoffrey Winthrop Young: Author, Educationalist and Mountaineer. Hon. D.Litt., F.R.S.L. Second son Sir George Young, 3rd Bart., Marlborough; School Rugby XV and Hockey XI; Trinity, Camb. Chancellor's Medallist (twice). Eton Master. One of first H.M. Inspectors of schools. 1914–19 commanding at front the Friends Ambulance Unit in Belgium, France and Italy (severely wounded). Legion d'Honneur, Leopold 1st of Belgium, Crown of Italy; 1914 Star and Dispatches; Italian Silver Medal for Valour (twice). Consultant for Europe in Humanities to Rockefeller Foundation. Initiator of Donald Robertson Trust (Camb), Abraham Lincoln Foundation (Germany), British Mountaineering Council. President, Alpine Climbers Clubs and of Gordonstoun and Eskdale Outward Bound Mountain Schools. (p. xiv)

Winthrop-Young, the son of a Knight of the Realm, was born into a privileged family and, as his biographer Hankinson (1995, p. 6) states, "Simply by his birth, Geoffrey was enlisted into a complex network of families and friends, acquaintances and contacts – the Trevelyans, Arnolds, Arnold-Forstens, Huxleys". These surnames pervade this dissertation and perhaps show how influential Winthrop-Young was when Hahn arrived in Britain.

Hankinson (1995, p. 3) states that Winthrop-Young "was to achieve his fame as a mountaineer, but his first great passion was for water sports, swimming and diving and all things boating". This passionate interest in watersports probably came from the long family tradition in sailing (G. Winthrop-Young, 1951) and growing up by the River Thames (Hankinson, 1995). Hankinson (1995) asserts that "Geoffrey soon became an expert at various kinds of watermanship – swimming, canoeing and punting and riding white water" (p. 22) and even "invented canoe games" (p. 23). Certainly Winthrop-Young (1952) records, what he believes to be, the first descent of the River Tarn in southern France by canoe in 1897. He even built his own Canadian canoe at school (G. Winthrop-Young, 1952) and as a child took a family

friend, Baden-Powell, over Odney Weir in a canoe (G. Winthrop-Young, 1952). Another friend of the family was Colonel Harry McGregor, brother of Rob Roy McGregor (G. Winthrop-Young, 1952) – influential in bringing canoeing to Britain.

Having Baden-Powell as a family friend, being a well known mountaineer, and being an educator, were probably the three reasons why Baden-Powell came to Winthrop-Young, around the time of the launch of the Boy Scout Movement, to ask him, in detail, about “the merits of climbing as an exercise and a discipline for boys” (G. Winthrop-Young, 1951, p. 129). This point is expanded on by Hankinson (1995) who states that Winthrop-Young was commissioned by Baden-Powell to write a 2,000 word piece on ‘climbing as an educative activity for boy scouts’ (p. 232). Apparently it was rejected by some in the Scouting Movement because it was deemed to be too dangerous (G. Winthrop-Young, 1957). This highlights Winthrop-Young’s line of thought prior to meeting Hahn, and provides an example of the human and intellectual relationships that were occurring in Britain at that time (see Chapter 3).

Winthrop-Young went to Trinity College, Cambridge and studied there with George Macauley Trevelyan (J. Winthrop-Young, 2005). Winthrop-Young’s son, Jocelin, states that they “remained great friends all their lives” (J. Winthrop-Young, 2005, p. 9). G.M. Trevelyan and family assisted Hahn in his educational endeavours and it is likely that they were introduced to Hahn by Winthrop-Young. It was at Trinity that he started climbing seriously and started writing books on a climbing theme, both of which he would later become famous for (Hankinson, 1995). From 1899–1900 Winthrop-Young studied for a year at the University of Jena in Germany (Hansen, 2004) and while there visited Lietz’s first foundation at Ilsenburg (J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, March 10, 2006) – he was therefore likely to have been familiar with the concept of activities which had been copied by Lietz from Abbotsholme in 1897.

In 1890 Winthrop-Young was elected to the Alpine Club and in 1941 became its President (Hankinson, 1995). While in that position he is credited with engineering the creation of the British Mountaineering Council (Hankinson, 1995; Hansen, 2004). In 1920 he published one of the first mountaineering manuals, *Mountain Craft* (Hansen, 2004). During his life-long interest in mountaineering Winthrop-Young introduced many young people to it including Jack Longland and George Mallory (Hankinson, 1995). During distinguished service in the First World War, with George Trevelyan, in the British Ambulance Unit, he lost a leg but after the war continued to climb in the Alps with a prosthetic limb (Hankinson, 1995; Hansen, 2004).

Winthrop-Young was a teacher at Eton, a school inspector, and from 1932–1941 a Reader in Comparative Education at the University of London (Hankinson, 1995; Hansen, 2004) - this involved him travelling around Europe to compare educational institutions. He was also involved in the Rockefeller Foundation which again involved him travelling abroad and it was during one of these trips that he first met Hahn (J. Winthrop-Young, 2005) – His son Jocelin reports that the Rockefeller Foundation was a liberal organisation designed to promote peace (J. Winthrop-Young, 2005).

