

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION.

by

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1. INTRODUCTORY.

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The year 1918 saw a commission of enquiry into Adult Education established under the Ministry of Reconstruction after the war. In the report of this commission it was observed that the most striking fact in the field of education was the widespread and intense demand for higher education among men and women. If we turn back a hundred years and glance at the state of education at the beginning of last century the contrast is a remarkable one. What at once strikes us is the rapid development during the nineteenth century, and we ask ourselves the question, why? What is it that has produced such an all-important yet extraordinarily great change? Before we can answer such a question it will be necessary to survey the work that has been done from the very beginning. There was at the beginning of the nineteenth century no clearly defined and detailed scheme; no general recognition of the value of education; only a handful of enthusiasts with a vague notion that something should be done.

In its early history adult education is inevitably and intricately bound up with elementary and technical education. The two can hardly be separated at first, for the originators of every educational scheme during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were concerned with education in a general sense. That is to say, they were dealing with both sides of education and endeavouring to develop them simultaneously. In those times adult education very largely meant elementary education. To teach the rudiments of science to mechanics it was found necessary to teach them to read and write. To teach the Scriptures to adults it was necessary that they should also be taught to read. Thus the two were so closely connected that they had of necessity to develop together for at least some years. However, it was inevitable too that these branches should sooner or later diverge, and it is found that towards the end of the nineteenth century there were two distinct lines of development, the one leading to the comprehensive scheme of elementary education obtaining at the present day, and the other giving birth to the more

particularly adult side of education which has so rapidly progressed during the past twenty-five years.

It must be pointed out that the demand for education among adults in Britain is not of very recent origin. Its history is peculiarly bound up with social developments. Indeed education is one aspect of social life which, as such, must progress with that life. It is therefore traceable as far back, at least, as the end of the eighteenth century. For, at that time, social conditions were so radically changed and improved that the demand for enlightenment followed as a necessary and inevitable result, and came to be founded on deep-rooted and permanent needs.

On December 31st, 1800, the Royal assent was given to the Act which authorised the taking of the first census. This was significant in that it was an official recognition of the State's duty to know in detail the conditions of her people. This recognition was the first event in a series which vitally affected the status and conditions of life of the masses, and an event which anticipated the general trend of the country towards "State Intervention," that outstanding

mark of the nineteenth century. In 1833 the Manchester Statistical Society was founded, and in 1834 the London Society, with the express purpose of supplementing the official work. But what interests us is that "one of the first things done by the Manchester Society was to appoint a committee to investigate the condition of the child population, especially in relation to its educational opportunities."^{1.} The fact that the State was now concerning itself with the well-being of its citizens did not hinder, for the time being at least, the work of the philanthropic institutions. Indeed private philanthropy was greatly increased, and philanthropic institutions multiplied. But the voluntary principle was not now permitted to work in such isolation. It became more and more subservient to the supervision of the State. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century this had certainly not been so. However, "State Intervention" did not become very apparent during the first twenty or thirty years. The fundamental fact for us is that there

1. B.K.Gray - History of English philanthropy. p.285.

was a gradually awakening interest in these matters which culminated in 1870 with the passing of the Education Act, when the State almost entirely superceded voluntary subscription and the voluntary principle in the education of the people of Britain.

At the close of the eighteenth century the educational achievement of England, having been held back by a false idea of freedom, was practically negligible. "It is true that a rich tradition of classical culture was possessed by the governing class; that two great and slumbering universities handed on the same traditions and trained the clergy of an Erastian church; that three thousand endowed schools with scholars recorded the munificence of the dead and the improvidence of the living,"^{1.} but beyond this there was little enthusiasm in the realm of education. A systematic endeavour to educate the people there certainly was not. What little educational uplift was extended to the masses had been left to a few charity schools, described as "useless or worse than useless." Ignorance and

1. De Montmorency - National education and national life. p. 58.

illiteracy were the order of the day, the rule rather than the exception. True it is that a few seeds were sown in the later years of the eighteenth century. But it is to "the initiative of individual pioneers and the struggles of unlettered men and women for a fuller and more human life,"^{1.} that the nation owes its present efficient state of educational attainment.

If we look, for a moment, to the Continent, we find that by the close of the eighteenth century Continental nations had become familiar with the conception of national, universal, compulsory, gratuitous and State - directed education. Germany, Denmark and France particularly were far ahead of England in this sphere. They came to realise the enormous importance of an educated and enlightened people as early as the seventeenth century. At this time France, for example, was striving for the goal which, though perhaps not very clearly conceived, would raise her as a nation to a level of general intellectual ability and industrial efficiency equalled by few others. The development of a

1. Final Report, Adult Education Committee. 1918. p.10.

national system of Education in Germany was of rather later date, owing to external opposition in the face of which she was compelled to unite into one Empire. Nevertheless by the close of the eighteenth century provision had been made for public education in a number of States, so that, following the crushing blow delivered by Napoleon, a national and compulsory system of education was instituted throughout the States, now welded together under the leadership of Prussia. "In Prussia, as in Germany generally, it is obligatory," wrote Professor George Combe in 1833, "on all parents to send their children to school from the age of seven to fourteen, beginning earlier if they choose; and the duty is enforced by penalties. Each parish is bound to support an elementary school; each considerable town a burgher school for the more advanced studies; each considerable district a gymnasium for classical studies; and each province has its university. . . . The system of instruction is prescribed by authority, and is nearly uniform for the whole monarchy." ^{1.} In Denmark the conception of a national educational system is of very

1. G. Combe - Lectures on Popular Education (1833) p.31.

early date. By the beginning of last century education for all classes was well advanced. Evening classes for adults were already established and school attendance up to fourteen years of age was compulsory. When education in England was still in the embryonic stage, when only a few enthusiasts had realised its importance, Denmark had established the first of her People's High Schools for the education of the peasant and agricultural classes.

It was not till 1870 that England, the greatest of the industrial nations, and leader of the world in almost every branch of human achievement, took the step of establishing compulsory elementary education as a foundation upon which her national system was to be built. The reason for her delay is often ascribed to the natural conservatism of the English character. But howsoever that may be, it should be remembered that England was, during the early years of the nineteenth century, in a state of transition, social transition. The old order was slowly but surely, under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, giving place to an entirely new one. "It was not until the Act of 1867 had settled, once and for all, that our government should assume the

democratic type that sufficient stability in the form of government was acquired to allow a system of education to be imposed on the people." ^{1.}

For the slow development of education in England, however, no very worthy excuse can be made. She had before her an excellent example of the power of education, and the methods of advancing its cause, even in her own island, for an educational system was early developed in Scotland. As early as the sixteenth century leaders of thought in Scotland had a clear conception of a comprehensive, thorough and graded national system of education comprising the work of elementary school, grammar school, college and university. But, although John Knox and his friends did not live to see their scheme carried into effect, yet, it was not long till "the national character of the schools and universities was equally pronounced. It was national in the sense that every rank or grade of society, from the poorest to the richest, for ages shared in common the education which the schools and universities provided." ^{2.}

However, the retarded and hesitating beginning of education

1. F.Ware - Educational foundations of trade and industry. p.11.

2. J.Strong - Secondary education in Scotland.

in England has almost been compensated for by the rapid strides which have been made during the past half century. So that it can be said without exaggeration, that today she possesses the makings of an educational system surpassed by no other nation. One uses the word "makings," because, even at the present time, the coherency of the national system is very defective in some of its fundamental parts. There still remain broken, or at least, faulty links in the chain for which new ones must be forged. One of these is the dangerous gap between the elementary school and further education. Adolescents are at present turned out from their schools at the most critical period of their lives.

"Very early in the century a twofold effort was made to improve the condition of the working classes by providing some kind of teaching for children and adults. These two movements were closely connected, although they developed on different lines. To the one may be ascribed the origin of the present system of elementary education, and to the other may be traced the beginning of our elaborate machinery for evening technical education."^{1.}

1. R.L.Archer - Secondary Education in the 19th century.

These two movements began almost simultaneously, and it is difficult to separate the one from the other. The names of great reformers associated with the one are also closely associated with the other. Men like Jeremy Bentham and Lord Henry Brougham worked in the cause of education drawing no distinguishing line between any one type or branch and another. However, it is with the latter of these two movements that one is here more especially concerned.

The whole face of England was changed by the Industrial Revolution. "Steam - engines and spinning machines, canals and highways, new methods in mining and agriculture heralded an era of marvellous industrial expansion."¹ About this time too the doctrine of the Hedonistic moralists, "the greatest good for the greatest number," the axiom of utility so invariably connected with the name of Bentham, was beginning to be understood. There came as a result a great clamouring for education. Philosophers, reformers and economists alike became gradually interested and later enthusiastic for popular enlightenment. The people themselves awoke gradually to a sense of their own pitiable condition of

1. Hughes and Klemm - Progress of education in the nineteenth century. p.24.

ignorance. But there were still few signs of actual movement. The instruction of the people was still left in the hands of a comparative few, a handful of philanthropists, just as a hundred years before it had been left to the charity schools. The philanthropic motive has been uppermost in all the earlier experiences of the leaders of educational effort of the first half of the nineteenth century. They were fired with an enthusiasm to improve "the well-fare of the neglected, degraded and orphaned poor." The same tendency has also been described by a contemporary, who wrote, "the unexampled efforts now making in every part of the kingdom for the intellectual and physical improvement of the lower classes of the community, distinguish the present, as the age of philanthropy and good-will to all men. The middle classes vie with the rich in promoting the great and good work of education." ^{1.} Private philanthropy even to the present day plays an important part in education. Particularly in the sphere of adult education would a severe blow be struck if the aid of voluntary agencies was

1. J.W.Hudson - History of Adult Education (1851) (Preface.)

rejected. In America philanthropy for educational purposes is a very striking fact. The practice by private persons of founding and maintaining schools for the poor is still continued. Contrasted with this, it is found that in England elementary education is financed almost entirely by the State, while adult education is still largely supported voluntarily. However, latterly there has been a tendency for the State to further extend its aid to this side of education.

