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Based on an unpublished 1950 masters thesis, this paper on university extension in Britain reviews the nineteenth century background at Oxford, Cambridge, Victoria, and other universities, the close of the so-called classical period during 1900-24, the growing institutionalization of university extension during 1924-39, and postwar trends toward greater freedom, flexibility, specialization, and influence within British adult education. It is concluded that the financial and other problems of British university extension, especially its frequent failure (as compared to the Workers' Educational Association) to reach the working classes, have generally stemmed from universality rather than specificity of purpose. (The document includes six tables and 72 references) It is also available from the Department of Adult Education, University of Leicester, Leicester, England, for 4s 6d. (ly)

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# University Extension Reconsidered



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UNIVERSITY EXTENSION  
RECONSIDERED

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1968

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### R e c o n s i d e r e d

#### I n t r o d u c t i o n

Exactly one hundred years after James Stuart in 1867 pioneered a move to create a peripatetic university for those adults who desired but were denied higher education, we seem to be on the eve of a new phase in the adult education debate. Periodic instalments of that debate have punctuated the whole history of adult education, and for that reason it is useful to examine the antecedents of any impending renewal. Such an exercise provides a salutary reminder about what ground has already been covered, what questions already asked. It does not preclude the need for the same questions to be asked again in a modern context but it does enable the participants to ascertain whether their contributions are original. In addition it provides the historical perspective so necessary when the subject under review is a continuous and continuing activity which, while prone to the ad hoc, has generated its own traditions and its own mythologies.

This paper, based on a larger piece of research, provides in condensed form some of the historical

groundwork for an appraisal of current university Extension work, ie, that carried out under the sole auspices of the universities. The period selected for consideration is the first half of this century. During those years perennial problems were tackled and unsettled issues given a frequent airing. What is more, those problems and issues have not even yet been laid to rest. The contention is, therefore, that this historical review is no mere academic exercise. Rather does it throw into clearer relief difficulties and dilemmas which in one form or another appear to be endemic not only in Extension but in adult education generally.

## I The Nineteenth Century Background

In the later nineteenth century the demand for higher education was real and stemmed mainly from educationally underprivileged women of the middle class and from artisans. James Stuart, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was in the vanguard of those who tried to meet it personally. The success of his lectures, for instance, to the Council for the Higher Education of Women at Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield, to railway workers at Crewe, and to the Rochdale Co-operative Society, was instrumental in convincing his university of the importance of such work. Thus in 1873 Cambridge accepted and implemented Stuart's model of peripatetic university teaching and University Extension, properly so called, was begun.<sup>1</sup> Similar responsibility for serving the wider public was accepted too by London in 1876, Oxford in 1878 and Victoria (comprising the colleges at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester) in 1886, so that by the 1890's Extension had become something of a movement. The providing universities were despatching lecturers to established centres throughout the country and attracting audiences of around 60,000 per session.<sup>2</sup>

Although the general expansion was great there



were certain basic differences in method and approach between the various universities taking part. Cambridge and Oxford, for example, operated throughout England whereas London concentrated on the capital and the Home Counties and Victoria served the districts around its constituent colleges. Again, the overt aim of Cambridge was to promote serious and intensive study through courses of at least one term's duration. Oxford, on the other hand, sought to foster a more general stimulation of intellectual interest. Short courses, it was decided, sufficed for this and at the same time lowered costs, an important item in smaller towns and poorer areas. London, while developing some popular People's Lectures, on the whole shared the Cambridge view that only longer courses could produce an adequate academic standard.

Before the end of the century a number of local colleges had been founded which later became universities in their own right. The influence of Extension was such that it was directly effective in the foundation of those at Exeter, Leeds, Nottingham, Reading and Sheffield, and was later to play a large part in propagating the idea of a separate university at Liverpool. Yet apart from the Extension work of the Victoria group little was undertaken by these local

colleges. In developing as institutions for full-time study they came to regard Extension as a very subsidiary function. In consequence such work of any magnitude was conducted only by Cambridge, Oxford and London.

Besides this failure to identify with the local colleges, Extension revealed two other particular weaknesses - in addition to the persistent problem of finance - which were evident even at its zenith in the 1890's. The first was well illustrated by the fundamental difference in educational purpose between Cambridge and Oxford, at least so far as this was stated. The former aimed courses at 'earnest students willing to give time to private reading and home study',<sup>3</sup> the latter at 'the great majority ... [whose aim] is not to make themselves professional scholars, but by self-culture to widen and deepen their ideas of life.'<sup>4</sup> To some extent this ambivalence of purpose was general, however, and was never completely settled within, let alone between, universities. The distinction made from the beginning between lecture and class constituted an admission to this effect. Coming after the lecture, the class served the earnest student, who was perhaps intent on an Extension Certificate, with an opportunity for questions and discussion and

enabled those who were simply interested to leave straight after the lecture. But this was just a device; the conflicting aims remained.

Secondly, although Extension set out to take the university to the people, it did not overtly seek to promote the interests of any specific section of society.<sup>5</sup> The lack of any paramount social purpose made it difficult to maintain local organisations which were in close touch with the needs of the wider community they served. Instead there was a tendency for many of these organisations to become inward rather than outward looking, dilettantish social gatherings rather than part of a social movement with an explicit goal.

## II : 1900-1924: The close of the Classical Period

Any analysis of the early development of Extension must take account of its financial position. This was problematic throughout the period but particularly was it so before 1924. Until then the movement was virtually self-supporting. The significance of this will be appreciated after an example. Before 1914, the full cost of a 12 meeting course was around £70. But even if 300 students could be recruited tickets

would still have to be 5/- each. Unless some form of subsidy were available large audiences and/or high fees were therefore inescapable. As a consequence local committees could rarely arrange courses with complete confidence.

Private subsidy was indeed given by bodies such as the Gilchrist Educational Trust, Co-operative Societies and the Co-operative Union. The work done by London was assisted by the Trustees of the London Parochial Charities and of the Mitchell City of London Charities, by the Merchant Taylors', the Cutlers' and the Skinners' Companies, and by the Court of Common Council. Similarly Cambridge was helped by various Working Men's Clubs and by individual industrial concerns such as the Consett Iron Company and the Lambton and Hetton Collieries. But essentially the financial base of Extension was formed by the fees of students: and, since they could best afford them, the middle class students in particular.

In effect the only way for Extension to be cheap and solvent would have been through receipt of grant aid from public funds. Experience here fell far short of promise. Few local public authorities for education gave assistance to courses in Science as they were permitted to do under the Technical Instruction Act

of 1889 and the Local Taxation Act of 1890. Again although the 1902 Education Act opened the way for central as well as local government to extend aid to courses in the Humanities, little materialised. Only isolated attempts were made to utilize its regulations for claiming Board of Education grant; neither did the Act forge any great partnership between Extension and the new LEA's.

By 1906 only six of Oxford's 138 centres were relieved of their whole financial burden by LEA's, and only about twenty others received any form of aid. In 1912, twelve LEA's were helping Cambridge, to be joined by a mere eleven more by the 1920's. And although the LCC seemed to be sympathetic to work done by London, aid went mainly to advanced courses and left general Extension provision relatively starved. London University's declaration in 1914 that there was still 'great need for additional funds to support the University in developing this work, which ranks amongst the most important provisions for the further education of persons engaged in bread-winning occupations',<sup>6</sup> might equally have been voiced by its more ancient sisters.

Certainly in 1913 with the new Regulations for Technical Schools, the Board of Education seemed more

seriously to be considering the provision of State aid. And although in principle such grant could thereby be obtained for twelve- and even six-meeting courses, the conditions demanded for their recognition (in respect of standard, attainment and attendance) were so stringent as to be beyond the organising powers of most local secretaries who, however committed, were simply unpaid volunteers. In any event the outbreak of war in 1914 prevented concerted attempts to exploit the possibilities offered.