Winthrop-Young had two nieces at Salem in the early 1920s and he visited the school in 1926 and was impressed (Hankinson, 1926). So impressed in fact, that in March 1931 he took his eleven year old son, Jocelin, to Salem, to start at the Hohenfels branch of the school (Hankinson, 1995). A family friend, Ka Arnold-Forster, also sent her son, Mark, there (Hankinson, 1995). In the summer of 1932 both Winthrop-Young and Len (his wife) even spent a few months teaching at Salem (Hankinson, 1995).

When Hahn was imprisoned and then exiled from the state of Baden in 1933, Winthrop-Young, along with Lady Cumming and Ka Arnold Forster assisted him (Hankinson, 1995). Hahn arrived in Britain in July 1933 and Winthrop-Young was one of those urging him to demonstrate what had become known as the ‘Salem system’ (Hahn, 1950).

Winthrop-Young “did all he could in the months that followed to establish Hahn in Britain and help him set up his educational system here. He introduced him to a circle of friends and sympathisers and influential contacts of all kinds” (Hankinson, 1995, p. 269). Both J. Winthrop-Young (2005) and Hankinson (1995) believe that many of Gordonstoun’s Governors were recruited by Winthrop-Young who became the first Chairman of Governors (Hankinson, 1995) and remained heavily involved in Gordonstoun for many years (Brereton, 1958; Hankinson, 1995). Hahn, in 1960 (Hahn, 1960), when he was talking about the organisations he had helped to form, praised the great help he had received from Winthrop-Young. Winthrop-Young was one of the founders of the Outward Bound Trust at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1946 (Summers, 1957).

Educational Thought

An example of Winthrop-Young’s educational thought, through his association with Baden-Powell, has already been given but for a man who was such a help to Hahn then we believe a further investigation of his educational philosophy is required.

Hankinson (1995), states that Winthrop-Young believed that schools laid too great an emphasis on games which came from his own experience at school. He also had concerns that British Public School education was “narrow and blinkered, concerned with only one facet of the human personality, the understanding. Little or no attempt, he thought, was being made to train young men for full, rounded adulthood” (Hankinson, 1995, p. 131). Winthrop-Young (G. Winthrop-Young, 1950) at the start of the 20th century thought the new state educational system in Britain was “failing to educate the whole man” (p. 166). Therefore, too much prominence was given to games, and education should not only be about academic training, it should be about developing the ‘whole man’.

In the same speech, Winthrop-Young provides his educational solution: “every individual should be given an adventure early in life, so that he may discover himself in the round, and may make a beginning with repairing the weakness, as well as of exercising the strength, of the self he discovers” (G. Winthrop-Young, 1950, p. 166). In his opinion adventure could help to provide a rounded education and develop the ‘whole man’ by showing the weaknesses of the individual to him or herself

so they could be repaired. It appears that the type of adventure that could be used was highlighted to him when inspecting Osbourne and Dartmouth Naval Colleges

Winthrop-Young was consulted when the head of the British Royal Navy, Admiral Fisher, founded Osbourne and Dartmouth Naval Colleges and he later took part in the first Government inspection of these two institutions (G. Winthrop-Young, 1950). J. Winthrop-Young (personal communication, March 10, 2006) dates this as 1910. Winthrop-Young was very impressed by the cadets at the two Colleges and thought they compared favourably to students at Public Schools (Brereton, 1968; G. Winthrop-Young, 1950; 1957). The inspection report he produced led to correspondence with Herbert Richmond, then a young captain in the Admiralty (Brereton, 1968; G. Winthrop-Young, 1950; 1957), who Winthrop-Young described as a “keen educational reformer” (G. Winthrop-Young, 1957, p. 99).

Winthrop-Young thought that greater student development occurred at the Naval Colleges because of “the early age at which the environment, the tradition and the discipline of a great Service were introduced into the life of each cadet” (G. Winthrop-Young, 1957, p. 99–100). Richmond thought “it was the result of the spirit of adventure and independence released in their daily and solitary small-boat sailing” (G. Winthrop-Young, 1957, p. 100). Winthrop-Young (1957) wrote that later they found out they had both been right.

The inspection of the two naval colleges and meeting Richmond appears to have convinced Winthrop-Young about the educational benefits of adventure. He states (G. Winthrop-Young, 1950) that this was happening at about the same time as Baden-Powell was approaching him about the possibilities of climbing as an educative activity (1910). Therefore both these events appear to have influenced his educational philosophy. This was probably enhanced by meetings with his brother and George Mallory which occurred before the First World War:

On one visit Geoffrey raised an idea his brother Georis had put to him – that there were blatant flaws in the English public school system and that it should be possible to devise something more enlightened and broadening. Mallory agreed and the two men discussed the matter at length: “We outlined together the scheme for a new type of school,” Geoffrey wrote many years later, “to be half a year at classwork, probably in towns; and all the summer months in permanent camp, engaged on practical open-air activities and crafts. David Pye, afterwards Provost of University College, London, joined in our plan making: which we completed in considerable detail.” ...the boys would be taught about the lives of ordinary working people around them – the school would include a working farm; and there would be less emphasis on team games, less adoration of the heroes of the playing fields. (Hankinson, 1995, p. 226)

Hankinson reports that in the spring of 1913 Winthrop-Young noted in his journal:

“I was asked...to write out my general views on education for the Minister’s benefit. Indulged in general prophecy of the half year school, camp life etc.” (Hankinson, 1995, p. 131). It is not clear who the Minister was but shows that attempts were underway to influence, and change, the educational system at the time.