The work done by the philanthropists in England has had important and far-reaching results. But they laboured in early years under a false conception of the ends of education, making it individualistic rather than social. The three main tendencies in educational thought as it developed, the psychological, scientific and sociological all had a distinctly individualistic bias. Individualism characterises the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, and it was an individualism not altogether an outcome of early psychology, but "based upon economic, political and social considerations." ^{1.} The guiding idea was that by the diffusion of useful knowledge among the workers the social evils of the time might be

1. P. Monree - A Text-book in the history of education.

mitigated, or, at least, understood. But from about 1850 the rise of a reactionary tendency is quite apparent, a tendency towards the recognition that man reaches his highest power only in the social integration, that "the superior efficiency of man of the advanced races is superior social efficiency,"^{1.} and that this efficiency is to be attained through education. "Education is ever much broader than the school, and education thus becomes a social as well as individual process, one which is carried on by a variety of institutions. Education is the process as well as the means of bettering society; education is ever to perform more for the individual than to give him rudiments of learning; it is to assist him to be something for others."^{2.}

With the expansion of the Empire, the development of commerce and banking the whole aspect of society was changed. The poor during the period 1790 to 1820 perhaps fared worse than at any other time in English history. The rich got richer, but dire poverty rapidly increased for the many. The philanthropists saw it and made valiant efforts to relieve the suffering and ignorant whom

1. B. Kidd - The Science of power. p.76.

2. P. Monroe - Op. cit.

they could reach. But their efforts were necessarily on far too small a scale. However, the results were far-reaching. It was by their work that the authority of the State was finally moved. It is to private voluntary enterprise, from motives of a religious and philanthropic character, that the growth of our national system of public schools owes its origin. The earliest attempt at providing universal instruction, was the "Voluntary System" based on humanistic motives which were characteristic of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth. The efforts of the Sunday School movement headed by Robert Raikes, the Society of Friends, and the Evangelical Party of the Church of England were particularly distinguished at this period.

The year 1699 saw the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which very soon set up great numbers of charity schools which were, it seems, entirely limited to the children between the ages of 7 and 12 years. In 1780 Robert Raikes set up in Gloucester schools on similar lines, but in 1798 "an adult Sunday School, for Bible reading and instruction in the secular arts of writing and arithmetic, was opened at

Nottingham." ^{1.} These schools gradually grew in strength and numbers and soon became quite an important part of English education. But their chief significance lies in the fact that they gave rise to the larger Adult School movement, which, in its turn, was the direct antecedent of the Mechanics' Institutions which later played such an important part in the enlightenment of the working classes. It is interesting to notice in passing that the Adult Schools, although they met with a severe check in 1871, have persisted to this day and still carry on the splendid work begun more than a century ago.

Concerning teaching method, that which claims greatest attention is that introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. Towards the close of the eighteenth century they had established their first schools and founded the Monitorial System of instruction, which for many years remained the principal and the best method of education. Whatever the defects of the Lancastrian method, and they were undoubtedly many and great, it was certainly, as Rev. Sydney Smith wrote in 1806, "better than the nothing which preceded it." ^{2.} However, "misjudged and misconceived"

1. Sir M.E.Sadler - Continuation Schools in England and elsewhere. p.16.

2. Rev. S.Smith - Edinburgh Review (1806) (Trimmer & Lancaster.)

the extent of their work, yet it was unquestionably to Bell and Lancaster that the nation, at that time, owed the conception of some sort of popular education. It is to them that we today largely owe our system of primary education. By their efforts and their devotion to the system which they established they at least aroused valuable criticism, which later gave birth to "two opposing camps in the domain of education, whose dreary contentions down to our own day have made the whole subject redolent of controversy."^{1.} At the very time when Bell and Lancaster were making their enthusiasm felt in the then educational world, and arousing public interest in and comment on educational method, the State was slowly awakening to its responsibilities regarding the young. In 1802 Sir Robert Peel introduced his Bill and aroused parliamentary interest in the well-fare of the more unfortunate boys and girls. The State, having thus once interfered, was in duty bound to go further and to do something more for the uplift and enlightenment of the lower classes. Thus in 1807 Whitbread's Bill for the establishment of parochial schools was brought forward. From that time onward the interference of the State in

1. Sir H. Craik - The State in its relation to education. p.9.

matters educational gradually increased, so that for the next half century at least the history of education becomes a history of the State's gradually growing control.

"In 1832 the sum of £20,000 for public education was placed in the estimates; it was passed by the Committee of Supply; and the first step was taken on that course from which the State has never drawn back."^{1.} Although the State was yet only a contributor through voluntary bodies, we find the annual vote increased in 1839 to £30,000 and a special department created to supervise educational work.

Coincident with the philanthropic movement came Bentham's influence on social and political questions. He was, from the beginning, a power in the educational world, and through his acute criticisms "cleared the ground of much that was obsolete, ineffective and obstructively incompetent."^{2.} Indirectly, through his followers, particularly John Mill and Francis Place, as well as directly, he worked for the cause round whose banner a few were now gathering. He was instrumental in

1. M.E.Sadler - Article in Eyclopedea of Education.

2. Sir H.Craik - Op. Cit. p.14.

forwarding the place to be taken by physical science in education, and in "1827 he devised a detailed plan for competitive examination for Government positions,"^{1.} which led ultimately to open competition for both the Indian and Home Civil Services. The plan which he drew up in his *Chrestomathia* had a strong influence on the work of Lancaster. Indeed the actual curriculum proposed for the higher Lancastrian schools was largely borrowed from it. Bentham became very keenly interested in the possibilities of the Monitorial system. It had been used very successfully in the teaching of languages by Dr Russell of Charterhouse School and James Gray of the High School Edinburgh. Bentham considered its use in the teaching of other subjects, and opened in his garden a Day School for children of the middle and higher classes, with the specific intention of putting this new method to the test. But the greatest difficulty had yet to be faced. It was necessary to have a clearer statement of the principles of the method and a more thorough knowledge of the best means of applying them. Bentham therefore applied himself to this

1. Sadler - Op. cit.

great need and the outcome was Chrestomathia in which appeared a very thorough discussion of the application of Lancastrian principles to the teaching of the Arts and Sciences, those branches of instruction which he termed "useful and not ornamental." Bentham did not deny the usefulness of the classics in particular cases, but he was so essentially a utilitarian that he had of necessity to champion the cause of that type of education which would be of use to the practical man of affairs. Therefore he writes, "for the purpose of any one of the learned professions, Law, Physic, or Divinity, no doubt but that an acquaintance with the dead languages, meaning the two classical ones of Latin and Greek, may well be considered a matter of necessity, much more of simple use. But for any youth destined to the exercise of any one of those elevated professions, this system of education is not designed; and in the instance of any person so destined, should the parents condescend to give acceptance to the sort of instruction here proffered, what remains of the quantity of time at present allotted to a course of preparation for these professions, will afford ample room for additional instruction in

those relatively necessary shapes. . . . The classical scholar may be better qualified for decorating his speech with rhetorical flowers; but the Chrestowathic scholar, after a familiar and thorough acquaintance has been contracted with things, with things of all sorts, will be, in a much more useful and efficient way, qualified for the general course of parliamentary business."^{1.}

Coupled with the name of Bentham is that of his friend and ally James Mill who, in later life, wrote a great deal on educational topics for magazines, and took an active part in the founding^{of} University College, London. James Mill like Bentham based his conclusions on the prevalent theory of the time, the psychology of the Associationists. On this associationist psychology he worked out a system of education running through what he called Domestic education, Technical education, Social and Political education wherein it would be the chief aim of the educator to establish certain trains of ideas, which are conducive to the happiness of the individual, rather than trains which would tend to

1. Jeremy Bentham - Chrestomathia (1816)

produce the reverse. "The character of the human mind," he wrote, "consists in the sequences of its ideas; (that) the object of education, therefore, is to provide for the constant production of certain sequences, rather than others; (that) we cannot be sure of adopting the best means to that end, unless we have the greatest knowledge of the sequences themselves."^{1.} Thus in his writings, James Mill did much to promote interest and sincerity in education. He was a strong advocate of progress and experimentation in education, and a staunch supporter of anything pertaining to the enlightenment of the working classes. "That he is a progressive being, is the grand distinction of Man. He is the only progressive being upon the globe. When he is the most rapidly progressive, then he most completely fulfils his destiny. An institution for education which is hostile to progression is, therefore the most preposterous, and vicious thing, which the mind of man can conceive."^{2.}

1. James Mill - Collected essays (1823) p.12.

2. Ibid. p.42.

But one of James Mill's greatest contributions to education was made in the training of his son John Mill who was to become a keen follower of Bentham's contention that scientific studies should not give place to the classics. In his inaugural address as Lord Rector of St Andrew's University, Mill very clearly pointed out that the dispute then raging between Science and Classics was very like a dispute "To use a more homely illustration, whether a tailor should make coats or trousers." And he goes on to show that there is no reason why he should not make both. "Can anything," he urges, "deserve the name of a good education which does not include literature and science too?"^{1.} He does not go quite so far in his argument for the Sciences as some others have gone, although he deplores "the laborious idleness in which the school - time is wasted away in English classical schools. To what purpose should the most precious years of early life be irreparably squandered in learning to write bad Latin and Greek verses?"^{2.} Mill also pointed out that Scotland was

1. J.S.Mill - Inaugural address at St Andrews (1867) p.12.

2. Ibid. p.39.

fortunate in having already deviated from the old track and struck out through new fields in establishing scientific studies in her schools and universities. Thirty years before Mill wrote, Professor George Combe, in a public lecture, declared, "What I contend for is, that common sense should be employed to direct the studies in the primary schools as well as in the universities, and that, in addition to languages, the elements of useful knowledge should be there taught." ^{1.} Six months later the governors of George Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh sanctioned the teaching in their school of Natural History and Mechanical Philosophy.

Another great supporter of the same contention, and an influential figure in the world of education at this period was the Rev. Sydney Smith, the first editor of the Edinburgh Review. He too joined with that little band who wished to promote the teaching of science to a place on a level with that of the classics. But he too was restricted in his outlook by the prevailing idea that the true value of education was a use value. "There are two questions," he wrote, "which grow out of

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1. G.Combe - Op. cit. p.20.

this subject: 1st. How far is any sort of classical education useful? 2nd. How far is that particular classical education, adopted in this country useful?"^{1.} These were the men who in the early nineteenth century led, with others of the same mind, that crusade against a contorted classical education which gave rise to the extension of scientific and technical instruction that played so important a part in national education a little later.