Peace in 1918, together with the provisions of the 1918 Education Act and the confidence injected by the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee in 1919 seemed, in the words of a London Report, to 'make it clear that the Extension work of the Universities [was] destined to hold an increasingly important place in our educational system.'<sup>7</sup> The hope was sustained by H A L Fisher himself who in a paper to the British Association at Cardiff in 1920 hinted that Extension would not play second fiddle to the Tutorial Class Movement and that its finances might soon be relieved by public monies.<sup>8</sup> Yet nothing specific was in fact done by the authorities until 1924. By then economic depression had inflicted further hardship, and the LEA's, forced to adopt a policy of economy, had re-

duced what little aid they had been giving to Extension work.

Throughout the first quarter of this century, then, Extension operated under a severe financial handicap which rendered its health vulnerable and its success precarious. Overall it was a period of decline. From a plateau of around 50,000 per session in the early years of the century, attendance fell to a trough of about 20,000 during the first World War, rising again to around 40,000 by 1920-21 and then once more declining. Cambridge, Oxford and London continued to dominate the scene. Victoria University divided into three in 1903, and by 1910 Extension work by Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester had entered its 'Bleak Age'.<sup>9</sup>

Given such an unstable financial foundation, however, the interesting point is not so much that Extension activity declined but rather that it did not begin to do so appreciably until towards the end of the first decade of the century, and actually experienced a revival after the war - albeit one that was short-lived. The early 1900's were in fact characterised by confidence and renewed expansion. Thus, reviewing prospects from the watershed of 1900, a Cambridge Annual Report concluded: 'The experience of the last quarter

student support it has obtained.

I am pleased to have been able to contribute a Foreword to this study as a Vaughan Paper, first because it is a very worthwhile piece of work, and secondly, because by so doing I am able to perform a small service for Mr Pashley in return for the splendid work he did for this Department as Organising Tutor in Northamptonshire from 1962-1965.

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## F o r e w o r d

Mr Pashley collected the material on which this Paper is based whilst working on a Master's Thesis on Rôle Definition and Fulfilment in English Adult Education which he submitted in May 1966 to the University of Liverpool. It makes no pretence at being a history of University Extension between its foundation in 1873 and the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, but it does add appreciably to our knowledge of University Extension and corrects some mistaken notions about it in the current histories. Especially valuable are the Tables of statistics which Mr Pashley has compiled, which clearly show that, contrary to generally accepted beliefs, Old Style University Extension did not virtually succumb to the competition of the Tutorial Class, but that (with occasional set backs) it more than held its own right up to the outbreak of war in 1939. He reveals how, in the years before the War, University Extension was tentatively moving towards the adoption of the New Style which has characterised it since 1945. His Paper takes the reader up to the beginnings of the present book in University Extension and offers sound reasons for its having assumed its present shape and for the kind of

of a century has proved that a real demand for higher education exists throughout the whole country, not only in the large industrial centres but also in small towns and rural districts.'<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, as the century progressed there was noted, too, a 'striking development of the Movement among working men.'<sup>11</sup> The three major providers were unanimous in welcoming the revival in this direction and saw the formation of the WEA in 1903 as a potentially invaluable canaliser of working-class students into Extension courses. In the words of an Oxford Delegation Report they believed 'that the Association contains the promise of much usefulness in the future, and that it may do much to rally the working classes to the further support of an educational movement which, largely initiated for their benefit, has already won a large measure of their confidence.'<sup>12</sup>

This development is significant in two major respects. It indicates first an increased interest in higher education among the working class. Equally it indicates a growing readiness in the Extension world to cater for that interest. And, given the financial set-up, considerable effort and ingenuity were necessary to bring the cost of attendance within the pockets of workers. Various expedients, such as large audiences

and short courses, had evolved early. But signs are that schemes designed specifically to assist worker students were put into effect more widely. These included differential charges for artisans, permission to pay a weekly rather than a block course fee, and close collaboration with working-class organisations irrespective of whether they gave a subsidy.

Most of this missionary work was done in the Midlands and the North by Cambridge and Oxford. But London also fostered similar enterprises culminating in Professor Geddes's experimental tutorial class for working men at Battersea. Indeed it was the London experience which prompted The Morning Post to assert 'that a new force is entering the world of education, the demand of the more prosperous among the working classes for higher education suited to their needs, [so] that an untouched problem is awaiting the educationalists.'<sup>13</sup>

The virtual rediscovery of the working classes was not the only change in Extension during the early 1900's, however. The structure of the courses changed too. Cambridge had long propagated the doctrine of sustained study and to this end had concentrated effort on providing long courses, often comprising two or three consecutive terminals. London, under the influ-

ence of R D Roberts who left Cambridge in 1902 to become Registrar for the Board for University Extension at London, had developed its already similar tradition. Even Oxford, the proponent of the 'extensive' method of short courses, maintained a proportion of long courses. These early years of the century however, saw a distinct general shift in the balance of provision towards short courses.

As has been already indicated, short courses carried less of a financial risk than did long ones, but the shift in balance was accentuated by certain other factors too. One was that many long courses had depended for their success on the support of pupil teachers. When in 1905 the Board of Education ceased to recognise University Extension Certificates as counting towards the King's Scholarship Examination an important incentive for them to attend long Extension courses was removed. The effect was most marked at Oxford and certain provincial universities, and even Cambridge suffered a minor loss of long courses. But the shift was carried further by policy decisions, namely, the attempts to conduct missionary work in small towns and among the working classes. Such communities and groups could not be relied upon to provide audiences sufficiently large to support the

relatively expensive longer courses of twelve meetings or more.

In fact only London seems to have made any concerted effort to check the swing. In 1908, under Roberts's guidance, four-year diploma courses in the Humanities were launched with financial assistance from the LCC. This development of advanced work is the more noteworthy coming as it did when London also was increasing its provision of short courses. It would seem, however, that in this period at least London was alone in consciously seeking to achieve a clearer definition between its various types of course and thus between its educational aims.

This period of the movement's general success was short-lived. After 1910 decline was general in terms of provision and of attendance. Yet self-criticism, notably at Oxford, preceded that decline. Its form illuminates Extension's still unresolved dilemmas in both educational purpose and social rôle. At Oxford the view was evolving that the two were inextricably interwoven. The stuck-taking which began in 1906 was not the result of any immediately apparent failure however; courses and students were still expanding in number. Rather did it stem from the realization that in trying to meet the needs of working-class

students an Extension policy of offering short courses for large audiences was educationally unsatisfying. Certainly middle-class audiences could still be found, but if the responsibility for educating the workers was to be assumed it seemed necessary to devise a new educational form more in line with their needs. The growing demand, it was thought, was 'for more guidance and control on the part of the University, and for more advanced, systematic and continuous instruction in "humane" subjects than [was] offered by lectures addressed to large miscellaneous audiences.'<sup>14</sup>

In its effort to define what Oxford could do for the working classes the University consulted the WEA, and a Conference was held in the Examination Schools on 10th August 1907. The ensuing Report was careful to state that it was concerned only with University Extension as provided by Oxford. 'The Extension work of other universities, especially Cambridge and London, differs in many important essentials from the work of Oxford University and has not been considered in the preparation of this Report.'<sup>15</sup> It is clear, though, that while Oxford was most open to the criticisms voiced, Cambridge and, perhaps to a lesser extent, London shared many of the same weaknesses. Both supplied a greater number of courses demanding sustained

study, but both were also increasing their provision of short courses and at the same time were attempting to meet the needs of working-class students.

The central notion shared by those at the Oxford Conference was that the growing demand said to exist among working people for university education had not thus far been met by Oxford's Extension because it lacked the continuous and intensive teaching which workers were thought to require. Extension's main weaknesses were fourfold. First, courses were too expensive. Secondly because audiences had perforce to be large tutorial instruction was physically impossible. Thirdly, courses were too short and subjects too little related session to session. Finally there was the working-class suspicion that Extension material lacked quality, and the demand was for greater academic dignity and more equality with internal university students.