J. Winthrop-Young (2005) reports that the activities at the ‘half year school’ would have involved sailing, mountaineering, and expeditions. Winthrop-Young mentions a working farm and crafts, so his thoughts were not just based around what today might be known as adventurous activities. He is perhaps influenced by his knowledge of what was happening at the Lietz Schools. However, Pye (1927) reports that the school project was not carried out.

This did not stop Winthrop-Young’s idea of taking boys into the hills and “bringing mountain climbing into the education and training of our future generations” (Hankinson, 1995, p. 306). He encouraged his friends to take students into the hills and amongst these friends were his former protégés George Mallory and Jack Longland (Hankinson, 1995).

It has been shown that Winthrop-Young’s first great interest was watersports, which was followed by his, more well known, interest in climbing. For most of his life he held jobs in education, either as a teacher, teaching inspector, or Reader of Comparative Education. These factors combined when there was a reaction against the dominance of games in schools and against an education system based almost solely on academic achievement. Winthrop-Young thought education should be about the ‘whole man’. Through his interests in watersports and climbing, and his association with Baden-Powell and Richmond, Winthrop-Young believed that adventure could be used to provide a rounded education. When Hahn came to Britain he used his connections to help establish Gordonstoun and later assisted with Hahn’s other educational endeavours. Without Winthrop-Young’s assistance it is debatable if Hahn would have established himself to the same extent, and for this reason he might be seen as a very important factor in the development of Hahn’s institutions. As Winthrop-Young knew Hahn from 1926 and sailing appears to have developed at Spetzgart, which opened in 1929, there is the interesting possibility that he may have influenced its development in Germany.

16. JOCELIN WINTHROP-YOUNG O.B.E.

Jocelin Winthrop-Young, the son of Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, has been associated with Hahn and his educational foundations since the age of eleven when he started school at Hohenfels, a branch of Salem, in August 1930 (J. Winthrop-Young, 2001). In September 1932 he moved to Spetzgart, another branch of Salem and was there until April 1933 (Rohrs & Tunstall-Behrens, 1970; J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, 25 March, 2006).

He was one of the first two students taught by Hahn in Britain (J. Winthrop-Young, 1997; Byatt, 1976; Rohrs & Tunstall-Behrens, 1970) and stayed at Gordonstoun until July 1938 (J. Winthrop-Young, personal communication, 25 March, 2006). After serving in the Navy during the Second World War he became the first Headmaster at Anavryta School, Athens, and was there from 1948–59 (Day, 1980; Rohrs & Tunstall-Behrens, 1970). He became a member of the Board of Governors of Box Hill School in 1961, the first co-educational school in England to be run on Salem lines. He was Headmaster at Salem from 1964–74 (Day, 1980). In 1967 he became the founding director of the Round Square Conference (Round Square, 2005d).

The Round Square is a collection of more than fifty schools from around the world which follow the experiential education philosophy of Hahn ([Round Square, 2005a](#)). J. Winthrop-Young's daughter, Sophie Wiedlich, runs the Kurt Hahn Archive at Salem School.

17. ZIMMERMANN FAMILY

Dr. B. Zimmermann was a German who had represented his country in international athletics and subsequently became Head of Physical Education at the University of Gottingen (Hogan, 1968, 1970a). He was an authority on the German Sports Badge (Carpenter, personal communication, 20 April, 2006). In 1937 he had to flee Nazi Germany and Hahn, because of his expertise in physical education which fitted in with his plans for expanding the Moray Badge, invited him to Scotland (Carpenter, 2006, Hogan, 1968). The School magazine, The Gordonstoun Record (1938), wrote a welcome for Zimmermann in December 1938.

At Gordonstoun he became a teacher and taught orienteering, or Norwegian Compass Games as they were called. He moved with the school to Wales when it was evacuated and then moved to Aberdovey where he continued teaching Compass Games (Carpenter, personal communication, 20 April, 2006). Zimmermann became the chief Instructor in Physical Training at Aberdovey (Brereton, 1951; Hogan, 1970a). Hogan, the first Warden of Aberdovey, praises Zimmermann's 'genius' for being able to make the students believe in their own physical potential (1968, 1970a) and describes athletics for Zimmermann as "merely a tool whereby a boy could be enabled to grow in confidence and determination" (Hogan, 1968, p. 87).

This concept of Zimmermann's is reiterated by Hahn:

To him I owe the watchword "Training through the body, not training of the body." He...was interested in the boy of average physical ability and even more so in the clumsy one, and far less in the star performer whom he liked to call prima donna. It was his belief that in a short time he could bring every normal boy to athletic achievements good enough to draw self-respect there from, and he considered it less important to develop the innate strength in a boy than to make him overcome his innate weakness. "Your disability is your opportunity" he used to say to a boy who thought that certain standards were out of his reach....He was radiant when he succeeded in defeating a boy's defeatism. (Hahn, 1960, p. 2)

Hahn states that Zimmermann had been developing his own system of physical training in Germany from 1919–1930 and he could not have developed the Moray Badge without him (Hahn, 1940b).

Peter Carpenter, Zimmermann's son, was a student at Gordonstoun in the late thirties and assisted him at Aberdovey from 1943–46 (Carpenter, personal communication, 20 April, 2006). Carpenter completed a post-graduate degree at Oxford in 1957 concerning Outward Bound and has written a number of articles on the Duke of Edinburgh Award (Byatt, 1976). He was also an Honorary Award Liaison Officer for the Duke of Edinburgh's Award (Byatt, 1976). He became a lecturer at Cambridge University in the Education Department (Byatt, 1976).