In a totally different way, yet none the less effective for that, Sir Robert Peel contributed to the advancement of education at this period. He was chiefly concerned with the opportunity rather than the matter or method of education. He was aggrieved at the deplorable lot of apprentices, and strove with heart and soul to improve their condition. By his Act of 1802, "An Act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills, and cotton and other factories," the hours of apprenticeship were shortened; night work was

1. Rev. Sydney Smith - Edinburgh Review (1809.)

abolished; the instruction of children employed in factories became obligatory; and inspectors were appointed to see that the law was kept. But Peel also took a more direct interest in the poor of London, whence he imported deserted children to the country district in which he lived, educated them and enabled them to earn their living.

But perhaps the greatest name of all in this connection is that of Lord Henry Brougham whose untiring efforts and keen enthusiasm soon created for him a reputation as a leader of those who were styled "education - mad." As Peel had initiated the idea of compulsory education, so Brougham roused Parliamentary interest by securing in 1816 a "Select Committee of the House of Commons" to enquire into the "education of the lower orders." Although the immediate results of the inquiry were not as inspiring as was expected, and, although Brougham's Bills of 1820 were defeated, yet the lamentable state of public education in England was made clear. Brougham's suggestions for finance, extension of elementary education and training of teachers^{1.} although long delayed, have all been

1. After Breugham's resolution in Parliament affirming that

eventually adopted. He understood the immense importance of the action of the State in any extensive development of popular education, yet appreciated and emphasised the vital necessity of cooperation with the existing voluntary philanthropic bodies. He was ever fearful that State interference would discourage the wide practice of contributing voluntarily to education. It was for this reason that Lord Brougham opposed the suggestion to plant schools in every parish in England, after the manner of the Scottish Parish Schools. He pointed out very clearly that the cases were widely dissimilar. "Let the tax-gatherer, or the country-assessor, or the parish collector," he said, "but once go his rounds for a school - rate, and I will answer for it, that the voluntary assistance of men in themselves benevolent, and,

it was the State's duty to provide training of teachers, a committee of Privy Council was formed in 1839. Its first secretary was Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth to whose efforts we owe the beginnings of the movement for the training of teachers. After studying the systems at work on the Continent he was filled with enthusiasm and urged on the Government to establish Normal Colleges. He and his friend Mr Carleton Tufnell started a college at their own cost, but met with great opposition from the churches. Later however the Committee of Council took up the work, arranged for lectures in Exeter Hall and published text-books on school subjects.

indeed, munificent, instead of increasing, will soon vanish away; that the 1,144,000 now educated at unendowed schools will speedily fall down to almost nothing; and that the adoption of such a fatal and heedless course will sweep away those establishments which, at present, reflect so much honour on the community, which do so much good, and are calculated, with judicious management, to do so much more." ^{1.} Brougham's great enthusiasm for education gained him many enemies, and he was often accused unjustly of many things with which he had no connection. In 1835 he made his great appeal to parliament opposing any measure for the establishment of Parish schools, but, at the same time, urging State help to the educational institutions in existence. He showed clearly the great demand for education among the poor, and demonstrated the sacrifices that they often made in their endeavour to obtain it. "And," he went on to say, "surely this leads to the irresistible conclusion that, where we have such a number of schools and such means of Education furnished by the parents

1. Lord Brougham's speech to House of Lords. (1835) p.8.

themselves from their own earnings, and by the contributions of well-disposed individuals in aid of those whose earnings are insufficient, it behoves us to take the greatest care how we interfere with a system which prospers so well of itself;"^{1.} He urged, as strongly as he was able, the necessity for more schools, pointing out that only one fifteenth of the child population was given any education at all. Schools were too few, their instruction too scanty and imperfect and "only open to children too far advanced in years."

But Brougham's fiery zeal and over-energetic, sometimes almost intolerant, manner and methods raised a storm of opposition both from his own party and from his foes. His schemes were at length defeated, and, we find him in 1839 writing to his friend and ally, the Duke of Bedford, in this strain. "A controversy of thirty years, with all the reason and almost all the skill, and, until lately, all the zeal on our side, has ended in an over throw somewhat more complete than we should in all probability have sustained at the commencement of our

1. Ibid. p.8.

long and well-fought campaign."

One of Brougham's most powerful and influential critics at this time was Cardinal Henry Newman, who also severely criticised the actions of Sir Robert Peel. Newman was himself a great educationalist, although he maintained a position in substantial disagreement with that of Peel and Brougham and their supporters. He takes Peel severely to task for his apparent view that "human nature , if left to itself becomes sensual and degraded," and, while not opposed to secular learning as a good in itself, yet stood firm in the view that the whole scheme of education would be wasted without a religious and ethical training as well. Useful knowledge if spread among the people would, it was held, at least, help to mitigate vice and crime. Newman, however, saw further than that. He wrote in 1841, "you do not get rid of vice by human expedients; you can but use them according to circumstances, and in their place, as making the best of a bad matter. You must go to a higher source of renovation of the heart and of the will. You do but play a sort of 'hunt the slipper' with the fault of our nature, till you go to Christianity....."

Christianity and nothing short of it must be made the element and principle of all education." ^{1.}

It is interesting as well as important to note here the part played by the church in all educational effort, and how reluctant she was to give up to the State what she had for centuries past considered her sole right. During the first half of the nineteenth century the distinctly elementary side of educational practice developed through an endless rivalry between, first the Established Church and the Non-Conformists, and later, when parliament began to assume the administration of education, between the Church and the State. This continual controversy, and sometimes, even fierce and bitter opposition went on for more than forty years, hampering in no small way the natural course of events in the development of an educational system. However, the State advanced in its course of action and in 1843 took its third step considerably widening its control and bringing about some sort of unity, but without changing

1. Card. Newman - Letters and Addresses (Article on Tamworth Reading room.)

its attitude towards religious disputes.

Lord Brougham's zeal, when so greatly crushed, found a more practical and convenient outlet in the movement for adult education, which later led to the establishment of the Mechanics' Institutions, the seeds of which had been planted by Dr John Anderson and Dr George Birkbeck. A few years before the close of the eighteenth century John Anderson, then Professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University, perceived the value to mechanics of a knowledge of the principles of his subject. This led him to give lectures in Glasgow for those who were unable to take advantage of the academic course. These lectures he continued till his death, when he left "his property to the public for the purpose of establishing classes in useful subjects." This was the beginning of Anderson's University in Glasgow. On the death of Dr John Anderson, Dr George Birkbeck was appointed to the chair of Natural Philosophy. Soon after his arrival at Glasgow he found it necessary to have apparatus made, and, in looking for a place where he could best be suited, came into touch with artisans and workers whom he found so eager for knowledge that he

resolved to carry on the work begun by Anderson. Thus he came to institute regular courses of lectures "solely for persons engaged in the practical exercise of the mechanical arts." His lectures became very popular and attendance increased rapidly, until in 1804 Birkbeck removed to London. But his experience in Glasgow had taught him a lesson, so that when he reached London he again instituted his courses of lectures, and there with Lord Brougham established the Mechanics' Institution, since called the Birkbeck College. Birkbeck's lectures formed the foundation of numerous institutions of a similar character, for the dissemination of useful knowledge, later established in many parts of the country.

It will be seen that the reformers and leaders of education, both elementary and adult, of that period all seemed to miss the higher ideal of education as it is conceived today. The spirit of their efforts was expressed in the words "diffusion of useful knowledge." But useful knowledge could never of itself eradicate the social evils of the time, as they supposed. Something more was required, and that something was again and again

pointed to by such men as Dr Arnold and Cardinal Newman, all to little avail. "The mere diffusion of information on which they relied so implicitly leads nowhere."^{1.} Education has a wider meaning, and it is in the wider sense that we now use it. It is more than mere instruction. Education is, or should be synonymous with development, all-round development. "Let us think of adult education as including the whole being, whether it increases the money - earning powers or not."^{2.} We are no longer concerned with the spread of useful knowledge so much as the training for citizenship, and the forming of character. "If indeed in our use of the term education we include an advance in human character, not only in intelligence but in elevation of disposition and will, then we might readily subscribe to the creed of the nineteenth century."^{3.}

Even in business efficiency, which became a more

1. Prof. J.J. Findlay - The children of England. p.120.
2. Dr.S. Cranage - Cambridge essays on adult education p.17.
3. Prof. J.J. Findlay - Op. cit. p.119.

urgent demand after the Industrial Revolution, there are other factors involved than the mere knowledge of practical subjects. This fact is apparently becoming clearer to those in high positions. A recent address delivered by the manager of one of Liverpool's leading retail houses was a strong appeal to the schools, to parents and to universities, and to business houses too, to allow more scope for the better education of men and women engaged in business. Business, he urged, was being recruited from poor quality material, and it was for businesses to arrange for the proper education of their staffs. This would include cultural education, a training in business method, and an expert knowledge of some specific branch of merchandise.^{1.} But beyond all this lies the fact that education can never be separated from social conditions. The enthusiasts of the past century were apt to overlook social progress as conditioned by and conditioning education. Even Brougham had not correctly estimated the class distinctions in England, and he exaggerated the

1. Address to British Association by R.J. Mc Alpine. (1923)

educational value of courses of lectures without systematic class instruction. The country was not ready at the moment for the great changes which he sought to bring about.

However, the efforts of the philanthropists and educational reformers of their period were far from fruitless. By 1833 the prospects of advance and improvement in the theory and practice of education looked brighter than ever before. Lancaster had left practical methods and a practical plan for general education. Place had done much for improvement in organisation and "Brougham had focussed public attention upon the great field of ignorance in the metropolis." Moreover, all through this period of struggle the actual conditions of the people were becoming better understood by those who were concerned with both parliamentary and educational reform. Again parliament itself was beginning to evince a more definite attitude towards the question of education.

II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTIONS.

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"No reform and extension of our national system of education can be satisfactory which does not include the higher education of adult citizens."^{1.} It has been seen that from the earliest times adult education was ever a problem before educationalists. While progressing slowly along with the elementary, the adult schools of England developed in two distinct groups, the one springing from the Evangelical movement, and the other from political and industrial democracy, the growth of which was stimulated by the French Revolution.

The scheme of work which had been commenced by Birkbeck in Glasgow was carried on by his pupils who formed themselves into a society. In 1821 Edinburgh followed their lead and established the Edinburgh School of Arts for the purpose of affording instruction to the labouring classes. In 1823 the Glasgow men founded the Mechanics' Institution for "the instruction

1. Whitehouse - A national system of Education. p.66.

of artisans in the scientific principles of arts and manufactures," or in other words, "the diffusion of useful knowledge among mechanics." This with the Mechanics' Institution established in London by Birkbeck was the beginning of the system of Mechanics' Institutions which very soon sprang up throughout the more populous parts of the country. In the same year too the Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library was established at Liverpool.

