

AN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY OF VIRGINIA AXLINE

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Virginia Axline developed a new field of child psychotherapy by applying a nondirective approach to the burgeoning experimentation of utilizing play in therapeutic work with children. While much biographical information is available regarding other leaders in the fields of counseling and psychology, historical research into Axline and her development of child-centered play therapy represent a gap in the literature. The purpose of the current study was to: 1) examine the professional contributions of Virginia Axline; 2) gather personal information regarding Axline that contributes to deeper understanding of her theory; and 3) identify life circumstances or events that influenced Axline's professional contributions. Historical methodology was utilized to locate and examine artifacts and materials necessary to create an interpretive biography of Axline's life and work, with a focus on her professional influences, experiences, and contributions. Historical methods utilized include historiography, oral history, and interpretive biography, with an emphasis on established and accepted source criticism and data synthesis processes. The research yielded a number of historically significant and previously unknown documents valuable to the field of CCPT including personal correspondence, academic writings, and interviews, as well as academic and government records. The research also established new information about and understandings of several of Axline's professional relationships. The research also calls into question the original authorship of scholarly contributions in the field of counseling for which Axline may have deserved, but not received credit. Included in the biography is information related to Axline's early life, higher education, career timeline, professional development, mentoring relationships, research interests, student perceptions, collegial relationships, personal hardships, professional interests and advocacy, teaching and learning methods, and her decline in later life.

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by

Erin Turley Stich

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For Marielle, who believed in me before I believed in myself.

and

Because of Eve, who conferred upon me my most coveted title. You were always my reason. You were always my dream.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Within the field of counseling, a dire need for historical research exists, particularly biographical research regarding the lives of pioneering counselors. The available resources for historical research concerning early contributors to counseling are degrading over time and will therefore never improve in quantity or quality. If these lives are not documented and shared, the field risks losing critical contextual information necessary for the full appreciation, application, and teaching of each counseling theory.

Although modern-day play therapists widely recognize Virginia Axline as the creator of child-centered play therapy (CCPT; Landreth, 2002; Ray, 2011), available information in counseling literature about her development of CCPT is scarce. Other than Axline's clear acknowledgment (1947b) that CCPT is grounded in the theory and principles of Carl Rogers' person-centered therapy (Rogers, 1961), the direct influences on her work remain unknown. Also poorly documented is the scope of her influence on later contributors to the field. Compared to the personal writings, biographies, and professional contributions available to aid in understanding other prominent theorists (Frankl, 1959; A. Freud, 1966; S. Freud., 1943, 1960, 2003; Jung, 1933; May, 1953; Rogers, 1980; Skinner, 1953), this level of detail is inadequate.

Leaders in counselor education have long recognized the value of providing insight into the lives of their predecessors (Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP), 2009; Heppner et al., 1995; Thorne & Henley, 2005). Despite this fact, the current approach to including historical context in counselor education could best be described as haphazard. Today's counselor educators include historical and biographical information in both text and teaching, without consistently subjecting that content to rigorous proper research

methodology and criticism. The problem is not the exclusion of historical information in teaching and writing; the problem is that, when including historical data, authors do so sporadically and often fail to hold to the same academic standards they would when reporting clinical data. Previous exhortations to incorporate historical research into counselor education have been met with inaction (Engels, 1980; Gladding, 1985; Heppner et al., 1995). When counselor educators fail to recognize the legitimacy of historical research, they fail to consistently provide students and colleagues with the highest quality of information possible (Goodwin, 1999).

One positive example of incorporating historical data into counselor education that can be frequently observed is the practice of including autobiographical author notes in text introductions (Fall, Holden, & Marquis, 2010; Landreth, 2002; O'Connor & Braverman, 2009; Ray, 2011). This practice is helpful because it provides opportunity for the author to disclose motivations, perspectives, and potential biases (McDowell, 2002). As McDowell points out, such writings tell only a small portion of the larger story and are limited to what the subject of the material desired to disclose.

Interviews with prominent counseling pioneers are found less frequently in counseling literature, but do exist (Christensen & Thorngren, 2000; Heppner et al., 1984; Lindo, 2013; Young, 2005). Such interviews are important records and potential sources of information for more comprehensive biographical works. Interviews of this nature are often narrowly defined to a particular aspect of the interview subject's area of expertise, though elements of a more personal nature often emerge through the course of the interview. This is particularly true if the researcher is skilled at putting the subject at ease (Yow, 2005).

Although there are a few examples of traditional literary biography in the field of

counseling, true historical research into the lives of counselors is rare. Perhaps the best and worst examples of interpretive biography focus on Carl Rogers. As with any research method, historical research can be executed poorly through data mining practices, omission of relevant data, and unchecked researcher bias. An example of this can be seen in Cohen's biography of Carl Rogers (Cohen, 1997). A more balanced and methodologically sound example of historical biography can be observed in Kirschenbaum's (2009) *The Life and Work of Carl Rogers*.

Very few counselor educators have produced quality research into the history of counseling as a profession (Heppner, 1990; Heppner et al., 2000; Whiteley, 1980). These overviews of the field are a helpful foundation for the instruction of future counselors, but they are too seldom utilized. More frequently utilized, and most abundantly available, are the routine attempts at historical review that can be found in introductory counseling textbooks.

Rarely does the historical and biographical information included in counseling textbooks spring from primary source material such as autobiographical writings and formal interviews. Nevertheless, historical accounts are heavily utilized in counseling theory pedagogy. All five introduction to counseling theory texts cited here include historical and biographical information with varying degrees of supportive source material (Corey, 2005; Fall et al., 2010; Hackney & Cormier, 2012; Peterson & Nisenholz, 1999; Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2004). The sufficiency of support for historical information disseminated in these texts ranges from complete absence (Hackney & Cormier, 2012) to the more academically rigorous (Fall et al., 2010), though the latter appears to be the exception to the rule. Some of the most concerning offenders are those introductory counseling texts that include both biographical information about theorists and conclusions regarding relationships between historical events, without any source reference to support their statements (Peterson & Nisenholz, 1999; Sommers-Flanagan &

Sommers-Flanagan, 2004).

Counselor educators benefit from holding to the same standards of quality when writing about the history of the counseling profession as when reporting clinical research results. Too often counselor educators assume that because they know generally the order of events and professional associations between prominent theorists, they can draw conclusions about the relationships between those events and individuals. Such conclusions risk the misinterpretation of important events, influences, and outcomes. When this history of a theory or individual is minimized, the resulting comprehension is oversimplified. In light of these considerations, one can see the glaring mistake of not viewing historical research as legitimate. The mistake of viewing historical research as irrelevant can reduce internal criticism of historical data to mere correlation and quickly thereafter, presumed causation.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to address the current gap in knowledge and available information regarding the development of CCPT and the life of Virginia Axline. This study will focus on influences upon Axline both personally and professionally, particularly as they relate to her development of the CCPT model. Additional areas of examination and reference will include the following: common misunderstandings of Axline's theory and potential corrections based on available historical data, Axline's influence on other leaders in the field of counseling, and elements of Axline's theoretical orientation that may have been previously unknown or poorly established within the counseling literature.

Significance of the Study

Ideas taken out of context are at best minimized, at worst misconstrued. Counseling professionals are familiar with the value of contextual information as it relates to their clients.

Counselor educators must also acknowledge of the value of contextual information as it relates to depth of knowledge in counseling theories and applications of those theories. Examining all the potential contributions to the field of counseling through historical research is beyond the scope of this paper; however, a few key arguments for its inclusion are paramount.

The field of psychology possesses a relatively well-rounded body of research into the life histories of its founders (Frankl, 1959; A. Freud, 1928, 1966). By comparison, considerably less research exists in the counseling literature (Gladding, 1985). Biographical research can and should be utilized to fill in these gaps in the counseling literature. This contribution is of particular importance when considering expressed concerns regarding professional identity among counselors (Watkins, 1983).

Greater knowledge of the history of counseling allows for an improved ability to appreciate the significance of new methods and ideas, while simultaneously warding off the misinterpretation of existing ideas (Boring, 1950). With an improved understanding of the lives, motivations, and values of counseling theorists comes a greater depth of theoretical knowledge and application.

Experts and leaders in the field have made a clear call for including biographical history in counselor education (CACREP, 2009; Engels, 1980; Gladding, 1985; Heppner et al., 1995). Despite this fact, the historical information presented in counseling texts is of inconsistent quality. The historical research proposed would provide quality research to meet the needs of counseling students.

More than one counseling pioneer took steps to indicate their support for creating a historical record of contributors to the field. Carl Rogers understood the value of providing maximum context and source data for the preservation of his contributions to the field

(Kirschenbaum, 2009, p. ii). Rogers also understood the limitations of any historical research that he might participate in as an impartial and potentially confounding contributor. As such, Rogers left a large collection of papers and other artifacts to the Library of Congress for anyone who might want to use them for future research. Based on biographical accounts, it appears that these artifacts included material both flattering and unflattering to the late contributor (Kirschenbaum, 2009, p. ii). Haim Ginott took similar steps to indicate a desire for an archival record of his work when he arranged for more than 12 boxes of newspaper clippings, personal notes, conference presentation records, photographs, videos and other artifacts to be donated to the Center for Play Therapy (CPT) at the University of North Texas upon his death. I was given the task of sorting and cataloging those items as a graduate assistant at CPT in 2010.

Not only do individual leaders in the field of counseling advocate for the inclusion of historical research, influential organizations have also echoed this call. In 1997, the *Journal of Counseling Development* specifically called for counselor-initiated research, including oral history research, into the life histories of prominent counselors (Paisley, 1997). The Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP) identifies knowledge of counseling history as a component in seven separate student learning outcomes in its standards for accreditation (CACREP, 2009).

Historical research into the lives of foundational counselors will uncover previously unrecognized documents and artifacts related to the profession. Furthermore, these documents and artifacts, in the course of quality historical research, will be preserved and archived for future use. This last contribution to the field cannot be overstated. Photographs, letters, informal writings, and innumerable other historical artifacts related to pioneering counselors will eventually be lost or destroyed if the value and need for their preservation is not recognized by

the counseling community. Such items hold the potential to improve counselor education, promote professional identity, and deepen theoretical knowledge as previously discussed. Moreover, counselor educators have a professional responsibility to preserve these artifacts for posterity.

Questions to be Addressed

Busha and Harter (1980) provided a clear conceptualization of the questions or situations that might lead a researcher to select a historical methodology. They are as follows: (a) questions of context, (b) enlarging the meaning, (c) examining influences, (d) issues of self-reflection within the field, and (e) situations of historical comparative analysis. It is easy to see that these categories of inquiry could apply to a wide variety of fields, including counseling. When considering historical research into the lives of counseling theorists, these categories of questions could become more specific:

1. What professional work or contributions did a theorist accomplish that may have been previously overlooked by the counseling community?
2. What information can be gathered about this theorist that may contribute to future generations' understandings of the theory?
3. What life circumstances or events may have influenced the professional contributions of this theorist?
4. How did the theorist's relationships with mentors, colleagues, and students influence the development of the theory?
5. How did the cultural, social, economic, and political circumstances of the day influence the development of the theory?

For the purposes of the present study, research questions are grounded in Busha and Harter's (1980) greater conceptualizations. They include:

1. What professional work or contributions did Virginia Axline accomplish that may have been overlooked by the professional play therapy community?

2. What personal information can be gathered about Virginia Axline that may contribute to future generations' understandings of her theory?
3. What life circumstances or events may have influenced the professional contributions of Virginia Axline?

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Historically, play has not been valued in every culture or time period; however, evidence of play in the form of artifacts predates written records (Frost, Wortham, & Reifel, 2012). In written history, ancient philosophers such as Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle espoused the value of play as a critical component of the human experience (Spariosu, 1989). These philosophers believed that an active, engaged adult mind acquired its qualities during childhood and therefore advocated for children to explore the world through play.

Beginning in the 18th century, philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, Friedrich von Schiller, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau began promoting the idea of play as a healthy and normal aspect of childhood. These philosophers recorded hypotheses that play contributes to childhood welfare in a variety of ways (Frost et al., 2012; Ray, 2011). Also in the 18th century, educators and psychologists began taking note of play as it relates to knowledge, learning, and development. Friedrich Froebel borrowed from earlier philosophers and began to put ideas about play into practice. Of note was Froebel's (1902) development of a play-based teaching curriculum for young children that he called the children's garden: *kindergarten*. Lev Vygotsky added a new dimension to the discourse on play when he postulated that play emerges in the preschool years as a response to "unrealizable tendencies appear[ing] in development" (1967, p. 7). Vygotsky observed that children at play are able to maximize their abilities across all domains. Vygotsky described the uppermost strata of a child's capacity accessible through play as the *zone of proximal development* (1967, p. 16). Vygotsky and his contemporary, Jean Piaget, regularly identified their confirming and differing opinions in their writings. Piaget was perhaps

best known for hypothesizing relationships between specific play behaviors and stages of cognitive development (1962).

Distinct from the history of play in the disciplines of philosophy, education, and child development, is the history of play in mental health interventions. The first known example is Sigmund Freud's correspondence with the father of a young boy dubbed "Little Hans" (Landreth, 2002; Ray, 2011). Freud provided analysis of Hans through reports of the boy's play. Following Sigmund Freud's lead of providing psychoanalysis through the interpretation of play, Anna Freud and Melanie Klein established a larger base of play therapy literature. Klein focused on the analysis of children's play behaviors in the same detached manner a psychoanalyst would interpret an adult's free association (Klein, 1955). Anna Freud insisted that psychoanalysis through play required an established relationship between the child and the analyst (Ray, 2011). Both Anna Freud and Klein were nondirective in their approach and allowed children to utilize toys as a means of free expression (Ray, 2011).

Axline's Literature

Unlike other prominent theorists, Axline's life has never been recounted in biography, memoir, or publication of personal letters. The only readily available information about Axline's life are the bits of personal information infused in her professional writings, which are minimal. Through census records and other government documents, the author gathered only basic biographical information about Axline. An initial cursory investigation has resulted in the following preliminary biographical notes to be verified: Virginia Mae Axline was born on March 30, 1911, to Roy G. Axline and Helen G. Axline. Axline had one sibling; an older sister named Helen (U.S. Federal Census, 1930, 1940). According to Social Security Administration records (n.d.), Axline died on March 21, 1988.

Well-Known Works

Perhaps Axline's (1964) best-known work, *Dibs in Search of Self* is a particularly compelling case study in CCPT. The book presents the case of a young boy who rarely speaks, leading many adults to believe that he suffers from some manner of cognitive delay or deficit. In addition to session transcripts, Axline draws on interviews with Dibs's parents and teachers, as well as direct observations of the child outside of sessions in order to create an account of his short life. This case study draws heavily on transcripts of Axline's sessions with Dibs and provides insight into Axline's thought process and reflections through the course of a child's treatment. Particularly evident is Axline's (1947b) adherence to the basic principles outlined in *Play Therapy*. The case study also provides evidence of Axline's emphasis upon the importance of collaborating effectively with the parents of the children she treats. Axline's approach with Dibs's parents is highly reflective of the person-centered principles established by her mentor, Carl Rogers (1951), and demonstrates theoretical consistency in her approach with both adults and children (Axline, 1964).

Lesser Known Works

Many currently practicing play therapists would be hard-pressed to identify any writings by Axline beyond the two previously explored. Although current students of CCPT would be unlikely to have any awareness of additional writings by Axline, her contributions to a wide variety of academic literature extend far beyond these two works. In fact, Axline published more than 20 works in a variety of formats prior to the publication of *Dibs* (Axline, 1947a, 1947b, 1948a, 1948b, 1949a, 1949b, 1950a, 1950b, 1950c, 1950d, 1951a, 1951b, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957a, 1957b, 1962).

Unbeknownst to many, Axline (1947a, 1951a) often crossed disciplines in her early

writings and provided insights or ideas regarding the application of her child-centered philosophy in the field of education. Axline tended to focus her academic writing on education concerning subjects related to young students with special needs or challenges. In particular, Axline (1947a, 1951b) explored ways in which CCPT principles could be applied to assist children with physical limitations or learning differences. Axline's contributions to the field of education were not limited, however, to the application of CCPT principles. Rather, Axline (1951a, 1956, 1957a, 1957b) wrote passionately regarding her perspectives on leadership in education, the future of the field, and the need for reform in America's educational system. Each of these contributions was published in sources outside of counseling and psychology journals, and as such are not easily uncovered by play therapy researchers. Searching an education research database for works by Axline revealed more results than a counseling research database.

Child-Centered and Person-Centered Theory

Nature of People

Axline's theory of CCPT is often misunderstood, even among play therapists. Typically, misunderstandings take the form of oversimplifying her philosophy on human nature. O'Connor (1991) surmised that Axline believed "people are innately good" (p. 44), which is a misrepresentation. In actuality, Axline's philosophy on the nature of people is taken directly from Carl Rogers's person-centered theory (Axline, 1947b; Kirschenbaum, 2009). CCPT is founded on Rogers's premise that each individual has a natural tendency or inclination toward growth and development to their fullest potential (Rogers, 1961). Like Rogers, Axline believed that individuals possess all the qualities necessary for healthy functioning and development toward independence (Axline, 1947b). Rogers called this tendency the *self-actualizing tendency* identifying Abraham Maslow as the source of this concept (Rogers, 1951). The person-centered

perspective, therefore, is that the individual is born into the world being neither innately damaged nor evil, nor perfect nor pristine (Rogers, 1951). Rogers further proposed, and Axline agreed, that people are born with a natural tendency toward social connectedness and contribution that does not need to be taught or developed by others (Rogers, 1961). The person-centered view of the nature of people is a phenomenological one, meaning that how one perceives and derives meaning from experiences is uniquely personal and cannot be determined objectively or concretely from an outside perspective (Rogers, 1959).

Role of Environment

From a person-centered perspective, Rogers and Axline agreed that early relationships and experiences have a profound impact on human development (Axline, 1947; Rogers, 1959). Rogers explained that early interactions with caregivers are the primary way in which people learn to understand themselves, others, and the world around them (Rogers, 1961). In this way, individuals begin to perceive their experiences in the world as either contributing to or hindering of their growth process. This process of evaluating the ways in which one's perceived experiences either support or hinder the natural tendency toward positive development is what Rogers termed the *organismic valuing process* (Rogers, 1959, p. 244).

Rogers explained that as children begin to develop self-awareness, they naturally develop a self-concept. As children develop this conceptualization of themselves as a part of their larger experiential field, they necessarily develop a need for positive regard (Rogers, 1959, p. 245). Once the need for positive regard develops, the child begins to acquire *conditions of worth*: situations or conditions in which the child denies or subverts their true self-experience in an effort to seek or maintain positive regard from sources outside the self (Rogers, 1959, p. 246).

Model of Mental Health

Person-centered theory is based on the concept that healthy functioning is reflected in *congruence*. Rogers equated his concept of congruence to Søren Kierkegaard's (1941) explanation of authenticity as "be[ing] that self which one truly is" (p. 29). Essentially, Rogers believed that healthy adjustment is achieved by honoring one's perceptions, experiences, and organismic valuing process. Maladjustment occurs when one denies their true organismic valuing and attempts to adapt to conflicting external valuing processes (Rogers, 1951). Axline (1947b) summarized the nature of maladjustment as follows:

The behavior of the individual at all times seems to be caused by one drive; the drive for complete self-realization. When an individual reaches a barrier which makes it more difficult for him to achieve the complete realization of the self, there is set up an area of resistance and friction and tension. The drive toward self-realization continues, and the individual's behavior demonstrates that he is satisfying his inner drive by outwardly fighting to establish his self-concept in the world of reality, or that he is satisfying it vicariously by confining it to his inner world where he can build it up with less struggle. (p. 10)

Where psychoanalytic play therapists such as Klein and Anna Freud theorized that change occurs as the child gains insight into unconscious processes, Rogers and Axline believed that the change happens as the child experiences a warm and caring relationship that offers unconditional positive regard, allowing the child the safety to be congruent (LaBauve, Watts, & Kottman, 2001).

The CCPT Model

Rogers's nondirective approach to providing therapy was largely borrowed from the work and writings of Jessie Taft (Cain & Seeman, 2001). Thus, Axline's nondirective model of CCPT was indirectly based on Taft's (1933) approach, which Rogers declared: "Its major value may be...the fresh viewpoint of noninterference and reliance upon the individual's tendency toward growth, which it has emphasized" (Kirschenbaum, 2009, p. 88).

Axline was clear in her assertion that although people may assume play therapy is always fun or enjoyable for the child, this is not necessarily the case. She identified the actualizing tendency as the primary motivating factor for participation in the process: “It should never be overlooked that the motivating force for all therapy is that it is more satisfying, more ‘fun’, to be mature than to be infantile. It is this, and this alone, which makes it basically possible for therapy to take place” (Axline, 1947b, p. 371). Axline (1947b) based her approach in the belief that play is the child’s “natural medium for self-expression,” and that through playing out their feelings, children can “realize the power within [themselves]” (p. 16). Axline delineated eight basic principles of CCPT:

1. The therapist must develop a warm, friendly relationship with the child, in which good rapport is established as soon as possible.
2. The therapist accepts the child exactly as he is.
3. The therapist establishes a feeling of permissiveness in the relationship so that the child feels free to express his feelings completely.
4. The therapist is alert to recognize the feelings the child is expressing and reflects those feelings back to him in such a manner that he gains insight into his behavior.
5. The therapist maintains a deep respect for the child’s ability to solve his own problems if given an opportunity to do so. The responsibility to make choices and to institute change is the child’s.
6. The therapist does not attempt to direct the child’s actions or conversation in any manner. The child leads the way; the therapist follows.
7. The therapist does not attempt to hurry the therapy along. It is a gradual process and is recognized as such by the therapist.
8. The therapist establishes only those limitations that are necessary to anchor the therapy to the world of reality and to make the child aware of his responsibility in the relationship. (Axline, 1947b, p. 75)

Axline’s guiding principles demonstrate a focus on the child as a person rather than the child’s problem or presenting concern. Axline (1947b) believed that the child is capable of leading the session toward “the things that to him are most important *when he is ready to do so*” (p. 24). This

belief is the basis of the nondirective nature of CCPT.

In addition to her initial writings on individual play therapy, Axline explored the application of these principles to group settings. Although Ginott (1961) is heavily referenced in the development of group play therapy, Axline (1949b) discussed such an approach long before Ginott ever appeared in the annals of play therapy. In this area, Axline's contributions were limited, and little is known as to why she did not further pursue the topic. It is unknown to what extent Ginott's work in psychoanalytic group play therapy may have been influenced by Axline or her prior work with groups.

Summary Statement

Axline's theoretical model of CCPT is well articulated and exemplified in her writings, but those writings provide little information regarding her inspiration or influencers. In order to better understand Axline's theoretical framework and its application, contextual information is necessary. A clear starting point for this research is the single acknowledged influence of Carl Rogers. However, it is likely that other unrecognized influences exist in the form of individuals, cultural mores, historic events, and more. For these reasons, the literature regarding Axline should be expanded to include her biographical history.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Methodology Overview

To understand how historical research will advance the field of counseling, it is first necessary to comprehend the domain of historical research and how it differs from the way one might conceptualize everyday history. The focus of this dissertation is on *epistemological history*: “the science that deals with the nature of human thought and the circumstances that condition its truth or validity as a method of inquiry” (Garraghan, 1946, p. 18). In this sense, historical research moves beyond the mere collection of facts. Historical research utilizes gathered information to create a narrative and examines relationships between events (Marsak, 1970). The historical research suggested in this paper is qualitative in nature, adhering to Onwuegbuzie, Jiao, and Bostick’s (2004) description of qualitative inquiry:

The research problem needs to be explored because little information exists on the topic. The variables are largely unknown, and the researcher wants to focus on the context that may shape the understanding of the phenomenon being studied. In many qualitative studies a theory base does not guide the study because those available are inadequate, incomplete, or simply missing. (p. 119)

Just as there are many approaches to clinical research design, there are also a variety of designs to choose from in historical research methodology. The choice of design depends largely on the research questions to be addressed.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

In examining the life and work of Virginia Axline, I established three primary questions and three sub-questions as suggestions for further inquiry. The questions and hypotheses are as follows:

1. What professional work or contributions did Virginia Axline accomplish that may have been overlooked by the professional play therapy community?

In the process of a primary review of the literature, I discovered many academic writings by Axline previously unknown to me across a variety of academic domains. I presented the hypothesis that given the era of Axline's early writings, prior to the introduction of electronic databases, as well as the numerous fields in which Axline was a contributor, evidence would continue to emerge of Axline's body of work that is currently unrecognized by the professional counseling and play therapy communities.

2. What personal information can be gathered about Virginia Axline that may contribute to future generations' understandings of her theory?

In light of the common usage of interpretive biography in teaching counseling theory (Corey, 2005; Fall et al., 2010) and the current lack of biographical information regarding Axline, I expected that some information regarding the life of Axline would be uncovered, and as a result, a more detailed context of study would be available to future generations.

3. What life circumstances or events may have influenced the professional contributions of Virginia Axline?

Given the almost complete lack of biographical information available, I could only reasonably hypothesize that Axline's life experiences influenced her work. I was hopeful that some of Axline's experiences, and how those experiences shaped her professional life, would emerge through the course of further research.

The following sub-questions were identified:

- a) How did Virginia Axline's relationships with mentors, colleagues, and students influence her work?

I anticipated that an inquiry would reveal relationships between Axline and other notable contributors to the fields of counseling and psychology, and that those relationships, as well as those with students, might reveal motivations behind Axline's choices of research and writing.

b) How did Virginia Axline's work influence other prominent play therapists?

Several play therapists have acknowledged the influence of Virginia Axline; however, an accurate historic accounting of the scope of her influence is as yet undocumented. I hypothesized that the scope of Axline's influence is currently underestimated.

c) How did the evolving zeitgeist in the field of psychology influence Virginia Axline's development of CCPT?

I proposed the possibility that the emergence of the human potential movement around the same time as Axline's development of CCPT, inspired Axline to apply many of the same principles to her work with children and that there may have been a rush to do so as other theorists began exploring similar ideas (Rogers, 1942).

Operational Definitions

In order to examine questions similar to those just posed, a researcher needs to select a historical research methodology appropriate to such biographical lines of inquiry. These are clearly questions of a qualitative nature, requiring interpretation and context. Therefore, an *interpretive biography* design with an emphasis on *historiography* and *oral history* would best address these questions.

- *Interpretive biography*. Most qualitative research originates from the interpretive perspective, as investigators look to inquiry participants for guidance, insights, and direction (Holloway, 1997). The biographical method of qualitative research consists of the study and interpretive use of collected life documents and other artifacts that relate to meaningful moments in individuals' lives (Denzin, 1989). Once gathered, the researcher makes interpretive sense of the materials and uses them to tell the subject's life story. An interpretive biography is both narrative and literary in presentation (Denzin, 1989, p. 11). In order to appropriately identify,

collect, and preserve the sources of data required in conducting an interpretive biography, the researcher must first apply the broader principles of historiography.

- *Historiography*. Best and Kahn (1986) explained historiography as “investigating, recording, analyzing, and interpreting the events of the past for the purpose of discovering generalizations that are helpful in understanding the past and present” (p. 24). This may seem a simple concept, however, Howell and Prevenier (2001) cautioned researchers to consider the role they play in creating history through the very act of recording it. Each historian determines, through their own judgment and system of valuing, events worth recording, perspective, format, and breadth of context. Even the events a historian might choose to record are reflective of the historian’s subjective view of what is important and what warrants recording (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Marsak (1970) elaborated further on the role and responsibility of the historian, charging the researcher with the task of not only including that which should be recorded, but also further identifying meaning and relationships throughout the process. Whenever a researcher aims to examine an event or a person with whom living individuals may have had personal experience, oral history must also be considered as a method of inquiry.

- *Oral history*. The Oral History Association (OHA) defined oral history:

a field of study and a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events. Oral history is both the oldest type of historical inquiry, predating the written word, and one of the most modern, initiated with tape recorders in the 1940s and now, using... digital technologies (OHA, 2019).