METHODOLOGY

The research used an inductive approach based on primary data (documents, interviews, correspondence) which was processed using thematic analysis. This section summarises the research process in order to be transparent regarding the information presented in the book. As with all research of a historical nature it is impossible to be 100% confident of the 'facts', further information may emerge in the future, alternative interpretations may be reached and history may be rewritten. However, we believe that we have been as thorough as possible at this time and have turned all of the stones that we could locate.

THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL POSITION ADOPTED

From an epistemological position this book is based on empiricism - it is centred on historical research and is based on observations of the world (the experiences of individuals and through them organisations). These are contained in documented material, written during the events or after them, or material obtained during the project by interview or personal communication. This material is a record of the events from those who took part in them. In this sense the research focused on the meaning that individuals and groups make of the world around them (constructivism). The study is based on Hahn (but includes other participants) and aims to interpret and understand his actions, and in this respect it took a hermeneutic approach - "the art, skill, or theory of interpretation of understanding the significance of human actions" (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p. 94). The intention is to bring greater clarity to, and therefore hopefully greater understanding of the events portrayed.

The ontological position is inevitably an interpretive one as we interpret the actions of Hahn (and others) - we believe that to understand the situation we have to understand the participants' perception of the situation and the filters through which they see the world. As Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 106) state "human behaviour, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities". This is a form of historical realism - "virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; and crystallised (reified) over time" (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p. 94). These positions were adopted because of the historical nature of the research and our prior understanding of Hahn and his development of outdoor activities which were based, we believe, to a large part, on his personal experiences.

METHOD

The available data dictated that the research was qualitative as it "involves the gathering of evidence that reflects the experiences, feelings or judgements of

individuals...whether as subjects or as observers of the scene” (Verma & Mallick, 1999, p. 27). This was true of the interview phase although the documentary research may be said to have a small element of quantitative research - if Hahn stated a point of view on a number of occasions then this could be quantified.

Our own interest in Hahn not only sustained our interest in researching for this book but also assisted in the identification of sources of information, such as the two correspondents (Jocelin Winthrop-Young and Peter Carpenter), the Kurt Hahn Archive (Salem) and Gordonstoun School Archive. Further, our connections with the various organisations Hahn was associated with, has assisted in gaining access to these sources. For instance one of us had already met J. Winthrop-Young before the research started.

Our own backgrounds and interests gave us a greater understanding of, and sensitivity to, the subject. This in turn has allowed for ‘purposive sampling’ to be carried out. Purposive sampling allows the researchers to “seek out groups, settings and individuals where...the processes being studied are most likely to occur (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 202). In any research project there will be a limited amount of time to carry out the project and purposive sampling allows the researcher to use this time effectively. The people and organisations approached were chosen because, we believed, based on our knowledge prior to the project and that gained during it, that they would offer the most time efficient way to gather the most relevant information. Descriptions and explanations as to the specifics of why these people and organisations were chosen are given below, these locations are also included for the benefit of future researchers.

DATA COLLECTION

The Kurt Hahn archive is located at Salem School in Germany and contains the largest collection of material concerning Hahn in the world (as far as we can tell). It was started by J. Winthrop-Young and is now continued by his daughter Sophie Wiedlich. It was visited in June, 2005, and various articles by Hahn and his associates were obtained. It was arranged for some work, considered important by the curator of the archive, to be translated from German to English.

Gordonstoun School (located near Elgin, Scotland) contains the Gordonstoun school archive which provided useful information during three visits in 2005. Literature written by Hahn was obtained along with internal documents, including those relating to the founding of the school, committee minutes, personal correspondence, annual reports, syllabuses, and reports. The school magazine, the Gordonstoun Record, was particularly helpful.

Cambridge University Library was also visited as it contains literature by Hahn, copies of the Gordonstoun Record, and other relevant documentation. This had been deposited there by Adam Arnold-Brown, an early student at Gordonstoun, Cambridge alumnus, former warden of an Outward Bound centre, and author of ‘Unfolding Character’ (1962) detailing many of Hahn’s educational endeavours.

Outward Bound (UK) was approached and provided general background information and the Kurt Hahn website (<http://www.kurthahn.org>) used to access a number of Hahn’s speeches. The search for literature produced by Hahn was based

on detailed bibliographies, contained in German textbooks (Schwarz, 1968; Specht, Becker, Erbe, Linn & Schafer, 1970) and in two academic pieces of work (Day, 1980; Richards, 1981). Approximately 90% of Hahn's known work (published and unpublished) in English was obtained.

Cook (1999, 2000, 2001) and Alexander & Parker (1930) were used to give context to the study. Cook's work is an analysis based on various sources but Alexander and Parker's (1930) book is based on first hand experience.

Two former students of Salem and Gordonstoun were also approached, Prince Philip and J. Winthrop-Young, the latter consented to an interview which occurred at Salem in June, 2005.