Although the Glasgow institution seems to have been the first to adopt the name of "Mechanics' Institution," yet J.W.Hudson, the historian of adult education in the nineteenth century, credits Birmingham with actually establishing the first institution of that character. We are told that the most remote link in the chain of societies established for the dissemination of a knowledge of the arts and sciences among the labouring people, was the "Sunday Society," formed by the teachers in the Sunday Schools at Birmingham, in the year 1789, having for its object the instruction of young men in writing and arithmetic, after they ceased to attend the Sunday Schools. At a

1. J.W.Hudson - History of Adult Education (1851)

later date, a branch class in useful knowledge was started, where the students helped each other to study Mechanics, Electricity, Astronomy, and delivered lectures to the working classes. This Birmingham Brotherly Society, as it was known, begun in 1796, Hudson says, can legitimately claim to be the first institution established upon the lines of the later Mechanics'. "The varied instruction it has afforded by lectures, classes, and finally by the library justly entitle it to be ranked as the earliest Mechanics' Institution or Society in Great Britain."^{1.}

The first institution of this kind to be found in Scotland was the Edinburgh School of Arts founded in 1821. Two years later the Glasgow Mechanics' was established under Birkbeck and enjoyed a comparatively long period of prosperity. In the next few years like institutions were established at Manchester, Liverpool, London and other important industrial centres. But, although these institutions had been "productive of such great and permanent good among the working classes,"

1. Ibid. p.31.

their prosperity was short-lived except in a few cases. The Liverpool and Manchester Institutions are among those which did very valuable work, and outlived many of the difficulties before which weaker institutions succumbed. The success of the Liverpool Institution was very largely due to the efforts of its early secretary W.B.Hodgson, who was appointed to the post in 1839. Hodgson was born in Edinburgh and was educated at the High School and University of that city. He was only 23 years of age when he became secretary to the Liverpool Institution, but showed remarkable organising ability and was soon to be distinguished as one of those keen enthusiasts for education whom Scotland produced in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1853 he was back in Edinburgh lecturing at the University in popular physiology, but five years later went to London where he was examiner in Political Economy at London University. In 1870 he was elected as the first occupant of the new chair of Political Economy in Edinburgh. Until his death in 1880 he remained a leader in Educational reform and a promoter of economic study.

It has been said that the life of Mechanics' Institutions generally was of short duration. Attendances, particularly of mechanics began to fall off, and so serious was the decline that in 1851 no less than "73 Institutions had been compelled to suspend all but their Discussion and Language classes, and in twenty others the Music classes had been abandoned." The reasons for this rapid decline were not far to seek. In the first place, the Athenaeums were beginning to be frequented by principals of firms, professional men, wholesale shopkeepers and the like, so that clerks, and others who would not go where "the governor" was present had to turn to the Mechanics' Institutions. The Athenaeums had come into existence at about the same time as the Mechanics', but were of a rather different character. They were established with the distinctly two-fold purpose of providing social and educational opportunities to young men "engaged in commercial pursuits," while the Mechanics' Institutions, on the other hand, had their foundation almost solely in the desire for enlightenment among the artisan classes. The Glasgow Athenaeum, for example, began life as the

Glasgow and West of Scotland Commercial College, and from that time right to the present day provided instruction in commercial subjects to young men and women. Thus it was that young men who should have been attending these commercial schools now flocked to the Mechanics' Institutions where they, in their turn, gradually ousted the artisan classes and changed the nature of their schools. "The warehouseman, the packer, the carter and the mill-hand shun the society of the foreman, and they in their turn quit the Institution which was established expressly for them."^{1.}

In the second place, the Mechanics' Institutions were directly and strenuously opposed by, with few exceptions, the clergy of the Established Church of England. However, when it was seen how really formidable and enduring the Mechanics' promised to be, the clergy adopted the plan of themselves gathering the young men of their congregations around them in the Church of England Institutions. In face of this opposition; the changed and decreased attendance; and the everlasting want of

1. J.W.Hudson - Op.cit.p.7.

competent teachers, the Mechanics' Institutions altered their programme to regain popularity, and therein met their doom. They quickly lost their old prestige and became cheap places of entertainment. As Hudson has it, "The Mechanics' Institutions which have changed their objects in straining for popularity, by concerts, and ventriloquial entertainments, are involving themselves in debt, or they are rushing into the other extreme of becoming mere day-schools for boys, instead of intellectual seminaries for men."^{1.}

But the value of the Mechanics' Institutions is not to be measured by the duration of their prosperity, nor even by what they actually - that is to say, visibly - accomplished in that period. The point one wishes to make is that despite the fading away of the majority of these institutions, their value as a stage in the progress of adult education was not small. They demonstrated to the working-classes their especial need for education, and sowed the seeds of that enthusiasm which later responded to the appeals of University Extension,

1. Ibid - perface.

and now characterises the Workers' Educational Association. They clearly showed that children and parents should not be mixed in the same classes, and that methods used in the teaching of children are not applicable to the teaching of adults - in a word, that adult and elementary education are two widely separated and very different things. Perhaps most important of all, they strengthened the belief in self-government in adult education. "Mechanics' and other adult educational societies are constituted on self-governing principles and they recognise as a general rule, no other authority than their own selected administration."^{1.}

Apart from the direct and unforeseen opposition which these institutions encountered, they were for years hampered by the defective state of elementary education. Working men, whose opportunities during early years had been very few, began to drop out, and their places to be taken by the more fortunate tradesman class. This continual dropping out of working men and coming in of clerks and shop-assistants

1. J.W.Hudson - Op. cit. preface.

went on during those years when the Mechanics' actually showed a growing strength. But after 1848 the decline was equally as rapid as the increase had been a few years earlier, and a great number of the original institutions disappeared. "By 1850 the membership had largely ceased to be composed of working-men, who were replaced by clerks and apprentices. At the same time the educational side was subordinated to the recreational, and definite courses of instruction gave way to occasional popular lectures."^{1.} Quite a number of the institutions died out as soon as the original following withdrew, but a few remained as billiard saloons, while others transferred their premises and appointments to the local authorities. A few survived as the home for Government Evening Schools. The Manchester Institution developed into a School of Technology, while the London Institution amalgamated with the City Polytechnic. Of those which remain to the present time, the Birmingham and

1. Archer - Secondary Education in the 19th century. p.103.

Midland Institution established in 1853 is one of the most powerful in the world of adult education. Its chief virtue and perhaps some of its strength lies in the fact that its founders took a wider view of education and provided a liberal, cultural education, as well as the technical, "bread-and-butter" instruction of the ordinary Mechanics' Institutions, and, in this way, "formed an important link between the Mechanics' Institutions and the newer University Colleges and the London Polytechnics started by Quintin Hogg."^{1.}

Whatever the destiny of the Mechanics' Institutions, and whatever the ultimate value of their work, this much at least cannot be denied. A great stimulus had been given to the growing tendency towards scientific instruction to all classes of the community, which sprang from the "quickenened popular interest in scientific subjects" since the writings of Priestley and the discoveries of Franklin. Even "in 1839 a committee appointed to enquire into the best method of encouraging the fine arts had recommended the

1. Sadler - Continuation schools etc.

establishment of a Normal School of Design. Science had come in as an ally of the arts and crafts; and the Science and Art Department, South Kensington resulted."¹ But after the Great Exhibition the comparatively poor nature of British handicrafts became so evident that something, it was felt, had to be done. Parliament, therefore, encouraged this scientific movement by offering grants. Thus by 1861 there were 70 science schools with 2543 pupils, and in the following decade much more was accomplished. Science had been included in the curriculum of the Universities; science schools had been established in a number of the larger towns; classes for the "diffusion of scientific knowledge among artisans" had been instituted; and the South Kensington grants had been secured. But, although so much had apparently been achieved, yet the inspiration of the whole movement was still the time honoured "diffusion of useful knowledge." The tendency was still to a technical, vocational training rather than towards the liberal, cultural education which has come

1. Archer - Op. cit. p.137.

to be the ideal of today. It is true that a new form of intellectual knowledge was offered, and presented to the workers and to lower middle class parents in a way in which it seemed to be of practical 'use.' But that is all. It was strictly utilitarian. It was to be knowledge for a purpose, knowledge simply as a means to an end, not knowledge as an end in itself.

Dr Arnold of Rugby as early as 1838 had pointed out that "physical science alone can never make a man educated; even the formal sciences (grammar, logic, arithmetic, geometry) invaluable as they are with respect to the discipline of the reasoning powers, cannot instruct the judgment; it is only moral and religious knowledge which can accomplish this." Although one must agree that this is undoubtedly true, yet one does not pit the "humane" studies against the scientific. "Science indeed must have its place, but there ought to be a great and growing place for the literature and history of our own land, for art and for religion."¹ The both must go hand in hand. Technical and vocational training and the higher cultural education must be

1. Address by Archbishop of York to British Institute of adult education.

supplementary to one another if the best is to be attained.^{1.} With the scientific movement technical training received an added impetus which bade fair to overshadow all other adult training. It was strengthened by the economic and industrial tendencies of the times. Everywhere the need for specialisation and further specialisation was being satisfied, until technical instruction became the great necessity. And ever since, right down to our own day, vocational training has assumed a more and more important place in the life of the community, a far too important place relatively with that of the humane studies. Indeed it is becoming

1. It is not intended here to defend either vocational training or cultural education, but rather to show that the greatest value is to be obtained from each when there is a proper intermingling of the two. One is in entire accordance with Prof. J.J. Findlay of Manchester when he says "The more a single study is treated in isolation from a larger scheme of education, the less value can it possess either for leisure or for vocation; the more closely it is interwoven with other experience and viewed in the light of larger issues, the more does its pursuit become worth while." And again he points out that "there is no room for the older type of technical school which sacrificed liberal aims without coming into vital contact with the world's business; which pursued the older traditions of scholastic method, with a re-shuffling of the subjects of the time-table." (J.J. Findlay - The School.)

a positive menace until the British worker stands in danger of being transformed into a mere machine, whose intelligence, whose very life tends to lose its self-expression. This is a fact, which, it seems, must be recognised, in spite of the admirable efforts being made on an ever growing scale by such organisations as the Workers' Educational Association and the Adult School Union.