Although oral history has its roots in common oral tradition, in current research practice oral history is anything but casual. Utilizing detailed protocols and adhering to strict practices, oral historians preserve the knowledge, experiences, perspectives, beliefs, and memories of the

living for future generations. Oral historians go to great lengths to archive their work for the purpose of preserving the multitude of possible future uses of the interview material (Ritchie, 2003).

Oral historians collect personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews. An oral history interview generally consists of a well-prepared interviewer questioning an interviewee and recording their exchange in audio or video format. Recordings of the interview are transcribed, summarized, and/or indexed, and then placed in a library or archives (Ritchie, 2003). This final step of preserving the historical data and making it available is critical to the ethical practice of oral history (OHA, 2019).

Oral history requires training and adherence to the principles and practices identified by the discipline's organizational body: the OHA. The intent of these requirements is not to prevent those outside the domain of history from conducting such research, but to utilize standards that will ensure that oral history remains a respected and legitimate practice in the future. Experts in oral history agree that a foundational goal of the discipline is to elicit contributions to oral history from researchers across as wide a variety of disciplines, locations, languages, and cultures as possible (OHA, 2019; Ritchie, 2003).

More detailed explanations of interpretive biography, historiography, and oral history are beyond the scope of this paper, but these brief overviews will assist in the examination of the value of historical research within the field of counseling. In determining the legitimacy of historical research as it relates to counseling, it is helpful to first identify what role it currently plays in the field.

Analysis of Historical Data

In order to make better use of historical data and research in the field of counseling, one

must first become familiar with the elements of quality historical research and data analysis. Quality historical research moves beyond the mere collection and reporting of facts. Historical research as a method of inquiry utilizes gathered information from reliable sources to create a narrative and examine relationships between events (Marsak, 1970). Most approaches to the historical method of research share the same basic process, though they may be broken down differently depending on the scope of inquiry. The most widely accepted and recognized approaches to historical research are attributed to Garraghan (1946) and Busha and Harter (1980). A first step in evaluating the quality of historical research is determining if the researcher has clearly identified their application of the following processes:

1. Identify a historical problem or gap in historical knowledge.
2. Gather all relevant information possible.
3. When appropriate, establish a hypothesis regarding the meaning to be derived from the information.
4. While organizing evidence, verify the authenticity and veracity of both the information and its sources.
5. Draw conclusions based on analysis of only that information that can be established as reasonably verifiable by utilizing identified source criticism criteria.
6. Record conclusions in a meaningful way for others.

It is important to note here that these six overarching procedures should be executed in order for each identified source of information, or element of information. At the same time, the researcher should attempt to complete each previous step as thoroughly as possible before proceeding to the subsequent step (McCullagh, 1984). In this way, historical research has something of a spiraling nature. In addition to adhering to these broad procedures, the quality of historical research can be determined by examining the attention paid to *information gathering*, *source criticism*, and *synthesis* (McDowell, 2002).

Information Gathering

Historical methodology calls for an exhaustive search of all possible sources of information relevant to the subject of inquiry (Garraghan, 1946). When conducting an interpretive biography of a counseling theorist, for example, a researcher should be sure to examine at least the following potential sources: (a) published works by the subject of the biography; (b) letters and diaries; (c) memoirs and autobiographies; (d) oral evidence; (e) official publications; (f) business records; (g) local history records such as municipal records, property tax records, birth, marriage, and death records, census records, income tax records, voter registration records, professional license records, and court records; (h) newspapers; (i) art, maps, and photographs; (j) films; and (k) interviews (Denzin, 1989). This list is not exhaustive and each subject of inquiry requires a uniquely tailored search for sources. Information gathered from each identified source should be carefully logged and recorded in an electronic database, and digital copies of interviews, documents, and other artifacts should be generated for preservation whenever possible (Ritchie, 2003). Throughout the process of information gathering, the researcher should continuously be conducting and recording a process of source criticism (Garraghan, 1946).

General Procedures

With regard to applying this historical methodology, I set forth the following minimum procedures, bearing in mind that additional procedures might need to be added as newly discovered sources often lead to additional sources.

1. Examined all published works by Axline for the following information: biographical information, indications of influential sources, and indications of influence upon later individuals.
2. Examined published works in the field of play therapy written after 1947 for indications of influence by or upon Axline, paying particular attention to works by

- leaders in the field whose writings predated Axline's death, such as Moustakas, Ginott, Landreth, and Guerney.
3. Examined available census records, newspaper records, and ancestral materials for information regarding Axline, her family relations, and any references to her work.
 4. Gathered any available existing research materials from others related to the life and work of Virginia Axline.
 5. Traveled to each location where Axline established residence for any significant period of time in order to search non-digitized records and archives. This search included whenever possible, the archival records of universities where Axline studied or taught as well as any available municipal records, professional license records, court records, business records, and newspaper records.
 6. Examined the archival records left behind by contemporaries Carl Rogers at the Library of Congress and Haim Ginott at the CPT for any materials related to or references to Axline.
 7. Throughout the process of the first six steps, I continually searched for artifacts related to Axline, such as letters, photographs, diaries, art, and maps.
 8. Whenever possible and permitted by custodians or owners of such records, I generated digital copies or reproductions of identified sources for preservation.
 9. Throughout the process of the first six steps, I generated a list of desirable sources for oral history interviews.
 10. I attempted to procure oral history interviews with any individuals still living who knew Axline or might have access to records related to her.

A detailed accounting of my process of working through each of these procedures is explored later in this chapter.

Source Criticism

Marsak (1970) wrote that "...history is simultaneously a synthesis and a hypothesis: an act of compiling information and proposing meaning thereof" (p. 29). In light of this, the process of source criticism may be the most critical aspect in determining the quality of any research based in historical methodology. Garraghan (1946) identified six questions for the researcher to address when evaluating the authenticity and historical relevance of information gathered during

the course of inquiry:

1. *When was the source produced?* Sources produced closest to the time of the event or events in question are considered most credible.
2. *Where was it produced?* Sources produced at the location closest to the event in question are most credible.
3. *By whom was it produced?* Sources produced by individuals with the closest historical proximity to the event and with the least identifiable motive for alteration of information are most credible.
4. *From what pre-existing material was it produced?* Sources verifiable as originals are most credible, while verifiable copies and potential forgeries are of lesser credibility.
5. *In what form was it originally produced?* Sources with the least potential for alteration over time are the most credible. In this manner, photographs, artifacts, and government documents are more credible than oral tradition.
6. *What is the evidential value of it?* Primary sources of information are of the greatest value, while second-hand and further removed sources are of lesser value.

Synthesis (Data Analysis)

After evaluating the information gathered according to Garraghan's model of source criticism, the researcher must undertake the process of synthesizing the retained information into a coherent work of historical research, such as an interpretive biography. Because the historical method of inquiry requires the researcher to identify relationships and draw conclusions from the information gathered, the researcher must identify areas of information upon which to focus and draw conclusions from the accumulated pools of information (Garraghan, 1946). It should be noted that, in adherence to historical methodology, the information reported may not have any relationship to the original research questions identified by the researcher. Although initial questions may guide the process of inquiry, the researcher has an obligation to gather and report the information of greatest historical value in the final product (Garraghan, 1946; McCullagh, 1984). Toward this goal, McCullagh (1984) identified seven qualities of hypothesis evaluation to

determine how best to interpret information in the final synthesis and reporting. According to McCullagh (1984), the hypothesis of greatest historical value meets the following criteria:

1. Demonstrates new information or perspective.
2. Demonstrates greater explanatory scope.
3. Demonstrates greater explanatory power.
4. Is more plausible than other possible hypotheses.
5. Is less ad hoc than other possible hypotheses.
6. Is disconfirmed by fewer accepted beliefs than other possible hypotheses.
7. Exceeds other possible hypotheses on each of these points.

With this cursory explanation of historical methodology and data analysis in mind, the reader can better conceptualize the potential applications of historical research in the counseling field.

Detailed Procedures

A thorough accounting of how I proceeded through each procedural step described above and applied the source criticism and data analysis procedures set forth is included in the following section.

Examining Published Works by Axline

The first step in my procedures was described as follows:

1. Examined all published works by Axline for the following information: biographical information, indications of influential sources, and indications of influence upon later individuals.

In this step of the research process, I gathered copies of all known published works by Axline. This included seventeen solo journal articles published in peer reviewed journals, (Axline; 1944; 1947a; 1948a; 1948b; 1949a; 1949c; 1950b; 1950c; 1950d; 1954b; 1955a; 1955b;

1956; 1957a; 1957b; 1957c; and 1962) one journal article published jointly with Carl Rogers in a peer reviewed journal, (Axline & Rogers, 1945) two book reviews published in peer reviewed journals, (1949b and 1951b) two books, (1947b and 1964) and two articles published in educational bulletins or records, (1951a and 1954a). Each of these publications were sourced through standard literature review procedures by searching a variety of counseling, psychology, educational, and orthopsychiatry databases. Additionally, I examined early play therapy texts by Landreth, Ginott, Guerney, and Moustakas to determine if any references in those writings were by Axline and unaccounted for in my list. I also examined the library at the UNT Center for Play Therapy which houses the world's largest collection of play therapy materials. On later research trips, I checked the conclusions of these searches by searching the databases housed at Columbia University Teachers College, New York University, the Ohio State University, University of Chicago, and the New York Public Library.

Prior to those trips, however, I attempted to locate a copy of Axline's doctoral dissertation. I first tried to locate it through an online dissertation database, but unsurprisingly, it was not included, likely because it pre-dated the database. I also attempted to procure it through the Interlibrary Loan process, however it was also unavailable through this means. I then contacted the specialist liaison in Columbia University History at Columbia University Teachers College and asked for assistance in obtaining a copy of Axline's doctoral dissertation. The specialist liaison was able to provide me with a digital copy of the dissertation.

At this point, I had not yet examined the Ohio State University archives or searched for Axline's master's thesis, nor did I know if one existed. Also at this point, I was presented with a box of research materials previously collected by Dr. Emily Oe, former researcher associated with the University of North Texas Center for Play Therapy (UNT CPT). The materials were

given to me by current director of UNT CPT, Dr. Dee Ray. In the box of research material collected by Dr. Oe was a copy of Axline's master's thesis.

With regard to source criticism, each of these publications meet the highest standards possible according to Garraghan's (1946) six questions for evaluating the authenticity and historical relevance of information gathered. Each publication was produced and published at the time Axline was living and contributing to her field, each written by Axline herself, each available in its original format for review, and each demonstrates a high level of evidentiary value when examining her professional work.

Examining Published Works by Others

The second step in my procedures is described as follows:

2. Examined published works in the field of play therapy written after 1947 for indications of influence by or upon Axline, paying particular attention to works by leaders in the field whose writings pre-dated Axline's death, such as Moustakas, Ginott, Landreth, and Guerney.

In my search of published works, it was difficult to determine what would constitute a thorough search. I chose to focus my efforts on examining the individual works of those best known in the CCPT literature who had contributed to the body of literature prior to 1988 (the time of Axline's death). In my attempts to conduct such a search, I examined the following works (listed here in alphabetical and chronological order):

Ginott, Haim M. (1952). *The effects of psychotherapy on the race prejudice of disturbed children an experimental study*. Dissertation. Teachers College, Columbia University.

Ginott, H.G. (1956). Group screening of parents in a child guidance setting. *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, 6(4), 405-409.

Ginott, H. G. (1958). Play group therapy: A theoretical framework. *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, 8(4), 410-418.

Ginott, H. G. (1959). The theory and practice of "therapeutic intervention" in child treatment. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 23(2), 160-166.

- Ginott, H. G. (1961). Play therapy: the initial session. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 15(1), 73-88.
- Ginott, H. G. (1961). *Group psychotherapy with children: The theory and practice of play-therapy*. McGraw-Hill.
- Ginott, H. G. (1963). Dialogues with mothers. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 17(3), 525-526.
- Ginott, H. G. (1965). *Between parent and child: New solutions to old problems*. Macmillan.
- Ginott, H. G. (1994). *Group psychotherapy: The theory and practice*. Jason Aronson.
- Guerney, B. G. Jr. (1964). Filial therapy: Description and rationale. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 28(4), 304-310.
- Guerney, B. G., Jr., Guerney, L., & Andronico, M. (1966). Filial therapy. *Yale Scientific Magazine*, 40, 6-14.
- Guerney, B. G., Jr., Guerney, L., & Stover, L. (1972). Facilitative therapist attitudes in training parents as psychotherapeutic agents. *The Family Coordinator*, 21(3), 275-278.
- Guerney, L. F. (1976). Filial therapy program. In D. H. Olson (Ed.), *Treating relationships* (pp. 67-91). Lake Mills, IA: Graphic Publishing Co., Inc.
- Guerney, L. (1979). Play therapy with learning disabled children. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, 8(3), 242-244.
- Guerney, L. & Guerney, B. (1989). Child relationship enhancement: Family therapy and parent education. *Person-Centered Review*, 4(3), 344-357.
- Guerney, L. (2000). Filial therapy into the 21st century. *International Journal of Play Therapy*, 9(2), 1-17.
- Guerney, L. (2001). Child-centered play therapy. *International Journal of Play Therapy*, 10(2), 13-31.
- Landreth, G. L. (1985). Play therapy: Organizing the program. *TACD Journal*, 13(1), 17-22.
- Landreth, G. L. (1987). Play therapy: Facilitative use of child's play in elementary school counseling. *Elementary School Guidance & Counseling*, 21(4), 253-261.
- Landreth, G. L. (1988). Lessons for living from a dying child. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 67(2), 100.
- Landreth, G. L. (1991) *Play therapy: The art of the relationship*. Brunner-Routledge.
- Landreth, G. L. (1993). Child-centered play therapy. *Elementary School Guidance & Counseling*, 28(1), 17-29.

- Landreth, G. L. (1993). Self-expressive communication. In C. E. Schaefer (Ed.), *The therapeutic powers of play* (pp. 41-63). Jason Aronson.
- Landreth, G. L. (2001). *Innovations in play therapy: Issues, process, and special populations*. Brunner-Routledge.
- Landreth, G. L. (2002). Therapeutic limit setting in the play therapy relationship. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 33(6), 529-535.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1951). Situational play therapy with normal children. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 15(3), 225-230.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1953). *Children in play therapy: A key to understanding normal and disturbed emotions*. McGraw-Hill.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1955). Emotional adjustment and the play therapy process. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 86(1), 79-99.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1955). The frequency and intensity of negative attitudes expressed in play therapy: A comparison of well-adjusted and disturbed young children. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 86(2), 309-325.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1959). *Psychotherapy with children: The living relationship*. Harper.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1967). *Creativity and conformity*. D. Van Nostrand.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1995). *Being-in, being-for, being-with*. Jason Aronson.
- Moustakas, C. E. (1997). *Relationship play therapy*. Jason Aronson.

Examining Available Archival Records

The third step in my procedures was described as follows:

3. Examined available census records, newspaper records, and ancestral materials for information regarding Axline, her family relations, and any references to her work.

This portion of the research process proved to be the most circular and ongoing. The first step in my process was to look for readily available official records related to Axline. However, as I uncovered new information and leads in subsequent portions of my research, I continually returned to search for records related to each new piece of gathered information. The most fruitful of my sources, ancestry.com, revealed census records, Axline's birth certificate, a

yearbook reference to Axline's sister, and the marriage record for Axline's parents among other items. Of importance with regard to my search of ancestry.com was my ability to search extensive records for any family members still living at the time of Axline's death. Like Axline's attorney (Affidavit, 1985, September 5), I was unable to identify any relatives living at the time of her death.

In addition to ancestry.com, my search for archival records included searches utilizing the following additional sources: the Ohio Genealogical Society, the metropolitan records, newspaper records and the local genealogy records at the Columbus Metropolitan Library, the genealogy services desk at the New York Public Library, the ArchiveGrid database at the New York Public Library, the WorldCat database at the New York Public Library, the genealogy services desk at the Library of Congress, and the Find a Grave database.

Gathering Available Existing Research Materials

The fourth step in my procedures is described as follows:

4. Gathered any available existing research materials from others related to the life and work of Virginia Axline.

The first step in this process was to search for existing published material related to the history of CCPT and Virginia Axline. This search yielded few results. Though I successfully identified several published works reviewing the history of play, such as Frost, Wortham, & Reifel's (2012), published material regarding the history of CCPT or Axline was minimal.

Though several works related to play therapy cited Axline and credited her as the developer of CCPT (Landreth, 1991; Ray 2011), few provided new information.

One published text that did provide a working timeline of the development of CCPT within the context of the overall history of play therapy was O'Connor, Schaefer, and Braverman's *Handbook of Play Therapy* (2015). I utilized the sources referenced in this text as

sources to examine for more historically relevant material according to Garraghan's (1946) model. These sources included: Dorfman, 1951; Ginott, 1959; Bixler, 1949; Ginott & Lebo, 1963; Ginott, 1982; Lebo, 1979; Ginott, 1961; Moustakas, 1997; Moustakas, 1953; Moustakas, 1959; Moustakas, 1966. Not all of these sources resulted in valuable information not better established by more principal sources, but many provided confirmation for principal sources discussed in the Data section of this dissertation.

A valuable source of information in establishing Axline's history, particularly during the Chicago years, was the existing biographical research on Carl Rogers. I began my examination of this material by reading Howard Kirschenbaum's *The Life and Work of Carl Rogers* (2009), Kirschenbaum's *On Becoming Carl Rogers* (1979), and Rogers and Russell's *Carl Rogers the Quiet Revolutionary: An Oral History* (2002). Each of these texts provided information of varying historical value about Axline's work with Rogers, the relationship between the two, and the Counseling Center at the University of Chicago. In several areas of the Data portion of this dissertation, I cite Kirschenbaum's 2009 text. In each instance where I have made such a citation, I have confirmed the information provided through primary source documents in the Carl Rogers collection at the Library of Congress. In these instances, I felt it best to credit Kirschenbaum for the citation when his writing was my original reason for discovering the material, and also because Kirschenbaum had already published the information within the field of counseling. In a few instances, it was imperative that specific source documents from the Carl R. Rogers papers at the Library of Congress be cited as the source because I used direct quotes, or because they contained information I had not originally gleaned from Kirschenbaum's writings. In those circumstances, I cited the individual document from the Rogers papers directly. My research in the Carl R. Rogers papers at the Library of Congress is more fully discussed in the discussion of

step six in my procedures.

Of the highest significance with regard to existing research materials was a box of research materials originally prepared by Dr. Emily Oe with assistance from Dr. Mary Costas and provided by the UNT Center for Play Therapy. This banker's box of research materials was gathered by Oe over the course of several years during the 1990s. I was informed by the UNT Center for Play Therapy director that Dr. Oe had agreed to donate the research materials to be used for the purpose of further research and writing regarding the life and work of Virginia Axline. Oe's research materials included invaluable items which I would not be able to reproduce at this time. In particular, her research included oral history interviews with several colleagues, friends, and contemporaries of Axline who are no longer living, including Nathaniel "Nat" Raskin, Clark Moustakas, and Elizabeth Scheerer. Also included in Oe's research materials were the following: Axline's master's thesis from OSU, public school records of Axline's enrollment and report cards, letters to and from an extensive list of individuals who may have known Axline during her lifetime asking for any available information and establishing a record of previously conducted research, letters from former students of Axline discussing memories of her, and records of Oe's inquiries made at various institutions including OSU, the Ohio Public School Board, and Columbia University Teachers College. Among these items, the oral history interviews conducted were of the greatest value to this research endeavor because of their evidentiary value and the fact that they could not be produced today. In this manner, Dr. Oe and Dr. Costas have made a profoundly meaningful contribution to this research endeavor.

Traveling to Each Location to Examine Local Sources.

The fifth step in my procedures was described as follows:

5. Traveled to each location where Axline established residence for any significant period of time in order to search non-digitized records and archives. This search

included whenever possible the archival records of universities where Axline studied or taught as well as any available municipal records, professional license records, court records, business records, and newspaper records.

This step represented the most intensive portion of my research and included multiple research trips to Ohio, New York, and Chicago.

Ohio

In April of 2016, I traveled to Ohio to search for archival records related to Axline. My first stop in Ohio, was to the cemetery where Axline was buried. I visited Greenlawn Cemetery on April 13, 2016, where I located the Axline family plot and photographed the grave of Virginia Axline, as well as those of her parents and sister. The Axline family plot is located in section 100 of Greenlawn Cemetery. While there, I procured a copy of the Interment Card recording Axline's burial.

After visiting Greenlawn Cemetery, I visited Schoedinger Funeral Home, because Schoedinger is listed as the undertaker on Axline's Internment Card. I spoke with a representative there who told me that they do not have records dating back to 1988 and they were therefore unable to assist me in gathering any further information regarding Axline's burial or service.

Also on April 13, I visited the Columbus Foundation. I went there because Axline's estate was listed as the "Virginia M. Axline and Helen E. Axline Fund of the Columbus Foundation," according to a press release put out by the Columbus Foundation (1990, January 4). At the Columbus Foundation, I spoke with the Director of Donor Services and Development. He provided me with publicly available records through the Columbus Foundation which included a press release, a few obituary clippings from local newspapers, and copies of dustjackets for Axline's books *Dibs* and *Play Therapy*. However, there was no new information in these

materials, so they were kept as confirmation of previously acquired materials. The director explained that he was limited by confidentiality and therefore unable to discuss Axline's estate or will.

My next stop in Ohio was the Columbus Metropolitan Library. While there I searched local newspaper records from the 1940s through the 1980s for references to Axline. I searched a collection titled "Columbus Metropolitan Library: Local History Notebooks; Columbus Biography; A." I also searched a collection titled "Columbus Metropolitan Library: Local History Notebooks; Columbus Authors." I continued my search in the library's collection of local telephone directories from the 1930s through the 1980s. In these directories, I found several listings which confirmed the Axline family residence location I had previously found in the census records.

After visiting the local library, I visited the Franklin County Municipal Court building to search for court records related to Axline. In particular, I was looking for her will. In the records of wills available there was no will listed for Axline at any time during the 1960s, 1970s, or 1980s. Finding this perplexing, I enlisted the help of a clerk who searched all available records for anyone with the name Axline from 1960 through 1990 and was unable to locate a will for Virginia Axline. The clerk expressed surprise at this. However, he successfully located and helped me access a large number of court documents referencing Virginia Axline.

In total, there were 318 pages of court documents related to Axline in the county court records, though a few of these appeared to be duplicates. The documents detail a wide variety of issues related to Axline's health, finances, belongings, and the appointment of a managing conservator. I determined that these documents were of high authenticity and relevance utilizing Garraghan's six questions for source criticism. In particular, these documents were filed with the

court during the time Axline was alive, they were produced by her attorney and her guardian ad litem, they were stamped with dates from the county clerk, and many of the documents corroborated each other. When reflecting on Garraghan's (1946) principles, I determined these documents to be of high evidentiary value given the nature of their content.

My next stop after the courthouse was the Ohio State Board of Psychology office, where I spoke with an administrator. She assisted me in conducting a search for any records of a psychologist license held by Virginia Axline, but we were unable to locate any records in her name. This is likely because all records are now computerized and the conversion from paper records to electronic records is not a seamless process.

My final stop was at the archives department of the Ohio State University. The OSU archives did not contain much material regarding Axline. Included were three obituary clippings announcing Axline's death, one of which confirmed her gift to the DCGC. I determined that these newspaper clippings were of high authenticity and relevance utilizing Garraghan's six questions for source criticism. In particular, these documents were externally verifiable by searching local newspaper microfiche copies from the relevant dates, which I was able to do at the local public library.

Also in the OSU archives were nine separate "Appointment Recommendation" documents. These documents are employment recommendation records requesting that Virginia Axline teach at OSU. The documents are each stamped "Received" and signed by the relevant department representative. The documents are dated 8-20-68; 8-20-68; 4-22-69; 4-22-69; 8-11-70; 2-11-71; 2-25-71; 9-17-71; and 9-11-72. I determined that these documents were of high authenticity and relevance utilizing Garraghan's six questions for source criticism. In particular, these documents were sourced from the archives of the University where Axline worked, placing

them in close proximity to Axline, they were dated from the time Axline worked there, they were signed by University representatives, and the appointments described therein were consistent with oral reports of Axline's teaching at OSU, which are discussed in step nine of this expanded methodology.

Also in the OSU archives were eight pages of documentation filled out by Axline and labeled "Personnel Data Record." This document contained, among other things, employment history, a partial list of publications by Axline, demographic information, educational history, a list of professional and other group affiliations, and a list of affiliations with OSU committees or councils. I determined that these documents were of high authenticity and relevance utilizing Garraghan's six questions for source criticism. In particular, these documents were sourced from the archives of the University where Axline worked, placing them in close proximity to Axline, they were dated from the time Axline worked there, and they were filled out and signed by Axline herself.

One drawback of this document is that Axline made reference to the fact that they were cursory, or incomplete, when she wrote, "50 articles and chapters in books that I do not have listed and do not have the time to look up now" (Axline, 1968, September 30). This notation presented a problem because I had not found close to 50 combined articles and chapters. Many of Axline's articles had been reproduced and published in other languages, and this could possibly account for some difference in the number if Axline counted those; or it could be a very poor estimation on Axline's part. A third possibility is that there are a number of writings by Axline that I have not yet discovered.

New York

My research in New York involved work at Columbia University Teachers College and

the New York Public Library. At Columbia University Teachers College, I gained permission to access their Gottesman Libraries Archival Services and PocketKnowledge database. I searched the four historical collections and the Teachers College Collection for any references to Axline. The majority of my efforts were spent in the Teachers College Collection. Despite thorough searching and assistance from the archive librarians, I found only limited information related to Axline.

Within the Teachers College Collection, I located several course bulletins that included course listings attributed to Axline. Those items are referenced in the Data portion of this dissertation. I also conducted an extensive search in the Women's Graduate Club Records 1898-1956 catalog. I searched this record but was unable to find any reference to Axline. I also searched the Columbia University Archives Appointment Records 1890s-1990 collection for a record of Axline, but was unable to find any. A similar search of the Columbia University Archives Alumni Federation Cards Arn-Baukat returned no results for Axline.

After searching the archival records at Columbia, I utilized the general library database called PocketKnowledge and returned one new item: a film titled *The Child at Play* (Axline, 1952). The film was produced at Teachers College and directed by Axline. It shows Axline in a playroom with a young child, and then later with a group of children. The film is quite brief and provides a narration of the children's play. Axline is only briefly visible in the film. Though this film is only about 19 minutes in length and contains only a brief glimpse of Axline, it represents the only known film footage of Axline. It also represents the only known film footage depicting a playroom and the materials utilized by Axline. For these reasons, it is significant.

After conducting research at Columbia, I conducted a search at the New York Public Library (NYPL). At the NYPL, I conducted a search for references to Axline on the WorldCat

and ProQuest systems. This returned 7 hits for articles mentioning Axline, which generally confirmed previous knowledge about her teaching at Columbia, working with children who were blind, and her publication of *Dibs*. One new piece of information gleaned was that Axline, at least once, presented at a public speaking engagement aimed at parents (Films for Parents, 1954, March 18). While at the NYPL, I conducted a search of the records kept in the Irma and Paul Milstein Division of United States History, Local History and Genealogy, which included a search of the Manhattan white pages during the time Axline was known to live in New York, as well as a search of the Exline and Axline genealogy records. No records of any kind were found in this division of the library.

I intended to return to New York to conduct research at the NYU archives, however, when I contacted the NYU library to begin planning my trip, I discovered that the NYU archives were undergoing renovations scheduled to last for approximately two years. During this time, outside researchers are not granted access to the collections and no outgoing loan requests will be accommodated.