J. Winthrop-Young has a unique knowledge of Hahn and his ideas. He was a student at both Salem and Gordonstoun in the 1930s. He taught under Hahn at Gordonstoun, founded the Round Square association and Kurt Hahn Archive, and became Headmaster of a Round Square School in Greece and later Salem School in Germany. He has lectured on Hahn for the last forty years and provided first hand accounts of his experiences (J. Winthrop-Young, 1957, 1986, 1997, 2001) – see Appendix A. His father, Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, knew Hahn at Salem and sent him there and later to Gordonstoun. G. Winthrop-Young was involved in the foundation of Gordonstoun and its later development. He was also involved in many of Hahn's other educational ventures and provides a first-hand account of these (1950, 1951, 1952, 1957) – see Appendix A. J. Winthrop-Young through 'being there at the time', his association with key participants in the events, and life-long interest in Hahn, is able to provide accounts of many of the events in this book.

The inductive process adopted meant that an investigative stance was taken. Our prior knowledge allowed information to be obtained which led to other sources and (in the majority of cases) more information being obtained. This cycle of events continued and allowed a clearer picture of events to unfold.

Over time it was possible to identify and source various first-hand accounts from those involved in Hahn's educational endeavours. At Salem these included Martin Flavin (1996), Golo Mann (1970, 1990) and Marina Ewald (1970). At Gordonstoun, A. Arnold-Brown (1962) and Henry Brereton (1951, 1958, 1968, 1970) provided detailed accounts. James Hogan (1968, 1970a, 1970b) provided accounts of the development of the county badge scheme and the start of Outward Bound. Peter Carpenter (see Appendix A) was a former student of Gordonstoun and the son of Bernhard Zimmermann, who was closely associated with the development of Outward Bound. Carpenter has provided a first-hand account of Outward Bound, Aberdovey, as he worked there from 1942–1944. Carpenter (1958, 1970, 1974) also produced a number of articles on the origins of the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, and has carried out research into the start of Outward Bound for a post-graduate degree at Oxford University. Through personal communication with Carpenter it was also possible to gain further information.

CHALLENGES

The research is largely based on the documentary evidence obtained but not all of Hahn's written work in English was obtained and only a small part of his work in

German. As Hall and Hall (1996, p. 33) state “inductive reasoning based on observed facts results in theory which, however, can never be totally proved, because of the possible existence of observations running counter to the theory which have not yet been made”. Therefore, the conclusions may not be entirely accurate.

Although we consider it unlikely it is possible that some of the documentary evidence may also have been produced with a hidden agenda to influence someone other than the research and this could have affected the conclusions (Bell, 2000). Documents were examined in a critical manner to try to ensure that they were genuine and authentic (they were what they purported to be and report truthfully on the subject) (Bell, 2000) but one can never be completely certain.

There may also be limitations at the interview/correspondent stage of the research. The interviewee and correspondent may have wanted to influence the research so that their own preconceived view was taken. Contemporary influences may also have reshaped their telling of the past. As some of the events happened over 70 years ago what correspondents remembered may not be an accurate representation of what actually happened. In addition whatever is remembered is inevitably a subjective account.

During the course of the research a wide range of material, from a number of sources, was consulted and critically assessed as to its authenticity (based on our knowledge of the subject). This material included many first hand accounts of the events portrayed and documents meant for both public and private audiences – some of the material was marked confidential. As the project was based on the information obtained, considerable time was allocated to the process of obtaining material that could be used as evidence. The locating of two people who lived through many of the events discussed allowed for first hand accounts to be sourced and areas of interest to be followed up. The intention was to try to provide the most comprehensive historical account possible of the events portrayed. Inevitably there are possible limitations to the research but through sourcing a wide range of relevant material we believe that these were minimised as much as possible.

THE FINNISH EXPEDITION 1925

Three descriptions of the Salem School expedition to Finland.

[Golo Mann was a student at Salem, and later a Professor of History. Here he talks about a lecture he gave on the 1925 Finnish expedition which he participated in as a student.]

The lecture went back to a trip about twenty Salem pupils had taken through Finland in the summer of 1925. The idea for the trip came from Marina Ewald, the only woman in the group; the other chaperone was our German teacher, Otto Baumann. We planned to take boats-barges actually - up Lake Saimaa, from Lappeenranta to Kuopio, then a truck over to Lake Paijanne, and sail down the lake to Lahti in the south, a trip of four weeks in all. Kurt Hahn had reservations about my going along, because of my well-known clumsiness: "If you end up at the bottom of Lake Paijanne, the whole trip will be ruined for the others." But all went well enough. Even if I did not contribute to the fishing, an important source of supplementary nourishment, at least my little travelling library of stories and ballads proved useful to the others on rainy days in our tents. We travelled to Helsinki from Stettin with the steamer *Rugen*. We were assigned to steerage, which meant spending the night either up on deck or down in a sort of cellar-like vault. The Finnish capital impressed me with its social-democratic modernity; one sensed more equality here than in the German Reich... One of the seniors and I were delegated to go to one of these buildings to apply for reduced railroad fares. We were received by no less a personage than Secretary of State Loimaranta. He was impressed by our plan: "Traversing our great lakes by boat? That's German valor!". (Mann, 1990, p. 117)

We bought the boats, four or five of them, in Lappeenranta and sold them again in Lahti. We lashed them together with ropes, the first in the line having an outboard motor, which, however, gave the many rowers only slight relief. We found innumerable islands where we could spend the night, larger ones with a few farms, where milk could be had, smaller ones that were uninhabited and could be circled on foot in a couple of hours. Now and then we would spend one or two days in such a refuge to rest, fish, or, as I did, hike. Late at night a brightly lit-up ship would pass, having left Jyväskylä in late afternoon to arrive the next morning in Lahti. It awakened in us visions of luxury and comfort, a seductive impression that brightly lit ships passing in the night always make from the outside. But from the inside, things look very different. In the summer of 1932 I took that same steamer up Lake Paijanne and found the trip pleasant, but no more than that; for after nightfall nothing at all could be seen, and the ship's cabins were no more interesting than compartments in a sleeping car.