Let us turn for a moment to modern Germany, in particular the Germany of pre-war days. There similar conditions were to be found. There, if anywhere, mechanical conditions of life prevailed, and it has been our lot to feel the disastrous effects of such conditions. The industrial worker in Germany was, and to a great extent still is, a mere machine, or worse still, a cog in a wheel that is part of a vast machine of which he knew nothing. "Life for him has lost its lustre, because he cannot associate his work with life at all. His life consists either of mechanical work, so mechanical that it may be just executing one movement for eight hours a day, or he seeks to forget both his work and life in some of the empty recreations of modern

civilization."^{1.}

If the Great War has taught us anything, it has taught us the effect of a German system, a militarist system which trained the individual but did not educate him. We have been taught too :that we have an enormous superfluous energy, as a community, if only we choose, as a community, to use it, and not to waste it privately in the production of trash."^{2.} We were not too poor during the war to expend the labour and time of millions of men and women, to say nothing of money, for the purposes of war. During the war we denied ourselves in the hope of victory. If we are to realise the larger hope of peace, of a society always waxing in riches, in happiness, in life, we must again deny ourselves for the purposes of peace. And among the chief of those purposes is education, child education and adult education alike.

1. Bulletin XVII - World Association for Adult Education. p.14.

2. Clutton Brock - Article in W.E.A. Year-book 1918. p.37.



Adult education means then more than mere vocational training. It aims at the development of the whole man. It is concerned with life, with bringing to the light of day that expression of a high moral and intellectual life that is so vital to society. And "society, after all, does not mean merely the arena in which individuals are free to develop themselves. It ought to mean a community which makes the best of its common life, drawing out the best in its members and giving them the best that has been treasured in the records of human thought, achievement and experience. The fulfilment of this ideal depends on education.¹" That is to say it depends on education as distinct from instruction, the drawing out of the best in an individual as against the mere putting in of knowledge. As Mr Edward Wood, M.P., has said "Education can teach us nothing more important than that on leaving the school or the university and entering the large school of public life we are only beginning the life - long task of education ourselves." Educationalists and politicians must not lose sight of the

1. Archbishop of York - Op. cit.

aims of education, which is properly a life long process beginning at birth and ending at death. As far as academical education goes it must not be an end in itself. It must remain a means to an end, a training towards a greater achievement, the end being the engendering in the individual a love for higher education and a recognition of a higher life to which it belongs. Looked at in this light the aim of academical elementary and secondary education should be adult education. The elementary school, or the secondary or Technical school should never be the culminating point of education. They, and the university too, should be the means to the higher end. It is then that they become a more definite step towards, and assume a more distinct place in a national system of education. If education be regarded from this standpoint the gaps in our national system will be more easily discovered, and perhaps a method of bridging those gaps more easily devised. "The system of education ought to be a long and concentrated effort through the elementary school to awaken, through the secondary school to develop, and through the university

to satisfy these higher interests."^{1.}

For the past hundred years elementary education has primarily engaged the thought and efforts of reformers and educationists, and that quite rightly. Elementary education must form the foundation of all higher work. Adult education was attempted and found almost impracticable as a result of the lack, or at least, the defective state of elementary education. In fact adult education was for long, as has already been pointed out, synonymous with elementary education. The country was not in a fit state to receive anything but elementary schooling. Thus first attention was concentrated on the first necessity elementary instruction, which slowly progressed ever since and culminated in the Education Act of 1870 when attendance of children was made compulsory, better teaching was ensured, and uniformity of curriculum was insisted upon. But the Act of 1870 and the succeeding Acts have done their work. After three generations of their operation elementary education, extended to the whole population, has reached a high

1. Archbishop of York - Op. cit.

standard of proficiency, although there yet remains plenty of room for improvement. The foundations of a national system have been laid, and the efforts of the leaders of education have again been turned to the problem of further or adult education. While recognising the importance of technical and vocational training, they have in the past twenty years come to devote more and more attention and energy to non-vocational work. "This civic education should be the first care of the community, the first claim upon its resources." It is a civic duty, a duty which the state should do its utmost to carry out - indeed, cannot afford to neglect. We are proud of our democracy. Surely the first duty of a democracy is to extend to its members every facility to a better life and service within the community. Indeed as Mr Wood, the President of the Board of Education, pointed out in a recent speech, "it was no safe thing in our political system to rely on a democracy that was not afforded every possible opportunity of reaching the wisest conclusion that could only come to an educated mind. An uneducated democracy was too great a risk for a sane nation to take."^z.

In this light, perhaps the most inspiring and praiseworthy efforts have been those of the W.E.A. whose aim it has been to bring together the working-classes and the Universities, whose great educational function in the community, founders of the W.E.A recognised to be the inspiring of adult citizens to remain scholars as long as their lives last. But still the problem remains: by what means are the largest possible numbers of adults to become and to remain educated men and women? The Mechanics' Institutions and the Athenæums, through no fault of their own, failed to accomplish what they strove for. Let us turn to subsequent endeavours and see what success has been achieved.

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III.

THE CONTINUATION SCHOOL SYSTEM.

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What Sir Michael Sadler wrote in 1907 unfortunately remains true to the present day, although it cannot be denied that there are today increasingly numerous and encouraging signs of improvement, and advance on what existed nearly twenty years ago. He wrote in that year, "It is at the very point at which continuation school work is really continuative of what the elementary day school has begun that (with some brilliant and fortunately increasing exceptions) our efforts, like those of the French have as yet comparatively failed. In both countries success has been greater in the case of older students." That is to say, attention has been given with most of success to elementary school work, and to adult education, thus leaving a regrettable gap in the education of the people between the time they leave the elementary school (the age of 14 years) and such time

as they, of their own free will, take up further study under the aegis of such organisations as the Workers' Educational Association, the Adult School Union, or the Labour College. And such young people seldom, if ever, take advantage of these opportunities before the age of 18 years. Therefore, there is a great and deplorable loss of time and opportunity at the most important period in the life of the individual. There is not sufficient inducement or opportunity offered at this most impressionable stage in the life of a man or woman. It is at the very age when the young are turned from the guidance, care and discipline of the schools that they most require that care and restriction which alone can instil higher ideals and a truer sense of citizenship. But, as has been said, there are distinct signs that more interest is being taken in, and more consideration being given to this vitally necessary part of the community's life. Such organisations as after-care committees, lads' clubs and the like, which, in the last resort, can be no more than "stop-gaps," and do not in any way provide against "blind-alley" occupations,

must eventually find their way to the scrap-heap. But it cannot be denied that the work of these organisations, regrettably few in number as they are, is highly praise - worthy. For instance, in 1922 in London one out of every three children who left the elementary schools at the age of fourteen took advantage of the opportunities offered to them for further education by the institutions under the control of the London County Council. It is a significant fact that a great many adults avail themselves of these opportunities too. The institutions which undertake such training are by no means purely vocational. Indeed the tendency is to emphasise the importance of such subjects of study as literature, appreciation of art, architecture, music, philosophy, psychology and science. And it is interesting to notice that some recent investigations have been carried out by the educational authorities on the opportunities for young men and women for obtaining employment. It has been found that those equipped with the humanities, such as would enable them to pass examinations on a level with the Matriculation, are obtaining work more easily

than those who have spent some time in specialising in their own particular vocation. No young man or woman can afford to ignore these opportunities for further study. Competition is so keen and employers are at last taking so much interest in the arrangement of these special facilities, that those who neglect their chances are likely to find themselves out of the running in the race for advancement. But quite apart from any vocational progress, there are reasons for one's advocacy of a liberal education.. The words of Sir Michael Sadler might again be used. "A liberal education is the best investment in the world." Knowledge, he said, was a necessary part of it, but what a man knew was less important than his attitude of mind. A liberal education was based on studies, but in an atmosphere rather than a curriculum. It was an education through discipline for liberty. It opened windows in the mind. . . . It taught us by what toil and patience we could alone make our way along the road to truth. The highest purpose was to give us insight into reality, and to give us the power of distinguishing between what was true and half true or false. Central in it was the element of

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character.

A very important event in this connection is the passing in April 1923 of the Unemployment Insurance Act. Its influence on education is naturally rather indirect, yet it is none the less effective for that. The dual system of finding employment for juveniles which held sway under the choice of Employment Act of 1910 has been abolished, so that at present the work is entirely carried out by one body. "The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1923, empowers local education authorities to undertake all this work. If advantage is taken of this it will be an important forward movement towards progress in the educational world."^{2.} The local education authority will form an effective, though undoubtedly insufficient link between the education of children in the elementary schools and the education of adults which has also come under its care, by concerning itself with the employment and welfare of juveniles until they reach the age of eighteen years. In this way too the educational and

1. Sir M.Sadler - Address to Teachers' Conference. Jan.1924.

2. "Times supplement" - September 1923.

industrial worlds will be brought into closer contact with advantages which will be reciprocal. But the good work should not stop there. If it did, the value of the step would be considerably decreased. On the other hand, organisation of this nature should, if properly carried out give a great stimulus towards adult education. Under this scheme, children will be in close touch with education and under its influence at least until they are able to more fully appreciate the value of it. The rest will depend upon themselves. They will be led on from the elementary schools to further studies, not only vocational but also cultural, co-ordinating their industrial, educational and recreational life, for it is the aim of this work to look after leisure hours also.

It is only during the past thirty years that there has been in England any real attempt to develop a system of secondary or continuation schools. Before 1890 continuation school work was isolated, inefficient and surrounded by confusion and chaos. In 1870 when an efficient national system of elementary education was established by Act of Parliament, one great difficulty was swept from the path of continuation work. The

evening schools which had begun as purely primary schools in the last year of the nineteenth century, developed into pseudo-secondary schools during the next century, yet secondary education as such, and distinct from Technical instruction, received little recognition till the closing decade of that century, with the passing of the Technical Instruction and Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Acts.^{1.} It is true that these so-called secondary schools received grants. But they were still only supplementary to the elementary schools, rather than secondary in the present day meaning of the term. In fact they were simply the day schools thrown open at night for the convenience of those who were unable to attend during the day. Indeed the Revised Code of 1862 definitely stated that the evening school "should differ in nothing from the morning or afternoon meetings, except in the scholars who attend. Its business is not secondary, but continued elementary instruction." However, the Acts of 1870 and 1876 changed the aims and

1. Although the State had been aiding secondary education in a number of ways during the last decade of the nineteenth century yet secondary education was not recognised as "a fitting object of public expenditure" until the Education Act of 1902.

constitutions of both day and evening classes throughout the country, so that evening classes became what they are now, classes for advanced education, including^{1.} the education of adult men and women.