The new educational medium suggested was the Tutorial Class, to consist of not more than thirty students and to follow a course of study extending over at least two years. Oxford was to appoint the teachers and pay half their salaries and further help was to be sought from the Board of Education, LEA's, Educational Trusts, Trade Unions and Co-operative

Societies. The organising work was to be done by a Joint Committee of University and WEA representatives.

It is significant to note, however, that the University's main concern was with the fact that working class people were but sparsely represented in the internal student body of the University. Its aim was to construct a bridge whereby more might pass into the University and the Tutorial Class was seen as such a structure. Thus it was stated quite categorically that 'The success of the tutorial classes established in industrial towns must depend on a full recognition that their main object is to prepare men for study in the University itself.'<sup>16</sup> Nurtured by the WEA and adopted by other universities, Tutorial Classes came to be regarded as educationally valuable in their own right; conceived as means to a specific end they became ends in themselves - or at least means to an end which was somewhat nebulous.

Although Tutorial Classes were not, strictly speaking, part of the Extension movement, their creation and subsequent development had a deep and lasting effect on it. Tutorial Classes seemed to offer the universities at once a social dynamic - that of furthering working-class interests, and an educational purpose - that of encouraging sustained high-level



work. Furthermore, the criticisms levelled against Extension on educational grounds were not relevant to the needs of working-class students only - they expressed also the dissatisfactions of the serious non-artisan student.

Neither is it altogether surprising that similar views were heard at London some years after the Oxford Conference. The Extension Board's first ten years of control were viewed with general satisfaction by the University,<sup>17</sup> but although the Royal Commission on University Education in London agreed that the work had been conducted with vigour and success it concluded that university standards had not been maintained. While they seem to ring less true, coming as they did when London was differentiating its Extension provision so that it ranged from short popular courses to four-year diploma courses, the reasons given for it echo those voiced at Oxford.

Significantly enough the development which found special favour with the Commissioners was the provision of Tutorial Classes for working-class students. The ubiquitous influence of Sir Robert Morant is evident in the Final Report's assertion that 'These classes open out a new and hopeful field for the spread of the pure love of learning - the main function of a

university.<sup>18</sup> The Report even went so far as to suggest that the WEA be encouraged to promote classes of a cultural as well as of an immediately social value. Unlike R D Roberts, the Commissioners did not apparently foresee that this might lead to competition with London's Extension provision: certainly the possibility was not mentioned.<sup>19</sup>

Other universities too were expressing disquiet at the general health of Extension, and becoming alive to indications that early twentieth century success had a precarious foundation. Liverpool, for example, attributed the difficulty of maintaining local centres to 'the increasing adequacy of the provision of evening technical and other instruction provided by public bodies, to the greater abundance of popular amusements, [and] to the special provision made by several agencies for the needs of teachers who used to form a substantial element in the audiences.'<sup>20</sup> Cambridge appears to have concurred that those factors created problems. The fall in attendances of approximately 2,000 in 1907-08 had originally been attributed to the industrial depression affecting the North-East, traditionally a thriving area of working-class participation. With no appreciable recovery in succeeding sessions, D H S Cranage, the Extension Secretary at Cambridge, whilst

repeating the Liverpool diagnosis, stressed one factor above all others: 'Few ... who have studied the subject would maintain that there is the same enthusiasm for this kind of work as there was in the last generation ... It seems best frankly to admit that we are suffering from excessive devotion to amusement and to try to find a remedy.'<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps strangely, Cranage failed to mention continuing economic uncertainty and the considerable industrial and political unrest which were then rife. General Elections, Irish Home Rule, strikes, the women's suffrage movement - these surely could have diverted attention from Extension as much as could devotion to amusement. Further, there is no recognition in the Cambridge Reports that Extension's slackened momentum could have been caused at least in part by its own short-comings. Cranage's stiff-upper-lip protestations - 'I cannot exaggerate the debt that the country owes to those who in all parts are striving to raise the people to a higher level, often under great discouragement'<sup>22</sup> - may have veiled hurt paternalism but would hold little sway with radical critics and seriously aspiring scholars.

The outbreak of war in 1914 thus caught University Extension at a low ebb. Vulnerable to economic depres-

sion, distrusted by working-class students, frustrating for serious scholars, it managed to survive the war only on a much curtailed programme. London seems to have suffered least but, as mentioned earlier, had already embarked upon a policy of differentiated provision. Yet prospects did brighten with the coming of peace. All the universities increased their Extension provision and students attended on a pre-war scale. The fact that the same weaknesses prevailed and the same criticisms applied is indicated by the transitory nature of the resurrection. Against these and in face of competition from the WEA, the Tutorial Class Movement and the expanding Extra-mural work of the provincial universities, Classical University Extension wilted alarmingly.

Certain basic conclusions can thus be drawn about the performance of Extension in this first quarter of a century. Created originally in response to the educational needs of women and artisans it succeeded mainly in attracting women and middle-class students. However the 'persistent legend that University Extension failed to attract the working classes'<sup>23</sup> needs qualifying. Certainly Southern centres catered almost exclusively for a middle class and leisured clientèle, but others, particularly in the North, had established a tradition

of enthusiastic working-class support. As the new century began more working-class students were recruited; failure took the form rather of an inability to retain their adherence.

In the main the movement's success or failure in this direction depended on the policy of the local committee. Since, out of financial necessity, most centres had to rely on the support of the wealthy they tended to be dominated by their wishes and outlook, thus losing contact with working-class sections of the community. And although Professor R Peers has claimed that 'Given the possibility of continuity, with freedom from financial anxiety, there would have been no difficulty in forming local committees of working men to take responsibility for courses,'<sup>24</sup> the general situation which prevailed militated against such a possibility. The economic climate was itself a fairly reliable guide to working-class participation in Extension. The advent of the WEA and Tutorial Classes made a firm rise even less likely.

Extension's self-appointed task was, it seems, to maintain the principle that education knew neither class nor party and that its appeal should not be limited to any one section of the community. The interested members of the working-class élite, how-

ever, were searching for an educational institution that would directly serve their sectional interests. University Extension with its professed neutrality, its avoidance of controversial economic and political subjects of study, its implicit support of the social status quo, its charitable approach to workers, was tested and found in the main to be both socially and educationally under-nourishing.

The question of educational purpose is clearly linked to social considerations. Extension had certain disadvantages as far as the artisan was concerned. But those same educational weaknesses were clear to all serious students, men or women, irrespective of social class. Generally speaking, Extension had not resolved its dilemma of whether its prime purpose was the promotion of serious study or the stimulation of intellectual interest. Although in the short run the second approach seemed the more fruitful, it was this which in the long run incurred most criticism; witness the experience of Oxford. Before 1924 only London was tackling the problem and was alone in offering students the opportunity, other than in Tutorial Classes, to pursue prolonged courses of intensive study with close personal guidance from the tutor.

Bearing this in mind there can be little doubt

that the rise of the WEA and the development of Tutorial Classes were instrumental in furthering the decline of University Extension. Tutorial Classes offered universities the opportunity to redefine their social purpose and embark upon an educational policy of cultivating sustained study. As a new educational medium they had all the advantages and attractions missing from the Extension stereotypes. Growing out of the alliance between the universities and the WEA they provided a social dynamic; demanding a three-year period of study they guaranteed intellectual integrity; recognised for Board of Education grant they could survive with limited enrolments.

The tendency for this kind of work to overshadow that of Extension was given fresh impetus by the 1919 Report's<sup>25</sup> idealisation of Tutorial Classes as the standard pattern for university adult education, and by the readiness with which provincial universities, particularly in industrial areas, adopted it. Indeed it could be argued with some justification that the Tutorial Class came to hold too exclusive a position in English university adult education. On the other hand, the pattern of small audiences and emphasis on tutorial-type work were successfully embraced by Extension in later decades, giving the universities

the flexibility they needed to perform other rôles that they were to undertake once the 1924 Regulations had released Extension from the obligation to pander to the wishes, tastes and good will of the antimacassar society.