APPENDIX C

The Finnish lakes have navigable channels marked by pilings set far apart; we kept to these channels, so as not to get lost on those enormous bodies of water. One time I was even allowed to “navigate,” which meant sitting in the lead boat and keeping us on course. An accomplishment for which Kurt Hahn later praised me.

This group adventure had a beneficial effect on my psyche, as had those earlier scout trips [long hikes over two weeks], though to a lesser degree. When I returned to Salem, I no longer assumed the critical and mocking air toward the school with which I had previously tried to make myself important. From this experience I took away the lesson that participation is fundamentally better than maintaining a negative attitude....the lessons of Salem did not really take shape in me until I had left school far behind. (Mann, 1990, p. 118)

[Marina Ewald describing the trip she led to Finland.]

Twenty Salem pupils went on a trip in open boats across the Finnish lakes. They were allowed hunting and fishing permits for the whole area covered by the trip. They steered their boats through almost uninhabited country. It was like a voyage of discovery. For all the participants it was one of the happiest experiences of those years. Because of its success, Kurt Hahn therefore attached the greatest importance to expeditions carefully planned beforehand and carried out with endurance. They have become an essential part of his educational programme.

The boat trip through Finland meant the realization of a dream for the leader of the expedition, a woman geographer on Salem’s staff. Here was an example of how individual enjoyment was linked to principles of education in the development of what has been called ‘the Salem method’. The pedagogue wants to pass on to the young his enthusiasm for an activity and the inspiration he derived from it, because for him they have been a lifelong source of strength. (Ewald, 1970, p. 34–35)

[Hahn’s description of the trip]

In 1925, 16 of our boys under the guidance of Miss Ewald, a geographer, made a journey by boat among the Finnish Lakes. It was a long and Hazardous expedition. They lived partly by shooting and fishing. (Hahn, 1930, p. 10–11).

THE WATCHERS

[A description of the 'Watchers' organisation.]

...open to boys of Gordonstoun and the surrounding district:-

Every boy between the ages of 14 and 19 can apply to join the Watchers. This organisation is meant to be of use along this coast. The boys who join will be trained to become efficient members of a rocket life-saving crew. For this purpose they will be taught the handling of boats under oars and sail, so that they will understand the needs of a ship in distress.

Membership is entirely voluntary and the officer in charge has the right to refuse entry to any unsuitable candidates. He can also discharge any member of the organisation who misbehaves or fails in his duties.

All youths on joining the corps will be classed as Recruits, and will be provided with a blue armet to be worn while taking part in the corps activities.

The next stage a Watcher can reach is Watcher Second Class. To qualify a recruit must:-

1. Be willing to take the promise:

"I promise to serve Hopeman Village and this District, through them my king and Country and Christ through all."

2. Produce evidence of continuous training for the Moray Badge and, if possible, have gained it.

3. Have passed a swimming test.

4. Have passed a pulling test

5. Have passed a test for usefulness as a member of a sailing crew.

6. Have passed a test for making the following bends and hitches:-

(a) Reef knots, bowline, round turn and two half hitches, sheet bend, fishermen's bend, sheepshank.

(b) Be able to put a whipping in a rope's end.

7. Have an adequate knowledge of the coast between Hopeman and Covesea.

8. Be willing to serve as a Watcher in the Coastguard Hut and as a Coast Searcher if and when required.

APPENDIX D

The second class watcher will be given instruction in the use of the L.S.A. gear and duties in connection with coast watching.

To qualify for Watcher First Class a knowledge of the following will be necessary:-

1. Simple splicing, seizings, etc.
2. Signalling, morse and semaphore.
3. The duties of each number at L.S.A. drill.
4. Artificial respiration of the apparently drowned.
5. Use of the telephone.
6. Duties of a land watcher in respect to distress signals (ships and aircraft), use of rockets and flares, etc. Rule of the road at sea, fog signals, boxing the compass.

Certain Watchers First Class will be selected to undergo instruction to become Watcher Coxswains. They will have to prove their ability to take charge of a boat under sail, and a certain knowledge of coastal navigation will be necessary, together with certain other qualifications which will be made known later.

The above tests of ability will be subject to alteration as time and experience dictate.

Uniform will be worn when recruits pass the test for Second Class Watchers, and will consist of:-

- (a) Blue jersey bearing the words "Watchers, Hopeman Company."
- (b) Long blue serge trousers.
- (c) Gaiters and boots (when employed ashore).
- (d) White gym shoes when afloat.

The Headquarters of the Watchers will be the schooner "Prince Louis" at Hopeman.

In addition to the activities set out above, which will remain the primary objects of the corps, games and physical training activities, athletics, etc. will be carried out. It is hoped that a certain number of Watchers will be able to take part in cruises in the "Prince Louis" and the "Diligent."

The watchers, inaugurated in the Autumn, now consist of twelve boys from Gordonstoun, fifteen from Hopeman and fourteen from Duffus and Draine.