The present day continuation schools seem to have developed directly from the technical schools which began their career of prosperity and rapid growth after the Great Exhibition, when the demand for scientific instruction as an aid to better workmanship became so strong. "It may be said," says A.E. Dobbs, "broadly that somewhere in the middle of the nineteenth century a new stage commenced in the growth of educational movements. The first phase of the education controversy was concluded. Universal instruction had developed

1. At the time of the passing of the Act of 1902 there were a number of schools already in existence, but these were found to have the deepest distrust of local authorities and little more confidence in the central authority. They had no desire to come under the control of the local authorities, and only financial difficulties could make them consider giving up their independence. The consequence was that the Act of 1902 had to omit all reference to existing schools, so that it failed to create a true State system of secondary education, although it did succeed in at last joining secondary to elementary making them for the first time parts of a single whole.

from an idea into a policy; and a decisive step had been taken in 1839 by the establishment of a committee of Council to administer public grants. In 1850 Commissions were appointed to enquire into the management of the universities, which raised the question of educational endowments. In the following year the first International Exhibition aroused interest in technical training and started a movement which eventually played a part in the reorganisation of secondary schools.^{1.} Numerous technical schools sprang up aided and encouraged by the Science and Art Department, which had been created for the specific purpose of promoting the study of science in its relation to industry and commerce.^{2.} But it was not

1. A.E.Dobbs - Education and Social movements. p.240.

2. The establishment of the Science and Art Department was the first great step towards specialisation. It committed the great mistake of encouraging specialisation at too early an age. In any national system of education, it should be recognised that natural talent is checked by premature specialisation, and it is to the nation's interest that it should not be checked but allowed to reach its "high-water mark" by natural paths. "The process of education must conform to the course of the pupils' natural development."a. The broader the basis of elementary education and the more gradual divergence

a. Fabian Ware - Educational foundations of Trade and Industry. p.27.

long before the Department deviated somewhat from its original purpose, and, "disregarding logic, but keeping essentials in view, proceeded to sanction one by one every subject taught in schools except classics, as coming under the head of 'technical instruction.'^{1.} This very naturally had the effect of producing a sort of mixed type of school in which both technical, and, strictly speaking, non-technical subjects were taught, so that before very long these schools combined two distinctly separate divisions within them, and were yet able to receive the grant, being still under the control of the Science and Art Department.

With these "elementary - technical" schools governed by the Department at South Kensington and the elementary schools proper under the jurisdiction of the Education Department a conflict of authorities was only to have been expected. The Science and Art Department

towards specialisation the greater is the opportunity provided for talent when it is allowed to finally show itself in specialisation.

1. R.D. Roberts - Education in 19th century. p.71.

were obviously encroaching upon the domain peculiar to the Education Authorities. As R.D. Roberts has so clearly pointed out, if the Department had confined its cativity to its legitimate limits and had "restricted its efforts to the establishment in different parts of the country ^{of} schools for instruction in subjects cognate to the trades of the district, the history of education during the past half century would have been very different, and our commerce might have suffered less from foreign competition. It would seem however, that the original purpose of the Department was partially lost sight of in the endeavour to encourage, without reference to any original system of instruction, a general knowledge of elementary scientific facts. A machinery was created, unknown in the educational system of any other country for catching here and there a stray genius. . . . It was cumbrous in its operations, and whilst it impeded the healthy growth of primary instruction it helped by the very grants it distributed to postpone the organisation of a sound system of secondary education."^{1.}

We have already seen how the subsidising of technical

1. R.D.Roberts - Op. cit. p.161.

schools effected a change in them. They were, under the Code of 1862, not continuation schools in our sense of the term but rather elementary "extension" schools, if we may use the word. With the Act of 1870 their tendency was again towards elementary work rather than technical if they were to have the benefit of the grant. The outcome, as we have seen, of the dual nature of these schools had to be a clash between authorities. In 1890 the inevitable happened and "a revolutionary change was made in the regulations."

The obvious solution of the difficulty was to eliminate one of the contesting authorities and to leave the other in sole control, or to create a new body with complete charge of both sides of education, the elementary and the continuative, whether technical or otherwise. However, the controversy went on for a decade and the difficulty remained unsolved until a unique event brought matters to an issue. The Cockerton

1.
Case pointed the way out. Thus, by the Education Act of 1902, "the local administration was unified, the County and County Borough Councils were constituted as the Authorities for education of all grades, and the special difficulty with regard to the legality of evening schools giving higher education to adults has disappeared."^{2.} Since that time the Local Authorities have made excellent use of the power bestowed upon them to aid secondary education.

This development was an important step in the direction of a unified national system of

1. The London School Board, acting on the apparent permission given by a loose definition of elementary education, began to use the rates for post-elementary education until Mr Cockerton, the local Government Board auditor surcharged all expenditure incurred on pupils over 15 years of age. His decision was upheld by the courts in 1900. Consequently a temporary Act was passed to allow expenditure for the current year, but in 1902 with the passing of the Education Act the whole organisation was reformed.

2. Sir M. Sadler - Op. cit. p.67.

1. education. The two parts of educational work, elementary and continuative or secondary, are so closely bound up with each other that it was a national necessity that one body should control both; that they could be viewed together as "an organic whole." Whereas there had been three central authorities, the Charity Commission of 1853, the Science and Art Department at South Kensington and the Education Department with powers bearing on secondary education, there was no one body which regarded education as a whole and secondary education as a matter of

2. It may be said almost without qualification that the present day system of education in Britain is the direct result of the intermingling of the Scottish and English education of the earlier nineteenth century. "The English striving for the higher education of the few in certain limited directions needed supplementing by the Scottish demand for a wider diffusion and a wider range of education." a. The more democratic education of Scotland leavened the aristocratic education of England. England was concerned with the education of the wealthy classes in her Public Schools and Grammar Schools. Scotland considered the masses in the establishment of her Parish schools. Adult working-class education started in Scotland with Anderson's efforts at Glasgow and the Watt College in Edinburgh, and spread through George Birkbeck to London and later to other large towns of England.

a. R.L.Archer - Secondary education in the nineteenth century. p.105.

1. national concern. But although this advance has been achieved yet attendance remains voluntary to the present day. Whether compulsory attendance is to be adopted for secondary schools as it is for elementary is still a problem to be solved. There is much to be said on both sides of the question. Yet it seems that without compulsion here a really efficient national system embracing all grades and types of education can never be attained. Unless compulsion is adopted for secondary education, it looks as if further adult education can never properly come into its own, in spite of the great efforts made by many valuable organisations.

Whatever the difficulties in the way and the defects in the organisation with the Science and Art Department at

1. The Bryce Commission, 1895, if it cannot be called the most important of all the Royal Commissions established during the nineteenth century, is certainly one of the most important. Its conclusions and recommendations, though not accepted in their entirety, yet have nearly all been gradually incorporated in the statute book. It was this Commission which really created one body to govern education under a Minister for Education, instead of the three authorities which previously held sway over three departments of education. It also recommended the establishment of Local Authorities and advocated a complete system of inspection.

its head, this much cannot be denied. It has fulfilled in many ways and to a great extent the objects for which it was set up. "It has fostered the growth of art teaching, and has spread some knowledge of science among the children and adult population of every town throughout the kingdom, . . . and the widespread system of Technical Education, which is now so largely helping the commercial interests of this country, may certainly be regarded as the outcome of the early efforts of its founders."^{1.}

Another effort made in this direction during the nineteenth century, which cannot be neglected is that made by the Christian Socialists. At the end of the eighteenth century the country was in the grip of *laissez-faire*, and under the influence of the doctrines of Malthus and Ricardo. "It is scarcely surprising that the condition of the workers seemed well-nigh desperate."^{2.} State interference, hateful though it was to the dominant philosophy of the time, had to come, and the thin end of the wedge of social reform was soon

1. R.D.Roberts - Op. cit. p.159.

2. C.E. Raven - Christian Socialism p. 43.

inserted. In 1802 Sir Robert Peel's Act aroused interest and criticism, but it and the succeeding Act of 1819 were hardly effective until 1833 when factory inspectors were appointed, and the working day for women and young persons fixed at ten hours. But laissez-faire did do something for the poor. The repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824 and the supplementary Reform Act of 1832 brought the organisation of Labour within the realm of possibility. From this time onward there has been a gradual growth of workers' organisations, which has culminated in the important position today assumed by Trade Unions, which, through, until recently, when they have directly concerned themselves with education, have for long been an important factor in the education of the working classes.

Robert Owen, "the founder of English Socialism and of the Co-operative movement," came in 1800 to New Lanark as the manager of the cotton-mills. He set himself out to improve the condition of those working in his mills, establishing schools, opening cheap shops, and building decent houses, while, at the same time, endeavouring to instil a spirit of temperance, cleanliness

and theft. Owen himself gives us a clear description of his work at New Lanark in a pamphlet which he wrote in 1824. In it he lays down the principles upon which his educational scheme was based. "That true knowledge uniformly conduces to happiness is a fact, which, though it was denied in the dark ages of the world, is very generally admitted at the present day. The acquisition of true knowledge, therefore, must increase the happiness of those who acquire it. And if the lower classes have fewer outward sources of enjoyment, than their more wealthy neighbours, then does it become the more necessary and just, that they should be furnished with means of intellectual gratification."^{1.} Though he concentrated on the education of the children, he calculated to produce a good effect upon the adults through the influence of good habits in their children. It was his ambition to do away with artificiality in his system of education, and in this endeavour excluded "all rewards and punishments whatever, except such as nature herself has provided." "A child who acts

1. Robert Owen - An outline of the system of education at New Lanark. (1824) p.74.

improperly is not considered an object of blame, but of pity."^{1.} He tried to cultivate friendship between teacher and taught. His whole scheme was based on the utilitarian principle that "whatever, in its ultimate consequences, increases the happiness of the community, is right; and whatever, on the other hand, tends to diminish that happiness, is wrong."

Though Owen failed in his constructive experiments, perhaps through his misconception that "character was entirely the product of environment and education, and that these and these alone conditioned moral quality,"^{2.} yet his influence upon subsequent thought, to say nothing of the inspiration and encouragement which he undoubtedly gave to the oppressed, was profound, as witness the work of his friend and follower F.D.Maurice.