Chicago

In September 2019, I visited Chicago to search for primary records related to Axline. The majority of my research time was spent in the Special Collections Research Center (SCRC) within the University of Chicago library. The SCRC maintains the University Archives and has an extensive collection of documents, photographs, clippings, and other artifacts related to the history of the University of Chicago. I initiated my search in the SCRC before visiting Chicago by searching the online finding aids for the following keywords and topics; “Axline,” “play therapy,” “play,” “child centered,” “nondirective,” “child therapy,” “Rogers,” “Rogers, Carl,” “counseling,” and “counseling center.” This provided me with a list of materials I requested to

view upon arrival at the SCRC.

The most obvious archival records available at the SCRC were filed within the Archival Biographical Files, circa 1890-2019. Within this collection was a file devoted to Virginia Mae Axline. This particular file contained a newspaper clipping with a photo of Virginia Axline sitting near a child model in the playroom at the University Counseling Center. Along with the photograph was a brief interview with Axline regarding her work and professional experience. The article was written by Violet Meyer; however, the name of the newspaper is unfortunately missing from the clipping. Written lightly in pencil on the clipping was the date “Nov 11, 1947.” Because the exact date and source newspaper of this clipping could not be readily verified, I used this source as a supporting document to information found elsewhere, and attributed a lower level of evidentiary value to it according to Garraghan’s (1946) model.

The second collection I examined in the SCRC archives was the Robert J. Havighurst Papers; 1921-1991. A description of Havighurst’s professional activities and how they related to Axline is included in the Data chapter of this dissertation. Within the Havighurst papers, I identified no documents of value related to Axline. This examination was important however, because Havighurst is referenced in, and cc’d on, several documents related to Axline from other SCRC collections.

The next collection I examined in the SCRC was the Ralph W. Tyler Papers; 1932-1988. This collection contained a few documents referencing and related to Axline. One document was a letter from Tyler to Axline dated August 29, 1946, which served as confirmation that Axline had taught at University of Chicago in the summer of 1946, and indicating that Tyler would recommend Axline to Mr. Herrick, who would be in charge of the University’s three-year master’s program for elementary teachers. The last document in this series is a letter from Tyler

to Herrick, dated August 29, 1946 in which Tyler follows through on his promise to Axline. Also in this same series was a letter from Axline to Tyler dated October 1946 in which Axline submits her resignation as research associate under the Shankman Fund, citing Axline's appointment as coordinator of professional services at the Counseling Center as the reason for her resignation. I attributed a high degree of authenticity to each of these documents because of the time of their production, their location, the authors attributed, and because each of the documents lend some degree of corroboration to the others.

Of greatest value in the Ralph W. Tyler Papers at the SCRC is a letter written by Axline, addressed to Tyler, dated April 8, 1947. This letter is discussed at length in the Data portion of this dissertation. The letter detailed Axline's proposed plan for completing her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. After stating her case for a non-traditional plan toward degree completion, Axline proposed her dissertation topic: a detailed description of a book she had already begun writing titled *Freedom to Learn*. Utilizing Garraghan's model of source criticism, I determined this document to be of high authenticity and historical value.

I continued my search for materials in the Office of the President Hutchins Administration Records. This collection yielded quite a few documents related to the activities and practices at the Counseling Center where Axline and Rogers worked together. I concluded my visit to the SCRC with an examination of the Richard Pollak Collection of Bruno Bettelheim Research. This collection did not yield any significant materials.

Examining Relevant Archival Records Left by Contemporaries

The sixth step in my procedures was described as follows:

6. Examined the archival records left behind by contemporaries Carl Rogers at the Library of Congress and Haim Ginott at the CPT for any materials related to or references to Axline.

In July of 2019, I travelled to Washington D.C. to visit the Library of Congress (LOC) and examine the archival records of Carl Rogers. The Carl R. Rogers Papers collection housed in the Library of Congress Manuscripts division contains 51,800 items in 148 containers spanning 59.2 linear feet according to the finding aid at the LOC. Because of the extent of the material available, I planned my search by prioritizing those materials most likely to contain information regarding Axline. Specific descriptions for each of these boxes are lengthy and can be accessed through the permalink to the collection finding aid at <https://lccn.loc.gov/mm81075853>.

I examined the contents of the following boxes in the following order;

July 10, 2019:

- Box 50; Box 123; Box 125; Box 138; Box 1; Box 121; Box 127; and Box 140.

• July 11, 2019:

- Box 6; Box 38; Box 41; Box 80; Box 128; Box 32; Box 137; Box 4; Box 31; Box 42; Box 72; and Box 132.

• July 12, 2019:

- Box 133; Box 136; Box 42; Box 72; Box 105; Box 132; Box 123; Box 124; Box 128; Box 141; Box 33; Box 34; Box 35; and Box 36.

• July 13, 2019:

- Box 42 and Box 80.

Some of the boxes I searched are listed as being accessed more than once, because at times I found material in a subsequent box that prompted me to go back and check materials I recalled from a previous container for relevance. I selected these specific boxes because I was refining my search to meet the following parameters: professional materials related to the time period of 1930-1960; materials related to Teachers College, University of Chicago, and the Ohio State University; materials related to work with children; and materials related to Clark Moustakas. This search yielded a variety of useful items including:

Personal Counselor Newsletter (1946, October 15). Rogers, Carl R. Papers, 9Box 127, Folder 20, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Rogers, C. R. (1944, November 13) [Letter to R. W. Tyler re: plans for Counseling Center at University of Chicago]. Rogers, Carl R. Papers (Box 125, Folder 1), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Rogers, C. R. (1945) *Document detailing open positions at Counseling Center and preferred candidates for each role*. Rogers, Carl R. Papers (Box 127, Folder 5), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

As discussed in the Methodology Overview, historical research is often circular. This was the case with my research at the LOC. After discovering a letter from Axline to R. W. Tyler at the University of Chicago proposing a book titled, “Freedom to Learn” (Axline, 1947 April 8), I returned to the LOC to further review the Carl Rogers Papers. In this second visit during December of 2019, I focused my search on boxes related to Rogers’s records from the writing of his book, *Freedom to Learn* (1969). I had originally skipped these boxes because they did not appear to be relevant to Axline or the time when Rogers and Axline were in proximity to each other. On this second trip, I examined two boxes of the Carl R. Rogers Papers; Box 72, and Box 50. These two boxes contain materials related to Rogers’ publication of *Freedom to Learn* (1969).

Continuing Search for Artifacts throughout Each Step

The seventh step in my procedures was described as follows:

7. Throughout the process of the first six steps, I continually searched for artifacts related to Axline, such as letters, photographs, diaries, art, and maps.

As discussed in some of the previous steps, I continued my search for artifacts related to Axline throughout each research phase. While examining the Carl R. Rogers papers in Washington D.C., I examined his correspondence records to look for any letters from Axline. I did the same when examining the Haim Ginott papers at the UNT Center for Play Therapy. My

search of Ancestry.com included an extensive amount of time examining scanned yearbooks from schools I knew Axline had attended to determine if I could find additional photographs of her. This search for artifacts was circular and ongoing throughout each portion of my research endeavor.

Generate Copies When Possible for Preservation

The eighth step in my procedures was described as follows:

8. Whenever possible and permitted by custodians or owners of such records, I generated digital copies or reproductions of identified sources for preservation. Some of the materials I accessed during my research are restricted in how I am able to use them. The LOC Manuscripts Division, the SCRC at University of Chicago, and the Columbia Teachers College Archives all required me to sign agreements permitting me to take photographs for personal research use, but prohibiting me from sharing or reproducing those photographs without additional permission. Because of these restrictions, I have photographs and scans of many of the documents I examined, but I am not permitted to attach them or share them without requesting additional permission from the relevant archive. I was able to get permission from the University of Chicago SCRC to reproduce one letter Written by Axline (1947, April 8), and referenced in the biography portion of this dissertation.

Some of the materials I accessed during my search, such as birth certificates, marriage records, census records, and the like are publicly available and not subject to copyright. I have generated digital copies of these records and will preserve them at the UNT Center for Play Therapy for future research use.

In addition to generating copies of each document described above, I took photographs at several points in my research trips for personal records and to accurately document my search process. This included photographs of the Columbus Foundation, Axline's grave, each university

I visited, the Library of Congress, the Ohio State Board of Psychology, the Franklin County Municipal Courts building, and Axline's former office location in Columbus among others.

Generate a List of Desirable Sources for Oral History Interviews

The ninth step in my procedures was described as follows:

9. Throughout the process of the first six steps, I generated a list of desirable sources for oral history interviews.

Throughout the process of my research, I identified the following people as being of potential interest for oral history interviews:

- Norma Andersen: in-home nurse for Axline
- Thomas Bonasera: attorney representing Marotta
- Howard Kirschenbaum: biographer of Carl Rogers
- Robert Marotta: Axline's attorney/guardian
- Emily Oe: previous Axline researcher
- Ardettea Staats: in-home nurse for Axline

It is an unfortunate fact that many individuals who would be most useful to interview regarding Axline are now deceased. Because of this, the list of potential interviewees is relatively short. This fact also makes the oral history interviews previously conducted by Dr. Emily Oe all that much more valuable.

Attempt to Procure Oral History Interviews

The tenth step in my procedures was described as follows:

10. I attempted to procure oral history interviews with any individuals still living who knew Axline, or might have access to records related to her.

My attempts to locate Norma Andersen, were unsuccessful. I conducted several searches of a variety of public records trying to locate anyone by that name in the greater Columbus area,

but was entirely unsuccessful.

I was able to locate contact information for both Thomas Bonasera and Robert Marotta. Both are still practicing attorneys in the Columbus area. I left messages for both attorneys at their listed office numbers on several occasions but did not receive a call back from either after several months of repeated attempts.

I was able to contact and interview Dr. Howard Kirschenbaum by telephone and he willingly answered all of my questions to the best of his ability. Unfortunately, he had limited information to provide and confirmed that he had not interviewed Axline during his research on Carl Rogers (Kirschenbaum, 2019)

I was able to contact Dr. Emily Oe. She spoke with me at length about her research and answered several questions I had. We maintain an ongoing dialogue about Axline and she has promised to send me any additional materials she finds regarding Axline (Oe, 2020 January 17).

I was unable to locate anyone by the name of Ardetta Staats. I searched several public databases, conducted a web search, and searched Facebook.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The research methods and procedures described in the previous chapter resulted in the compilation of hundreds of potential sources. Some were easily dismissed as irrelevant or lacking historical value. Others required examination according to proper historical methods of source criticism to determine their eligibility for inclusion. I utilized the retained sources to create a narrative of the information they contained collectively. This chapter contains two tables intended to assist the reader in understanding my process of source criticism and the results of my research. The first table is a compilation of sources and an explanation of the source criticism process for utilizing each. The second is a compilation of information gathered and the corresponding source(s) supporting the identified events or statements.

Table 1 is an accounting of all data sources utilized or referenced in this research. The table is organized in such a way that the reader may identify my process of source criticism and the resulting decision for inclusion as a principal source, inclusion as a conformational source, or rejection from use. It is important to understand that this table utilizes a ranking system I devised that is intended purely for transparency of my source criticism process and to aid the reader in understanding that process.

This ranking system is not a formal or recognized scoring method in the domain of historical source criticism and should not be taken as such. In examining each question for each source, I was careful to rank each source with regard to the specific event or information I used it to support in my writing. Therefore, my ranking of each source was dependent on the manner in which I utilized it and should not be interpreted as a static ranking applicable to all information contained therein.

The table has eleven columns which are explained below:

1. Column 1 is titled “In Text Citation” and contains a listing of in-text source citations identifying the data sources as they correspond to the *References* portion of this document.

2. Column 2 is titled “Brief Description” and contains a brief description of each data source as necessary for the reader’s ease of understanding.

3. Column 3 is titled “G1” and contains a ranking for each data source as it relates to the first question of source criticism identified by Garraghan (1946): “When was the source produced?” Sources produced at the time of the event were given a ranking of 3. Sources produced after the time of the event, but during Axline’s lifetime (or the lifetime of the individual to whom the source was linked) were given a ranking of 2. Sources produced after the time of the event, and after Axline’s death (or the death of the individual to whom the source was linked) were given a ranking of 1.

4. Column 4 is titled “G2” and contains a ranking for each data source as it relates to the second question of source criticism identified by Garraghan (1946): “Where was it produced?” Sources produced at the location of the event were given a ranking of 3. Sources produced close to the location of the event (ex: in the same state) were given a ranking of 2. Sources produced far from the event were given a ranking of 1.

5. Column 5 is titled “G3” and contains a score for each data source as it relates to the third question of source criticism identified by Garraghan (1946): “By whom was it produced?” Sources produced by the subject of the data contained were given a ranking of 3. Sources produced by an individual close to the subject of the data, such as a close colleague or an objective interviewer were given a ranking of 2. Sources produced by an individual unknown by or only casually known by the subject were given a ranking of 1. The reader should be aware that

the subject of the data utilized in each source was not always Axline. The data utilized from a source was at times referencing colleagues of Axline or those whom Axline influenced.

6. Column 6 is titled “G4” and contains a score for each data source as it relates to the fourth question of source criticism identified by Garraghan (1946): “From what pre-existing material was it produced?” Sources verifiable as originals were given a ranking of 3. Sources which could be reasonably determined to be unaltered and quality reproductions of originals were given a ranking of 2. Sources which could not be verified as originals or quality copies thereof received a ranking of 1.

7. Column 7 is titled “G5” and contains a score for each data source as it relates to the fifth question of source criticism identified by Garraghan (1946): “In what form was it originally produced?” Photographs preserved prior to 1988, government documents, official school or university records, census records, court records, death and burial documents, and other official state or government documents were given a ranking of 3. Personal letters, personal notes, oral interviews, and other similar sources were given a ranking of 2. All other sources were given a ranking of 1.

8. Column 8 is titled “G6” and contains a score for each data source as it relates to the sixth question of source criticism identified by Garraghan (1946): “What is the evidential value of it?” Sources demonstrating new information, or information of greater scope relevant to Axline’s person or professional endeavors were given a ranking of 3. Sources demonstrating new detail to previously existing knowledge were given a ranking of 2. Sources that merely confirmed existing information or assumptions were given a ranking of 1.

9. Column 9 is titled “P.” Data sources with an “X” in this column are those which I accepted as being reasonable to use as principal sources. By principal sources, I mean that I had

concluded that even a single source of this nature would be acceptable evidence to report information contained therein when no additional sources on confirmation were available. These sources are of the highest historical relevance according to Garraghan's model of evaluation.

10. Column 10 is titled "C." Data sources with an "X" in this column are those which I accepted as being reasonable to use as corroborating sources. By this I mean that these sources might back up or corroborate information found in principal sources or, alternatively, information that was supported by multiple corroborating sources but no principal sources would meet my standards for inclusion. These sources are of less objective historical relevance according to Garraghan's (1946) model of evaluation, but still hold value to the research.

11. Column 11 is titled "R." Data sources in this column were rejected from use. The reader should be aware that I examined many documents and potential sources and was able to quickly exclude from use. The vast majority of rejected sources are not included in this table. The final column labeled "R" represents only those sources which I rejected after initial consideration for inclusion and is therefore not an exhaustive list. For example, there are over 51,800 items in 148 separate containers within the Carl R. Rogers papers at the Library of Congress. Examining and listing each of these items would not be of practical benefit. However, an explanation of how I determined what sources to examine is included in the Methods chapter of this dissertation.

Table 1

Source Criticism According to Garraghan's Six Questions

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
Affidavit, 1985, September 5	<i>Affidavit</i> . (1985, September 5) Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case #359666. Submitted by Marotta attesting that there were no known living relatives of Axline	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Amended Application to Expend Funds, 1984, September 7	<i>Amended Application to Expend Funds</i> . (1984, September 7) Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Announcement of Teachers College Columbia University; 1954-1955	<i>Announcement of Teachers College Columbia University; 1954-1955 Winter and Spring Sessions</i> . [Call Number: CX5 I, Box: 1954-55], Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library.	3	3	3	3	3	2	X		
Announcement of Teachers College Columbia University; 1955-1956	<i>Announcement of Teachers College Columbia University; 1955-1956 Winter and Spring Sessions</i> . [Call Number: CX5I, Box: 1955-56], Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library.	3	3	3	3	3	2	X		
Applegate, 1991, May 13	Applegate, Monsignor. (1991, May 13). Interview of Monsignor Applegate of Columbus Ohio by Dr. Emily Oe. [audio tape recording].	1	3	2	3	2	3	X		
Application to Expend Funds, 1984, August 15	<i>Application to Expend Funds</i> . (1984, August 15). Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Application to Expend Funds, 1984, August 29	<i>Application to Expend Funds</i> . (1984, August 29) Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1941	Axline, V. M. (1941) <i>An exploratory study of the cost factor in an experience curriculum</i> . (Unpublished master's thesis). The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1944	Axline, V. M. (1944), Morale on the school front. <i>Journal of Educational Research</i> , 37, 521-533	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline & Rogers, 1945	Axline, V. M. & Rogers, C. R. (1945), A teacher-therapist deals with a handicapped child. <i>Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology</i> , 40, 119-142.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1946, October 10	Axline, V. M. (1946, October 10) [Letter to R.W. Tyler and cc: Mr. Havighurst resigning as research associate under Shankman fund due to new position as coordinator of professional services at Counseling Center]. Tyler, Ralph W., Papers. (Box 5, Folder 9), Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
Axline, 1947, April 8	Axline, V. M. (1947, April 8). [Letter to R.W. Tyler proposing a book titled "Freedom to Learn" as dissertation for completion of Ph.D. at University of Chicago]. Tyler, Ralph W., Papers. (Box 5, Folder 9), Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Axline, 1947, August 2a	Axline, V. M. (1947, August 2a). [Letter to E.C. Colwell regarding rumors Axline had heard that Colwell "do[es] not like [her] attitude toward a Ph.D."]. Tyler, Ralph W., Papers. (Box 5, Folder 9), Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Axline, 1947, August 2b	Axline, V. M. (1947, August 2b). [Letter to R.W. Tyler regarding rumors Axline had heard that Tyler "do[es] not like [her] attitude toward a Ph.D."]. Tyler, Ralph W., Papers. (Box 5, Folder 9), Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Axline, 1947a	Axline, V. M. (1947a) Nondirective therapy for poor readers. <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 11(2), 61-69. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0063079	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1947b	Axline, V. M. (1947b) <i>Play therapy: The inner dynamics of childhood</i> . Houghton Mifflin.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Axline, 1948a	Axline, V. M. (1948a) Play therapy and race conflict in young children. <i>Journal of Abnormal Psychology</i> , 43(3), 300-310. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0053655	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1948b	Axline, V. M. (1948b) Some observations on play therapy. <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 12(4), 209-216. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0056746	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1949a	Axline, V. M. (1949a) Mental deficiency—Symptom or disease? <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 13(5), 313-327	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1949b	Axline, V. M. (1949b) [Review of the book <i>Practice of group therapy</i> , by S. R. Slavson, eds.]. <i>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</i> , 44(1), 152-153	3	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Axline, 1949c	Axline, V. M. (1949c) Play therapy... A way of understanding and helping "reading problems." <i>Childhood Education</i> , 26, 156-161.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1950a	Axline, V. M. (1950a) <i>And hast thou slain the jabberwock?</i> (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Columbia University Teacher's College, New York, NY.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1950b	Axline, V. M. (1950b) Emotions and how they grow. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 27(1), 104-108	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
Axline, 1950c	Axline, V. M. (1950c) Entering the child's world via play experiences. <i>Progressive Education</i> , 27, 68-75.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1950d	Axline, V. M. (1950d) Play therapy experiences as described by child participants. <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 14(1), 53-63	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1951a	Axline, V. M. (1951a) Don't ask me why. <i>NEA Bulletin</i> , 40(1), 33.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1951b	Axline, V. M. (1951b) [Review of the book <i>Love is not enough: The treatment of emotionally disturbed children</i> by B. Bettelheim]. <i>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</i> , 46(3), 449-451.	3	3	3	2	2	2	X		
Axline, 1952	Axline, V. M. (Director). (1952). <i>The Child at Play</i> [Film with narration by Howard Kester]. United States: The Bureau of Publications Teachers College Columbia University	3	3	3	3	2	2	X		
Axline, 1954a	Axline, V. M. (1954a) That the blind may see. <i>Teachers College Record</i> , 55, 249-252.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1954b	Axline, V. M. (1954b) Understanding and accepting: The child who is blind. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 30(1), 427-430.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1955a	Axline, V. M. (1955a) Therapeutic play techniques: Play therapy procedures and results. <i>American Journal of Orthopsychiatry</i> , 25(3), 618-626.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1955b	Axline, V. M. (1955b) Group therapy as a means of self discovery for parents and children. <i>Group Psychotherapy</i> , 8, 152-160.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1956	Axline, V. M. (1956) All the things we are. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 33(7), 304-307	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1957a	Axline, V. M. (1957a) Meeting the crisis in educational leadership today. <i>Educational Leadership</i> , 14(6), 330-336	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1957b	Axline, V. M. (1957b) A part of a vast mankind. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 34(9), 413-418.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1957c	Axline, V. M. (1957c) All the things we are. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 33(7), 304-307.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1962	Axline, V. M. (1962) Organized parents. <i>Contemporary Psychology: A Journal of Reviews</i> , 7(4), 154-155.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Axline, 1964	Axline, V. (1964) <i>Dibs in search of self</i> . Houghton Mifflin.	3	1	3	3	3	3	X		
Axline, 1968, September 30	Axline, V. M. (1968, September 30). <i>The Ohio State University personnel data record</i> . Human Ecology Faculty Archive Files. (Box1, Folder Axline, Virginia). Ohio State University Archives	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
Axline, 1969, April 16	Axline, V. M. (1969, April 16). <i>Letter to Dr. Claribel Taylor re: invitation to teach at OSU</i> . Ohio State University Archives	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Center for blind gains. 1956, June 20	Center for blind gains. (1956, June 20). <i>New York Times</i> (1923-Current file): Retrieved from ProQuest. Web. 4 Feb. 2016 < http://ezproxy.nypl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/113811210?accountid=35635 >. (Axline accepted check on behalf of Association for Advancement of Blind Children)	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Blind children said to need aid. 1959, March 17	Blind children said to need aid. (1959, March 17). <i>New York Times</i> (1923-Current file): 36. Retrieved from ProQuest. Web. 4 Feb. 2016 < http://ezproxy.nypl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/114651495?accountid=35635 >. (Axline testified before congress)	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Columbus Dispatch, The 1988, March 23	The Columbus Dispatch (1988, March 23). <i>Clipping titled "AXLINE."</i> Human Ecology Faculty Archive Files. [Box1, Folder Axline, Virginia], Ohio State University Archives.	3	3	2	3	3	2	X		
Columbus Foundation Release, 1990, January 4	Columbus Foundation. (1990, January 4). <i>Diocesan child guidance center receives funding for play therapy</i> . [News release]. The Columbus Foundation, Columbus, Ohio.	1	3	3	3	2	2		X	
Columbus, Ohio City Directory, 1926	Columbus, Ohio City Directory, 1926, page 213. Retrieved from Ancestry.com	3	3	3	3	3	2		X	
Columbus Public Schools Record. 1922-1928	Columbus Public Schools Record. (1922-1928). <i>Copied academic records for Virginia Axline provided by Pupil Personnel Office of Columbus Public Schools</i> . Records are in the possession of Erin Turley Stich	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Connections, Winter 1990	Connections: A publication of the Diocesan Child Guidance Center (Winter 1990).	1	3	3	3	2	2		X	
Consent and Selection of Guardian, 1984, August 7	<i>Consent and Selection of Guardian</i> (1984, August 7). Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Conway & Florance, 1984, August 15	Conway, W. F. & Florance, C. L. (1984, August 15). <i>Letter to Robert Marotta re: Axline's significant cognitive and communicative deficits</i> . Filed in Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	3	2	2	2	X		
Crabbe, et al., 1984, September 27	Crabbe, Brown, Jones, Potts & Schmidt (1984, September 27) <i>Our File 30803 Virginia Axline Guardianship</i> . Retrieved from Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
Filbey, 1944, July 27	Filbey, E.T. (1944, July 27). <i>Letter to E.C. Colwell Re: Naming the Orthogenic School for a Donor Would Require Two Million Dollars According to Tyler and Jacoby</i> . Pollak, Richard. Collection of Bruno Bettelheim Research Materials, [Box 3, Folder 2], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.	3	3	3	3	2	1			X
Films for Parents. 1954, March 18	Films for Parents. (1954, March 18). <i>New York Times</i> (1923-Current file): 29. Retrieved from: ProQuest. Web. 4 Feb. 2016 < http://ezproxy.nypl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/113129239?accountid=35635 >. (article listing Axline speaking engagement and Child at Play film)	3	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Freeman, 1949	Freeman, L. (1949, May 10). Emotions of baby held first to gain. <i>The New York Times</i> . Retrieved from ProQuest. Web. 4 Feb. 2016 < http://ezproxy.nypl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/106009089?accountid=35635 >. (article confirming Axline as instructor at Columbia Teachers College)	3	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Freud, A. 1928	Freud, A. (1928). <i>Introduction to the technique of child analysis</i> (L. P. Clark, Trans.). New York, NY: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing	3	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Freud, A. 1966	Freud, A. (1966). <i>Normality and pathology in childhood: Assessment of development</i> . London: Hogarth Press and Institute of Psychoanalysis	3	3	3	3	3	2	X		
Geisel, 1944, June 10	Geisel, J.B. (1944, June 10). <i>Letter to R.W. Tyler Re: Orthogenic School "Tuition and Enrollment, July, 1941, through June, 1944."</i> Pollak, Richard. Collection of Bruno Bettelheim Research Materials, [Box 3, Folder 2], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library	3	3	3	3	2	1			X
Gibson, 1992, August 8	Gibson, Marcia. (1992, August 8). <i>Letter to Dr. Oe re: Axline's employment at OSU</i> . Ohio State University Archives	1	3	3	2	2	2		X	
Ginott, 1952	Ginott, H. M. (1952). <i>The Effects of Psychotherapy on the Race Prejudice of Disturbed Children an Experimental Study</i> . Dissertation. Teachers College, Columbia University.	3	3	3	3	3	2	X		
Giordano et al., 2005	Giordano, M., Landreth, G., & Jones, L. (2005). <i>A practical handbook for building the play therapy relationship</i> . Oxford: Jason Aronson	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Guardian's Inventory. 1984, August 15	<i>Guardian's Inventory</i> . (1984, August 15) Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Guerney, B., 1964	Guerney, B. G., Jr. (1964). Filial therapy: Description and rationale. <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 28(4), 303-310	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
Guerney et al., 1966	Guerney, B. G., Jr., Guerney, L., & Andronico, M. (1966). Filial therapy. <i>Yale Scientific Magazine</i> , 40, 6-14	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Guerney, 1972	Guerney, B. G., Jr., Guerney, L., & Stover, L. (1972). Facilitative therapist attitudes in training parents as psychotherapeutic agents. <i>The Family Coordinator</i> , 21(3), 275-278	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Guerney, L., 1976	Guerney, L. F. (1976). Filial Therapy Program. In D. H. Olson (Ed.), <i>Treating Relationships</i> (pp. 67-91). Lake Mills, IA: Graphic Publishing Co., Inc.	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Hast Interview, 1992	Hast Interview. (1992, June 13). <i>Interview between Eugene Hast and Emily Oe.</i> This document is in the possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be preserved at The Center for Play Therapy at University of North Texas at the conclusion of research	1	3	2	3	2	3		X	
Heppner, 1990	Heppner, P. P. (Ed.). (1990). <i>Pioneers in counseling and development: Personal and professional perspectives</i> . Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development	1	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Heppner et al., 2000	Heppner, P. P., Casas, J. M., Carter, J. A., & Stone, G. L. (2000). The history of counseling psychology: 1978-1998. In S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), <i>Handbook of counseling psychology</i> (pp. 3-49). New York, NY: John Wiley	1	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Heppner et al., 1995	Heppner, P. P., Kivlighan, D. M., Jr., Wright, G. E., Pledge, D. S., Brossart, D. F., Bellatin, A., Wang, L. Kinder, M. H., Hertel, J. B., Hendricks, F. M., Kim, H., Durham, R. J., Berry, T. R., Witty, T. E., Krull, L. A. (1995). Teaching the history of counseling: Training the next generation. <i>Journal of Counseling and Development</i> , 73(3), 337-341.	3	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Heppner et al., 1984	Heppner, P. P., Rogers, M. E., & Lee, L. A. (1984). Life lines: Interviews with pioneers in counseling and human development. <i>Journal of Counseling and Development</i> , 63(1), 12-13.	3	3	3	2	3	2	X		
Indiana State Board of Health, 1911, March 30	Indiana State Board of Health. (1911, March 30). <i>Certificate of Birth</i> . [Virginia May Axline's birth certificate].	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Kierkegaard, 1941	Kierkegaard, S. (1941). <i>The sickness unto death</i> . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press	3	3	3	3	3	2	X		
Kimpton, 1950, August 15	Kimpton, L.A. (1950, August 15). <i>Letter to Wilbur C. Munnecke, Great Books Foundation Re: History of the Orthogenic School, Emergency Condemnation of School Residence, and Formation of the Sonia Shankman</i>	3	3	3	3	2	1			X