### III 1924 to mid-Century: the period of transition

The development of university adult education after 1924 falls conveniently into two stages with the second World War forming the watershed from which issued modern trends. The first stage, before 1939, witnessed an overall outgrowth of the work which became institutionalised in all but a few universities. One consequence of the demarcation of their own extra-mural areas by the provincial universities was the contraction of that covered by Cambridge and Oxford, and this in turn had a marked effect upon Extension. But, contrary to the impression which might be gained from standard histories, Extension did not become extinct between the wars. Between 1924 and 1938 the number of Extension courses per session increased by 40%; certainly the smallest increase of all types of extra-mural provision but by no means negligible.

This being said, however, the 1924 Regulations



did not prompt any immediate boom in Extension provision. For a time, indeed, there was continued decline. The beginnings of an improvement towards the end of the 1920's was entirely the result of increasing participation in this sphere by the provincial universities. Furthermore they tended to show a greater readiness to take advantage of the Regulations for obtaining grant than did the older universities, so that by the session 1929-30 not only did they provide the majority of grant-earning courses but for the first time in the history of the movement they provided the majority of all Extension courses. The courses which were still on the decline were the shorter ones and those which could not maintain class work, i.e., those which did not qualify for grant.

What delayed the development of Extension by the provincial universities was the prestige enjoyed by the Tutorial Class. When the newer universities began to impose their own traditions on their areas they were apt to regard the Tutorial Class as being 'universally applicable to all the main purposes of Adult Education'<sup>26</sup> and when 'it had once been established, there was a strong tendency to regard it as the only kind of class to be fostered.'<sup>27</sup> But the later 1920's did see mounting criticism of this single-minded view. Barbara

Wootton, for example, had the temerity to query the myth that Tutorial Classes reached an academic standard approaching that of an Honours Degree.<sup>28</sup> The Joint Committee set-up was criticised by Professor R Peers for being too rigid even in catering for the needs of worker students.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore the WEA itself was ceasing to concentrate on equipping the workers for social emancipation and was becoming instead 'the agent and organiser for almost every form of popular culture.'<sup>30</sup> The old theoretical distinction between Joint Committee and Extension work was, in terms of purpose and social composition, becoming increasingly blurred.

Reappraisal was given further impetus by official views which tended to make hitherto heretical notions more respectable. Thus by the 1930's the idea was evolving that to regard the Tutorial Class as the goal towards which every student should be directed, and its purposes and methods as the only criteria against which all other efforts should be measured or the ideal towards which they should aspire, was to adopt too narrow a view of adult education. In reality this particular medium was suitable only for a small minority of the population. The wider community for which the universities had a responsibility had multifarious needs. What was required of the universities when seeking to meet them was greater

catholicity coupled with stricter differentiation of provision.<sup>31</sup> Inevitably this prescription that universities should adopt a comprehensive rôle again raised the question of their educational purpose in the extra-mural field. Attempts at interpretation - and problems thereby created - continued to occupy them until well after the second World War.

Nevertheless, by the time the protest 'against the assumption that adult education should be identified with particular modes of study or with particular social or political aspirations'<sup>32</sup> was heeded, the universities had to hand quite a selection of educational media. Tutorial Classes may have bulked large but they were not developed to the total exclusion of other forms of provision. Nottingham, for example, made a move to provide the 'more gentle delights for the large numbers' by means of elementary courses.<sup>33</sup> The Nottingham Experiment<sup>34</sup> of the 1920's constituted the first attempt to assume the comprehensive rôle, enabling the university to provide the whole gamut of liberal adult education from elementary to advanced levels. Peers claimed that only this comprehensive scheme - of administration, organisation and provision - could ensure academic standards, LEA support, unified planning between university, WEA and voluntary bodies, and

the direction of work into appropriate channels. But it did also create a precedent. The Nottingham Department became involved in both organising and providing Chapter III classes,\* previously the province of Approved Associations working at a lower academic level than that considered appropriate for universities.

Even so, this interpretation of the comprehensive rôle gained official approval and Nottingham was soon followed by Cambridge, Leicester and Birmingham in Chapter III provision for students who were not capable of higher level work. There were signs, however, that Extension was being turned to this use too. Hull, for example, began to develop a range of Extension courses in order to escape from the constraints of the WEA alliance, while the Welsh Colleges claimed that the 'less exacting demands' of such courses made them 'particularly suitable for rural areas.'<sup>35</sup>

In the light of developments such as these the Board of Education in 1931 changed the Adult Education Regulations 'with the object, in particular, of promoting development in rural areas.'<sup>36</sup> So far as Extension was concerned the changes meant that in certain circum-

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\*So called from the Section of the Grant Regulations (1924) under which they were approved.

stances even short six-week courses were eligible for grant. The Board defined the purpose of these courses pretty carefully, though. 'In the main this is intended to be work of a pioneer character which will open up the way for the establishment of longer and more serious courses of study at a later date.'<sup>37</sup> Officially Extension courses were different in purpose and quality from Chapter III classes, which were not necessarily a means to prolonged study.

Given this extra financial support Extension continued to attract growing numbers of students into the 1930's. Yet notwithstanding the fact that provincial universities provided the majority of courses they attracted a minority of all Extension students. The bulk still went to courses given by Cambridge, Oxford and London. This apparent statistical discrepancy resulted from a mutation within Extension itself. The pattern adopted for the expanding provision was of a different order from the traditional one set by the original providers. There were, in fact, two different kinds of University Extension in being: the traditional form comprising relatively large lecture audience and smaller class; the new form approximating towards the 'standard pattern'<sup>38</sup> of class provision with little or no distinction between lecture and class. Neither

was this new Extension confined to provincial universities. Of Extension courses provided by Cambridge, Oxford and London in 1937-8, half were along class lines.

The mutation had actually been assisted by the wording of Article 17 of the Regulations, in that 'Assessment of grant ... was related solely to the factor of the student group and no official cognizance was taken for grant purposes of the larger lecture audience.'<sup>39</sup> There had thus evolved the practice of using Article 17, 'which was designed to encourage University Extension proper, to facilitate the provision of what was in effect a new type of class.'<sup>40</sup> This contingency had not been contemplated. When the Regulations were drafted it was assumed that grant-aided Extension courses 'would attract a substantial lecture audience in addition to the smaller student group prepared to prosecute more serious study.'<sup>41</sup> The point was that this new class was proving to be something of a cuckoo in the Extension nest. In spite of the apparent expansion of Extension the lecture course proper was still declining.

The 1930's was thus a period of heightened confusion in adult education generally and in Extension in particular. Universities offered courses some of

which were advanced and some elementary, some short and some long, some in the classical mould but others not. Understandably the plea for differentiation became stronger. First of all the qualities of the traditional Extension lecture course were reasserted. Presented as an instrument for shaping 'a new national consciousness and ... the creation of a wider culture' its two main practical uses were stressed: as a vehicle for general interest courses, and in the service of organised special interest groups.<sup>42</sup>

At the same time the new type of Extension was seen to have its own attractions. In particular it afforded a method for meeting the needs of small groups of students who wanted specialised intensive study over a relatively short period and for whom the Tutorial Class was too prolonged.<sup>43</sup> The issue was complicated, of course, by the fact that some universities were offering elementary as well as advanced instruction through both Chapter III and Extension classes with the result that they were sometimes indistinguishable. If extra-mural provision was to expand more quickly, and the restoration of grant in 1936 to pre-1931 levels made this likely, criteria for differentiation were necessary before it took place; otherwise chaos could result.

In addressing themselves to this problem of expansion the universities predictably exhumed the issue of their rôle and purpose in adult education. It was argued that whereas in the past universities had been responsible only for supply, 'their function being to meet the demands presented to them by voluntary organisations whose function it was to bring groups of students together,'<sup>44</sup> this might no longer be a viable prescription. Further expansion, it was suggested, could 'involve new and more difficult tasks in the creation of new demand.'<sup>45</sup> And while 'the universities [had] ... to make sure that the general framework, within which their extra-mural work [was] set, [was] such that the danger of expansion at the expense of standards [was] obviated,'<sup>46</sup> the call was nevertheless for expansion characterised by diversification, differentiation and experimentation. The immediate problem was whether the existing vehicles for carrying it - Tutorial and Preparatory Tutorial Classes, University Extension in old and new forms, Chapter III classes - were adequate for the task or whether they had been rendered unsuitable by ad hoc tinkering. The Board of Education, however, seemed anxious to furnish replacements.