(Gordonstoun Record, 1938, p. 8-9)

APPENDIX E

GERMAN SPORTS BADGE

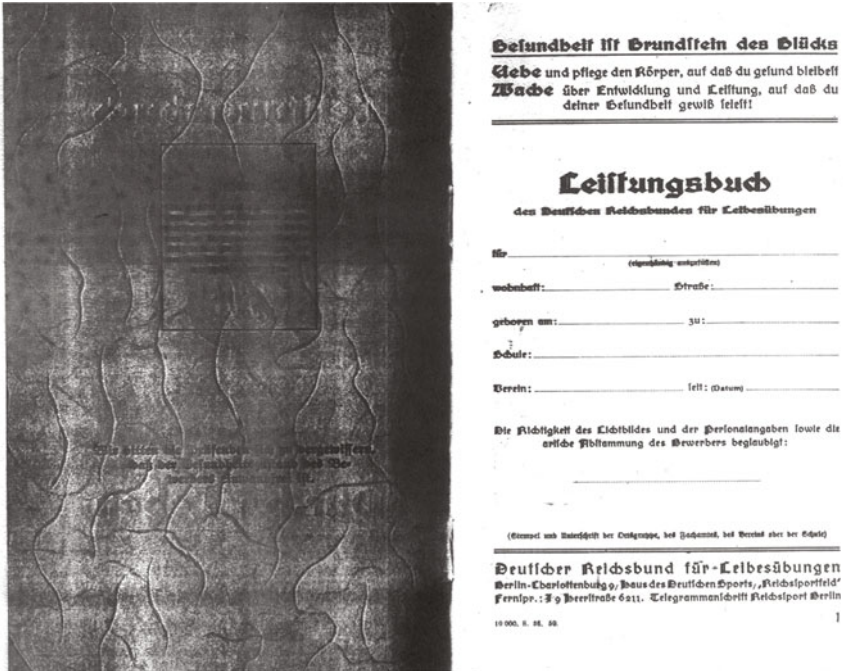


Figure 25. German sports badge.

**Bestimmungen
für das Reichssportjugendabzeichen.**

1. Der Deutsche Reichsbund für Leibesübungen verleiht als öffentliche Anerkennung für vielseitige Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Leibesübungen das „Reichssportjugendabzeichen“.
2. Das Reichssportjugendabzeichen fordert eine fünffache Ausleistung. Es ist eine Leistungsprüfung auf Herz- und Lungenkraft, auf Spannkraft, auf den Besitz männlicher Körperkraft, auf Schnelligkeit und Ausdauer.
3. Zweck der Auszeichnung ist, Anreiz zu geben zur Erreichung der für die Volksgesundheit notwendigen hochgeistigsten körperlichen Allgemeinbildung.
4. Jeder männliche Deutsche arischer Abstammung kann sich bis zur Vollendung seines 18. Lebensjahres um das Reichssportjugendabzeichen bewerben.
5. Die Prüfungen bauen sich so auf, daß die natürliche nächste Stufe das Deutsche Reichsportabzeichen ist.
6. Die Prüfungen der einzelnen Leistungen sind in fünf Gruppen enthalten. Sie sind im Laufe von 12 Monaten, vom Ende der ersten Prüfung gerechnet, zu erfüllen. Der Prüfling hat in jeder Gruppe nach Wahl eine Leistung auszuführen.
7. Die Berechtigung zur Abnahme der Prüfungen haben die von den Fachämtern gestellten Richter und Jugendleiter, sowie die an den betreffenden Schulen tätigen Fachlehrer. Zwei Richter müssen die Prüfungen beaufsichtigen und unterschreiben und durch den Verein oder die Schule mit Stempel beglaubigen lassen.
8. Das Reichssportjugendabzeichen wird nach erfolgter Prüfung als Vorzeichen verliehen. Daneben erhält der Erwerbende die Auszeichnung für das Sportband ein Zubehörschild.
9. Bei Ausgabe des Leistungsabzeichens ist vom Bewerber 1 Mk. zusätzlich Dorte zu zahlen. Die Ausbändigung des Abzeichens erfolgt nach Prüfung des Abzeichens durch den DMV. kostenfrei.
10. Für verloren gegangene Abzeichen wird Ersatz gegen Erstattung von 1 Mk. 1 und Dorte (Zubehörschild Mk. 0.30 und Dorte) geliefert, wenn eine schriftliche Bescheinigung vom Verein oder Schule vorliegt über den tatsächlichen Verlust des Abzeichens beigebracht wird. Auf Anforderung ist das Leistungsband mit einzuliefern.
11. Eine Befreiung des Eingangs von Prüfungsgebühren durch den DMV, erfolgt nicht. Die Bewerbungen werden mit möglicher Verschleppung in der Reihenfolge des Eingangs bearbeitet und an den Einsender zurückgeliefert. Im allgemeinen Interesse wird dringend gebeten, von Nachfragen abzusehen, da durch die Beantwortung der Fragen die ordnungsmäßige Abwicklung der Verleihungsarbeiten lediglich getört und verzögert wird.

14

Nr. _____

**Nach Erfüllung der Bedingungen der fünf Gruppen
ist dem Jugendlichen**

das

Reichssportjugendabzeichen

am _____ verliehen worden.

**Deutscher
Reichsbund für Leibesübungen**

Geprüft durch: _____

15

Figure 27. German sports badge.