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
	<i>Foundation</i> . Pollak, Richard. Collection of Bruno Bettelheim Research Materials, [Box 3, Folder 2], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.									
Kirschenbaum, 2009	Kirschenbaum, H. (2009). <i>The life and work of Carl Rogers</i> . Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association	1	3	3	3	3	2		X	
Klein, 1955	Klein, M. (1955). The psychoanalytic play technique. <i>American Journal of Orthopsychiatry</i> , 25(2), 223-237. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.1955.tb00131.x	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Landreth, 1991	Landreth, G. L. (1991). <i>Play therapy: The art of the relationship</i> . New York, NY: Routledge	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Landreth, 2002	Landreth, G. L. (2002). <i>Play therapy: The art of the relationship</i> (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Brunner-Routledge.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Landreth, 2012	Landreth, G. L. (2012). <i>Play therapy: The art of the relationship</i> (3 rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Landreth & Bratton, 2006	Landreth, G. L., & Bratton, S. C. (2006). <i>Child parent relationship therapy (CPRT): A 10-session filial therapy model</i> . New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Lehr, 1992, September 16	Lehr, C. (1992, September 16). <i>Notes from Dr. Emily Oe's phone interview with Claire Lehr</i> . This document is in the possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be donated to the Center for Play Therapy at University of North Texas at the conclusion of Research	1	1	2	3	2	3	X		
Lindo, 2013	Lindo, N. A. (2013). Play therapy and beyond: An interview with Garry Landreth. <i>Journal of Professional Counseling, Practice, Theory, & Research</i> , 40(1), 2-11.	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Marriage Record, Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio, 1908, June 16	Marriage Record, Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio. (1908, June 16). <i>Marriage License Application and Record for Roy Garfield Axline and Ellen G. Manly</i> . Retrieved from Ancestry.com 2019, September 17. Available for inspection at the Center for Play Therapy Library Archives, University of North Texas	3	3	3	2	3	3	X		
Ment, 1992, September 17	Ment, D. M. (1992, September 17). <i>Letter from David Ment, head of Special Collections at Teachers College Columbia University to Emily Oe re: Axline's history at the University</i> . Letter is in the possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be preserved at the UNT Center for Play Therapy at the conclusion of research	1	3	2	2	2	2		X	

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
Meyer, 1947, November 11	Meyer, V. (1947, November 11). <i>Newspaper Clipping Describing Axline's Work at University of Chicago and Photograph</i> . "Axline, Virginia" File at University of Chicago Special Collections.	3	3	2	2	3	2	X		
Motion for Release of Funds, 1984, September 10	Motion for Release of Funds (1984, September 10) Filed in Probate Court of Franklin County, Ohio. Case # 359666	3	3	2	3	3	3	X		
Moustakas Interview. 1992, October 16	Moustakas Interview. (1992, October 16). Interview of Clark Moustakas by Emily Oe. In possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be donated to The Center for Play Therapy at University of North Texas at conclusion of research.	1	1	2	3	2	3	X		
O'Connor, 1991	O'Connor, K. J. (1991). <i>The play therapy primer: An integration of theories and techniques</i> . New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons	1	1	1	3	3	1		X	
O'Connor & Braverman, 2009	O'Connor, K. J., & Braverman, L. D. (Eds.). (2009). <i>Play therapy theory and practice: Comparing theories and techniques</i> . Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons	1	1	1	3	3	1		X	
Ohio Department of Health Certificate of Death, Columbus, 1947, February 2	Ohio Department of Health Certificate of Death, Columbus. (1947, February 2). Reg. Dist. No. 392, Primary Reg. Dist. No.8187, State File No. 889, Registrar's No. 545 <i>Death certificate of Roy G. Axline</i> . Retrieved from Ancestry.com https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/tree/55039053/photo/1?pgn=32911&usePUBJs=true&_phsrc=zZJ265	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Panel on Blind Children, 1955, April 21	Panel on Blind Children. (1955, April 21). <i>New York Times</i> (1923-Current file): 36. Retrieved from ProQuest. Web. 4 Feb. 2016 < http://ezproxy.nypl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/113466801?accountid=35635 >. (Axline is assoc. prof. of Education at TC, and presented on a speaking panel re: growing up blind)	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Personal Counselor Newsletter, 1946, October 15	Personal Counselor Newsletter (1946, October 15). Rogers, Carl R. Papers, [Box 127, Folder 2], Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Ray, 2011	Ray, D. C. (2011). <i>Advanced play therapy: Essential conditions, knowledge, and skills for child practice</i> . New York, NY: Taylor and Francis Group, LLC.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Remling Interview, 1992, September 13	Remling Interview. (1992, September 13). <i>Audio cassette interview of Joyce Remling conducted by Emily Oe</i> . Cassette and corresponding notes are in	1	1	2	3	2	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
	the possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be preserved at the UNT Center for Play Therapy at the conclusion of research									
Rogers, 1944, November 13	Rogers, C. R. (1944, November 13) [Letter to R. W. Tyler re: plans for Counseling Center at University of Chicago]. Rogers, Carl R. Papers (Box 125, Folder 1), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Rogers, 1945	Rogers, C. R. (1945) <i>Document detailing open positions at Counseling Center and preferred candidates for each role</i> (Box 127, Folder 5). Rogers, Carl R. Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Rogers, 1951	Rogers, C. R. (1951). <i>Client-centered therapy</i> . London: Constable & Robinson, Ltd.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Rogers, 1959	Rogers, C. R. (1959). A theory of therapy, personality, and interpersonal relationships, as developed in the client-centered framework. In H. Kirschenbaum & V. Henderson (Eds.). (1989) <i>The Carl Rogers reader</i> (pp. 236-262). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Rogers, 1961	Rogers, C. R. (1961). <i>On becoming a person</i> . New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Rogers, 1969	Rogers, C. R. (1969). <i>Freedom to Learn</i> . Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.	3	3	3	3	3	2	X		
Rogers, 1980	Rogers, C. R. (1980). <i>A way of being</i> . New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Rogers & Russell, 2002	Rogers, C. R., & Russell, D. E. (2002). <i>Carl Rogers the quiet revolutionary: an oral history</i> . Roseville, CA: Penmarin Books.	2	3	2	3	3	2		X	
Social Security Death Index	Social Security Death Index Number: 107-26-7787; Issue State: New York; Issue Date: 1951. Published by Ancestry.com Operations Inc. Provo, UT, USA.	3	3	3	3	3	3	X		
Scheerer Interview, 1992, February 23	Scheerer Interview. (1992, February 23) <i>Audio cassette interview of Elizabeth "Betty" Scheerer conducted by Nathaniel Raskin and Mary Costas</i> . Cassette and corresponding notes are in the possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be preserved at the UNT Center for Play Therapy at the conclusion of research	1	1	2	3	2	3	X		
Skilken Interview, 1992, September 12	Skilken Interview Notes. (1992, September 12) <i>Notes taken by Dr. Emily Ore: conversation with Edith Skilken, former student of Axline's</i> . Notes are in	1	3	2	3	2	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
	possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be preserved at The Center for Play Therapy at UNT at the conclusion of research.									
Stock, 1969, February 16	Stock, R. W. (1969, February 16). Underground in Oshkosh. <i>New York Times</i> (1923-Current file): Retrieved from ProQuest. Web. 4 Feb. 2016 < http://ezproxy.nypl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/118492808?accountid=35635 >. (Article reviewing Dibs)	3	3	1	2	3	1		X	
Taft, 1933	Taft, J. (1933). <i>The dynamics of therapy in a controlled relationship</i> . New York: MacMillan.	3	3	3	3	3	2	X		
Tyler, 1946, August 29	Tyler, R.W. (1946, August 29). <i>Letter to Mr. Herrick recommending Axline to teach in the Master's program for Elementary teachers</i> . Tyler, Ralph W., Papers. [Box 5, Folder 9], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Accessed 2019, September 12, 13:04.	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Tyler, 1947, August 12	Tyler, R.W. (1947, August 12). <i>Letter responding to Axline requesting meeting regarding rumors Axline had heard that Tyler "do[es] not like [her] attitude toward a Ph.D."</i> Tyler, Ralph W., Papers. [Box 5, Folder 9], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Accessed 2019, September 12, 13:11.	3	3	3	3	2	3	X		
Uniform law urged for blind children, 1952, April 26	Uniform law urged for blind children. (1952, April 26). <i>New York Times</i> (1923-Current file): 42. Retrieved from ProQuest. Web. 4 Feb. 2016 < http://ezproxy.nypl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/112302916?accountid=35635 >.	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
United States Draft, World War II Registration Card, 1942, April 26	United States Draft, World War II Registration Card. (1942, April 26). [Draft Card for Roy Garfield Axline of 1591 E. Rich St., Columbus, OH]. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 2019, September 17. Available for inspection at the Center for Play Therapy Library Archives, University of North Texas	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
United States Federal Census, 1920, January 10	United States Federal Census. (1920, January 10). <i>Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920-Population</i> . [Franklin County, Ohio, Precinct Q, Columbus City]. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 2019, September 17. Available for inspection at the Center for Play Therapy Library Archives, University of North Texas.	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
United States Federal Census, 1930, April 19	United States Federal Census. (1930, April 19). <i>Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Population Schedule</i> . [Franklin County, Ohio, 5 th Ward, Block 68 & 69, Columbus City]. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 2019,	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		

In Text Citation	Brief Description	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	P	C	R
	September 17. Available for inspection at the Center for Play Therapy Library Archives, University of North Texas.									
United States Federal Census, 1940, April 9-10	United States Federal Census. (1940, April 9-10). <i>Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population Schedule</i> . [Franklin County, Ohio, 5 th Ward, Block 51, Columbus City]. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 2019, September 17. Available for inspection at the Center for Play Therapy Library Archives, University of North Texas.	3	3	2	2	3	3	X		
U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current, N. D	U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current. (N. D.). <i>Death record of Helen G. Axline</i> . https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/10769289	1	3	2	2	3	3	X		
Wilson Interview Notes, 1992, September 25	Wilson Interview Notes, (1992, September 25) <i>Notes taken by Dr. Emily Oe re: conversation with Helen Wilson, Archivist at First Congregational Church in Columbus, Ohio</i> . Notes are in possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be preserved at The Center for Play Therapy at UNT at the conclusion of research.	1	3	2	3	2	3	X		
Yoder, 1992, February 15	Yoder, H. W. (1992, February 15). <i>Letter to Dr. Emily Oe re: inquiry concerning Virginia Axline</i> . This letter is in possession of Erin Turley Stich and will be preserved at The Center for Play Therapy at UNT at the conclusion of research.	1	3	1	3	2	1		X	
Young, 2005	Young, M. A. (2005). Creating a confluence: An interview with Susan Johnson and John Gottman. <i>The Family Journal</i> , 13(2), 219-225. doi:10.1177/1066480704272597	3	3	2	3	3	2	X		

Table 2 is a chronological listing of key data points found during the course of research. Many of the facts listed have a specific date, such as a birth date or death date. Those dates are listed chronologically. Some facts span a range of dates, such as several years spent at a University. Those facts are listed in the order that made most sense for a chronological understanding of Axline's biography. Many facts or conclusions drawn are overarching or have no date, such as a description of a professional interest of Axline's. Those items are listed after the chronological items and categorized as "nd" in the first column, for no date. Each fact, event, or conclusion is listed alongside the corresponding source or sources utilized to support that information. This table is intended to assist the reader in identifying key life events as well as overarching themes most central to Axline's life. This is not an exhaustive list. A fuller and more developed biography of Axline follows this reference table in the Discussion chapter.

Table 2

Key Life Events and Information

Date	Event	Sources
1908, June 16	Axline's parents are married.	Marriage Record...Ohio, 1908, June 16.
1911, March 30	Virginia Axline's self-reported birthdate	Axline, 1968, September 30; Axline's gravestone; Social Security Death Index
1911, March 31	Born Virginia May Axline to Roy G. Axline and Ellen G Manley (maiden name) in Ft. Wayne, Indiana. ^{1,2}	Indiana State Board of Health, 1911;
ca. 1922	Axline was a student at East Main Street Elementary School in Columbus, Ohio.	Columbus Public School Record, 1922-1928
1920, January 10	Axline Family lived at 1591 E. Rich Street in Columbus, Ohio. Roy Axline listed his occupation as "display manager" at a "department store."	United States Census Bureau, 1920, January 10
1923-1925	Axline was a student at Franklin Junior High.	Columbus Public School Record, 1922-1928
1925-1928	Axline was a student at East High School.	Axline, 1968, September 30; Columbus Public School Record, 1922-1928
1930, April 19	Axline Family lived at 1591 Rich St. in Columbus, Ohio. Roy Axline listed his occupation as "Sales Promoter" in the insurance industry and indicated that he was "self" employed. The family home was listed as "owned" with a value listed at \$10,000.	United States Census Bureau, 1930, April 19
nd-1949	Axline and her sister were members of First Congregational Church in Columbus, Ohio.	Wilson Interview Notes, 1992; Skilken Interview Notes, 1992
1928-1931	Axline studied English and Elementary Education at the Ohio State University, earning her B.S. in 1931.	Axline, 1968, September 30; Gibson, 1992; Meyer, 1947, November 11
1931-1933	After earning her bachelor's degree at OSU, Axline taught in elementary schools for ten years, first at Ohio Wesleyan Demonstration school from 1931-1933.	Axline, 1968, September 30; Meyer, 1947, November 11
1931-1933	Axline attended Ohio Wesleyan University where she worked part-time as a supervising student teacher	Axline, 1968, September 30; Gibson, 1992
1933-1945	Axline taught elementary school at various Columbus Public Schools in Ohio.	Axline, 1968, September 30; Meyer, 1947, November 11; Hast, 1992; Remling, 1992.
1935-1940	Axline returned to the Ohio State University to continue her education, earning a master's degree in psychology administration in 1940.	Axline, 1968, September 30; Gibson, 1992

Date	Event	Sources
1940, April 10	Virginia Axline was still listed as living with her father, mother, and sister at 1591 Rich St. in Columbus Ohio. Virginia Axline was the highest wage earner in her family, despite being the youngest.	United States Census Bureau, 1940, April 10
1936-1937	During the 1936-1937 school year, Axline was teaching at the Second Avenue Primary School in Columbus, Ohio.	Hast, 1992
1944-1945	During the 1944-1945 school year, Axline was teaching second grade at John Burroughs School on the West side of Columbus	Axline, 1944; Remling, 1992
1941	Axline earned her M.S. in Psychology Administration from OSU	Axline, 1941
1940-1945	After earning her master's degree, Axline continued her studies at OSU, working towards a PhD, but did not complete her PhD degree there.	Axline, 1968, September 30; Gibson, 1992
1940s	While studying at OSU in the 1940s, Axline met Monsignor Applegate, with whom she had a friendship until her death in 1988.	
1940-1944	Carl Rogers was teaching at OSU where Axline was a student	Kirschenbaum, 2009 p. 117.
Summer 1944	Axline had the role of Clinic Assistant under Carl Rogers at the Psychological Clinic of OSU. In this role, Axline conducted research and supervised other students. This role was instrumental in Rogers asking Axline to join him at University of Chicago.	Rogers, C. R., 1944, Rogers to R. W. Tyler, November 13, 1944
1942, April 26	Roy Garfield Axline registered for the United States World War II Draft. His employer was "Moby's Inc." and his place of employment was "Spring and High, Columbus Franklin Ohio." His description was Race: White, Height: 5'8, Weight: 135, Eyes: Brown, Hair: Brown, Complexion: Sallow, Obvious physical characteristics: glasses. His date of birth was listed as December 26, 1880. His age was listed as 61.	United States Draft, World War II Registration Card, 1942, April 26
1945	Axline moved to Chicago to join Rogers at University of Chicago	Axline, 1968, September 30; Rogers & Russell, 2002, p.145; Rogers, C. R., 1944, Rogers to R. W. Tyler, November 13, 1944
1946, Summer	Axline was teaching at the University of Chicago and R.W. Tyler recommended her to Mr. Herrick of the 3-year Master's program for elementary teachers, indicating that Tyler felt positively toward Axline at the time.	Tyler, R.W., 1946, August 29
1946, October 10	Axline resigned her position as research associate under the Shankman Fund due to accepting a new position as coordinator of professional services at the Counseling Center at University of Chicago.	Axline, V.M., 1946, October 10
1947, February 2	Death of Roy G. Axline (Axline's father)	Ohio Department of Health Certificate of Death, 1947; Roy Axline's gravestone

Date	Event	Sources
1947	Axline published <i>Play therapy: The inner dynamics of childhood</i> and dedicated the book "To the memory of my father: Roy G. Axline"	Axline, 1947 p. vi
1947, April 8	Virginia Axline proposed a book she was writing titled <i>Freedom to Learn</i> as a dissertation for completion of her Ph.D. in a letter to Dean R.W. Tyler at the University of Chicago.	Axline, 1947, April 8
1947, August 2	Virginia Axline wrote to both R.W. Tyler and E.C. Colwell stating that she was hearing "talk" "at every corner" that they did not like her attitude toward a Ph.D.	Axline, 1947a August 2 Axline, 1947b August 2
1947, August 12	Tyler responded to Axline's letter requesting a meeting and stating that "we have no right to impose upon you year after year a program involving four quarters of service when you are not given an opportunity to complete your Ph.D. degree."	Tyler, R.W., 1947, August 12
ca. 1947	At some point preceding her departure from University of Chicago, Axline and Rogers had a significant falling-out.	Lher Interview, 1992; Moustakas, 1992; Raskin, 1991; Scheerer, 1992
1948, Summer	Axline taught her first course at Columbia University Teachers College as a guest lecturer	<i>Report of the Counseling Center</i> , 1948, June
1948, September	Axline resigned her position at the University of Chicago Counseling Center in order to stay at Columbia University Teachers College.	<i>Report of the Counseling Center</i> , 1948, September
1949 and onward	Axline published on the topic of group play therapy and demonstrated a professional interest in it	Axline, 1949b; Axline, 1952; Axline, 1969
Circa 1949/1950	Axline and Moustakas met at Columbia University sometime before she finished her Ed. D.	Moustakas Interview, 1992
Circa 1949-and ongoing	Moustakas identified Axline as having a formative influence on his professional development.	Moustakas, 1959, p.8; Moustakas Interview, 1992; Moustakas, 1997, p.4
Circa 1949	Axline and Ginott met at Columbia University Teachers College and Axline there served on his doctoral dissertation committee. Axline had a meaningful influence on Ginott's professional development.	Ginott, 1952; Derner, 1973
1950, May 16	Axline earned her Ed.D. at Columbia University Teachers College	Axline, 1950a; Ment, 1992
1948, August-1955, September	Axline was an Associate Professor of Psychology at Columbia University	Announcement of Teachers College 1954-1955; Axline, 1968, September 30; Axline, 1952; Panel on Blind Children, 1955, April 21
1952, June 24	Death of Helen G. Axline (Axline's mother)	Find a Grave, "Memorial Page for Helen G. Manley Axline," (n.d.); Helen G. Axline's gravestone
1955, fall-1958, summer	Axline was an associate professor at the NYU School of Education ³	Axline, 1968, September 30

Date	Event	Sources
1958, fall- 1961, summer	Axline was an associate professor and researcher at the NYU School of Medicine ⁴	Axline, 1968, September 30
Circa 1958-1964: exact start and end date unknown	Axline worked as a Certified Clinical Psychologist in private practice during her final years in New York ⁵	Axline, 1964; Axline, 1968, September 30; Moustakas Interview, 1992; New York State Education Department, 2019.
Circa 1961	Axline was instrumental in helping establish the Diocesan Child Guidance Center in Columbus, Ohio and helped establish play therapy services at the DCGC.	Connections, Winter, 1990; Columbus Dispatch, 1988, March 23
1964	Axline published <i>Dibs in search of self</i> and dedicated the book “To the memory of my mother Helen Grace Axline”	Axline, 1964 p.vi
Circa 1968	Axline returned to Ohio and started a private practice in Columbus and began teaching at OSU.	Axline, 1968, September 30
1968	Axline was appointed Supervisor of the Department of Child Psychiatry within the School of Medicine at OSU. At the same time, she taught as an adjunct professor in the School of Home Economics.	Gibson, 1992
1971, February	First indication of significant illness in Axline. Axline declined a teaching position at OSU “due to illness.”	Appointment Recommendation 1971, February 25
1968-1972	Axline taught at OSU	Gibson, 1992; Appointment Recommendation, 1972, September 11
1984, August 7	Axline executed a <i>Consent and Selection of Guardian</i> document, which stated that she was “an adult who [was] incompetent due to physical disability.”	Consent and Selection of Guardian, 1984, August 7.
1984, Aug 29	Axline moved from Hyatt Hotel to Olentangy Commons apartments on a month-to-month basis pending her home’s restoration. \$920 per month.	Application to Expend Funds, 1984, Aug 29
1982, July 24	Death of sister Helen E. Axline.	Helen E. Axline’s gravestone; Social Security Death Index
1988, March 21	Axline’s death.	Axline’s gravestone; Social Security Death Index
1988	Axline left the bulk of her financial estate to benefit the Diocesan Child Guidance Center upon her death.	Applegate Interview, 1991; Columbus Foundation Release, 1990, January 4; Connections, Winter, 1990
nd	Axline took a strong interest in the needs of children who were blind or otherwise disabled and established a pattern of advocacy for them.	Axline, 1954a; Axline, 1954b; Center for blind gains. 1956, June 20; Blind children said to need aid. 1959, March 17
nd	Neither Axline, nor her sister Helen ever married or had any children	Consent and Selection of Guardian, 1984; Moustakas Interview, 1992; Raskin Interview, 1991
nd	Axline was described by many people as being a highly “private” person.	Applegate Interview, 1991

Date	Event	Sources
nd	Axline was described by several people as having a good sense of humor, or being funny	Hast, 1992; Moustakas, 1992; Raskin, 1991
nd	Axline consistently demonstrated a deep and genuine caring for children, and that she was a fierce advocate for them.	Moustakas, 1992; Raskin, 1991; Scheerer, 1992
nd	Axline demonstrated an interest in race relations and race conflict among children.	Axline, 1948(a); Axline, 1950a;

¹ Multiple possible dates for Axline's birth exist. Each are listed in this table with the corresponding source.

² This birth certificate is the only document where Axline's middle name is spelled "May" rather than "Mae." Axline herself used the spelling "Mae" and the middle name on her birth certificate is likely a misspelling on the part of the individual who filled in the form.

³ The dust jacket bio on Axline's 1964 *Dibs* indicates that she may have taught here longer, but this could not be confirmed or substantiated with employment records.

⁴ The dust jacket bio on Axline's 1964 *Dibs* indicates that she may have taught here longer, but this could not be confirmed or substantiated with employment records.

⁵ The dust jacket bio on Axline's 1964 *Dibs* states that Axline was still in private practice in New York at that time. Axline's personnel records at OSU (Axline, 1968, September 30) reflect her starting a private practice in Columbus Ohio in 1968 but do not reference a New York private practice. The circa 1958 start date refers to the issue date of her New York license (New York State Education Department, 2019). As such, these dates are estimates.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY

The results presented in the previous chapter represent the most relevant and critical facts uncovered during my research of Axline's life. However, examining each document, interview, and artifact discovered provided a more detailed and holistic narrative of both Axline herself, and the circumstances under which she lived and worked. The subchapters that follow provide first a chronological overview of Axline's life events, and then a discussion of themes and circumstances most relevant to the research questions posed in the Introduction of this dissertation.

Indiana and Ohio, the Early Years (1911-1944)

Family Origins and Early Education

On June 16, 1908, a 27-year-old window trimmer named Roy Garfield Axline of Marietta, Ohio married a 20-year-old woman then known as Ellen Grace Manley of Steubenville, Ohio. The pair were married in Columbus, Ohio by Everett L. Rexford, pastor of All Souls Church (Marriage Record, Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio, 1908, June 16; Figure B.1). Prior to their marriage, the woman's name was recorded on all known documents as Ellen G. Manly (sometimes spelled Manley). However, beginning shortly after their marriage, her name would almost exclusively be recorded as Helen G. Axline (Axline, 1964; Columbus, Ohio City Directory, 1926). The reason for the name change is unknown; however, the June 1908 date of the couple's marriage, in combination with the reported age of their first child being over 1 year old in the April 1910 census, raises the possibility that Helen G. Axline could have been pregnant with her first child at the time of the marriage (United States Federal Census, 1910, April 19; Figure B.2). This possibility, however, cannot be confirmed and is merely one

hypothesis based on the change of name, the dates of relevant events, and the fact that the child's birth date and year is reported differently on almost every document I found, including her gravestone, high school yearbook, and several census records, with a variation of several years. I was unable to locate a birth certificate for this child.

The fact that the couple appears to have moved from Ohio to Indiana for a few years shortly after their first child was born is also important (United States Federal Census, 1910). The couple's first child was a daughter, whom they named Helen E. Axline, thus complicating the task of researching the family history (United States Federal Census, 1910, 1920, 1930). After living in Indiana for an unknown number of years, the couple returned to Ohio (United States Federal Census, 1920) sometime after the birth of their second daughter in March of 1911 (Indiana State Board of Health, 1911). I have accepted the birth certificate as the conclusive source for the date of birth despite the fact that some documents such as school records and a gravestone list different dates, presumably in error.

At 2:00 a.m. on March 31, 1911, a second daughter, Virginia Mae Axline, was born to Roy and Helen G. Axline in Fort Wayne, Indiana⁶ (Indiana State Board of Health, 1911; Figure B.3). Roy was 30 years old and a decorator at the time of Virginia Axline's birth. Her mother, Helen (previously known as Ellen), was 23 years old at the time and was a housewife who stayed home to raise Virginia and her older sister Helen. Both parents were listed on Axline's birth certificate as having been born in Ohio. The family lived in a home on West Williams Street in Fort Wayne, Indiana when Virginia was born (Indiana State Board of Health, 1911). Virginia Axline's middle name is spelled "May" on her birth certificate (Indiana State Board of Health, 1911), but is spelled Mae in all other reliable sources.

⁶ Axline herself recorded her birthdate as being March 30, 1911, rather than the March 31 date indicated on her birth certificate. The sources for each date are referenced in Table 2.

It is not clear exactly how long the Axline family lived in Fort Wayne, Indiana; all that can be determined is that in April of 1910, the family lived at 356 West Butler Street in Fort Wayne, Indiana in a house owned by Roy Axline (United States Federal Census, 1910). Roughly half of the homes in the immediate vicinity were owned by the occupants, while the other half were rented. This appears to indicate the family was in relatively good financial standing as compared to their immediate neighborhood, though how that neighborhood compared to the average American community at the time is unknown. Roy Axline reported that he had not been out of work at any time in the preceding year. According to these same 1910 census records, Virginia Axline's mother was still known as Ellen Axline. The census records also indicate that on April 19, 1910, Virginia's older sister Helen was over one year old but had not yet reached her second birthday and that the child had been born in Ohio. In these same records, Roy and Ellen Axline were recorded as having been married more than one year but less than two years. Of note in identifying additional family ancestry documents is that Roy Axline's parents were both born in Ohio, and his wife Ellen's parents were both born in Pennsylvania (United States Census Bureau, 1910).