The new Regulations of 1938 may thus be regarded as an attempt to rationalise the framework within which the universities had come in practice to operate. They created at least a semblance of order where previously confusion had threatened. Yet this conscious endeavour by the central authorities 'to make the responsible bodies genuinely responsible' for decisions of programmes and policy has been labelled by Professor S G. Raybould as an 'abdication'.<sup>47</sup> In particular he argues that the drift into elementary work, inappropriate for universities, was given new licence. The charge warrants some attention.

It is, first of all, true that Chapter III work per session increased ten-fold in the decade before the Regulations were published so that in 1937-8 there were 268 courses with 5,239 students. However, this work was provided almost entirely by Nottingham, Cambridge, Leicester and Birmingham. Despite the official encouragement to offer elementary courses the majority of universities had not indulged much in Chapter III provision. Admittedly some included an elementary component with their Extension provision, but too much should not be read into this either. The general trend in Extension work by the 1930's was away from six-meeting courses so that by 1937 the majority consisted

of those which in 1914 would have been described as 'Long Courses'. And although Extension may have embraced a wide spectrum of standards it would seem from the reallocation into new categories after 1938 that less than a third of the new kind of Extension courses which had emerged since 1924 had been of an elementary or pioneer nature. Whether this reflects a greater amount of elementary University Extension work than existed before 1924 is a matter of conjecture: the evidence, however, does not suggest it.

The changes brought about by the new Regulations can be summarised briefly. Preparatory Tutorial Classes were replaced by University Sessionals and Short Sessionals arranged with the WEA. University Sessionals under the sole auspices of the universities replaced the new type of Extension course where lecture and class audiences were the same. University Extension Lecture classes were defined much like those in the 1924 Regulations. To prevent their becoming identical with University Sessionals record had to be kept of lecture audiences and the minimum allowed was 32 at any one meeting. But since the class could have a maximum size of 32, a close approximation to University Sessionals remained. The attempt to revive traditional Extension was contained in the recognition for

grant purposes of Extension Lectures. Grant was based mainly on the lecture audience - 75 had to be enrolled and two-thirds of these in attendance at meetings - but a class of at least 20 had to be maintained. Few attempts were made to undertake the effort involved in recruiting such audiences save among universities with a tradition of classical Extension. Universities desirous of promoting elementary work did not need to find large audiences; they could still provide classes under Chapter III.

The effect of these changes was to enable universities to provide a wide variety of courses from elementary to advanced but more clearly defined than previously. They were thus in a position from which they could advance on any front they thought fit with less fear of running up against extreme complications of nomenclature or insuperable financial obstacles. Perhaps inevitably they chose to concentrate on class provision. Work under the official heading of University Extension declined from 603 courses in 1937-8 to 269 in 1938-9 (including those not grant-aided). New Extension as it had developed since 1924, especially at the provincial universities, was reallocated under other headings. For that which remained the days of the large audience had passed. Only a quarter of all University Extension

courses so called could muster over 75 students in the lecture and only a minority of these were grant-aided.

It is appropriate at this juncture to summarise also the more general changes which had taken place in extra-mural provision between 1924 and 1939. The social and educational rôles of universities had clearly broadened. At the advanced level the distinction between Tutorial Class and Extension work had become blurred in most respects other than length. This is not altogether surprising. The Tutorial Class was 'thought of vaguely as a substitute for something else. People who had received a "real" education could have no use for it.'<sup>48</sup> At the same time there was 'a new society coming into prominence, dependent on daily work for its existence but ... rapidly acquiring the mental characteristics of the older leisured classes.'<sup>49</sup> Although its members infiltrated into the Tutorial Class that institution was not designed to meet their needs. Here, then, was a public - the better educated younger generations - not requiring remedial education or the painstaking methods of the traditional Tutorial Class but nonetheless seeking university courses. Extension could be adapted to their needs.

On the other hand there was an increasingly re-

cognised demand for work at a more elementary level in classes less rigorous in standard and less demanding in time than the Tutorial Class. Since the influential view seems to have been that universities should serve all sections of the community, intellectual as well as social, little wonder that they began to provide less exacting courses too. That they accepted this as a proper function is witnessed by the fact that such provision was made not only within the WEA alliance but independently also. Organisationally the universities were becoming better equipped than the WEA, while ideologically they were less fettered. But by the time the universities began to diversify their provision the WEA had itself, in practice, undergone a reorientation in that it was becoming a general cultural provider. In this situation conflict as well as co-operation between the Universities and the WEA was increasingly possible. Both were moving towards a comprehensive rôle.

The fact was that universities did this consciously and with official blessing.<sup>50</sup> But in their varied provision, real differentiation, although aimed at in the 1938 Regulations, was delayed until after the second World War. Only then was elementary provision pruned, a process facilitated to some extent by increasing LEA provision of liberal, remedial and recreational

courses after the 1944 Education Act. Thereafter the universities sought a clearer interpretation of their rôle, in which process the close alliance with the WEA was seen as something of a hindrance to be overcome by fresh departures into independent provision.

War in 1939 created an abnormal situation for adult education, but even so the unsettled conditions seemed to germinate the seeds of future growth. For example, the only classes to suffer lastingly during the war were Tutorials and Chapter III classes. Sessionals and Extension courses, after an initial setback, steadily grew in number. Again, although Chapter III provision tended to decline the noticeable increase in independent university provision was in shorter courses lasting a term or less. This, understandable in unsettling war-time conditions, had become quite firmly established by 1945. It should be stressed, however, that university standards were not necessarily jeopardised by short courses. Although the universities had themselves run a considerable number of Chapter III classes in each year of the war, by peacetime such independent provision had virtually ceased. After 1945 the continuation of the pattern of short courses was, it was argued, 'but a reasonable recognition of the general rise in educational standards and of the par-

ticular success ... in attracting students of higher educational attainment.'<sup>51</sup> Short courses were not by definition elementary in standard.

With the coming of peace, and in anticipation of a post-war boom, the universities once more reviewed their rôle in adult education. Initial prompting came from the Vice-Chancellors of Cambridge, Oxford and London who called a conference of representatives from English universities and university colleges. The ensuing statement, The Universities and Adult Education (Dec 1945) 'defining the attitude of the Universities towards adult education and the part they [could] play in its future development' was in the main a reiteration of previous declarations. The Universities' special contribution 'in maintaining intellectual freedom and standards, and generally in advancing and enriching the cultural life of the community'<sup>52</sup> was again asserted. Similarly it was repeated that the distinguishing feature of university adult education should be of high quality but that this could be achieved by less formal methods as well as by those of the traditional type of course. Where the statement departed from earlier declarations was in the observation that the field seemed especially rich for cultivation among the younger adults newly released from the Forces. Of

special significance, however, was the contention that it was as important to meet the particular needs of industry and the professions as it was to nurture the general cultural life of the community.