The Christian Socialists under the leadership of Maurice and Ludlow saw the disease of the body politic and endeavoured to improve the condition of the working

1. Ibid. p.15.

2. C.E.Raven - Op. cit. p. 45.

classes by an application of christianity to their needs. Their attempt, as C.E.Raven has shown, though in most respects attended by failure, was an honest attempt, their failure being due rather to the unfit state of the workers to receive what they offered, than to any mistaken principle. "The principal difficulty arose from the lack of education and moral training in the workers themselves."^{1.} The very people whom Maurice and his friends tried to help were too ignorant to be able effectively to appreciate what was being attempted on their behalf. This fact soon became apparent to the leaders who did not give up their efforts but turned their attention to the cause of the failure. Thus Maurice is found long afterwards writing to Ludlow in this strain; "a college expressed to my mind precisely the work that we should undertake, and ought to undertake, as professional men; we might bungle in this also; but there seemed to me a manifestly Divine direction towards it in all our previous studies and pursuits."^{2.}

1. Ibid p.341.

2. C.E.Raven - (quoted) Op. cit. p.346.

True, that in the very early days of their society the Christian Socialists had in a small way begun educational work. Education was ever one of their leading principles; but their efforts had been restricted to a limited number of children of the poor. It was really their failure in the early days, which spurred them to greater efforts. Now in 1852 their attention was turned towards bigger things, and, in December of that year the first of a course of lectures to working men was delivered. Maurice drew his inspiration from the People's College at Sheffield, which can legitimately claim to be the first institution of the type of the Working Men's College. These lectures which were instituted, together with weekly classes, formed the prologue to the establishment of the London Working Men's College, which was designed to bring enlightenment and moral training within the reach of working men and women in London. "They aimed at no merely technical training; they did not want to turn out skilled workmen, or to enable their students to become clerks instead of operatives; their teaching was not to be estimated by its

commercial or utilitarian value. Rather they wished to give to the workers the opportunity of obtaining all that is meant by a liberal education.^{1.} This they accomplished to a certain extent. The Working Men's College continues to the present day, and numerous educational institutions under the auspices of the Co-operative Societies^{2.} are to be found in all parts of the country, although the Working Men's College

1. C.E.Raven - Op.cit. p.356.

2. a. Chartism, Co-operation and Trade Unionism play a great and important part in the struggle for liberal education during the first half of the nineteenth century. "The ablest of the early working class expressions of the demand for higher education came not from the Co-operative Societies with which Owen's name is imperishably associated, but from the leader of a movement which failed, William Lovett," who is described as not only the parent of Chartism, but the greatest of working-class educational reformers.

b. F.D.Maurice's great and lasting influence on many minds in the universities is well shown by the work of Arnold Toynbee, after whom Canon Barnett's university settlement in the slums of London during 1884 was named.

has in late years become rather a continuation school in the strict sense of the term than an institution for adults, a school, that is to say, whose classes are made up chiefly of young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty one years. But the aim of the founders, to place a liberal education within the reach of middle and working class people, remains the aim of those who carry on the work. Similar institutions have been established in many parts of the country, so that it may truly be said that "the great work which Maurice and his friends accomplished was the setting up of a new and more liberal ideal of adult education for men and women engaged during the daytime in the duties of the workshop, the office or the home. This new ideal has had a far-reaching influence both on University opinion and on educational effort in its different forms throughout the country. The thoughts to which the founders of the Working Men's College in London gave expression both in their writings and in their practical work as teachers were the outcome of a new social movement. This social movement inspired the founders of the

Working Men's College with the conviction that the cultivation of social feeling should go hand in hand with the pursuit of knowledge.^{1.} The same conviction has influenced the work of the Young Men's Christian Association and some of the Mechanics' Institutions, and, is later to be found exerting its influence also in the University Extension movement. In more recent times still we see the same ideal influencing the establishment of Ruskin College Oxford in 1899, whose especial design it is to give working men, and in particular those likely to be leaders among them, an opportunity of acquiring the knowledge essential to intelligent citizenship.

This great liberal ideal in education which has been its guiding inspiration through nearly three-quarters of a century is severely criticised by some who hold that it is not compatible with compulsion. For example, Bernard Shaw, while concurring in the tenet that technical instruction may be made compulsory with advantage, points out that a liberal education

1. M.E. Sadler - Op. cit. p. 45.

cannot under compulsion be acquired with interest and pleasure. One does not here pursue this subject further, although one may well uphold Shaw's view. For, as Mr Ramsay Macdonald pointed out in a recent address, "the teacher does not finish anything; he gives a start which it is his aim to see carried on by the pupil himself." However, there seems little chance, while the pupil is turned out at fourteen years of age, of the teacher's seeing what he has started carried on. The well-to-do see to it that their children get that further education which is so desirable. Why should not the children of working people have an equal opportunity? True education knows no politics. Every child be he of rich parents or poor, is a child of the nation and it is the nation's duty to offer him every opportunity which is in its power to offer. Dr Percy Nunn, in his presidential address to the Educational Section of the British Association in September 1923, said, "the view I submit is that the education of the people should aim at enabling every man to realise the greatest fullness of life of which he is by nature

capable, fullness being measured in term of quality rather than quantity, by perfection of form rather than amount of content." The change that has occurred in the conception of popular education during the past fifty years is based upon the steadily growing belief, first, that every member of society has an equal title to the privileges of citizenship, and second, that the corporate strength of society should be exerted to secure for him actual as well as theoretical possession of his title. That is that great conception that is guiding the leaders of education today, and bringing them more and more to realise that every child must be given the fullest opportunity for a liberal education, by whose means alone he or she can reach the realisation of that "greatest fullness of life." Liberal education means an education in freedom, freedom from ignorance, perjudice and fear; an education which would give the individual the mastery of his or her own mind.

IV.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

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The year 1850 may be regarded as the turning point in the history of working class education. Revolutionary effort had finally failed with the failure of Chartism. Some impetus had however been given to the gradually increasing improvement in the conditions of the poorer classes, and the effect was strongly felt in the sphere of education. Adult Schools and Co-operative Societies went on progressing and expanding, but forces almost entirely new now appeared in the field. The first of these was that new creation, a national system of elementary education under State control. The second was a great revival and expansion of university activity beyond the walls of the universities themselves. And lastly, there grew among working people a great sense of their lack of

higher education, which, combined with the aid given by the universities and the State, contributed largely to the rapid development of the educational system during the latter half of the century. With the revival of co-operation at Rochdale in 1844 and the formation by the Society of Friends in 1847 of an association, which became the pioneer of modern Adult Schools, the rise of Working Men's Colleges, and the reform movement stimulated at Oxford and Cambridge by the Royal Commissions of 1850, began a new phase of adult education.^{1.}

Strictly speaking, the expansion of university teaching began with the foundation of University College, London in 1826, followed by King's College in 1831, the University of Durham 1832, and that of Manchester in 1851. But the germ of University Extension in the more modern sense of the term was laid in 1847 when some of the professors of King's College, London, gave lectures to women students outside the university. However, it was not until

1. A.E.Dobbs - Education and Social Movements.

1867 that any real and permanent beginning was made. In that year Professor James Stuart of Cambridge lectured at Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Leeds on Natural Philosophy to the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. This was a rather unexpected opportunity of starting a peripatetic university, an idea which had for years haunted Stuart's mind. Thus the first step in the movement was taken as a piece of private enterprise by James Stuart. These lectures were so successful and so inspired popular interest that a deputation was sent to Cambridge asking for the permanent establishment of the lectures. In 1873 the university consented to support an experimental course of lectures at Nottingham, Derby and Leicester. Three years later in 1876 the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching was established, and in 1878 Oxford took up the work. Thus University Extension Lectures became a permanent institution and have ever since remained an important part of university work. It is interesting to note in passing that the beginnings of this movement for University

Extension, like practically all the developments in the sphere of adult education, was quite natural and spontaneous. "It was a response by the Universities to a desire which actually existed in the country."^{1.}

When James Stuart began his courses of lectures he had, on his own confession, no very clear notion of how he was to proceed. He conceived the idea of getting his audiences to take notes, a sort of syllabus. But circumstances were such that this arrangement was soon altered and he himself supplied the syllabus at the commencement of each lecture. The later method, consisting of the four parts - the lecture, the class, essay -writing, and examination - was not hit upon at once. It gradually evolved, being determined largely by quite curious circumstances. But it has come to stay and has proved itself satisfactory through long years of experience. The idea of having the students write essays arose from the fact that James Stuart found an unprecedented

1. R.D.Roberts - Education in the 19th century. p. 196.

difficulty at first in getting his audience to ask or answer questions. He says himself in his book entitled "Reminiscences," "I had circulated early in the autumn a letter amongst those intending to attend the lectures, suggesting several suitable books to be read, and stating that an opportunity would be given after the lecture for questions. But I found that a considerable amount of excitement prevailed on the impropriety of a number of young ladies asking questions of, or being questioned by, a young man - so elementary were ideas at that time. I solved the difficulty by bringing to the first lecture three or four questions in print, which I distributed with the statement that if answers were sent to me by post, two clear days before the next lecture, I would then return them, corrected." Thus evolved the paper-work attaching to, and a recognised part of, University Extension work.

The single lecture system had failed. Lord Brougham had established a system of lectures at different centres, but before long it became evident

that mere single lectures were quite futile. The only way to get any real value from lecturing was to maintain a continuous series of connected lectures. But even this was not all that could be desired. Individual students had no means of enquiring about their individual difficulties, and the lecturer was severely handicapped in that he had no means of coming into closer contact with the points of view of his several hearers. Thus the discussion class to follow on the lecture was later devised, as a place for elucidation of special individual difficulty. A further means of obtaining the best from the lecture and discussion was found in the writing of a weekly essay, for which the student was expected to cover a certain amount of private reading. These essays were also of value in that they tended to cultivate the art of expression, which was found to be so lacking in many who took advantage of the lectures. Unfortunately, the tendency at the present time, as pointed out by W.H. Draper is to do away with the 'paper-work.' The principal causes assigned to the reluctance of adults to write essays

are, firstly, the greater pressure on people's time, and secondly, the unwillingness of older students to do work which they consider appropriate for school children. Whether or not these reasons are really legitimate is quite debatable. However, the unhappy fact remains that there is a decline in the amount of 'paper-work' done at adult classes. This is noticeable also in the classes held under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, although there is a strong endeavour to retain this most valuable side to the work. To complete the work of Professor James Stuart, an examination was held. This examination and the resulting certificate to those who passed were a recognition by the University of the standard of work attained. They put the finishing touch to the work and gave to those who desired it some outward, tangible sign that they had reached a satisfactory standard of efficiency.