While it is not clear when the family moved to Columbus Ohio, census records recorded on January 10, 1920 indicate that they had arrived by 1920 (United States Census Bureau, 1920). At that time, both Virginia Axline's mother and older sister were recorded as being named Helen—from that time forward, Virginia Axline's mother was almost always recorded as being named Helen. During this 1920 census, Virginia was recorded as being eight years old and her older sister was recorded as being 10.⁷ The Axline family was listed as owning a house at 1591 East Rich Street in Columbus, Ohio, which was the Axline family home, at least until both

⁷ This appears to confirm Virginia Axline's reported birth in March 1911, and Helen Axline's reported birth in March of 1909, though discrepancies exist in later documents.

parents died (*Certificate of Death*, 1952, June 24). Roy Axline's occupation was described as a "display manager" for a department store and he was listed as being a wage earner, as opposed to a salaried employee. On this census, the younger Helen Axline was again recorded as being born in Ohio, while her sister Virginia was recorded as being born in Indiana. Both children were reportedly attending school. Interestingly, all family members, including 10-year-old Helen, were listed as literate, but Virginia Axline, who was about two months short of her ninth birthday was not. However, all recorded children under the age of nine in this same census series lack the notation of being able to read and write. It is possible that the census recorder did not ask for or record that information on children under age nine (United States Census Bureau, 1920). At the time of this census, Virginia Axline was a student at East Main Street Elementary School in Columbus, Ohio (Columbus Public Schools Record, 1922-1928). After attending East Main Street Elementary School, Virginia Axline enrolled at Franklin Junior High. While in Junior High from Fall of 1923 through Spring of 1925, Axline was just an average student, earning a fairly even split of "G" and "F" grades, with the exception of just three "E" grades in a grading system where an E represented 90-100%, a G represented 80-89%, an F represented 70-79% and a P represented a failing grade of less than 70%. Music and Drama were the subjects where she earned her best grades, while History appears to have been her most difficult subject (Columbus Public Schools Record, 1922-1928). In the Fall of 1925, Axline became a student at East High School, where her grades improved moderately. She earned more "G" grades than "F" grades and again appeared to do her best work in Music and Drama, graduating in the Spring of 1927 (Columbus Public Schools Record, 1922-1928).

At the time of the 1930 census, the Axline family was still living in the same home in Columbus, Ohio, which was reported as being valued at \$10,000 (United States Census Bureau,

1930). According to this same census, the 1930 median home value in Ohio for white Americans born in the U.S. was \$5140. By this time, Roy Axline had changed career paths and was listed as a self-employed “sales promoter.” In this census record, men’s military history was recorded for the first time, though Roy Axline was not listed as a veteran. Virginia Axline was reported to be 18 years old, single, and currently enrolled as a student. Her older sister Helen was reported to be 20 years old, also single, and also enrolled as a student. There is reason to believe that the Axline family members were practicing Christians, although this information can only be confirmed with regard to Virginia Axline and her sister, Helen. In a phone call, Helen Wilson, the archivist for First Congregational Church in Columbus Ohio, told Dr. Emily Oe that both Virginia Axline and Helen E. Axline of 1591 E. Rich Street were members of the church, but that both sisters requested inactive status on May 12 of 1949 (Wilson, 1992). Edith Skilken also recalled the Axline sisters as being members at First Congregational Church (Skilken, 1992). A comprehensive index of individuals mentioned in this biography is available in Appendix A for the reader’s reference.

Higher Education and Career Beginnings

After completing high school, Axline studied English and Elementary Education at the Ohio State University (OSU) from 1928 until 1931, earning her Bachelor of Science degree in just three years (Gibson, 1992; Meyer, 1947, November 11). Upon completing her Bachelor’s degree, Axline went on to study at Ohio Wesleyan University from 1931 through 1933. While there, she also worked part-time as a supervising student teacher at the university-based demonstration school for two years (Axline, 1968, September 30; Gibson, 1992).

In 1933, Axline returned to Columbus, where she taught in a number of public elementary schools from 1933 to 1945 (Axline, 1968, September 30; Meyer, 1947, November

11). Axline later explained that she had wanted to work in a variety of schools because she was striving to gain valuable experience working with children from a wide range of backgrounds and environments (Meyer, 1947, November 11). During this time teaching in the Columbus public school system, Axline returned to OSU, where she earned a Master's degree in psychology administration from 1935 to 1940, while maintaining her full-time work as an elementary teacher. Although there are not available records indicating where Axline taught during all of these school years, a few of her former students were able to fill in some of the gaps by providing oral history interviews. During the 1936-1937 school year, while Axline was working towards her Master's degree at OSU, she also taught at the Second Avenue Primary School in Columbus (Hast, 1992).

After completing her Master's degree, and while still teaching in the Columbus public school system, Axline began taking courses towards her Ph.D. at OSU. Her OSU employment records indicate that she was also a part time clinician and lecturer for the University at this same time. I was unable to locate elementary school employment records for Axline from 1937 to 1944, but it is confirmed by sources previously discussed that she was still teaching in various Ohio public schools during this time. During the 1944-1945 school year, Axline was teaching second grade at John Burroughs School on the West side of Columbus (Remling, 1992). In 1944, while still working at John Burroughs School in Columbus, Ohio, Axline published *Morale on the school front*, an article in the *Journal of Educational Research*. This article explored the need for "mental hygiene program[s]" in schools, as children were coping with the stress of World War II. Axline also explored the secondary stress (what today might be termed *vicarious trauma*) children were experiencing by being surrounded with adults who were also experiencing wartime stress. This article represents one of the earliest calls for therapy in the school setting by a child-

centered play therapist.

Although Axline began working towards her Ph.D. in Psychology at OSU in 1940, her studies there were part time, likely due to the fact that she was concurrently working as an elementary school teacher, a part time lecturer at OSU, and a part time clinician. In 1945, Axline left OSU to take a job offer from Carl Rogers who planned to establish a new Counseling Center at the University of Chicago. Axline left OSU with 45 quarter credits towards a Ph.D. with the intention of completing the degree in Chicago (Axline, 1968, September 30; Gibson, 1992; Rogers & Russell, 2002).

The Chicago Years (1945-1948)

To best understand Axline's career trajectory and her time spent in Chicago, the reader should be aware of the historical context at the time of her arrival. World War II had been in full swing since the German invasion of Poland on September 1st of 1939. According to the National World War II Museum, by the time Axline was on her way to the University of Chicago in the summer of 1945, ten million American men had been inducted into military service. At that time, the United States Draft applied to all American men between the ages of 18 and 45. As a result, many of the American men who would otherwise be college students or graduate students were occupied with military service. In fact, it has been estimated that World War II resulted in the loss of 1,400,000 "man-years" of undergraduate education (Shaw, 1947). These facts had a direct impact on the makeup of the students and staff at the University of Chicago. Both Carl Rogers and Nat Raskin would later comment that men who would have otherwise been free to join Rogers in starting the Counseling Center at University of Chicago were unavailable due to military service (Bower, 2001; Rogers & Russell, 2002). Nat Raskin himself was in the service and unavailable in 1945 (Bower, 2001).

Because of the draft, women all over the United States were enjoying previously unparalleled admission to the workforce, even in historically male-dominated fields. However, this foray into the workforce was short-lived for most women, who quickly found themselves pushed back out as American men began returning home. The advances for women in the workplace were not lasting in that respect (Milkman, 1987; Schweitzer, 1980). In academia, women quickly found that there was little room for them as American men returned from the war. Universities became flooded with men returning from the war to attend college on the GI Bill. In fact, 2,232,000 veterans attended college on the GI Bill after World War II, and for five years after the war ended, they “dominated the nation’s campuses” (Olson, 1973. p 596). Adding to this dynamic was the fact that many colleges and universities implemented veterans’ preference policies, stating that returning veterans, who were mostly male, would be given priority in allocating available enrollment spaces. Some colleges even placed caps on the number of women allowed to enroll (Murray, 2011). Without a doubt, the end of World War II had an immediate impact on higher education opportunities for women just as Axline was attempting to transfer her doctoral work to a new university. In the fall of 1945, Axline began working at the University of Chicago (Axline, 1968, September 30). On September 2nd of 1945, Japan officially surrendered and the war ended (Beevor, 2012).

The years Axline spent at the University of Chicago were profound in shaping her professional identity and reputation. Much of her best-known work was either written or published during this brief period. It also seems to be a time punctuated by conflict, struggle, and the apparent end of Axline’s relationship with her mentor, Carl Rogers. The termination of their previously fruitful and trusting professional relationship and Axline’s subsequent departure for New York raises questions as to why the two collaborators parted ways so abruptly and

permanently. This relationship will be discussed in detail later in the dissertation.

In 1945, Ralph W. Tyler was Dean of Social Sciences and Chairman of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago (Kirschenbaum, 2009). The previous year, Tyler had invited Carl Rogers to the University of Chicago with the intention of founding a counseling center where Rogers would have the autonomy to manage it according to his own preferences, including the selection of staff. At the time of this invitation, Rogers was teaching at OSU, where Axline was a student. Rogers later recalled in *Carl Rogers the quiet revolutionary: an oral history*, that because a large number of Americans were occupied in the Allied forces of World War II at the time:

with one or two exceptions, all the people I most wanted were in the service. Virginia Axline was free to come, and she came. Perhaps some others. But it was only after a year or two that I really had the staff that I wanted. (Rogers & Russell, 2002, p. 145)

The Counseling Center

Humor and Egalitarianism

The Counseling Center established by Rogers at the University of Chicago was indeed a unique place, particularly for the time. While there were titles and responsibilities delineated to each role, Rogers attempted to establish a highly egalitarian dynamic where titles and roles did not confer power or status (Kirschenbaum, 2009; Rogers & Russel, 2002). Axline held the role of Supervisor of Counseling when the center opened (Rogers, 1945). The egalitarian dynamic of the Counseling Center was consistent with Axline's non-directive approach. Individuals who worked at the Counseling Center at that time have consistently reported that although employees had titles, no single individual was really "in charge" so to speak. Instead, decisions were discussed as a group and options were debated openly. Clinicians offered consultation to each other and approached their roles there with an attitude towards ongoing learning and professional

development (Kirschenbaum, 2009; Raskin, 1991; Scheerer, 1992). According to Howard Kirschenbaum, this attitude towards a collaborative learning experience applied to Rogers as well. In a recent interview, Kirschenbaum stated of Axline “It’s my impression that she was really influential on him [Rogers].” Kirschenbaum went on to say of Rogers “[he] was very interactive with his students. They’d say something and get him thinking. He’d say something and get them thinking, and so I think she [Axline] had to have been very influential in a very formative period, uh, when his philosophy was coming together (Kirschenbaum, 2019, November 13).

The playful and non-traditional environment of the Counseling Center is evident in a newsletter produced by the staff in October 1946. In that newsletter, the non-directive approach is discussed and included is a short story written by John Gittinger in the style of a fairy tale, titled “So Right and the Seven Pauses: An Allegorical Phantasy” (Gittinger in the Personal Counselor Newsletter, 1946, October 15). This allegory tells the story of a fierce old king named Academia who lived in an Ivory Tower (p. 22). The king had a beautiful daughter named So Right, and after the death of her mother, Practicality, the king remarried an aristocratic lady named Analytica. As the story unfolds, So Right grows up and surpasses King Academia in knowledge. Angered, Analytica summons her incubi, who worship the god Sigmundia. The tale is quite lengthy and as it progresses, the writer derides the established psychiatrists and psychologists of the day, including Freud and Watson, while praising the non-directive work of Rogers, who takes the form of the leader of the “Seven Pauses.” Eventually, So Right flees the kingdom and goes to live with the Seven Pauses, and their leader, “Rogeria.” Each of the seven pauses appears to symbolize different members of the Counseling Center staff at the time—some identities are clearer than others. The “pause” who appears to represent Axline sings a rhyme that

goes,

I'm versed in handling little tots.
I watch them as they play.
They bang and slap and raise large knots,
And model in the clay.
The notes I take I file away –
Write up with piety,
Then publish in the Journal of
Orthopsychiatry. (Personal Counselor Newsletter, 1946, October 15, p. 28)

After being inducted into the group and conferred the degree of “Doctor of Permissiveness” by Rogeria, So Right and the Seven Pauses recite a sacred oath:

On my honor, tried and true,
There are things I'll never do.
First, I'll never diagnose,
Though I'm trained to call them close.
Second, I'll always wait,
When starting to interpretate.
Third, because of oath so pure,
I'll never, never reassure.
Fourth, with just the right inflections,
I'll give only true reflections.
Fifth, e'en though there's often cause,
I'll let the client break each pause. (Personal Counselor Newsletter, 1946, October 15, p. 29)

Humor and camaraderie among the staff were not the only qualities unique to the Counseling Center at University of Chicago. At Rogers's urging, and due to his earnest campaign to secure funding for the necessary equipment, the Counseling Center was among the first facilities to utilize audio recordings of client sessions for supervision and research purposes (Kirschenbaum, 2009). Rogers had previously utilized audio recording at OSU, but the practice became standard for him and his students when he was able to design the Counseling Center to his specifications at the University of Chicago. This was no small feat and represented a major turning point in counseling research and supervision as well as in Axline's professional development (Kirschenbaum, 2009; Rogers, 1944, November 13). Recording client sessions

proved to be a tedious task because, as Rogers explained it, the recording machine “was the most complex recording machine I had ever seen before or have seen since” (Rogers & Russell, 2002, p. 149). It recorded audio on a long tape with a needle etching the sound recordings, and Rogers reported that when the tape got tangled, it was an ordeal to manage. Because practicum students and those still in training were required to record at least a portion of their sessions, and because Axline was a supervisor at the Counseling Center, she was among the first mental health professionals to utilize audio recordings to provide supervision and feedback—something taken for granted as routine today, but quite revolutionary for the time (Rogers, 1944, November 13; Rogers & Russell, 2002). Of particular importance is the fact that this is the center where Axline saw the young boy represented in her now famous book; *Dibs in Search of Self* (1964) (Scheerer, 1992). Although she would not publish the story until almost two decades later, transcripts of the audio recordings standard at the Counseling Center provided much of the material for *Dibs*.

Death of Roy Axline

Approximately a year and a half into Axline’s time in Chicago, she experienced an important loss. On February 2, 1947, Axline’s father, Roy Axline died at home at the age of 66. According to the doctor who signed Roy Axline’s death certificate, Roy had been suffering from nephritis and hypertension for “several years” and had suffered a cerebral hemorrhage in December of 1944 (Ohio Department of Health Certificate of Death. 1947; Figure B.4). It is clear from Virginia Axline’s dedication of her first book later that year to Roy that his death was an important event in her life (Axline, 1947b). The timing of Roy Axline’s passing is important to his daughter’s life story because 1947 would turn out to be a year full of painful experiences for her, both personally and professionally.

Origins of Freedom to Learn

The loss of her father was certainly a personal tragedy for Axline, but that same year also marked the beginning of a professional controversy that remains unresolved. A puzzling question that came out of the Chicago years and unfolded over the course of several decades is this: Who originally came up with the idea for the book *Freedom to Learn*? The highly acclaimed book, which upended common assumptions and practices related to education, was published under Carl Rogers's name in 1969. The first known reference to the book, however, appears in a letter written by Virginia Axline nearly 22 years prior (Axline, V. M., 1947, Axline to R. W. Tyler, April 8, 1947).

Addressed to Dr. Ralph W. Tyler, Dean of Social Sciences at the University of Chicago (Figure B.5); the letter detailed Axline's proposed plan for completing her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. The reader will recall that Virginia left OSU with a large number of credit hours toward a Ph.D. but did not complete the degree there. This letter implies that the plan, at least in Axline's mind, was to complete her Ph.D. in Chicago. This is further corroborated by interviews with her former colleagues (Scheerer, 1992). At the time the letter was written, Axline had been at the University of Chicago for about two years, serving in a variety of professional capacities. In her proposal to Dean Tyler, Axline explained:

My academic and experiential backgrounds as well as my professional objectives are such that following along the "required paths" in the divisions does not seem to me to be an adequate or satisfactory procedure. Consequently, I will state, as briefly as I can in this letter, my background, my professional objectives, and my Ph.D. proposition and would appreciate your reaction to it. (Axline, V. M., 1947, Axline to R. W. Tyler, April 8, 1947)

Axline supported this request to create an alternative plan to complete her Ph.D. by citing her educational achievements at OSU prior to joining the University of Chicago. These qualifications included Bachelor of Science degrees in both education and English with minors

in psychology and social science, and a Masters of Art degree in education with an emphasis on “child development, supervision, teacher-training, psychology, and English” (Axline, V. M., 1947, April 8, 1947). She further cited an additional “45 quarter hours of psychology specializing in psychotherapy” (Axline, V. M., 1947, Axline to R. W. Tyler, April 8, 1947) that she had completed beyond her Masters’ degree. Axline also referenced her soon to be published book *Play Therapy* as evidence of her academic and professional development.

After stating her case for a non-traditional plan toward degree completion, Axline proposed her dissertation topic: a detailed description of a book she had already begun writing. Axline explained that as a result of her background and experience, she had a natural interest in “the implications of the non-directive philosophy for education” and explained that she had “been experimenting in the classroom (elementary and graduate school) in an attempt to apply what seems to be a very vital element for education” (Axline, V. M., 1947, Axline to R. W. Tyler, April 8, 1947). She went on to state:

I have just started to write a book on the implications of non-directive therapy for education. In this book will be a development of an educational philosophy and the principles by which it is applied, the objectives of higher education, evaluation, educational objectives as they relate to our social needs, motivation, learning - - all of it from a consistent, internal frame of reference – all of it illustrated by verbatim material from the classroom, groups, individual conferences – all documenting the need for an inner freedom to learn before that learning can become effective. As a matter of fact I have already selected the title of the book – *Freedom to Learn* (Axline, 1947, April 8)

Axline then explained that she intended to use the two courses she would be teaching in the upcoming year as experiments in implementing the “new philosophy and principles and procedures that will be set forth in the book” (Axline, V. M., 1947, Axline to R. W. Tyler, April 8, 1947), and expressed her desire to create audio recordings of the courses in order to have them evaluated. She further identified an intent to explore issues related to self-evaluation by students and the potential relationship between self-evaluation and motivation. Axline concluded the

letter by asking Dr. Tyler:

If the book *Freedom to Learn*, were completed and if it were of publishable quality would any division of this university – education, psychology, human development, or social thought – consider such a program of sufficient achievement to warrant granting the writer a Ph.D. degree? (Axline, V. M., 1947, Axline to R. W. Tyler, April 8, 1947)

The extent to which this description of a book, by the same title, mirrors Rogers's 1969 published book is remarkable. It does not seem unrealistic to hypothesize that the two professionals had similar beliefs regarding education and learning. Clearly, Rogers was a significant influence on Axline and his non-directive philosophy is reflected throughout her work. It is also reasonable to believe that the two may have both had similar ideas about exploring the non-directive philosophy with regard to education given their similar interests and philosophical perspectives. The similarity, however, of Virginia's proposed dissertation and Rogers' eventual publication goes beyond the boundaries of understandable overlap in ideas and interests. In fact, the plans laid out in Virginia's letter are carried out in Rogers' 1969 book to the very last detail, including the title: *Freedom to Learn*.

This 1947 letter, when compared to Rogers' 1969 book, requires the reader to question which individual was the originator of the concepts behind *Freedom to Learn*. At first glance, it appears obvious that the date of the letter gives the answer away; however, one could posit that it was Axline who got the idea from Rogers and was simply the first to propose the book in writing. One could also posit that Rogers had possibly planned to publish these ideas and actually put them into outline form or some other type of unpublished written document, but evidence of such a writing is simply missing from available archival materials. The latter assumption, however, is unlikely given the excessive volumes of records kept by Rogers that were later donated for future research. Archival records related to his writings are particularly thorough in the Library of Congress, and a second visit to the Library of Congress to review

Rogers's materials related to *Freedom to Learn* after the discovery of the 1947 letter yielded a thorough record of Rogers's written thoughts on the subject. Rogers kept detailed files of his ideas and resources related to *Freedom to Learn*. The vast majority of those records are dated in the mid to late 1960s. Some early thoughts and ideas are dated in the 1950s, but these were sparse, and generally consisted of related articles and resources written by others as well as one unpublished article written by Rogers. That single article related only to graduate education. The single earliest item in Rogers's files related to *Freedom to Learn* is an October 31, 1949 memo from Rogers, to the University of Chicago Department of Psychology titled *Proposal for a Program of Independent Study*. This memo details a proposal for a highly self-directed program of study for graduate students in the Department of Psychology at University of Chicago, and parallels many of the ideas presented in *Freedom to Learn*. It also represents the first written record of any such ideas expressed by Rogers, and is dated more than two years after Axline's 1947 proposal to Tyler.

Based on the historical events and discrepancies, there are a number of possible explanations for the origins of *Freedom to Learn*. I have identified four of the most reasonable hypotheses for the origin of the book and explored them as follows:

1. The concept originated with Rogers, who shared his ideas with Axline, and Axline claimed the book idea as her own in her letter to Dr. Tyler.

This seems least likely by virtue of two elements. First, it is safe to assume Axline genuinely intended to complete her Ph.D. at University of Chicago. That being the case, it would seem impossible for Axline to submit a dissertation, the detailed plans for which she had stolen from Rogers, to the very university where the two of them were working concurrently, without Rogers becoming aware of the plagiarism. The risk involved in such a scenario seems to rule this hypothesis out as something Axline would dare to attempt. This hypothesis is particularly

unlikely given the fact that Axline had already demonstrated herself as a capable, published author in her own right. Second, if the idea for the book originated with Rogers and was daringly stolen by Axline in 1947, that begs the question as to why it took Rogers 22 years to complete the book. It also begs the question as to why there is no written record of the attempted theft, or of his ideas for the book predating Axline's letter in his extensive files related to *Freedom to Learn* in the Library of Congress

2. The concept for the book originated with Axline, who shared her ideas with Rogers, and Rogers knowingly claimed the book idea for himself decades later.

This hypothesis may be slightly more likely, but is still rather difficult to believe for two reasons. First, although Axline and Rogers were no longer in close proximity to each other and appeared to have been out of touch for decades, the element of risk for Rogers would still exist. Rogers would have to have a high degree of certainty that Axline did not have any writings, publication submissions, or other evidence that she had previously undertaken this book in order to knowingly risk publication without acknowledging her contribution. Alternatively, he would have to believe there was no chance she would publicly accuse him of plagiarism. It also seems unlikely that an individual of Rogers's standing in the professional community, with a reputation for generosity and kindness, would feel the need or desire to take such a risk. Rogers certainly was not in need of another publication at that juncture in his career. Second, it would be easy for Rogers to simply acknowledge Axline as an early collaborator on the idea in the published book, which Rogers did not do. In fact, Rogers acknowledged a large number of individuals in the book, including students, teachers, and his secretary, but did not acknowledge Axline as contributing to the work (Rogers, 1969).

3. Rogers and Axline originally developed the idea for the book jointly, each taking individual credit for it at different times.

This hypothesis is more likely than the previous two, but still poses significant problems. First, it seems unlikely, but not impossible, that the two would begin to undertake the project jointly and then Rogers would allow or encourage Axline to use it as her dissertation in a solo endeavor. It also does not seem logical that if Rogers did encourage Axline to use the idea for her dissertation that he would wait to complete the project until 22 years after Axline apparently abandoned it. The larger problem with this hypothesis is Rogers's own explanations of the origins of the concept, both in *Freedom to Learn* (1969) as well as in two biographies (Kirschenbaum, 2009; Rogers & Russell, 2002). In *Freedom to Learn*, and his oral history biography co-written with David Russel (2002), Rogers credits his niece, a teacher, with giving him the idea to write a book about education synthesizing his ideas and articles from the course of his career. Additionally, Rogers expresses in *Freedom to Learn* the urgency he felt once he had the idea and how he pushed to write and publish it as quickly as possible. Both of these reflections, however, seem unlikely when the reader becomes aware of Axline's 1947 letter.

4. Rogers forgot that the idea for the book originated with Axline, or forgot the degree to which the idea originated with Axline.

While certainly not a provable or flawless hypothesis, this possibility appears to have more merit than the others. This hypothesis appears to be most consistent with Rogers' previously established habits. Rogers recalled in one of his biographies a time when he accidentally took credit for a different student's ideas: "His doctoral thesis was on the self-concept, and I borrowed from it very heavily in my presidential address [to the American Psychological Association] without even being aware of that. It's one of the times when I felt great humiliation afterward" (Rogers & Russell, 2002, p. 130). Rogers also indicated on many occasions that he learned as much from his students as they did from him (Kirschenbaum, 2009; Rogers & Russell 2002) Additionally, this hypothesis resolves the dilemma of why either Axline

or Rogers would knowingly take the risk of plagiarizing the other's work. This hypothesis also establishes a better explanation for the time gap between the 1947 letter and the eventual publication of the book in 1969. While 22 years is enough time for anyone to forget exactly where an idea started, it does not necessarily explain Rogers's recollection of the idea originating with his niece and the sudden urgency he reported feeling to undertake the project. This hypothesis also seems to be problematic with regards to what was forgotten and what was remembered. One could assume that if Rogers's memory of the origins for *Freedom to Learn* faded over those decades, the elements included in the book, the plan for it, and the title would also become distorted with the passage of time. Instead, however, the published book mirrors Axline's 1947 description very closely in both scope and execution.

A final element to keep in mind when considering these hypotheses, is the Matilda effect. The Matilda effect is a term used to describe the common phenomenon of female researchers experiencing credit for their contributions attributed to their male colleagues (Lee, 2013). In fact, some of the most widely known and documented cases of the Matilda effect, came out of the World War II era. Lise Meitner's contribution to the discovery of nuclear fission occurred during World War II, and her male colleagues earned a Nobel prize for that work in 1944, with no mention of her. After the snub, Meitner reportedly told a friend that it was practically a crime to be a woman (Lee, 2013). Similarly, Rosalind Franklin was the first person to photograph and identify the structure of DNA in the early 1950s, but credit for the discovery was attributed to her male colleagues, who used her photograph without her knowledge (Lee, 2013). Clearly, it was not uncommon for male researchers to build on, or outright steal the work of their female colleagues or students without recognition at this time.

In the end, the question of the origin of *Freedom to Learn* cannot be definitively

answered absent new discoveries of relevant archival material. It can be concluded, however, that Axline began writing *Freedom to Learn* in 1947, and that her expressed concept for it was remarkably similar to Rogers' 1969 book. Why she did not complete and publish the book is not known, but may have some connection to the conflict that preceded her departure from the University of Chicago.

Conflict at University of Chicago

Dr. Tyler's response to Axline's letter proposing her dissertation project and plan for degree completion is absent from his archival materials at the University of Chicago; however, it is clear from later documents and Axline's abrupt departure that she became unhappy at the university. Four months after she proposed *Freedom to Learn* as her dissertation in a letter, Axline wrote another letter to Tyler. In this letter, Axline expressed being "considerably disturbed about recent reports and quotations that [he did] not like [her] attitude toward a Ph D." (Axline, V. M., 1947, Axline to R. W. Tyler August 2, 1947).

Sources indicate that Axline and Rogers were experiencing difficulties in their previously harmonious relationship around this same time, and that aspect will be discussed in a later portion of this dissertation. Records from the Counseling Center show that Axline continued to work there for a short time. In an October 1947 *Report of the Counseling Center* document, Axline is credited with nearly tripling the number of play therapy cases coming into the center as a result of her play therapy courses and her recent book (*Report of the Counseling Center*, 1947, October). It appears that Axline remained at University of Chicago for the remainder of that academic year before moving on. A June, 1948 *Report of the Counseling Center* document states that "Virginia Axline [is] teaching [a] six-week course in counseling at... Columbia University." (*Report of the Counseling Center*, 1948, June). Axline never returned to the University of

Chicago. The September 1948 *Report of the Counseling Center* stated “Miss Virginia Axline has resigned her position, as of October 1, and is now at Teachers College, Columbia University” (*Report of the Counseling Center*, 1948, September, pp. 2).