The 1946 Further Education Grant Regulations formally recast the framework within which post-war development was to take place. These ended the distinction between Chapter II and Chapter III courses save for Tutorial Classes. Grant was henceforth to be assessed for each university on its programme as a whole, regard being paid to its character, volume, efficiency and cost in each particular session. According to the Ministry of Education these changes presented 'in practice much greater opportunity for the responsible bodies to develop a wide variety of courses designed to meet demands both for the well tried type of adult course and for others of a more experimental character.'<sup>53</sup>

This, apparently, was what the universities desired. The essence of the new regulations was that they offered freedom and flexibility. If the universities were to respond to changing social conditions they had perforce to experiment. And while each university developed its own characteristic policy, there was generally 'a concern to ensure quality as well as



quantity in the teaching services provided ... [and an] endorsement of the comment made in the ... report of the University Grants Committee to the effect that their extra-mural work should seek to concentrate their resources on the high quality of teaching appropriate to their tradition.'<sup>54</sup>

This commitment to high academic standards was further underlined by the Universities' Council for Adult Education in its 1948 Statement of Principles (see Appendix to the UCAE Report 1945-6 and 1946-7). Once more it was stipulated that the universities' primary duty was 'to contribute to the general welfare of society by training capable minds to know and understand the nature of the society in which they lived.'<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, in recognising a duty to the wider community the universities could not 'regard their services as available exclusively to any one organisation or section of the community.'<sup>56</sup> The WEA, in other words, was not the only bridge, although some universities were slow to admit this and continued to deploy their full-time tutors in close collaboration with WEA branches. Sooner or later the universities had to design and build bridges of their own, perhaps collaborating with institutions and educational organisations other than the WEA in the task.

It is clear that the aim was still to offer a comprehensive service. But the shift in emphasis is marked by the stress that was now put on serving the wider community through its intellectual élites. Again, although liberal studies were recognised as being important, there was a greater readiness to countenance the provision of subjects relevant to the vocational needs of people wanting to keep abreast of new developments in technology and matters of professional concern. Given the improvements already taking place in secondary education and those projected for the future, such a reorientation was almost inevitable. Demand for part-time higher education from the already well-educated professional élite was consciously anticipated, however, and by the middle of the century certain main trends were sufficiently established to indicate the universities' response to the changing situation. The increase in independent university adult education was great and constituted an effective return to prominence of Extension, albeit not always under the official University Extension heading. So vigorous was the growth that by the 1950's Extension work, in its wider sense, had far outstripped Joint Committee work and was overhauling general WEA provision, this in a context of overall expansion.

It remains, therefore, to examine how far the universities did cater for the 'capable minds' of the educated élite. According to the 1951 Ministry of Education Report, 'Since the war, a large new section of the population in this country decided to devote a part of its leisure time to systematic self-education.'<sup>57</sup> By 1951 about 100,000 more people were availing themselves of Responsible Body provision than at any time before the war and the tendency was for them to seek it from the universities. Yet it is clear that the WEA's field of activity was not invaded by Extension, neither were students poached from WEA preserves. The remarkable feature of the post-war period is that re-nascent Extension was finding 'a new public ... consisting of those [with] ... at least a good grammar or secondary education ... [and demanding] subjects, methods and approach very different from those of the old Tutorial Class.'<sup>58</sup> They were 'younger, more professional, and more highly educated'<sup>59</sup> than persons found in WEA or Joint Committee classes. The common experience noted by a wide selection of universities, then, was 'the decline of the educationally under-privileged and the influx of students who were not the WEA sort,'<sup>60</sup> and 'with whose requirements the WEA [did] not pretend to deal.'<sup>61</sup>

The onus for halting such decline, however, was on the WEA. Its specific responsibilities were for the educationally underprivileged and its primary task was to stimulate and organise their demand for adult education. The universities' responsibilities in this sphere were, on the other hand, primarily in the supply function. Any attempts to exceed this function, eg, by by-passing the WEA and dealing with workers' organisations over the head of the Association, would have been bitterly resented - a breach of the traditional university-WEA alliance. However the universities did have responsibilities to serve other sections of the community whose needs lay outside the purview of the WEA. To these they could justifiably attend without third-party mediation.

Thus the inclination of better-educated and younger adults towards Extension was not simply the result of fortuitous changes taking place in the wider society after the war. Rather did it come as a result of deliberate policy on the part of many universities to pitch the appeal of their Extension at the educated élite, a group with identifiable and unmet needs but capable of work of university standard. For in addition to traditional academic subjects, numerous universities were beginning to offer courses of a quite different nature.

Manchester was thus not alone in noting of Extension work that 'many new fields have been seen to await development, but these are mainly concerned with special groups and advanced studies, often technological in nature.'<sup>62</sup>

Postgraduate refresher courses, for example, were increasingly being developed with the purpose of keeping specific vocational groups up to date with new advances in scientific and technological subjects with a direct industrial application. By the early 1950's such esoteric titles as 'X-ray Crystallography' (Manchester), 'Applied Surface Chemistry' (Hull, Sheffield), 'Automatic Digital Computers' (Bristol, Cambridge), 'Concrete Mixes with Local Aggregates' (Newcastle), or 'Polarisation Microscopy and Optical Crystallographic Methods' (Leeds) were not uncommon in Extension programmes. Similarly there was a growing readiness to furnish the personnel of the welfare and social work services with professional courses in applied Social Science. Such courses - for example for school medical officers, mental health workers, health visitors, child care officers, and probation officers - were usually arranged in collaboration with the employing agencies. Again, as at Leeds and London, the Extension Certificate or Diploma course was revived, often in subjects

with a strong vocational relevance - a return to an old University Extension tradition, this, but one shunned by the WEA.

Clearly such developments contributed greatly to the general realisation of the aim to make Extension work of a 'higher standard than that promoted by other bodies.'<sup>63</sup> Even though courses were not necessarily long the high level of specialisation and the stress on standards made them appropriate for universities to provide and also avoided competition with other educational bodies. Furthermore the expansion of work so radically different from that of pre-war years resulted, as Newcastle pointed out, in the tapping of an entirely new reservoir of adult students.<sup>64</sup> The overall impression, in fact, is of 'increasing concern with standards of work, and of an increasing response by the more serious students to the demands made upon them.'<sup>65</sup> This applied as much to non-vocational as to professional and diploma courses. The trend was towards high-level specialisation, with students attending for a specific purpose, be it to further an already developed academic interest, to seek an award, or to advance their professional careers. Because the students tended to be well-educated already, and because their needs tended to be specific, turnover was understandably high and courses relatively short.

As this new Extension was an educational service rather than a social movement, selective consumption replaced commitment or 'loyalty' among its students.

Herein, then, lay the key to success for post-war Extension. Utilitarian rather than romantic, it offered the means whereby the educated élite, for personal or vocational reasons, could satisfy their intellectual and academic needs; and it succeeded in attracting that élite. By so accepting that its appeal was mainly to the well-educated minority of the population it accepted also, albeit tacitly, that the social dynamic which had offered the universities a clear rôle after the WEA had been inaugurated had lost much of its potency. Unlike the WEA the universities via Extension were able to tap new sources of adult students and were not involved in crises of self-contradiction by so doing.

#### IV Summary and Conclusions

This account of the qualitative and quantitative changes which took place in Extension in the first half of this century points generally to the conclusion that the universities' problems in adult education arose from catholicity rather than specificity of purpose. Created to meet the educational needs of women and workers, and

more successful with the former than with the latter, Extension soon evolved a middle-class image and tended to cater for dilettantism. Attempts to meet the special needs of workers were largely frustrated, with the result that working-class students looked elsewhere for a bridge between themselves and knowledge. In the years immediately before the first World War, then, University Extension failed to respond to what was increasingly being identified as the dominant pressure for adult education and thereby failed to fulfil a major rôle which it had itself chosen.

Although there were exceptions, it was in consequence of this general trend that Extension came to be superseded, particularly in industrial areas, by a new educational movement. That movement, the product of frustrated working-class demand for adult education appropriate to its needs, was the WEA. After the war, influenced to a great extent by the 1919 Report's obviously high regard for the university-WEA alliance and its clear assumption that adult education was, and should be, primarily "workers'" education, the universities in the main concentrated their energies upon providing 'Tutorial Classes for Working People.' This was especially noticeable at the provincial universities. The new medium was apparently considered the most satis-



factory vehicle for university adult education partly because it was grant-aided, partly because it projected an image of social relevance, partly because it offered systematic teaching; and it perhaps succeeded because there was less of a gulf between provincial universities and their localities than there had been between Oxbridge and the country at large.