APPENDIX F

WELSH SUMMER COURSE

[A description of the Welsh Summer Course.]

Two weeks after the end of the summer term 1940 the first Pre-Service Course began. It was an experiment in giving boys from all classes some kind of training likely to be of use to them in any of the Three Services. Coupled with this training there was P.T. and Athletics. The latter took the form of a County Badge, based on the Moray Badge, but adapted to suit the conditions under which the course was run.

Capt. Wakeford, head of the College of Navigation at Southampton, was in charge, assisted by members of the College and Gordonstoun Staff and several Army Officers. Those taking part came from South Stoneham College, Liverpool, the Training Ship Conway and Gordonstoun School. There were also some others who came from different parts of the country, and a number of young soldiers from the Western Command. Three tents had been erected in Plas Dinam grounds each holding about twenty lads and these were kept tidy by groups working in rotation. After the morning inspection marks were awarded and the result posted on the board. There was keen rivalry and white tent ended top followed by Red and then Blue.

Throughout the course the twenty four time system was used, and bugles were sounded for parades and meals. The following represents an average daily time table.

6.45	Reveille. Tent Captains were responsible to see that their tents got up immediately.
7-7.15.	Morning Dip in the river Severn. This was voluntary and those who did not bathe had a cold shower.
7.45-8.40	Breakfast in Plas Dinam house. People took it in turn to wait on their respective tables.
8.40	Divisions. The whole company paraded by tents and were inspected by Lieut. Gore-Booth.
8.45-9 o'clock.	Prayers taken by Mr. Fraser.
9 o'clock-10 o'clock.	Lectures or Instruction which took the form of Map work, semaphore, Instruction in the use of the compass and the working of the block axnd tackle.
10 o'clock-10.10	Preparation for P.T.
10.10-10.40	P.T. taken by Q.M.S.I. Beaumont. This was carefully graded so that overstrain was avoided. The younger

<p>From 10.50 till lunch</p>	<p>members of the course stopped the exercises before the others to have milk and biscuits. The real benefit of the P.T. was felt afterwards when Badge Athletics were done.</p> <p>The various groups took it in turn to do the Badge training or lectures. From time to time the lecture period was spent out of doors on the hill face. Each person had a map and was asked to set a course or identify some distant hill or road. At first the average person found it strange connecting what he actually saw with the map, but by practice it became much easier and by the end of the camp everyone could set a course correctly and read a map fairly accurately. The Badge Training was given by members of the staff and training in the events was begun from the very beginning starting with simple exercises. This encouraged people to learn to run, jump or throw with some style and not to rely on sheer brute force or weight. Out of twenty soldiers, 12 won badges and in all thirty-five badges were presented on the last night.</p>
<p>12.30</p>	<p>Lunch.</p>
<p>1–1.30</p>	<p>A period of rest. Everyone had to be on their beds.</p>
<p>1.30–2.00</p>	<p>Free time.</p>
<p>2 o'clock</p>	<p>Parade in front of house. The whole camp paraded by tents and was split up into groups and told what was taking place during the afternoon. The activities were Stalking, Instruction, Sketch Map making, and Compass games. The first consisted of approaching a person without him either seeing or hearing. It was a good exercise and developed a knowledge of the use of cover and silent movement, qualities which are essential to the modern soldier.</p> <p>Sketch map making entailed instruction in mapping the points of military importance in a landscape in as short a time as possible.</p> <p>After this training, small groups of boys were sent off with Ordnance Survey Maps, Marching Compasses and drawing instruments, and orders to go to some position on the map, such as a railway station, disused railway line or Roman camp, and make a sketch map of it.</p> <p>For Compass games, small groups of boys set out with a compass and several readings. At the end of each leg of the course they found a judge, who,</p>

	after asking them several questions on the map work or general observations, sent them on.
4.30	Tea.
5.30–6.45	This time was spent in swimming, playing basketball, or further Badge Practice. Competitions in basket ball were arranged between tents, and many people who had never played the game before became quite expert.
6.50–7.15	Wash and change for dinner.
7.45–9.30	Free time, with occasional lectures between 8 o'clock and 9 o'clock. It can quite truthfully be said that these lectures were without exception, very interesting. At the beginning of the course Lord Davies welcomed us all to his house, and went on to give us a short talk entitled "Might Behind Right" advocating an armed International Police Force, to enforce International Law. The other lectures are explained by their titles. Mr. T. Ellis, of Aberystwyth University, gave a talk on "Wales and the Welsh Language"; Mr. J. Longland spoke on an Everest Expedition; Capt. F.S. Chapman told us of his climb of Kanchinjunga; an R.A.F. Officer spoke on "How our Air Crews Escape from Germany"; and 2 nd Lieut. Gore-Booth gave an address on the "Modern Methods of Agriculture" and also on "War Gases".
9.30	Lights out. Camp Captain went round and saw that all was in order for the night.
10 o'clock	Lights out. Bugle.

So ends what may be called a normal day of the Summer Course.

Throughout the three weeks a spirit of good will prevailed. It would be wrong to say there was no grumbling-there was-but then, grumbling is a sign that a community is awake and watchful. The food, which is usually a source of discontent, was excellent. There was plenty of it and it was well cooked. At the end everyone, without exception, agreed that they had derived some real benefit from the training they had received.

(Gordonstoun Record, 1941, p. 16–19).

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