The New York Years (1948 - ca. 1968)

Little information has been uncovered regarding Axline’s years in New York. This period of time represents a significant gap in available archival records regarding Axline’s life, with most of the information having been gathered from secondary source materials, including oral history interviews with former colleagues and friends. As such, the details of Axline’s time spent at Teacher’s College, New York University, and in private practice are limited.

Teachers College Columbia University

In the summer of 1948, Axline left Chicago to take a guest lecturer position at Columbia University Teachers College (*Report of the Counseling Center*, 1948, June). While at Teachers College, Axline resumed her work towards earning a doctorate. Axline achieved her goal of earning a doctorate there on May 16, 1950 (Axline, 1950a; Ment, 1992). The degree awarded to her was a Doctor of Education in the Advanced School of Education. Her dissertation was titled “And Hast Thou Slain the Jabberwock?.” Axline’s major advisor was Martin P. Chworowsky, and her additional committee members were John L. Childs and Laurance P. Shaffer (Axline, 1950a). In the foreword to her dissertation, which she refers to as a book, Axline explained the intent behind her project as follows:

The purpose of this book is to introduce to the reader a group of contemporary people who speak honestly and frankly about things that concern them deeply. These are the very intimate and personal expressions of children and adults, who, in situations where they felt secure and free from threat, could therefore speak without defensiveness or self-evasion. They share their introspection and thoughts and attitudes and philosophies and experiences. They seek understanding, an understanding of themselves and of others so

that they might achieve the kind of interpersonal and intergroup relations that will enable them to live in peace with themselves and others. (Axline, 1950a, p. ii)

Axline then explained that the dissertation that follows is a compilation of vignettes expressed entirely through the verbatim words of her clients and students. Each story or vignette that follows is a snapshot of a case from the previous eight years of Axline's professional work in Ohio, Illinois, and New York. Axline chose to edit out the majority of the therapist's portion of the transcripts and edit out portions of clients' words for clarity and brevity. What remains is simply a transcript of portions of various sessions with clients or students, using only their own words. The sessions represented are either individual counseling sessions, group counseling sessions, or discussion groups. The dissertation consists almost entirely of transcribed excerpts from these 25 different sessions.

There are no interpretations or conclusions drawn by Axline regarding any of these excerpts or cases. In fact, very little of the 272-page dissertation is composed by Axline herself, save for the most cursory explanations at the beginning of some of the vignettes to set the scene and introduce the reader to the speakers by sharing their ages, grades, backgrounds, or similar demographic information.

The most curious portion of the dissertation is the last section, labeled "26. And with its head he came galumphing back" (Axline, 1950a, p. 264). This final section of the dissertation reads almost as a stream of consciousness musing about human nature, society, education, feelings, prejudice, freedom, responsibility, war, connectedness, isolation, and several other topics loosely related to each other. This entire section of the dissertation reads as if it was written by a single person, but in actuality it is composed of quotes from individuals in the preceding 25 vignettes strung together to create a sort of an essay. The thoughts presented are broken up by the occasional quote from Lewis Carroll's poem "Jabberwocky." This final section

sheds some light on Axline's thoughts regarding what statements and ideas shared by the clients she believed were the most meaningful. Although the presentation of the ideas is slightly halting, it is interesting to observe how the thoughts of so many different people represented were woven together for this concluding section, and it is very much worth reading.

At the very least, this dissertation can be described as unusual. The format and subject matter are unlike any other dissertation I have read in the fields of education, counseling, psychology, or history. I took the time to review other Ed.D. dissertations from Columbia University Teachers College from the same time period to determine if perhaps this work did not stand out as unusual in 1950; however, it was unique even amongst those contemporary examples. Every other dissertation examined at the very least, drew some conclusions or had some hypothesis to be examined, and in all examples the dissertations were composed by the degree seeking candidate. This work, on the other hand was almost entirely transcribed counseling sessions and nothing more. The few paragraphs of Axline's own words scattered throughout the vignettes were largely made up of perfunctory information to aide in the reader's understanding of the vignette presented. Axline did not include any kind of conclusion regarding what meaning could be derived from the preceding transcripts. In fact, Axline explicitly invites the reader to draw their own conclusions. The other thing that stands out about this dissertation, is the fact that it is a complete departure from Axline's previous proposal for her topic at University of Chicago. In fact, it is a complete departure from Axline's primary area of focus; play therapy. The transcripts include children at certain points, but this is not a dissertation on the topic of play therapy to be sure. This work stands out as a complete anomaly in the cannon of her contributions. The dissertation eventually approved for Axline at Teachers College represents so little in the way of actual writing on her part, and so little in the way of research, in the

traditional sense of the word, that it almost appears as if it was merely a formality to the conferring of her Ed.D. One possible hypothesis for why this dissertation appears so perfunctory and unusual, is the possibility that Axline may have been “timing out” on her options for completing a doctorate. Reflecting back to Axline’s initial Ph.D. coursework at OSU, one can see that because she began that coursework in June of 1940, she was just one month shy of 10 years of doctoral study when her dissertation was approved at Columbia University Teachers College (Axline, 1968, September 30; Gibson, 1992). In many academic institutions, ten years is a common limit in which to complete a doctorate before timing out. This however, is just a theory, and one which would be difficult to prove without access to Columbia University Teachers College policies from 1950, which I was unable to procure. Even with that information however, it would remain a theory.

While she was completing her Ed.D. at Teachers College, and in the years immediately following, Axline was also a faculty member there. In her personnel records at OSU, Axline reported that she was an Associate Professor of Psychology at Columbia University from August of 1948, through September of 1955 (Axline, 1968, September 30, 1968). During this time, Axline both taught and mentored several students who would go on to become leaders in the field of play therapy such as Clark Moustakas, and Haim Ginott. These relationships will be discussed later in the dissertation.

No records of the course bulletins are available at Columbia University Teachers College for the years 1948 through 1953. However, in the 1954-1955 academic year, Axline taught the following courses at Columbia University Teacher’s College; Ed. 200GE – Guidance of Children, Ed. 200PC – Parent Counseling, Ed. 381PT – Theory and Methods of Play Therapy, Ed. 319IC-320IC – Practice in Psychological Counseling, Ed. 381SP-382SP – Practicum for

School Psychologists, Ed. 419IC-420IC – Advanced Practice in Psychological Counseling, and Ed. 381Sx-382Sx – School Psychologist Internship (Announcement of Teachers College 1954-1955).

In the 1955-1956 academic year, Axline was no longer teaching at Columbia University Teacher's College. Courses she has previously taught, such as Ed. 381PT Theory and Methods of Play Therapy were still listed in the course catalog with the notation "Instructor to be announced" (Announcement of Teachers College 1955-1956). The fact that a replacement instructor had not been found at the time the course bulletin went to print could indicate that Axline's departure from Teacher's College was sudden, but this cannot be determined without further evidence or information.

Death of Helen G. Axline

While Axline was working at Teachers College, she experienced yet another significant loss. Virginia Axline's mother, Helen G. Axline died on June 24, 1952 (Find a Grave, "Memorial Page for Helen G. Manley Axline," n.d.). The death certificate for Axline's mother is difficult to decipher due to image quality and handwriting. It appears, to me at least, that the cause of death was accidental, though the surrounding words and details are unclear. The reader is invited to examine and attempt to read the certificate themselves as Figure B.6 in Appendix B. After the death of her father, the death of Helen Axline left Virginia with just one known living relative; her older sister Helen.

New York University

After leaving Teachers College in the Spring of 1955, Axline went on to teach at New York University (NYU). According to her own report, Axline was an Associate Professor at the NYU School of Education from the fall of 1955 through the summer of 1958, in the area of

“Psychology Research.” According to the same records, she was also an Associate Professor and researcher at the NYU School of Medicine from the fall of 1958 through the summer of 1961 (Axline, 1968, September 30). I discovered this information after I had completed a research trip to New York and consequently, I had not examined the archives at NYU during that initial trip. As of the time of this writing, the archives collection at NYU Special Collections are undergoing major renovations for a period of two years and the Special Collections department is unable to accommodate any outgoing loan requests until fall 2020. This gap in the research represents a critical area for future investigation.

New York Private Practice

Axline’s personnel records at OSU indicate that her original license as a psychologist was issued in New York, listing the granting agency as “N.Y. State Dept. of Educ Certified as Clinical Psych” and the Title of Registration listed as “Certified Clinical Psychologist.” In the year granted column, all that was written was “19,” presumably leaving off the last two digits of the year (Axline, 1968, September 30). The New York State Education Department lists Axline’s license as being issued on July 16, 1958. Her license number was 001022, and a copy of her license information can be found in Appendix B, Figure B.7. Colleagues of Axline from her time in New York have confirmed that she had an active private practice there where she focused on providing play therapy (Applegate, 1991; Moustakas, 1992).

In Axline’s personnel files at the Ohio State University, an interesting notation was found. In an accounting of her professional activities from 1961-1964, Axline listed 10% of her professional work as “Advertising Agencies NYC – N.Y” (Axline, 1968, September 30). I was not able to find any other reference to Axline’s involvement with advertising agencies during the course of my research. My only hypothesis as to the nature of this work is that she may have

been referring to work she did promoting her book *Dibs in Search of Self*, which was published in 1964, however this hypothesis is based solely on the correlation of the timing of these two events, and cannot be supported with any additional documents or artifacts.

Friends and colleagues who stayed in touch with Axline over the years concur that her reasons for leaving New York were at least in part, due to her concern for safety. Reports indicate that there were at least two break-ins at her New York office and apartment and these events disturbed Axline enough to prompt her return to Columbus (Applegate, 1991; Hast, 1992; Moustakas, 1991). It is not entirely clear exactly when Axline left New York. When *Dibs* was published in 1964, the author's biographical note on the book stated that she was still engaged in private practice in New York City at that time. There are no records regarding Axline's employment between 1964 and 1968 except for the notation in her OSU employment files that she was engaged in private practice during that time period (Axline, 1968, September 30). All that can be determined with certainty is that Axline left New York and returned to Columbus sometime between 1964 and 1968.

The Later Ohio Years (ca. 1968 - 1988)

The Diocesan Child Guidance Center

During her later years in Ohio, one of Axline's primary interests was working closely with Monsignor Applegate of the Diocesan Child Guidance Center in Columbus (DCGC). The two worked together to define and plan the services offered through the center to children in the local community. In particular, Axline helped establish play therapy services through the DCGC, and even helped plan the layout of the building when the center was established in 1961, while she was still living in New York (Connections, Winter 1990). After her death in 1988, representatives from the DCGC praised Axline for her instrumental role in establishing the

Diocesan Child Guidance Center (Columbus Dispatch, 1988, March 23). It appears that the mental health services provided to children through the DCGC were of particular interest and importance to Axline, above and beyond other interests. Upon her death, the balance of Axline's estate was left to the DCGC through a trust administered by the Columbus Foundation. In 1990, the Columbus Foundation reported that \$139,000 had thus far been provided by Axline's estate (Columbus Foundation Release, 1990, January 4). Given the potential for future royalties from her publications, the estate was expected to continue to benefit the DCGC for many years. An interesting twist to that fact is that Monsignor Applegate shared that in actuality, Axline's original intent was to leave the estate in his hands. He recalled it as follows:

...the lawyer said she left it to me, uh but he said 'you'll never get through court taking it' so and I knew that and of course didn't want it. But we knew what her intent was. And all we had to do was to show, uh the Columbus Foundation that uh, the Diocesan Child Guidance Center was a place that was dear to her. And uh, the whole work, her books, everything showed that her intent was, that her life and everything she did and the time that she spent was spent in working with children... (Applegate, 1991).

The details of Axline's life from 1964 through 1968 are somewhat mysterious. Although it is clear that she worked closely with Monsignor Applegate at the DCGC and was instrumental in its establishment and planning, there is no mention of Axline ever working at the DCGC either in the DCGC newsletter, or the announcement of her death and the gift of her estate.

From 1964 through 1968, however, the only indication of Axline's professional engagement is what she recorded in her personnel files at OSU. There are two lines in those files related to the years 1964-1968. They read: "61 cont [continuing] Writing – books NYC + Col" and "61 cont [continuing] Lecturing, consulting, workshops in schools, organizations [illegible word] [illegible word] etc" (Axline, 1968, September 30 p. 4). Aside from these two lines, there is no indication of what exactly Axline was doing. The DCGC had been established for at least three years at that point, and *Dibs* had gone to press. Her records indicate that she did not open a

private practice in Columbus or return to teaching at OSU until 1968. These years are therefore a bit of a mystery. One possibility for Axline's activities during the 1964-1968 years, which would be consistent with her description of "Writing books" during that time, is that she may have written an additional book that was never published. In Axline's OSU personnel records, I found a page titled "PUBLICATIONS, ORIGINAL AND CREATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS." On this page, Axline listed seven items. The sixth item reads " 'The Fathers Have Eaten Sour Grapes' – to be published – book- " (Axline, 1968, September 30). I have not been able to find any other record of or reference to this book, despite great effort. It is possible that the book manuscript exists somewhere, but as of this writing it has not been located.

Private Practice and a Return to Teaching

In 1968, Axline opened a private practice in Columbus (Axline, 1968, September 30). Her office was located at 1037 College Avenue, Columbus Ohio (Axline, 1969, April 16; see Figure B.8). On her letterhead for this office, Axline described herself as a "Clinical Psychologist," and signed her name "Virginia Axline ISP" (Axline, 1969, April 16). Unfortunately, despite extensive efforts, including a visit to the Ohio State Board of Psychology, I was not able to locate any license records for Axline in the state of Ohio. It is likely that Axline's license information was lost when the Ohio board converted their paper records to computerized format in the 1980s (Professional Licensure for the State of Ohio, 2020).

From 1968 through 1972, Axline was once again teaching at the Ohio State University. According to records at the OSU archives, Axline took the position of Supervisor of the Department of Child Psychiatry within the School of Medicine in 1968. At that same time, Axline taught as an adjunct professor in the School of Home Economics, teaching a graduate seminar in the Division of Family and Child Development (Gibson, 1992). A series of Faculty

Appointment Recommendation forms from the School of Home Economics indicate that Axline's health was in decline as early as 1971. These records indicate that in February of 1971, Axline turned down a teaching position for the period of April 1971 through June 1971 "due to illness" (Appointment Recommendation 1971, February 25). There are no records of Axline teaching after 1972.

Axline's Decline

There are a variety of sources indicating that Axline's decline was a long, slow one, which began while she was still teaching at OSU. Claire Lehr recalled that during Axline's later years at OSU, she once had what Lehr described as a "psychotic episode" while teaching. Lehr said that the "episode" appeared to be triggered by someone mentioning Carl Rogers. Lehr shared that she once called Axline at home after one of these "episodes" and described that Axline sounded "like a 10-year-old...just paralyzed" (Lehr, 1992). This is just the first chronological reference to many years of decline for Axline. Court records reveal a series of strokes that diminished Axline's mental and physical health (Crabbe et al. 1985, July 19).

On August 7, 1984, Virginia Axline executed a *Consent and Selection of Guardian* document. The document states that Axline was "an adult who [was] incompetent due to physical disability" and had chosen Robert D. Marotta, an attorney to be legal guardian of both her person and estate. Axline was 72 at the time the document was executed and had taken up residence at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Columbus (*Consent and Selection of Guardian*, 1984, August 7). At about the same time, doctors at the Center for Independent Living in Columbus Ohio wrote a letter to Marotta stating that Axline "[had] significant cognitive and communicative deficits which [made] her functionally incapable of managing her own affairs," suggesting that the appointment of a guardian was necessary. According to the letter, Axline had been living at

the center for about a month preceding her move to the hotel (Conway, W. F. & Florance, C. L. 1984, August 15). An application to expend funds filed by Marotta shortly thereafter explained that Axline's home had fallen into disrepair and was not suitable for her to live in until repairs could be made (Marotta, R. D. *Application to Expend Funds*, 1984, August 15). It seems likely that this is what prompted Axline's move from her residence to the Center for Independent Living and then the Hyatt. Just a few weeks later, Axline moved into an apartment complex in Columbus and began receiving around the clock nursing care while she waited for her home to be repaired (Application to Expend Funds, 1984, Aug 29).

These documents establishing Marotta as Axline's guardian and requesting the court's permission to expend funds on her behalf represent the start of a detailed series of legal proceedings documenting Axline's decline in health, and eventually her death. The court documents shed some light on Axline's final years, but also on her interests, priorities, and final wishes. A guardian's inventory describing the assets in Axline's estate indicates that her home at 89 South Broadleigh Road had previously been shared with her sister Helen up until Helen's death in 1982 (Guardian's Inventory, 1984, August 15). This information, taken together with the fact that Axline included her sister's name on the charitable trust Axline established upon her own death, seem to indicate a close relationship between the two sisters. It is clear that the reason for the two women living together was not financial, given the attestation of Marotta that Axline had "always provided herself with a better-than-average lifestyle" (Application to Expend Funds, 1984, August 15). This appears to be the case for her lifestyle while she was under Marotta's guardianship, based on his motion for release of funds to the Probate Court of Franklin County requesting a disbursement sum of \$144,000.00 from Axline's estate to provide for her care for the term of one year (1984, September 10). According to West Egg Inflation Calculator, this

would be the equivalent of \$351,296.49 in 2018 currency. Marotta also specified that Axline receive full-time nursing care in her home, at a cost of \$6,000.00 per month as opposed to being placed in a nursing home (Amended Application to Expend Funds, 1984, September 7).

Appearing frequently in the court filings are references to Axline's two dogs, Pixie and Joy (Crabbe, Brown, Jones, Potts & Schmidt 1984, September 27). Records kept by Axline's attorneys paint a picture of a woman who missed her dogs when she moved to an assisted living facility and requested to visit them on several occasions (Crabbe et al., 1986, August 14). More telling about Axline's personal attributes are numerous references to her associates' protection of her privacy. Both Marotta and Bonasera, while acting as Axline's attorneys, made attempts to protect her privacy, indicating that it was what she wished (Crabbe et al., 1986, August 14). This is consistent with the descriptions of Axline given by her former colleagues. Consensus of those available to be interviewed seems to be that she was a deeply private woman, and one who was difficult to get to know (Applegate, 1991; Moustakas, 1992).

Impactful Relationships

Axline's Family Relationships

Little information has been found about how Virginia Axline's family members may have shaped her development as an individual or influenced her professionally. However, some clues to the nature of Axline's family relationships do exist. Axline dedicated her first book, *Play Therapy: The Inner Dynamics of Childhood*, to her father, writing simply: "To the memory of my father: Roy G. Axline" (Axline, 1947 p. vi). She dedicated her second book, *Dibs in Search of Self* "To the memory of my mother Helen Grace Axline" (Axline, 1964 p. vi). Axline may have also honored her sister Helen in naming the foundation she established for her estate, calling it the Virginia M. Axline and Helen E. Axline Fund of the Columbus Foundation

(Connections, 1990, Winter), though it is not entirely clear if Virginia Axline herself chose the name because reports regarding her will conflict on this matter (Applegate, 1991). Neither Virginia Axline nor her sister Helen ever married or had any children (Consent and Selection of Guardian, 1984). In fact, Virginia Axline was the last known living member of either side of her family at the time of her death, which may explain why she left her estate to be used charitably (Applegate, 1991; Connections, 1990). Several friends and colleagues who knew Virginia Axline reported that she enjoyed extremely close relationships with her immediate family members (Moustakas, 1992; Scheerer, 1992). Axline's onetime roommate, Elizabeth "Betty" Scheerer recalled that when they were living in Chicago, Axline wrote to her family in Columbus every single day, including a special delivery letter every Sunday (Scheerer, 1992). It is also known that after returning to Columbus in the 1960s, Axline lived with her sister, Helen, until Helen's death (Guardian's Inventory, 1984, August 15). These facts, taken together leave the impression that Axline was close with her immediate family members and that they were important figures in her life. For someone so close to her family members to be without any living relatives for the last six years of her life must have been quite challenging.

Relationship with Rogers

Another impactful relationship in Axline's life, was that with her mentor, Carl Rogers. Sources indicate that Virginia Axline first met Carl Rogers at OSU sometime in the early 1940s while he was a professor there from 1940 to 1944 and she was one of his students (Kirschenbaum, 2009, p. 117). There is every reason to believe that the relationship between Virginia Axline and Carl Rogers had, at least initially, a positive and professionally fruitful dynamic. The first indicator of this is the fact that in April 1945 while Axline was still at OSU, she and Rogers co-authored an article published in *The Journal of Abnormal and Social*

Psychology titled “A Teacher-Therapist Deals with a Handicapped Child.” The majority of the article appears to be written from the perspective of Axline, the teacher, while the introduction was likely written from the perspective of Rogers. A reasonable, though unverifiable hypothesis is that Rogers lent his name to the article in order to assist Axline in securing acceptance in a major psychology journal. This was Axline’s first published work in the field of mental health and only her second published work overall. The article provides early evidence of many philosophical beliefs and theoretical underpinnings Axline would explore more fully in her 1947 *Play Therapy: The Inner Dynamics of Childhood*. The article also bears a striking resemblance to Axline’s later book *Dibs in Search of Self* (1964): using verbatim quotes from “sessions,” taking a non-directive approach, and including Axline’s reflections on her motivations as well as contextual information about the child. One portion of the 1945 article’s conclusion stands out in particular as being indicative of Axline’s developing philosophy:

Perhaps the outstanding contribution of the case is that it indicates the results which may be achieved when the therapist’s attitude is one of warmth, of acceptance of all attitudes, of permissiveness, of reliance upon the capacity of the individual to work out an adjustment once he can become consciously accepting of the attitudes within himself. (Axline & Rogers, 1945, pp. 141-142)

In this concluding thought, as well as in the approach described in the article, one can also see the non-directive influences of both Carl Rogers (1951) and Jesse Taft (1933). Axline credited Rogers with developing the non-directive approach she later applied in her 1947 book *Play Therapy: The Inner Dynamics of Childhood*. Rogers was clear in identifying Taft as a major influence on his non-directive approach (Kirschenbaum, 2009).

Natalie Rogers was exposed to the work of Virginia Axline during the time both were in Ohio. Carl Rogers recalled that his daughter was so impressed with the approach demonstrated

by Axline during a visit to her classroom that she was inspired to become a play therapist (Kirschenbaum, 2009, p. 141).

In the summer of 1944, Virginia Axline held the role of Clinic Assistant under the guidance of Carl Rogers at the Psychological Clinic of OSU (Rogers, C. R., 1944, Rogers to R. W. Tyler, November 13, 1944). During that appointment, Axline both supervised other students and conducted research. It appears that it was specifically her work in these roles that led Rogers to ask Axline to join him in Chicago (Rogers, 1944 November 13).

Having been impressed with her work as Clinic Assistant, Rogers invited Axline to join him in the transition from OSU to the University of Chicago (Rogers, C. R., 1944, Rogers to R. W. Tyler, November 13, 1944). When Rogers accepted the invitation to go to University of Chicago, he wrote to Dr. Tyler regarding his plans for the Counseling Center. In that letter, Rogers praised Axline and indicated his desire to bring her with him to help establish the center, stating:

I am particularly eager to try to get Miss Virginia Axline who is one of the best therapists and most promising research workers ever to have taken work with me. As clinic assistant last summer, during my absence in Chicago, she showed an ability to initiate research and supervise students which was outstanding. I am anxious to try to get her before she makes other plans. (Rogers, C. R., 1944, Rogers to R. W. Tyler, November 13, 1944)

In a document describing the various roles of the clinic and the candidates he desired to fill each role, Rogers also elucidated the reasons why he wanted Axline to take on the role of “Supervisor of Counseling.” While this document is incomplete and it cannot be determined precisely who the intended audience or recipient was, Rogers’s description of Axline is nevertheless meaningful to this research. In the document, Rogers explained:

Miss Axline is the most successful therapist with children that I have ever known. She has a background of teaching experience which in her case has given maturity and richness to her work. At the present time she is writing a book on play and group therapy

which promises to be especially helpful to teachers as well as clinical workers. She is a quite [sic] person but with initiative and persistence which are outstanding. During the summer of 1944 while I was at Chicago she was the clinic assistant at Ohio State. This is a relatively subordinate position compared to that of the faculty members. Actually, she became the psychological focus of all of the clinical effort. Her work in supervising students and promoting clinical research could only be described in superlative terms. I would recommend her either full time as a supervisor of counseling or one half time as supervisor and one half time as research associate in the project on play and group therapy. Miss Axline still has her PhD to complete. (Rogers, 1945)

Rogers also praised Axline's work in more public ways. In 1947, Axline published her first book, *Play Therapy: The Inner Dynamics of Childhood*. Rogers wrote the introduction for the first edition, calling the work "a profound book" with "a delightful sense of humor woven through it" (Rogers, C. R. in Axline, 1947b, p. viii). Rogers' introduction encompassed three pages of considerable praise for Axline's work.

Rogers also spoke highly of Axline to his biographer, writing in a personal letter that "I learned courage from her" (Kirschenbaum, 2009, p. 158). Of note, however, is how infrequently Rogers spoke of Axline during the many years he and Kirschenbaum collaborated on Rogers's biography. Many of Rogers's lesser-known students and protégées are discussed at length in his biographies, but references to Axline are scant. For example, in the 607 pages of text in *The Life and Work of Carl Rogers*, Axline is referred to only five times in cursory terms, while William Snyder, who also followed Rogers from OSU to Columbia University and worked less closely with Rogers, is referred to twice as often. Perhaps even more curious is the fact that Kirschenbaum interviewed many of Rogers's former students and colleagues, including William Snyder, Eugene Gendlin, Rosalind Dymond Cartwright, Arthur Combs, Bernard Steinzor, Manuel Vargas, and many more from the University of Chicago Counseling Center, but Axline is notably absent among the interviewees (Kirschenbaum, 2009). The reason for this absence is not entirely clear; she was certainly alive and in reasonably good health when the interviews took

place, so her absence is perplexing. I did see several contact lists in Rogers's papers at the Library of Congress which appeared to be lists for Kirschenbaum to use in contacting potential interviewees, and those lists were quite extensive, but did not include Axline, so it is possible that she was excluded simply because Kirschenbaum had enough sources as it was.

The constellation of Rogers's statements—and lack thereof regarding Axline—paints a picture of a relationship precipice, so to speak. During their time together in Ohio and Chicago, Rogers was eager to praise Axline and share his admiration of her with others. After the two parted ways, however, he appeared to remain mostly silent.

It is also clear that prior to her departure from the University of Chicago, Axline was experiencing a high degree of conflict with Rogers. In a 1992 interview conducted by Dr. Emily Oe, Dr. Clark Moustakas shared details of his understanding of that conflict.

Moustakas: She also shared with me, and I feel somewhat reluctant because I don't know whether this was in confidence or not, but she shared with me elements of her life at the University of Chicago at the Counselor Center where she worked with Carl Rogers and others. Ah, before she left, and the reasons why she left, she was very unhappy with what happened there, but you may be familiar...

Oe: I'll share with you what I know and then you'll know what is confidential and what's not

Moustakas: Ok

Oe: When she ah went back to ah Columbus Ohio and was teaching again at Ohio State, very openly in her classes she taught there, she shared that she left um University of Chicago because of conflict with Carl Rogers and that he wanted her to use her play therapy book for her dissertation and she thought that was unethical that she would do that in a book, that was one of her differences, and other differences was that she felt that he was doing other unethical things like using cases and information in his writings without permission of the persons or giving credit to the person that he got that information from. But that's the two things that were told openly in her classroom over and over when she got back to Columbus Ohio.