But university adult education did not crystallise in this form. Indeed in the later 'twenties and 'thirties experiment, change and innovation modified extra-mural provision in general and Extension in particular. There developed, in fact, a further process of evolution and diversification wherein university adult education while maintaining a common and major ingredient of Joint Committee work came to adopt a whole variety of formulae. In that process the fundamental dilemma of the universities' adult educational purpose was again thrown into clear relief: namely, whether they should promote work only at an advanced level or whether they should, in addition, stimulate intellectual interest through elementary work. By the 1930's the two were not, in practice, regarded as being exclusive alternatives. Within and without the WEA alliance the universities were making both types of provision. There were signs, however, that a trend

towards more elementary courses was developing.

Essentially this tendency was but one outcome of fairly general heartsearchings about function. These stemmed from two main observations. First it was clear that the WEA and other voluntary organisations were often incapable of fully developing the field of adult education even at the elementary level. In the absence of concerted LEA activity the universities had to decide whether to ignore such a deficiency or to remedy it themselves. Secondly, it was increasingly apparent that the Tutorial Class was not necessarily the universal answer to every demand for university adult education. It was proving inadequate on three counts: success amongst the working classes was not so great as it had originally been; people who were intellectually incapable of such rigorous study were left untouched; those who were already well-educated did not require the painstaking techniques involved. In this situation the alliance with the WEA often proved to be a handicap which militated against experiment. Consequently when the universities sought to meet the general cultural needs of society at large, which they came to regard as their duty, they often began to perform this function outside the alliance.

Yet the educational dilemma still was not resolved.

Because the universities, in addition to their Joint Committee obligations, were attempting to serve all sections of the community their independent provision remained undifferentiated and of widely varying standard. By 1939 they had not assumed a specific rôle but were trying, by casting their net wide, to meet multifarious needs. And the signs are that they did not divine any dominant pressure which warranted Extension's particular attention until after 1945 when large numbers of relatively young adults were released from the forces and evinced marked inclinations towards educational pursuits. This seemed to give the universities a fresh incentive. At once proclaiming their duty to society at large, refusing to restrict their activities to the service of any sectional demand, modifying their missionary rôle, they began to make a conscious effort to serve the needs of the educated élite by means of Extension provision.

Thus by mid-century, despite the continuation of the WEA alliance, despite variations between the individual universities, certain main trends were discernible in Extension. There was a tendency for it to play a more forthright part in adult education than at any time since the early years of the century. In so doing it was beginning to assume greater importance, in terms of educational influence, than the WEA and the voluntary

movement. By then an established professional service, it justified itself as a university institution by stressing standards. Specialisation in vocational, cultural or academic subjects was but one means of achieving quality. The fact that students were, in the main, already well-educated was a further safeguard.

University Extension was thus assuming a more specific rôle in furthering the cultural and intellectual development of society, and as the educational system generally was to improve, so was this rôle to expand. Indeed it seems neither outrageous nor unrealistic to speculate that given this function, given this flexibility and facility for the ad hoc, Extension may even become very profitably associated with new adult educational development, eg, in the Polytechnics or the projected Open University. In the former it could provide one form of contact with the universities, in the latter it could do the same whilst affording a necessary vehicle for face-to-face tuition. Whatever the future, though, the old dilemma was at last beginning to be resolved by the 1950's so that with J W Saunders one could confidently reflect: 'If it is true ... that society must preserve the quality of its intellectual élites, wherever they may be found in the community, and that it is the distinctive rôle of University

Extension to serve the needs of those élites, I cannot believe that the traditions of English university adult education will be lost ...<sup>66</sup>

## R e f e r e n c e s

## Appendix I

The detailed source material on which this paper is based is listed in an unpublished MA thesis Rôle Definition and Fulfilment in English Adult Education: A study of certain aspects of university and working class adult education, 1900-1950, B W Pashley, University of Liverpool, May 1966. References are given below to those quoted or otherwise mentioned in the text. Other recent publications of direct relevance, however, are:

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S G Raybould

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- 3 R D Roberts quoted in Draper, op cit p 26. See also Roberts, University Extension under Old and New Conditions, (1908) pp 17-18.
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- 5 See, eg, A Thompson 'The University Extension Movement', in Cambridge Essays in Adult Education, (1920) ed R St J Parry, pp 161-163.
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- 36 Board of Education, Annual Report, 1930, p 57.
- 37 Board of Education, Annual Report, 1931, p 45.
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- 40 UE-MCC Memorandum 'On the relation between different types of courses, with special reference to university Extension courses.' October 1934, p 1.
- 41 Board of Education, loc cit.
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- 47 S G Raybould, University Extra-Mural Education in England, 1945-62, p 30. See also Raybould, The English Universities and Adult Education, (1951).
- ✓48 Scope and Practice of Adult Education, p 55.
- 49 Ibid. p 29.
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T a b l e s o f S t a t i s t i c s

Appendix II

- I Cambridge University Extension, 1900-24
- II Oxford University Extension, 1900-24
- III London University Extension, 1900-24
- IV A. University Adult Education  
England and Wales, 1925, 1932, 1937  
B. Changed pattern of provision resulting  
from 1938 Regulations
- V A. Independent University Provision, Extension  
and Chapter III, England and Wales, 1939-46  
B. University Adult Education, 1938-39 and 1946-47:  
first and last sessions under the 1938 Regulations
- VI University Adult Education, England and Wales,  
1946-51; as shown by various sources:
  - (a) Ministry of Education Annual Reports: grant-  
aided courses
  - (b) UCAE Annual Reports: University provided courses
  - (c) CJAC Annual Reports: Tutorial and Sessional  
Classes for the WEA.

**Cambridge University Extension, 1900-1924**

**TABLE I**

Session	Number of Long Courses	Total Average Attendances at Lectures	% Attending Classes	% Class audience doing Papers	Number of Short Courses	Total Average Attendances at Lectures	% Attending Classes	% Class audience doing Papers	% All Lecture audiences in Classes	% All Class audiences doing Papers
1900-01	62	5,421	39	52	36	3,347	21	22	30	44
1901-02	71	5,846	40	53	34	3,244	22	15	34	42
1902-03	67	7,210	38	49	42	5,416	26	12	33	37
1903-04	76	8,233	40	53	42	4,668	18	19	33	45
1904-05	72	7,909	33	54	45	5,072	17	20	26	45
1905-06	65	8,411	26	33	39	5,456	15	14	22	27
1906-07	61	7,983	27	38	51	5,544	18	18	24	31
1907-08	61	7,086	24	39	41	4,511	30	20	27	30
1908-09	57	6,744	23	37	39	5,100	19	22	22	30
1909-10	62	6,487	26	32	35	3,692	28	21	27	28

1910-11	57	6,594	26	27	34	4,309	23	21	25	24
1911-12	50	6,598	23	26	31	3,618	21	25	22	25
1912-13	50	6,662	25	24	30	2,826	23	28	25	24
1913-14	50	6,075	22	23	32	3,358	21	18	21	21
1914-15	40	5,286	22	21	21	2,462	18	12	21	18
1915-16	31	4,202	22	16	13	1,922	7	3	17	15
1916-17	27	3,834	24	15	13	1,516	17	6	22	13
1917-18	24	3,777	22	14	16	2,499	21	11	21	13
1918-19	28	4,170	24	11	13	1,871	16	8	24	10
1919-20	53	7,315	23	13	24	3,061	16	6	21	11
1920-21	59	8,339	27	17	32	4,561	24	5	27	13
1921-22	55	7,349	24	15	37	4,372	29	3	26	10
1922-23	48	6,692	22	17	22	2,896	24	5	24	12
1923-24	47	5,939	28	17	20	2,555	23	10	26	15

Source: Annual Reports of the Syndicate on the Local Lectures.

- Notes:
- 1 Long courses comprised Terminals of 10-12 meetings. Sessionals were counted as two Long courses.
  - 2 It is noticeable that short courses maintained class work, but not usually written work, almost as well as and sometimes better than did long courses.