Moustakas: Uh, I uh, ok let's go on with the story because I was very close to Carl Rogers and Carl shared with me also, and that her story and his story are not congruent and I don't, I just do not want to focus on that. The reasons she gave, that was one of the

reasons she gave, but she did give some other reasons which may, she may have considered too personal about her relationships with people in that department. Ah, in essence she felt exploited, used by them and that ah, she set some limits with them which they didn't adhere to they were constantly trying to break. But I know the final breach was with her and Carl, and Carl tended to more support the others with whom she was at odds with." (Moustakas, 1992)

Nat Raskin, who joined Axline and Rogers at University of Chicago in 1946, had a slightly different recollection with regard to who thought the book should be used as Axline's dissertation. In a 1991 interview, Raskin recounted that he had been under the impression that Axline thought she should be able to use her book *Play Therapy* as her dissertation at University of Chicago, saying "I'm pretty sure that's what... she wanted. Now, who opposed that, I don't know." Later in the same interview he continued by describing some letters Axline sent him after leaving Chicago; "...she indicates that she has a lot of bad feelings about the situation in Chicago, but I don't think she wanted to go into details" (Raskin, 1991).

A recorded interview between Nat Raskin, Elizabeth "Betty" Scheerer, and Mary Costas (1992) provides similar information with a few variations. Betty Scheerer and Virginia Axline were roommates in Chicago from 1945 to 1946. Betty, Nat, and Mary discussed Axline's reasons for leaving Chicago during their conversation.

Betty: ... she left angry at Carl.

Nat: Do you remember anything more about that?

Betty: She was angry with the pressure and I don't know whether there was any more about that. Carl never talked about it to me. I think he felt bad about it.

Nat: I think he did too.

Betty: And I think Helen [Roger's wife] felt very bad about it, but I've no idea what it was about. (Scheerer, 1992)

Claire Lehr had similar recollections of Axline's explanations for leaving Chicago. In a phone interview with Emily Oe, Lehr recalled how Axline had told her that Carl Rogers wanted

Axline to get her PhD using the book *Play Therapy* and that Axline did not agree with the ethics of that. Lehr also recalled that Axline had told her how Rogers was using others' concepts in his writing without giving them credit and that Axline believed doing so was unethical. Lehr also described a conversation she had with Carl Rogers at his 81st birthday party in San Diego. Lehr said that when she mentioned Axline to Rogers, he seemed disturbed and said he did not know where she was (Lehr, 1992).

An interesting notation caught my eye in the records Axline's attorneys submitted to the Columbus County Courts regarding her guardianship case. A schedule of professional services rendered dated August 14, 1986 indicates that on June 13th, 1985 there was a "...telephone call from Dr. Roger's [sic] office." (Crabbe, Brown, Jones, Potts & Schmidt, 1986). There are no other mentions of anyone named Dr. Roger or Dr. Rogers anywhere in the attorney or court records on file for Axline. Because all of the other medical professionals related to Axline's case are specified in the records, and are referred to multiple times, it seems unlikely that the "Dr. Roger's" referred to in this document was part of her medical team. This notation, along with Lehr's indication that Rogers was "disturbed" that he did not know where Axline was, caused me to wonder if perhaps Carl Rogers had made contact with Axline's guardian somehow in an attempt to reach her. This however, is merely a lingering question, and can't readily be determined.

Regardless of who was being referred to in Axline's court documents, it is clear that Axline and Rogers parted on poor terms. It is also reasonable to surmise, based on oral history interviews that both parties spoke to colleagues about the falling out and expressed lingering feelings about the end of the relationship, even decades after the fact. Clearly, it was a meaningful life event for both of them. However, Carl Rogers wasn't the only key figure in the counseling

world that Axline made an impact upon. Axline left an impression on many friends and colleagues beyond Carl Rogers. In fact, she played an important role in the professional development of at least two other prominent play therapists. Her impact on later play therapists is part of her legacy to the field of counseling.

Virginia Axline's Legacy

Clark Moustakas

Axline participated in several important relationships with play therapists who came after her, including Clark Moustakas. Clark Moustakas was a leader in the fields of humanistic psychology and play therapy alike. Moustakas developed a form of play therapy he called Relationship Play Therapy. He is also credited, along with Abraham Maslow, and Carl Rogers with founding humanistic psychology (O'Connor, Schaefer, & Braverman, 2015). Before any of these accomplishments however, Moustakas was influenced by Axline. Clark Moustakas was just beginning his study of play therapy at the Merrill-Palmer Institute in Detroit when Axline published her seminal book: "Play Therapy" (1947b). Moustakas (1997) wrote about the influence Axline's writings had on him while he was a student and his later excitement when he became a doctoral student at Columbia University Teachers College where he studied and practiced CCPT under her supervision (p. 4). Recalling that time during an oral history interview, Moustakas reflected:

Ah, then I went to Columbia and ah studied with Virginia Axline. She was also a student working on her own doctorate degree while she was a professor teaching play therapy and supervising students in play therapy, so she was in a couple of my classes as a fellow student as well as let's say the professor.... What drew me to Virginia Axline was her ah very deep and profound sensitivity... I felt her deep and genuine caring for children, and her her books don't, I don't think they convey as strongly how she... of the process I spoke of, being in, being for, and being with [children]. (Moustakas, 1992).

Moustakas identified his personal relationship with Axline as also being formative in his

professional development (Moustakas, 1997, p. 4). Of their friendship, Moustakas said

... for some reason there was an immediate communion between us... I liked her very much as a person, I enjoyed being with her, ah we ah, we formed a kind of team in our classes because we were often the odd ones out so to speak, we didn't, we often didn't agree with the professors. (Moustakas, 1992).

In this same interview, Moustakas spoke fondly of his friendship with Axline in their early years of knowing each other. He recalled that they enjoyed taking trips To Jones Beach, often just the two of them and that they enjoyed long talks there. He also shared that after he left Columbia and went to Merrill Palmer, he would invite Axline to come speak to his students from time to time (Moustakas, 1992).

After being at Merrill Palmer for a few years, Moustakas' adherence to Axline's model of play therapy, dissipated. Moustakas became frustrated with applying a strictly nondirective approach to working with children. He viewed his interactions in this approach as being incongruent with who he was as a person and began choosing to participate more actively in the direction of the sessions with his child clients. Though his early training and development were steeped in CCPT, Moustakas went on to develop a differentiated form of humanistic play therapy that he coined *relationship play therapy* (1997). Moustakas described his approach as "a communication based on offering and receiving, on listening and hearing" (1975, p.4). In this approach to play therapy, Moustakas advocated for the therapists' active sharing of their "theories, ideas, thoughts, feelings, and preferences" (1997, p.6). In a 1992 interview, Moustakas elaborated on this difference, saying

I wanted to learn as much as I could from her, and so for the first two years after I went to Merrill-Palmer, I practiced essentially nondirective play therapy, and it was very effective. It was just that I began to get restless and decided that I needed to be more actively involved with children." (Moustakas, 1992). Moustakas also expressed that he felt differently than Axline regarding attitudes towards the parents of the children they saw, saying "I felt at odds with her there because I always felt a very deep compassion for the struggles and the challenges and the crisis that parents faced. (Moustakas, 1992)

Nevertheless, the professional collaboration and friendship between Axline and Moustakas continued for many years. At times, Moustakas invited Axline to come to the Merrill-Palmer Institute where he worked and to provide lectures and supervision groups for his students.

Moustakas does appear to have been influenced by Axline's thoughts on limits in the therapeutic relationship. Like Axline, Moustakas agreed that some limits are necessary to create an "integration of freedom and order if the individuals involved are to actualize their potentialities" (1959, p. 8). Moustakas later talked about how impressed he was at Axline's trust in the child with regard to not using limits until they are needed. In his oral history interview with Emily Oe, he recalled a time when he and Axline were observing a student play therapist, who followed instructions and didn't set a limit even as the child was swinging wildly from a punching bag. He recalled that others disagreed with Axline's insistence on permissiveness here saying "... and afterwards we had a wild discussion and everyone disagreed with Virginia, but she held onto her position." (Moustakas, 1992). There are also similarities in the philosophical underpinnings of both Axline's and Moustakas's work in part, because like Axline, Moustakas was influenced by the earlier works of Otto Rank and Jessie Taft (Moustakas, 1953, 1957). Moustakas was just one student of Axline's who would go on to have a major impact on the field of play therapy. Axline also had an influence on the development of Haim Ginott.

Haim Ginott

Like Axline, Haim Ginott was an experienced teacher before he broadened his studies to include psychology. He taught for many years in Israel before immigrating to the United States. Over the course of his career, Ginott became a well-respected ambassador to parents (as well as teachers), helping them understand the latest knowledge in the field of child psychology and guiding them in relating to their children in healthier ways (Ginott, 2003). In addition to being an

ambassador for the field of psychology, Ginott contributed meaningfully to the body of research in the field of play therapy (Ginott, 1956, 1957, 1961; Ginott & Lebo, 1961, 1963).

As previously discussed, Axline explored the application of person-centered (then called non-directive) principles to group settings. Ginott (1961) is often referenced in the development of group play therapy, however Axline (1949b) discussed such an approach long before Ginott ever appeared in the annals of play therapy. Axline (1969) asserted that “group experience injects into therapy a very realistic element because the child lives in the world other children and must consider the reaction of others and must develop a consideration of other individuals’ feelings” (p. 25). Axline also posited that group play therapy may be more beneficial than individual play therapy for addressing issues of social adjustment.

It is during Axline’s New York years that the relationship between Axline and Ginott can be explored. Ginott studied at Teachers College, where he earned both his master’s degree and his Ed. D. It is safe to say that Axline was a significant person in Ginott’s professional life. Examining Ginott’s 1952 dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of education in the Advanced School of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University shows that Axline was one of Ginott’s committee members (Ginott, 1952). In the Acknowledgements portion of his dissertation, Ginott wrote about Axline:

The author is indebted to Professor Virginia M. Axline for values and insights which enabled him to experience, and not merely experiment with, an acceptance of self and others. This study can in great measure be attributed to ideas and ideals gained from the writer’s association with Dr. Axline.

Of note in Ginott’s dissertation as well is the degree to which he drew on Axline’s previous work with children as the basis for his study. In particular, he referenced in detail her 1948 *Play Therapy and Race Conflict in Young Children* article.

Although archival materials describing the relationship are scarce, there is good reason to

believe that Ginott and Axline shared a meaningful relationship, at least for the time they were both in New York. Ginott left New York shortly after earning his Ed.D. at Teachers College, but his relationship with Axline while there was significant enough, that Dr. Gordon Derner thought to reference it as an important part of Ginott's life when Derner wrote a tribute to his colleague upon his death in 1973, stating:

Haim had great sensitivity for people and particularly children. He was therefore very much attracted to the warmth and interest of Dr. Virginia Axline in her treatment of children through play therapy. Haim became her very ardent student and participated in seminars, classes, and supervision which she conducted. He soon mastered the technical procedures, but, beyond that, he added to his own warmth that warmth for which Virginia was so noted. (Derner, 1973)

It is unfortunate that there are no records of the personal relationship between Axline and Ginott, however the evidence of their professional connections is revealing. Axline's influence on Ginott is evident both in his direct statements about her, and in the similarities of their approaches to working with children. There are also similarities in the research interests of these two play therapists.

Research and Literature

There are some interesting parallels and deviations between the practices of Axline and the other referenced humanistic play therapists when it comes to the topic of research in play therapy. Carl Rogers advocated for and modeled the belief that a theory of psychotherapy was only of value if it could be tested through objective investigation and further operationalized (Rogers, 1961, p.245). Though her mentor conducted and published hundreds of works investigating and furthering his development of the person-centered approach, this appears to have had only a minimal impact on Axline (Kirschenbaum, 2009; Axline, 1950b). Axline followed suit in Rogers' practice of judiciously audio recording client sessions for further review and analysis and promoted this practice in both her writings (1947b) and her teaching. Clark

Moustakas reported learning this practice from Axline and applying it to his own work (1959). Later play therapists like Landreth (2012), Ray (2011) and Lindo (Edwards, Sullivan, Meany-Walen, & Kantor, 2010) followed this practice as well. The notable difference seems to be what Axline did with this raw data, as compared to other play therapists. The other play therapists described have all conducted and published quantitative or qualitative research concerning varying hypotheses in play therapy.

Axline's style however, was more one of reporting detailed accounts of her work with children and using those accounts as a framework for supporting her theory. Her contributions to the literature tended to be more focused on theory and descriptive reporting. Strikingly, there were several occasions where Axline published records and accounts of her CCPT work without drawing any observations or conclusions, even anecdotally. Without doubt, the best and most unique example of this unusual approach to academic publishing exists in Axline's 1950 doctoral dissertation; "And Hast Thou Slain the Jabberwock?," Accepted at Columbia University, Teacher's College in 1950. As discussed earlier, Axline declined to draw conclusions regarding the transcriptions of her clients in this work. Instead, she explained that the clients spoke for themselves, and invited the reader to identify their own conclusions.

A chronology of published works by Axline follows in Table 3. A chronology of additional publications relevant to Axline's work is available in Appendix A. These tables are intended to aid the reader in understanding both the possible influences of others upon Axline and Axline's potential impact upon others. Identifying all potential influences is beyond the scope of this work, and as such, I have limited exploration to those individuals most influential in the history of CCPT, and most closely linked to Axline. In Table 3, I have included a notation of how many times each published work by Axline has been cited in the literature according to

Google Scholar.

Table 3

A Chronology of Published Works by Axline

Date	Publication	Cites ⁸
1941*	Axline, V. M. (1941) <i>An exploratory study of the cost factor in an experience curriculum</i> . (Unpublished master's thesis). The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio *This work is unpublished, but is included here because of its academic significance.	Na
1944	Axline, V. M. (1944). Morale on the school front. <i>Journal of Educational Research</i> , 37, 521-533	20
1945	Axline, V. M. & Rogers, C. R. (1945). A teacher-therapist deals with a handicapped child. <i>Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology</i> , 40, 119-142.	27
1947 (a)	Axline, V. M. (1947a). Nondirective therapy for poor readers. <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 11(2), 61-69. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0063079	176
1947 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1947b). <i>Play therapy: The inner dynamics of childhood</i> . Houghton Mifflin.	2,926
1948 (a)	Axline, V. M. (1948a). Play therapy and race conflict in young children. <i>Journal of Abnormal Psychology</i> , 43(3), 300-310. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0053655	46
1948 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1948b). Some observations on play therapy. <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 12(4), 209-216. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0056746	30
1949 (a)	Axline, V. M. (1949a). Mental deficiency—Symptom or disease? <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 13(5), 313-327. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0059597	75
1949 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1949b). [Review of the book <i>Practice of group therapy</i> , by S. R. Slavson, eds.]. <i>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</i> , 44(1), 152-153. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0050113	na
1949 (c)	Axline, V. M. (1949c). Play therapy... A way of understanding and helping "reading problems." <i>Childhood Education</i> , 26, 156-161.	39
1950 (a)*	Axline, V. M. (1950a). <i>And hast thou slain the jabberwock?</i> (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Columbia University Teacher's College, New York, NY. *This work is unpublished, but is included here because of its academic significance.	na
1950 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1950b). Emotions and how they grow. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 27(1), 104-108. https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.1950.10726351	2
1950 (c)	Axline, V. M. (1950c). Entering the child's world via play experiences. <i>Progressive Education</i> , 27, 68-75.	na

⁸ The citations column here refers to the number of times each listed work has been cited according to google scholar as of February 5, 2020. In this column, na indicates that no citations are recorded for the work in google scholar citations.

Date	Publication	Cites ⁸
1950 (d)	Axline, V. M. (1950d). Play therapy experiences as described by child participants. <i>Journal of Consulting Psychology</i> , 14(1), 53-63. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0056179	54
1951 (a)	Axline, V. M. (1951a). Don't ask me why. <i>NEA Bulletin</i> , 40(1), 33.	na
1951 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1951b). [Review of the book <i>Love is not enough: The treatment of emotionally disturbed children</i> by B. Bettelheim]. <i>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</i> , 46(3), 449-451. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0052105	na
1954 (a)	Axline, V. M. (1954a). That the blind may see. <i>Teachers College Record</i> , 55, 249-252.	na
1954 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1954b). Understanding and accepting: The child who is blind. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 30(1), 427-430. https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.1954.10726509	na
1955 (a)	Axline, V. M. (1955a). Therapeutic play techniques: Play therapy procedures and results. <i>American Journal of Orthopsychiatry</i> , 25(3), 618-626. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1955.tb00157.x	61
1955 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1955b). Group therapy as a means of self discovery for parents and children. <i>Group Psychotherapy</i> , 8, 152-160.	na
1957 (a)	Axline, V. M. (1957a). Meeting the crisis in educational leadership today. <i>Educational Leadership</i> , 14(6), 330-336.	na
1957 (b)	Axline, V. M. (1957b). A part of a vast mankind. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 34(9), 413-418. https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.1958.10726700	na
1957 (c)	Axline, V. M. (1957c). All the things we are. <i>Childhood Education</i> , 33(7), 304-307.	1
1962	Axline, V. M. (1962). Organized parents. <i>Contemporary Psychology: A Journal of Reviews</i> , 7(4), 154-155. https://doi.org/10.1037/006866	na
1964	Axline, V. (1964). <i>Dibs in search of self</i> . Houghton Mifflin.	872

The Person of Virginia Axline

The descriptions of Axline's personality given by those who knew her paint a vivid picture of someone with a powerful presence that was at once stoic, and warm. Her demeanor is often described as rather serious, though not at all cold. Joyce Remling, a former student of Axline, recalled "she was very sober and serious, but this was in no way unpleasant" and added that Axline was "a power you could relax around" (Remling, 1992). Nat Raskin, a psychologist who worked with Axline described her saying "Well, the first word that comes to me is intense. A person with a tremendous amount of conviction" (Raskin, 1991). He continued, "I think of her

being very direct, and crisp, and intense. She was very expressive and very full of feeling” (Raskin, 1991). Likewise, Pauline Moor, a former colleague, described her as “matter-of-fact, sincere, straightforward” (Moor, 1992). The mother of a young boy who saw Axline for play therapy in New York described her as “warm, not gushy” and as having “great confidence” (Overbeck, 1991). Perhaps some of the seriousness or straightforward demeanor people described was due in part to her circumspection. Moustakas described her as “very quiet” (1992). Reverend Walter Yoder also said that Axline was “not one to toot her own horn” (Yoder, 1992).

Many sources also point to Axline being at odds with, or in conflict with authority figures across her lifespan, and this appears to be something of a pattern or personality trait for her. Could this be a contributing factor to her falling out with Carl Rogers? This conflict with authority was evident in Axline’s previously discussed communications with Dean Tyler at the University of Chicago regarding her plan to complete her doctoral degree (Axline, 1947, April 8; Axline, 1947, August 2). Moustakas further recalled that Axline also created a good deal of irritation among professors at Columbia because she had a habit of making a study of the group process in their classes wherein she created a chart and tabulated the different types of interactions among the students and professors in the classes. In describing the conflict this created, Moustakas said

... finally I remember at one point there was a rising up against her by the group of professors and interesting enough most of the students supported her but most of the professors were annoyed with her and they began to challenge her and say to her “You’re trying to bring in a non-directive orientation. All you’re doing is sitting there making a study of what we’re saying and doing. What about you? When are you going to come into this process?” And she reflected their feelings back, and she did not ever, she stayed exactly with where she was. She didn’t, even though she had ideas, after the class she would discuss them with me, and maybe with other students, but she never did enter into that kind of dialogue with those professors, she didn’t. (Moustakas, 1992)

In addition to having a quiet and stoic personality, and bristling at authority, many people who

knew Axline best have commented that she was a deeply private person who was difficult to get to know. Moustakas said;

Virginia I found to be a very lonely, a very isolated person, she was always ... well, I don't know but I think I was one of her closest friends while at Columbia because she shared so much with me but, and part of the reason I connected with her is out of our own common connection with the importance of solitude. She was a, she very beautifully lived her solitude and she found that she could, that she, her life could be enriched in her being alone..." (1992). He continued, saying; "I perceived her to be a very sensitive person, ah, a very private person. I think she shared her personal life with very, very, very few people. (1992)

Monsignor Applegate agreed with Moustakas. He was one of the people with whom Axline was closest in Ohio, their relationship unfolded slowly, beginning in the early 1940s at Ohio State University where they were both students of Carl Rogers, and continuing for more than four decades until her death in 1988, but even he found it difficult to develop a relationship with her, stating "Well, Virginia was a person that I got to know, and it wasn't easy trying to know Virginia because she was quite a private person herself" (Applegate, 1991, May 13).

This private, self-isolating quality may have also impacted Axline's attitudes toward her work. Almost all of her publications were written by her alone, without collaboration, and she seemed to prefer things that way. Several of Axline's colleagues and friends also agreed that Axline was not one to seek out the input or opinions of others with regard to her writing, or the development of her philosophy of CCPT. Those who were with her at the University of Chicago Counseling Center recalled that she shared her thoughts and ideas as she was writing *Play Therapy*, but that she did not solicit input from them. Nat Raskin said, "I think she was pretty definite about what she believed and what she wanted to say, and so on. And, I wouldn't say that she wasn't interested in our reactions, but I don't remember that sort of thing. I certainly do remember that she had very definite convictions of her own" (Raskin, 1991).

Several reputable sources have commented that Axline's demeanor changed, or perhaps

intensified over the years. People who were close to Axline earlier in her life found it difficult to continue close relationships with her in her later years. Some of these changes were discussed in the earlier biographical chapters. Eugene Hast, a former grade school student of Axline, who shared how he stayed in touch with her over the years in an interview with Dr. Emily Oe, stated that she was “less loving as she got older” (Hast, 1992). Nat Raskin described Axline’s increasing self-isolation in the strongest terms.

Well, one thing... This relates to the difficulty that I was experiencing in staying in touch with her. I don’t know how much she.. I know she had a lot of feeling about her not being understood and not being supported. And this... I think her feeling grew into a feeling that people were against her. Now, how far that went, I don’t know. But, I don’t know. I have a... I would guess that it went pretty far, and that she got disturbed. She became emotionally disturbed. (Raskin, 1991)

Perhaps the most telling indication of Axline’s self-isolation in her later years is the account of those who attended her funeral at Schoedinger funeral home. According to one report, there were only three people at her funeral: her court-appointed attorney, her old friend Monsignor Applegate who officiated the ceremony, and Edith Skilken, a former colleague from her elementary school teaching days (Skilken, 1991). Edith Skilken later wrote: “Father Applegate said that she had been very reclusive during her illness. She was utterly alone. I was the only one there and I felt a heavy sadness at her ‘aloneness’” (Skilken, 1991).

Axline as an Educator

One place where Axline was not isolated was in the classroom. Across her lifespan, the one consistent element in Axline’s life was her work as an educator. Beginning with her work as an elementary school teacher in Ohio, and continuing through to her years of teaching at the University level at OSU, University of Chicago, Teachers College Columbia, and NYU, the picture painted of Axline as an educator is consistent among those who observed and experienced her methods, both children and adults alike.

Joyce Remling recalled "...as a teacher, she was very kind and fair" and went on to add "She was in complete control of the class, but not in the least bit rigid, or legal, or harsh, or strict." Remling further remarked that she "treated all of us, her students, with respect. She spoke to us as if our words were very important" (Remling, 1992).

It appears that Axline was always a proponent of student-centered learning, even before it was referred to as such. Hazel Clemens, who was a new teacher assigned to assist Axline at John Burroughs Elementary School, recalled that Axline preferred an approach of self-discipline with the children and that she allowed "controlled freedom" in the classroom because she disliked oppression and suppression (Clemens, 1992).

Moustakas said "... I felt badly because I thought she was an outstanding teacher, and was not adequately recognized by her colleagues there [Columbia]" (1992). "She was very alive in her classes, she didn't, even though non-directive play therapy had been published, she did not use that book very much because she knew we all had read it, and she went beyond that in her classes and in her talks, she also usually discussed current experiences..." (1992).

All available evidence and reports indicate that Axline was a passionate and talented teacher, both with regard to children, and adults. It is clear from the available historical data that Axline took a non-directive approach even from her earliest days, and before working with Rogers. It appears that Axline likely had a natural talent for teaching and was consistently able to create an engaging learning experience for her students.

Axline with Children

Although descriptions of Axline portray a self-isolating individual, it appears that she came alive and was deeply connected to the children she worked with. Individuals who knew Axline tended to become rather animated and spoke with conviction when describing her way

with children. Reverend H. Walter Yoder, who took part in many of the groups and classes lead by Axline at the University of Chicago described her as someone who “thought, lived, and practiced her deep belief in the life of each person and of the child” (Yoder, 1992). Nat Raskin explained her way of relating to children as follows:

She just had so much feeling about what she believed. I think one thing that concerned us as a group in relation to...the whole term ‘non-directive’ was that it would be misunderstood as passive, as indirect. And Virginia was a very good example of how those things were not true, because she was passionate...a passionate advocate of children who wanted more than anything to let the child know that she, Virginia, understood the way the child felt and encouraged the child to go further. She was so much of a child advocate (Raskin, 1991).

Betty Scheerer had a similar impression of Axline’s way of being with children, and recalled that she was a wonderful advocate of children and that she understood them completely (Scheerer, 1992). As previously discussed, Moustakas also shared how struck he was by her genuine compassion for and understanding of children, stating “I felt her deep and genuine caring for children ... the process I spoke of, being in, being for, and being with [children]” (Moustakas, 1992). He went on to describe her as having a “... very deep and profound sensitivity... she was so deeply committed to the children...” (Moustakas, 1992). Nat Raskin agreed, saying; “She had a lot of feeling for children. She expressed that over and over again.” “She was sort of a fierce advocate of children.” (1991).

Once again, all available evidence and observations suggest that Axline did not simply enjoy teaching, providing therapy for, and interacting with children—she thrived on it. It therefore should come as no surprise that she dedicated her life’s work to helping children in any avenue available to her.

Axline with Parents

Axline’s work with children often put her in contact with their parents, and her attitude

toward working with parents came up over and over again in the recollections of those who knew her. Nat Raskin seems to have summarized the core of Axline's philosophy best when he said "She believed, and I think it was part of her general philosophy, that children could be helped even if their parents didn't choose to come into therapy" (1991).

Several of Axline's former colleagues and friends have commented on her attitude toward the parents of the children she treated. Clark Moustakas commented that Axline aligned with her child clients so fully that it was "...sometimes to the point where she was not sympathetic to the parents, because she was so deeply committed to the children, and so strongly felt the parents and teachers were damaging of the children..." (Moustakas, 1992). Nat Raskin also recalled that "She believed, and I think it was part of the general philosophy, that children could be helped even if their parents didn't choose to come into therapy." (Raskin, 1991). In an interview with David Russell, Carl Rogers commented on Axline's attitude toward parents, saying "...she vowed she could never ever work with a rejecting parent, and before she got through she was working with all kinds of parents." (Rogers & Russell, 2002, pp.271). Perhaps Axline's attitudes and interactions with parents evolved out of necessity. Even when she disagreed with, or resented parents' choices, her professional dedication to the children may have helped her to come to terms with her overall negative views and ultimately collaborate with the parents in order to benefit the children. Alternatively, she may have experienced a genuine change of perspective through her interactions with them.

Axline as a Persistent Individual

Just as Axline persevered and was able to overcome her bias to work with all kinds of parents, despite her misgivings, Axline appears to be an individual who persisted in many areas of her life. Axline persistently pursued a doctorate across 3 educational institutions over ten

years. She did this, in part, during a time period known for the oppression of women in academia and research. Her doctoral studies also encompassed the loss of an important relationship with her mentor, Carl Rogers, and the loss of her father, Roy Axline. When one stops to consider the circumstances of her leaving the University of Chicago, it is noteworthy that she continued on to a third institution to pursue a doctorate. However, this persistence, and perhaps patience is also reflected in her work. Throughout her best-known works; *Dibs* and *Play Therapy*, Axline explored the importance of patience and belief in the child (Axline, 1947b; Axline, 1964). Where others became fed up with *Dibs*, and gave up on him, Axline demonstrated patience and a persistent belief in the person he was inside (1964). Perhaps this belief in the person of the child was also something Axline held for herself? Or perhaps it was simply that conflict with, or resistance to authority that spurred her along to prevail despite being derailed at University of Chicago. Only Axline herself would really be able to answer that question, but regardless of the underlying reasons, Axline demonstrated great persistence.

Limitations

As with any biographical study requiring exhaustive documentary examination, public record access, audio/visual discovery, personal interviews, and extensive travel, I encountered several limitations and obstacles during my research for this dissertation. Some of these limitations can be addressed in future research, as I plan to continue biographical research on Axline. The primary limitation in presenting a full biography of Virginia Axline is her preference for a private lifestyle in which she shared little personally in her writings and in her relationships. Other limitations are inherent in the process of interpreting historical data.

One significant limitation of this research is the current inability to access the NYU Special Collections. Renovations to the Special Collections at NYU began in fall of 2018 and are

scheduled to continue through September of 2020. As such, the archival collections at NYU represent an important limitation and area for future research. I would also like to persist in exploring alternate means of access to view employment records for Axline at Columbia University Teachers College, if they still exist.

As previously discussed in the methodology section, disclosure of potential researcher bias is an important aspect of historical research. My most challenging aspect of bias to mitigate was one of positive bias towards Virginia Axline herself. After spending many years searching for information about her, I did develop feelings of empathy for her as well as a sense of admiration for her. I found it challenging to devote such extensive time and energy to learning about an individual's professional and personal life without developing any feelings or opinions about my subject. I also have a potential for positive bias towards Carl Rogers. I have identified as a person-centered counselor for over thirteen years and have been an ardent follower of his philosophies. It is partly for these reasons, along with my intent to explore additional possible sources of archival material that I stopped short of drawing a conclusion on the origins of *Freedom to Learn*, and instead presented several possible hypotheses to the reader.

In an effort to mitigate my potential bias, I hired two professional academic editors with whom I have no previous relationship to examine this research and identify any areas where my conclusions or interpretations might be lacking objectivity. They also edited my writing for clarity and APA style. One of the editors specializes in historical research, and one has a more broad and generalized background in editing academic research. Combined, these editors identified three possible instances where there were minor corrections to my phrasing needed for improved objectivity. Those changes were incorporated into the final writing. One of the editors also identified an area where he believed a possible explanation for events was not fully

articulated for the reader, and I incorporated that feedback to present a more comprehensive presentation of the hypothesis.

I further requested that a trusted colleague outside of my university community, and accomplished in the field of counseling read the portions of this work related to those individuals with whom I have had a professional relationship and provide feedback regarding possible areas of personal bias. I requested this in particular because this colleague knows me well and has often provided objective and constructive feedback regarding clinical and professional issues. She identified two areas of potential bias; one where she believed my phrasing conveyed a subtle sub-text, and one where she thought I could be more inclusive of additional contributors in the field of CCPT. I incorporated her feedback in both areas.

Conclusion

Axline was a key figure in the history of counseling. Drawing on the non-directive and relationship oriented approaches of Rogers (1946, 1951) and Taft (1933), she developed a unique new way of conducting therapy with children, which she referred to simply as non-directive play therapy (Axline, 1947b), and which is today known as Child Centered Play Therapy. This approach emphasized the therapist's trust in the child's inner capacity for growth and healing (Axline, 1947b). Her contributions to the fields of play therapy and counseling have changed the ways in which child counseling is approached today (Ginott, 1958, 1959, 1961a, 1961b; Landreth, 2012; Moustakas, 1953, 1959; Ray, 2011). This is true both because of her individual contributions to the field in works like *Play Therapy* (1947b), of which there has been 16 editions printed, and *Dibs* (1964), of which there has also been 16 editions printed, and because of her influences on later play therapists such as Haim Ginott and Clark Moustakas. Furthermore, Axline influenced a generation of future counselors through her work as a counselor educator at

the Ohio State University, University of Chicago, Columbia University Teachers College, and New York University (Axline, 1968, September 30).

Evident throughout her life is a deep passion for helping children and a genuine regard for them as individuals worthy of respect, compassion, and advocacy. This theme has been noted by former students (both adult and child), colleagues, mentors, and friends (Hast 1992; Moustakas, 1992; Raskin, 1991). Helping children was the focus of her life's work, beginning as an elementary school teacher, and continuing as a therapist. Many who knew Axline recall her as having a unique ability to connect with children and form meaningful relationships with them (Hast, 1991; Moustakas, 1992; Raskin, 1991).

Axline's relationships with other leaders in the field such as Carl Rogers, Clark Moustakas, Haim Ginott, and Nat Raskin, have gone largely unexplored until now. Understanding the timing and nature of these relationships helps shed light on possible influences and motivations in the professional activities of each of the individuals. In particular, it has come to light that there may have been one or more books by Axline that were never published under her name (Axline, 1947, April 8; Axline, 1968, September 30).

Despite being an academic and researcher at a time when women's contributions were often overlooked or misattributed, (Lee, 2103) Axline persevered through multiple challenges and transitions in order to earn her Ed.D. at Columbia University Teachers College (Axline, 1950a; Axline, 1968, September 30). She devoted a large portion of her life to higher education both as a student and as a teacher (Meyer, 1947; Axline, 1968, September 30). By all accounts she was a talented teacher, much admired by her students (Hast, 1991; Remling, 1992; Skilken, 1992).

Although Axline was isolated in her final years, and had no living relatives at the time of

her death, (Consent and Selection of Guardian, 1984) her legacy is still very much alive in the work of today's play therapists. Play Therapy has become a well-respected and widely researched treatment modality for working with children (Bratton, Ray, Rhine, & Jones, 2005; Lin & Bratton, 2015). Her writings and methods are still taught today and continue to be of help to countless children all over the world.

APPENDIX A

INDEX

Name	Description of individual and their relationship to Axline
Andersen, Norma	In-home nurse for Axline during the beginning of her decline.
Applegate, Monsignor	Personal friend of Axline 1940s-1988. Affiliated with DCGC. Officiated at Axline's funeral.
"Axline, Ellen G." (née Manley)	Alternate name of Axline's mother. This appears to be her original name at birth. Later changed to Helen.
Axline, Helen E.	Axline's older sister.
Axline, Helen G. (née Manley)	Axline's mother.
Axline, Roy	Axline's father.
Bonasera, Thomas	Attorney representing Robert Marotta.
Bratton, Sue	Former director of UNT CPT; significant research contributor in field of play therapy.
Chworowsky, Martin P.	Axline's major advisor at Columbia University Teachers College in 1950.
Clemens, Hazel	A teacher assigned to assist Axline at John Burroughs Elementary School.
Colwell, E. C.	President of the University of Chicago, 1945-1951.
Costas, Mary	Previous researcher of Axline in conjunction with Emily Oe. Costas conducted or assisted in conducting a portion of the oral history interviews included in this research.
Dibs	Pseudonym for a child client of Axline, and focus of her 1964 book by the same name.
Ginott, Haim	Former graduate student and colleague of Axline; significant research contributor in field of play therapy.
Hast, Eugene	Former elementary school student of Axline.
Havighurst, Robert	Professor of Education and Executive Secretary to the Committee on Child Development at the University of Chicago during Axline's time there.
Kirschenbaum, Howard	Biographer and eventually close friend of Carl Rogers
Landreth, Garry	Founder of UNT CPT; significant research contributor in field of play therapy.
Lehr, Claire	Friend and colleague of Axline and Rogers.
Marotta, Robert	Axline's appointed attorney/guardian.
Moustakas, Clark	Former graduate student, colleague and friend of Axline; significant research contributor in field of play therapy.
Oe, Emily	Previous researcher of Axline. Conducted many oral history interviews of those who knew Axline.
Raskin, Nathaniel ("Nat")	Psychologist, former colleague of Axline, leader in humanistic psychotherapy.
Rank, Otto	Psychoanalyst who influenced Taft and Rogers with regard to the importance of relationship in therapy.
Ray, Dee	Current director of UNT CPT; significant research contributor in field of play therapy; chair for this dissertation committee.

Name	Description of individual and their relationship to Axline
Remling, Joyce	2 nd grade student of Axline's at John Burroughs School in Columbus, Ohio.
Rexford, Everett	Pastor of All Souls Church, Columbus, Ohio in 1908; officiated the marriage of Axline's parents.
Rogers, Carl R.	Psychologist who initiated the "non-directive" trends in therapy and later developed the person-centered philosophy. Teacher and mentor of Axline.
Rogers, Natalie	Play Therapist and daughter of Carl Rogers. Natalie Rogers was exposed to the work of Virginia Axline during the time both were in Ohio, and cited this experience as inspiring her to become a play therapist (Kirschenbaum, 2009, p. 141).
Scheerer, Elizabeth ("Betty")	Axline's colleague and roommate in Chicago from 1945-1946.
Skilken, Edith	Former teacher and colleague of Axline at John Burroughs Elementary School in Columbus.
Staats, Ardetta	In-home nurse for Axline at the end of her life.
Taft, Jessie	Early leader in child psychology, protégée of Otto Rank, influenced Rogers and Axline.
Tyler, Ralph W.	Dean of Social Sciences and Chairman of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago in 1945.
Wilson, Helen	Archivist for First Congregational Church in Columbus Ohio.

APPENDIX B
SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

In the matter of Harry O. Gray and Cornelia A. Hermal No. 18847 MARRIAGE LICENSE APPLICATION. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio.

The undersigned respectfully makes application for a Marriage License for said parties, and upon oath states that said Harry O. Gray is 22 years of age on the 12 day of June 1908 his residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. his place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio his occupation is carriage maker his father's name is George Hermal and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That said Cornelia A. Hermal is 22 years of age on the 12 day of June 1908 her residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. her place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio her occupation is carriage maker her father's name is George Hermal and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That neither of said parties is an habitual drunkard, epileptic, imbecile or insane, and is not under the influence of any intoxicating liquor or narcotic drug.

Said parties are not nearer of kin than second cousins, and there is no legal impediment to their marriage.

It is expected that Rev. C. H. Gies is to solemnize the marriage of said parties.

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence, this 15 day of June 1908.

Samuel B. Black Probate Judge.
Geo. W. H. Black Deputy Clerk.

ENTRY. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio, June 15 1908.
Marriage license was this day granted to Harry O. Gray and Cornelia A. Hermal.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE. No. 18847. The State of Ohio, Franklin County, ss.
I do hereby certify, that on the 15 day of June A. D. 1908, I solemnized the Marriage of Mr. Harry O. Gray with Miss Cornelia A. Hermal.

In the matter of George O. Lang and Barbara C. Horman No. 18848 MARRIAGE LICENSE APPLICATION. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio.

The undersigned respectfully makes application for a Marriage License for said parties, and upon oath states that said George O. Lang is 22 years of age on the 15 day of June 1908 his residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. his place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio his occupation is carriage maker his father's name is George Hermal and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That said Barbara C. Horman is 22 years of age on the 15 day of June 1908 her residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. her place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio her occupation is carriage maker her father's name is George Hermal and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That neither of said parties is an habitual drunkard, epileptic, imbecile or insane, and is not under the influence of any intoxicating liquor or narcotic drug.

Said parties are not nearer of kin than second cousins, and there is no legal impediment to their marriage.

It is expected that Rev. C. H. Gies is to solemnize the marriage of said parties.

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence, this 15 day of June 1908.

Samuel B. Black Probate Judge.
Geo. W. H. Black Deputy Clerk.

ENTRY. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio, June 15 1908.
Marriage license was this day granted to George O. Lang and Barbara C. Horman.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE. No. 18848. The State of Ohio, Franklin County, ss.
I do hereby certify, that on the 15 day of June A. D. 1908, I solemnized the Marriage of Mr. George O. Lang with Miss Barbara C. Horman.

In the matter of Roy Garfield Axline and Ellen G. Manly No. 18849 MARRIAGE LICENSE APPLICATION. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio.

The undersigned respectfully makes application for a Marriage License for said parties, and upon oath states that said Roy Garfield Axline is 22 years of age on the 22 day of Dec. 1907 his residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. his place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio his occupation is carriage maker his father's name is Clinton A. Axline and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That said Ellen G. Manly is 22 years of age on the 15 day of Sept. 1902 her residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. her place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio her occupation is carriage maker her father's name is Harley L. Manly and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That neither of said parties is an habitual drunkard, epileptic, imbecile or insane, and is not under the influence of any intoxicating liquor or narcotic drug.

Said parties are not nearer of kin than second cousins, and there is no legal impediment to their marriage.

It is expected that Rev. C. H. Gies is to solemnize the marriage of said parties.

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence, this 15 day of June 1908.

Samuel B. Black Probate Judge.
Geo. W. H. Black Deputy Clerk.

ENTRY. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio, June 15 1908.
Marriage license was this day granted to Roy Garfield Axline and Ellen G. Manly.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE. No. 18849. The State of Ohio, Franklin County, ss.
I do hereby certify, that on the 15 day of June A. D. 1908, I solemnized the Marriage of Mr. Roy Garfield Axline with Miss Ellen G. Manly.

In the matter of John Walter Ruschell and Francis Roth No. 18850 MARRIAGE LICENSE APPLICATION. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio.

The undersigned respectfully makes application for a Marriage License for said parties, and upon oath states that said John Walter Ruschell is 22 years of age on the 11 day of Aug. 1908 his residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. his place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio his occupation is carriage maker his father's name is John W. Ruschell and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That said Francis Roth is 22 years of age on the 15 day of May 1902 her residence is Clintonville, Franklin County, O. her place of birth is Clintonville, Ohio her occupation is carriage maker her father's name is John W. Roth and is widow or divorced woman, her married name being that she has no husband living.

That neither of said parties is an habitual drunkard, epileptic, imbecile or insane, and is not under the influence of any intoxicating liquor or narcotic drug.

Said parties are not nearer of kin than second cousins, and there is no legal impediment to their marriage.

It is expected that Rev. C. H. Gies is to solemnize the marriage of said parties.

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence, this 15 day of June 1908.

Samuel B. Black Probate Judge.
Geo. W. H. Black Deputy Clerk.

ENTRY. Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio, June 15 1908.
Marriage license was this day granted to John Walter Ruschell and Francis Roth.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE. No. 18850. The State of Ohio, Franklin County, ss.
I do hereby certify, that on the 15 day of June A. D. 1908, I solemnized the Marriage of Mr. John Walter Ruschell with Miss Francis Roth.

Figure B.1. Marriage Record, Probate Court, Franklin County, Ohio. (1908, June 16). Marriage License Application and Record for Roy Garfield Axline and Ellen G. Manly.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR - BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
THIRTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1910 - POPULATION

STATE: Indiana COUNTY: Allen TOWNSHIP OR OTHER DIVISION OF COUNTY: Wayne Township NAME OF INCORPORATED PLACE: Fort Wayne City SUPERVISOR'S DISTRICT NO. 12 ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO. 40 WARD OF CITY: 3 SHEET NO. 3 A

DATE: April 19, 1910 DAY OF: April YEAR: 1910 ENUMERATED BY ME ON THE: 19 DAY OF: April YEAR: 1910 ENUMERATOR: Charles W. Hinton

LOCALITY	NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION	NATIVITY	EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION		EDUCATION		EDUCATION	EDUCATION
							1	2	3	4		
501 53 54	Widdie	Wife	50	Indians	2	None						
	Eulonia Margaret	Son	10	Indians	1	None						
	Widdie	Wife	40	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	30	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	20	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	10	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
502 53 55	Widdie	Wife	50	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	40	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	30	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	20	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	10	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						
	Widdie	Wife	0	Indians	2	None						

Figure B.2 United States Federal Census. (1910, April 19) *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 - Population*. [Allen County, Indiana, Fort Wayne]. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 2019, September 17. Available for inspection at the Center for Play Therapy Library Archives, University of North Texas.

OHIO DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
COLUMBUS

CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

Reg. Dist. No. 392 Date Filed No. 8879
 Primary Reg. Dist. No. 1111 Registrar's No. 892

Department of Chiropractic—Bureau of the Census

I. PLACE OF DEATH:

(a) County Franklin
 (b) Columbus
 (c) Name of building or institution 1591 - E. Park St.
 (d) Length of stay in hospital or institution 59 days

II. USUAL RESIDENCE OF DECEASED:

(a) State Ohio (b) County Franklin
 (c) City or village Columbus
 (d) Street No. 1591 - E. Park St.
 (e) If foreign born, how long in U. S. A. years

III. NAME Roy J. Axline
 (a) First name Roy (b) Social Security No. Ro.
 (c) Last name Axline

IV. SEX Male **RACE** White

V. DATE OF BIRTH Feb 24, 1888

VI. AGE 66 years 1 month 4 days

VII. BIRTHPLACE Suttonham Ohio

VIII. OCCUPATION retired designer

IX. INDUSTRY textiles

X. MARITAL STATUS Married

XI. MARRIAGE Married

XII. MARRIAGE DATE 3/2/1917

XIII. MARRIAGE PLACE St. Mary's Church

XIV. MARRIAGE REGISTERED Yes

XV. MARRIAGE REGISTERED NO. 4366-2

XVI. MARRIAGE REGISTERED DATE 1917

XVII. MARRIAGE REGISTERED PLACE Columbus Ohio

XVIII. MARRIAGE REGISTERED NO. 2117

XIX. MARRIAGE REGISTERED DATE See serial

MEDICAL CERTIFICATION

20. Date of death Feb 24 Time 2:00
pm 1947 1:15 AM 20

21. I hereby certify that I attended the deceased from 1944 to 1947
 and that death occurred on the date and hour stated.

22. Cause of death Myocardial infarction
hypertension

23. If death was due to external causes, fill in the following:
 (a) Accidents, wounds, or homicidal injuries
 (b) Date of occurrence
 (c) Where did injury occur?
 (d) How did injury occur?
 (e) How did injury occur?

24. Signature S. W. Tucker M.D.
 Date signed 2/2/47

Figure B.4. Death certificate of Roy Axline.

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Axlino

5724 Blackstone
Chicago 37, Illinois
April 8, 1947

Dr. Ralph W. Tyler, Dean
Division of Social Sciences
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Tyler:

I have done quite a bit of thinking these past two years about the problem of completing my Ph.D. degree. I have made some attempt to explore the various possibilities here at the University of Chicago which would enable me to secure the Ph.D. degree and at the same time be able to continue to do the things that are a definite part of my professional objectives. I have arrived at the point now where I am ready to state my case in order to determine whether or not my suggested plans are feasible for securing the Ph.D. here at this university and if so, in what division?

My academic and experiential backgrounds as well as my professional objectives are such that following along the "required paths" in the divisions does not seem to me to be an adequate or satisfactory procedure. Consequently, I will state, as briefly as I can in this letter, my background, my professional objectives, and my Ph.D. proposition and would appreciate your reaction to it.

I have a B.Sc. degree in Education from Ohio State University where I majored in elementary education (which was essentially child development and progressive educational philosophy) and English with minors in psychology and social sciences. I received an M.A. degree in Education from O.S.U. where my major emphasis was on child development, supervision, teacher-training, psychology and English. Beyond my M.A. degree I have approximately 45 quarter hours of psychology specializing in psychotherapy.

I have gone on from there and explored quite fully the dynamics of play therapy, have handled many cases, have studied them and analyzed them and written the results of my thinking in a book entitled Play Therapy, to be published this June by Houghton-Mifflin Company.

I have naturally been extremely interested in the implications of the non-directive philosophy for education and have ^{been} experimenting in the classroom (elementary and graduate school) in an attempt

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Dr. Ralph W. Tyler
April 8, 1947

to apply what seems to be a very vital element for education.

I have had years of experience as a teacher at the different levels - kindergarten, elementary, secondary, and graduate school. I have worked with parent groups. I have had experience in a psychological clinic. I have worked as therapist in orphanages and public schools and here at the Counseling Center. I have handled psychological referrals for physicians in a private practice. All of these experiences have contributed to the thinking that I have been doing in regard to the implications of it all for education.

My professional objectives are as follows:

1. To contribute to the literature of education and psychotherapy.
2. To teach in a graduate school.
3. To do extensive play therapy, counseling, and group therapy.
4. To do exploratory and experimental research.

Each objective is so much a contributing factor to the others that it is really an integrated professional objective. I believe the first one is of major importance to me, but without the other three there would be nothing of importance to contribute.

I would want the work that I did for a Ph.D. to be a real contribution to my thinking and practice in the above areas. I do not have the time, the patience, or the willingness to meet "requirements for the sake of requirements" unless they were a definite and constructive and on-going part of the things that I want to accomplish.

I have just started to write a book on the implications of non-directive therapy for education. In this book will be a development of an educational philosophy and the principles by which it is applied, the objectives of higher education, evaluation, educational objectives as they relate to our social needs, motivation, learning -- all of it from a consistent, internal frame of reference -- all of it illustrated by verbatim material from the classroom, groups, individual conferences --all documenting the need for an inner freedom to learn before that learning can become effective. As a matter of fact I have already selected the title of the book - Freedom To Learn because I believe that we have evidence that Education for Freedom or Education for Democracy or for anything else is not entirely successful unless the student experiences the inner freedom to learn -- a very vital, motivating factor.

I will be teaching two seminars next year, one in play therapy and the other in group therapy. These two classes will be conducted according to the philosophy and principles and procedures that will be set forth in the book. I hope to be able to have each session electrically

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April 8, 1947

recorded and evaluated by different types of evaluation to determine the effectiveness of the procedure. Since I believe that evaluation is a significant element in education from the students' point of view and since meager evidence to date seems to imply that self-evaluation and motivation are closely related, I have begun a study on self-evaluations and would like to compare and contrast items the students consider important and items the instructors consider important.

One other element enters in. In our courses which the students elect there is already a high degree of motivation. Would results be similar if the subject was required and the students disliked it quite heartily? I would like to do a little experiment to get at that problem. I would like a class of students who expressed a strong dislike for a subject and try out this approach in that situation and see what objective measurements showed there in regard to their attitudes and achievements.

All of this work would be gathering material for the book. I would like to be able to attend seminars and to have conferences and to do readings that would enrich this project and help in the completion of it.

My question now is this: If the book, Freedom To Learn, were completed and if it were of publishable quality would any division of this university -- education, psychology, human development, or social thought-- consider such a program of sufficient achievement to warrant granting the writer a Ph.D. degree?

I am genuinely interested in your reaction to the above.

Sincerely yours,

Virginia M. Axline

Virginia M. Axline

Ralph W Tyler Papers [U. of Chicago]
Box 5, Folder 9, "Axline, Virginia"

Figure B.5. Axline letter to R. W. Tyler 1947, April 8.

OHIO DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH 420.0					
DIVISION OF VITAL STATISTICS				38162	
Primary Reg. Dist. No. <u>2-222</u>			State Reg. No. _____		
Certificate of Death			Register No. <u>472</u>		
1. PLACE OF DEATH a. COUNTY <u>Franklin</u>			2. USUAL RESIDENCE (When deceased lived in another place for 30 days or more) a. STATE <u>Ohio</u> b. CITY <u>Franklin</u>		
b. CITY (If deceased occupied house with rural lot) <u>COLUMBUS</u>		c. LENGTH OF STAY (If deceased occupied house with rural lot) <u>50 yrs.</u>		c. CITY (If deceased occupied house with rural lot and gave location) <u>Columbus</u>	
d. FULL NAME OF HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION <u>1591 E. Rich St.</u>			d. STREET (If rural, give location) <u>1591 E. Rich St.</u>		
3. NAME OF DECEASED a. (First) b. (Middle) c. (Last)		4. SEX (Female) (Male) (Infant)			
<u>Helen</u>		<u>G.</u>		<u>Female</u>	
5. AGE		6. COLOR OF SKIN		7. MARRIED, WIDOWED, DIVORCED, SEPARATED	
<u>64</u>		<u>white</u>		<u>widowed</u>	
8. DATE OF BIRTH		9. AGE (In years, months, days)		10. SEX (Male) (Female) (Infant)	
<u>Sept. 13, 1897</u>		<u>64</u> <u>9</u> <u>11</u>		<u>Female</u>	
11. LOCAL OCCUPATION (Give kind of work done during week of death)		12. USUAL BUSINESS OR OCCUPATION		13. PLACE OF BIRTH (State or foreign country)	
<u>None</u>		<u>None</u>		<u>Steubenville, Ohio</u>	
14. FATHER'S NAME <u>Harker Manly</u>			15. MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME <u>Sarah Halston</u>		
16. U.S. SOCIAL SECURITY NO. <u>None</u>		17. INFORMANT'S SIGNATURE <u>Walter P. Axline</u>			
18. CAUSE OF DEATH (Enter only one cause per line for (a), (b), and (c))		MEDICAL CERTIFICATION			19. DEATH BY (a) (b) (c)
1. DISEASE OR CONDITION (Specify leading to death)		a. <u>Cerebro-vascular accident, probably embolic.</u>			19. <u>None</u>
2. OTHER SIGNIFICANT CONDITIONS (Specify contributing to the death, but not related to the disease or condition leading to death)		b. <u>Arteriosclerotic heart disease with long-time infarct.</u>			
3. MAJOR FINDINGS OF OPERATION		c. <u>4200</u>			
20. ACCIDENT (Specify)		21. PLACE OF INJURY (a. In or about house, b. In school, c. In public place, d. In street, e. In other building, f. In other place)		22. CITY, VILLAGE, OR TOWNSHIP (County) (State)	
23. TIME OF DEATH (Specify hour, minute, second)		24. HOUR OCCURRED (Specify AM or PM)		25. HOW DEATH OCCURRED	
26. I hereby certify that I attended the deceased from <u>June 23, 1952</u> to <u>June 25, 1952</u> , and that death occurred at <u>10:20 A.M.</u> from the cause and on the date stated above.					
27. SIGNATURE (Name in full)		28. ADDRESS		29. DATE SIGNED	
<u>Anna Marie Whitaker, M.D.</u>		<u>2265 W. Slip St.</u>		<u>June 26, 1952</u>	
30. LOCAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT (Name)		31. NAME OF CEMETERY OR CREMATORY		32. LOCATION (City, town, or village) (County) (State)	
<u>Burial</u>		<u>Green Lawn Cemetery</u>		<u>Columbus, Ohio</u>	
33. Registrar's Signature <u>Robert Straube</u>			34. NAME OF REGISTRAR (City, town, or village) (County) (State)		
			<u>Robert Straube 5391 A.</u>		
35. LOCAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT SIGNATURE <u>Edward Pedersen</u>		36. PUBLIC HEALTH DIRECTOR'S SIGNATURE <u>Lowell Hair</u>		37. YEAR (1950)	
				<u>1952</u>	

Figure B.6. Death certificate of Helen Axline.

- Online Services**
- Verifications
 - Licensees, by name
 - Licensees, by license number
 - Permits, by name
 - Pharmacy Establishments
 - Professional Business Entities (other than pharmacies)
 - Help with Searches
 - Terms of Use
- Registration Renewal**
- Renewal Information

NYSED / OP / Online Services

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License Information *

11/08/2019

Name : AXLINE VIRGINIA M
Address : NEW YORK NY
Profession : PSYCHOLOGY
License No: 001022
Date of Licensure : 07/16/1958
Additional Qualification : Not applicable in this profession
Status : NOT REGISTERED
Registered through last day of :

* Use of this online verification service signifies that you have read and agree to the [terms and conditions of use](#). See [HELP glossary](#) for further explanations of terms used on this page.

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- Note: The Board of Regents does not discipline *physicians(medicine)*, *physician assistants*, or *specialist assistants*. The status of individuals in these professions may be impacted by information provided by the NYS Department of Health. To search for the latest discipline actions against individuals in these professions, please check the New York State Department of Health's [Office of Professional Medical Conduct](#) homepage.



Figure B.7. Axline's New York psychologist license.



Figure B.8. Photo of Axline's Columbus, Ohio, office.

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