Oxford University Extension, 1900-24

TABLE II

Session	Number of Extension Centres	Number of Long Courses	Number of Short Courses	Aggregate average attendance at Lectures	Number of Courses held during daytime
1900-01	128	42	135	17,785	78
1901-02	135	60	130	20,862	68
1902-03	149	50	149	21,485	76
1903-04	139	44	146	22,162	85
1904-05	133	46	120	17,859	80
1905-06	137	35	141	22,595	86
1906-07	138	34	144	22,421	79
1907-08	140	28	157	23,428	81
1908-09	136	33	139	22,305	79
1909-10	144	15	160	19,484	84

1910-11	137	19	137	16,860	76
1911-12	138	17	144	16,521	86
1912-13	125	12	132	13,790	79
1913-14	114	17	115	12,579	72
1914-15	87	17	85 26 s.	15,606	49
1915-16	58	9	72 29 s.	12,518	42
1916-17	54	5	66	7,568	?
1917-18	46	8	50 25 s.	10,979	26
1918-19	50	8	52 21 s.	8,739	30
1919-20	77	18	93 14 s.	12,596	47
1920-21	80	17	104 2 s.	13,232	51
1921-22	82	10	111	12,684	53
1922-23	72	9	93	12,354	47
1923-24	74	12	89	9,488	39

Source: University Extension Delegacy Annual Reports to Convocation.

Notes: 1 s. - Single Lectures, audiences included in the aggregate average attendance at lectures.

2 Details not always given about class work - usually around a third of Lecture audiences.



**London University Extension, 1900-1924**

**TABLE III**

A.

Session	Number of Centres	Number of Sesssionals	Number of Terminals	Number of Short Courses	Number of Terms when entries were counted	Terminal Entries	Class attendances as % of Terminal Entries	% of Class audience doing Papers
1900-01	66	44	59	-	191	13,698	?	?
1901-02	59	46	57	-	195	15,407	?	?
1902-03	58	37	56	-	167	15,204	?	?
1903-04	59	43	48	2	179	14,441	44	26
1904-05	58	40	57	5	182	15,596	42	39
1905-06	60	35	57	4	166	15,128	38	26
1906-07	55	42	40	6	172	13,803	40	20
1907-08	58	42	41	26	193	16,143	36	17
1908-09	62	43	28	38	195	17,784	25	28
1909-10	59	44	26	24	182	16,100	27	30
1910-11	61	39	29	22	129	11,300	40	26
1911-12	60	41	26	18	167	10,491	39	29
1912-13	66	41	26	35	184	11,995	41	27
1913-14	73	41	30	34	187	12,232	42	23

B.

Courses	Short		Terminals		Sessionals	
	Number of Courses	% Attending Class	Number of Courses	Terminal Entries	Number of Courses	Terminal Entries
1908-09	38	17	28	2,514	43	9,203
1909-10	24	20	26	1,951	44	10,039
1910-11	22	50	29	2,151	39	6,646
1911-12	18	50	26	1,799	41	6,907
1912-13	35	75	26	2,076	41	7,545
1913-14	34	68	30	2,474	41	7,235
1914-15	41	51	28	2,004	39	5,000
1915-16	27	46	29	1,786	34	3,479
1916-17	26	57	15	1,421	26	4,097
1917-18	22	61	19	1,023	26	3,060
1918-19	30	42	24	1,609	25	3,054
1919-20	44	19	36	2,762	30	5,583
1920-21	48	43	36	3,329	29	5,599
1921-22	43	50	34	2,932	31	6,059

Source: Annual Reports of the Board to Promote the Extension of

University Teaching.

N.B. Sessional entries were taken over 2 or 3 terms, and 1914 onwards included students attending Tutorial Classes. The last 2 columns are not a true reflection, therefore.

A. University Adult Education  
England and Wales, 1925, 1932, 1937

TABLE IV

University	Extension Courses		Chapter III		Joint Committee	
	1925-6	1932-3	1925-6	1937-8	1925-6	1937-8
Birmingham	10	11	-	11	34	39
Bristol	7	24	-	4	19	35
Cambridge	62	45	-	47	22	33
Durham	20	32	-	-	53	71
Exeter	12	17	-	-	8	4
Hull	-	76	-	4	-	31
Leeds	14	7	-	5	45	83
Leicester	-	27	-	29	-	10
Liverpool	18	4	-	1	50	64
London	135	111	-	2	47	69
Manchester	14	11	-	1	42	86
Nottingham	37	29	39	156	65	81
Oxford	94	49	-	4	33	38
Reading	-	1	-	-	3	2
Sheffield	3	3	-	-	41	90
Southampton	4	21	-	4	5	6
Wales	-	33	-	-	126	140
<b>Totals</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>501</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>593</b>	<b>882</b>

Sources: U.E-M.C.C., C.J.A.C., and Board of Education Annual Reports.

B. Changed pattern of provision resulting from 1938 Regulations

Type of Course	1937-38	1938-39	Increase or Decrease
Tutorial	783	810	+27
University Sessional (WEA)	99	210	+111
University Sessional	-	114	+114
Chapter III - 1 year Terminal	83	89	+6
Short Terminal	157	264	+107
	28	36	+8
Extension - Short Terminal	108	107	-1
Sessional	349	131	-218
	146	31	-115
<b>Total provision in England and Wales</b>	<b>1,753</b>	<b>1,792</b>	<b>+39</b>

Sources: U.E-M.C.C., C.J.A.C., and Board of Education Annual Reports

Note: Both Tables (IVA and B) include grant earning and non-grant earning courses.

**TABLE V**  
**A. Independent University Provision**  
**Extension and Chapter III, England and Wales, 1939-1946**

Type of Course	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46
Short Extension	58	39	122	123	140	204	115
Terminals	64	61	81	96	100	104	159
Sessionals	26	16	16	14	21	26	44
<b>Total Extension</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>318</b>
<b>Chapter III</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>286</b>	<b>276</b>

Sources: U.E-M.C.C. Annual Reports

B. University Adult Education, 1938-39 and 1946-47  
 first and last sessions under the 1938 Regulations

Session	Joint Comm.		Univ. Sess.	Chap. III	Extension		Total	
	Tut.	Sess.			Short	Term. Long		
1938-39	810	210	114	389	107	131	31	1,792
1946-47	740	686	252	282	221	192	90	2,463
Incr. or Decrease	-70	+476	+138	-107	+114	+61	+59	+671

Sources: U.E-M.C.C., U.C.A.E., and C.J.A.C. Annual Reports.

**TABLE VI**

**University Adult Education, England and Wales, 1946-1951;  
as shown by various sources.**

**(a) Ministry of Education Annual Reports; grant-aided courses**

Session	Tutorial Classes	One Year Classes	Short	Informal	Other	Total
1946-47	744	794	725	306	311	2,880
1947-48	824	851	835	530	305	3,345
1948-49	889	905	920	659	426	3,799
1949-50	903	1,033	924	711	373	3,944
1950-51	940	1,092	915	668	403	4,018

(b) U.C.A.E. Annual Reports; University provided courses

Session	Tut- orial Classes	20 week Session- als	Short Session- als	Extension courses			Chapter III	Total
				Short	Terminal	Long		
1946-47	740	686	252	221	192	90	282	2,463
1947-48	789	738	385	347	210	123	-	2,592
1948-49	898	709	455	375	226	222	-	2,885
1949-50	900	816	539	514	399	283	-	3,451
1950-51	935	883	-	705	854	362	-	3,739

Notes: 1 Of the Chapter III classes in 1946-47, 268 were for the WEA.  
 2 In 1950-51 Short sessionals and Extension courses were put together under the general heading 'Others including Lecture Courses'.  
 It would be wrong to assume that these were all Extension courses.

(c) C.J.A.C. Annual Reports; Tutorial and Sessional Classes for the WEA.

Type	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51
Tutorial	743	810	894	893	923
20 week Sessional	654	704	665	744	755

Note: The marked discrepancies between this and the UCAE figures could be a result partly of faulty records, but more likely indicate the increase in independent university provision.



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