From the simple and almost insignificant beginning as the private enterprise of one man, connected with a more or less obscure body of women, University Extension rapidly grew in importance. From the

audiences of ladies it spread to a very large audience of men in the same year. The railwaymen at Crewe, through a resident engineer, Mr W.M.Moorson, invited James Stuart to lecture to them. This lecture was such an extraordinary success that the lecturer volunteered to give a course of six lectures the following year, covering the same ground as he had covered at the other towns.^{1.} So much interest was taken that he tried to get the Co-operative Societies later to join with the North of England Council and establish in fact that Peripatetic University which he had so long had in mind. This scheme however was unsuccessful and Stuart remained single-handed for about five years. Finally, when Cambridge University was asked by several Northern Societies, supported by James Stuart himself, to take up this work they consented to the experimental lectures which mark the beginning of University Extension as a distinct university function.

The idea of University Extension lectures, which

1. W.H.Draper - University Extension.

later gave rise to University Extension in the wider meaning of the term, that is the actual establishment of more universities throughout the country, was by no means a new one. Indeed it was a very old idea, but an impracticable one because of the deficiency of lower grades of education. It was only after that eventful year 1870 that the possibility of useful work, particularly among the poorer classes, arose.

Meanwhile the discussions and public controversy which had taken place had made the people familiar with the subject. Indeed about the middle of the nineteenth century the universities were compelled to consider extension. There was a movement in fact for the removal of restrictions which excluded non-conformists from Oxford and Cambridge. Social conditions made for more interest among the working-classes. They had more leisure than formerly; the country was more prosperous; the importance of the application of science to industry and commerce was everywhere recognised. In every sense the country was ready for the extension of higher education among adults. Thus

since its inception the universities have never once regretted the important step which they took. From the simple programme of courses of lectures the work spread to the establishment of colleges in various large towns. Naturally, at the beginning, there were some "superficial objections, still sometimes audible, that University Extension work should not be much considered inasmuch as it consists only of courses of lectures, often following no connected scheme, and providing no systematic ^ateaching of a real University type."^{1.} But such objections were quite groundless when the indisputable fact was faced, that these very lectures were the direct beginning of many of the Universities that exist today in their own right and not simply as colleges affiliated to Oxford or Cambridge.^{2.} And they in their

1. W.H.Draper - Op. cit. p.22.

2. Owens College, Manchester was opened in 1851, but did not receive its charter as the Victoria University until 1880. In 1874 the Yorkshire School of Science opened as a technological institution but soon developed into the modern type of university. The first of the newer universities was, of course, that of London. The second was Durham, although Durham

turn are carrying out courses of Extension lectures in their districts. The great value of the lectures is undeniable. They supply a need to those busy adults who cannot afford either the time or the money to attend the day courses in the colleges.

Audiences at these lectures have been representative of all sections of the community. With the extension of the franchise it became incumbent upon everyone to understand something at least of social conditions, and something more of their duties as citizens exercising a voice in the government of their country. Working men's organisations were at this time rapidly gaining in strength so that the working classes were taking a keener interest in their own social position. They realised their lack of knowledge of the existing social order and its history, and in consequence great

attempted to reproduce the older type until 1882 when it included the Newcastle medical school. In 1881 Liverpool University was designed as a constituent of Victoria. Birmingham started in 1870 though it was later not satisfied to be merely a place of training for Manchester or London, so that in 1900 it became the first university for a single provincial city. Sheffield commenced in 1875, Bristol 1876 and the University of Wales 1893.

numbers began to attend these lectures which provided just that type of education which they desired. The new technical institutions which sprang up with the Scientific Movement looked after the useful knowledge so palatable to the old Mechanics' Institutions. But here was an organisation to check "the tendency towards a narrow and too utilitarian view of adult education."^{1.} The historical, literary and economic subjects for which the University Extension movement catered, while by no means taught in a spirit of condemnation of technical instruction, yet provided a corrective to its narrowing influence. In some cases the two combined and the result has been the establishment of permanent institutions for higher education as at Sheffield, Nottingham, Reading and Exeter.

The rapidity of the increase in popularity of University Extension work is shown in the report of the Conference held at Cambridge in 1898 to celebrate the completion of 25 years work. It was reported there that 488 courses of lectures had been delivered

1. Sadler - Continuation Schools etc. p.79.

in different parts of the country, at which the attendance had been 50,000 persons. The movement too had spread to the Colonies and similar movements had been successful in the United States of America and in several European countries. By the end of the century it was clear that the movement had been very largely successful; but it was evident also that it had failed in certain respects. While it showed that there were in the country great numbers of people keenly interested in what was offered, yet it was seen too that the movement supplied the needs among middle classes and particularly among women. It did not penetrate the working classes to any great extent. In succeeding years a great deal has undoubtedly been done to remedy the defects but the difficulties have been enormous, and other and newer organisations have stepped in to cater especially for the working classes.

It is interesting to notice some differences brought about in methods adopted when Oxford took up Extension work. Firstly, she instituted shorter

courses of lectures than those prescribed by the sister University. These have found an important place in the work, and, although at first their expediency was doubted, they have proved themselves necessary in some towns where the longer courses were less practicable. Oxford has retained this shorter course throughout succeeding years, while Cambridge adheres just as firmly to the original plan which she adopted. An interesting comparison is given by W.H.Draper in the figures which he publishes in his work "University Extension." The figures taken are for the year 1921 -22 in the Michaelmas and Lent Terms -

<u>OXFORD.</u>		<u>CAMBRIDGE.</u>	
12 lecture courses.....	6	12 lecture courses.....	51
10 " "	4	10 " "	4
6 " "	<u>104</u>	6 " "	<u>36</u>
Total	<u>114</u>	Total	<u>91</u>

It will be seen from the above that whereas Oxford undertook only 6 of the longer courses Cambridge was

responsible for 51, and, whereas Oxford gave 104 of the shorter courses Cambridge delivered only 36.

A very significant and important fact is that those universities which have been created directly through the Extension movement are themselves now carrying on extra-mural work on a large scale. In London the work was carried on for a great many years by the London Society for the Extension of University teaching. But in 1901 with the reconstitution of the University of London the work was handed over to it and has since been in its charge. Under the University the scope of the work was considerably extended and a higher standard attained. It was also found possible to award Diplomas in place of the Certificates of Continuous study awarded by the Society. These Diplomas were a higher recognition of the work done during a four years course which culminated in a final examination. In 1886 the University of Manchester organised Extension work but found a few years later a decline in the demand for lectures and a

growing demand for Tutorial Class work, so that in recent years the majority of the Extension work there has assumed the form of Tutorial Classes for extra-mural adults. "The experience of the committee of the Manchester University is that although there is not the same demand for the older form of Extension Courses by the type of audience from which the support for this work was at first mainly drawn, there is a large and increasing demand for the provision of facilities for Extra-Mural education, and associated with this - and partly arising from it - a demand for the provision of facilities for special courses of study in the University itself for selected students who have attended classes and lectures of an Extra-mural character." ^{1.} As at Manchester, so at Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol, Durham and Liverpool the lecture courses have given place to the Tutorial Classes which are conducted in the several universities chiefly for the Workers' Educational Association.

1. W.H.Draper - Op. cit. p. 141.

A feature of University Extension work which is perhaps the most lasting and, at any rate, one of the most important at the present time is the Summer Meeting which had its origin at Cambridge in 1884. The first meeting organised on any^{thing} like the present day scale was held at Oxford in 1888 on the plan adopted by the Chautauqua University in America, and drew together as many as 900 people. From that time forward Summer Meetings have been conducted regularly at several Universities, the newer centres owing their origin to the missionary spirit caught at the Summer Meetings at Oxford and Cambridge. They have now become an established part of University Extension work. Through them thousands who, in former days, would never have had an opportunity of knowing the meaning of University life, have been made familiar with ancient buildings and gardens, traditions and life which pertain to the old Universities. The Summer Meetings or Schools, which, in later years, have become identified with, and have received invaluable support from the Workers' Educational Association, have grown enormously in popularity during the last

twenty-five years.

For centuries Universities and University education were looked upon with suspicion by the working classes. In the past fifty years that attitude has gradually disappeared and the credit for the change can be very largely given to University Extension work. Through these lectures the University was brought to the people, and through the Summer Schools the working classes have been brought to the University. Sir Michael Sadler has said, "But quite apart from their directly educational influence the University Extension lectures and classes have been one, and not the least important, of the causes which have produced in England a changed attitude of mind towards University work and a new sense of its value as an element in national life."^{1.} At one time the Universities were the especial luxury of the rich, "the domain of the game-preserving, horse-riding, park-owing"^{2.} people, who could well afford to pay the large fees demanded

1. M.E.Sadler - Op. cit. p. 79.

2. H.G.Wells - W.E.A. year Book. p.66.

for higher education, or, at least, for the distinction of having attended a University. Is it any great wonder that intelligent workers have been suspicious of upper class zeal for education, even when that zeal has sprung from an honest desire to benefit the working classes? The outlook of the working-classes, and their possibilities for the future were entirely different from those of the wealthier class. A working father, when asked what his son would take up, would usually reply that he would put him to some trade. Some trade was the inevitable for any boy of the working-class who had ability enough to become a skilled worker. For the rest, they swelled the ranks of unskilled labour. Not so with the well-to-do. Even the dullest, most unworthy boy would be sent to a higher school and finally to a University. The well-to-do father saw to it that his son got the benefit of higher education. But fortunately for democracy it can be said that that apathy and resigned attitude, and sometimes even hostility, to education on the part of the workers has to a very great extent been overcome.

The Universities are, more and more as time goes on, assuming their proper place in the life of the nation. The whole nation is more fully realising the truth of the words of John Stuart Mill that "the more prosaic our ordinary duties, the more necessary it is to keep up the tone of our minds by frequent visits to that higher region of thought and feeling, in which every work seems dignified in proportion to the ends for which, and the spirit in which, it is done."^{1.}

For the past thirty years there has been an honest and growing endeavour on the part of the Universities to come into closer contact with the community as a whole. Educators are coming more and more to realise that every man has a value in society, and that it is their duty, their obligation to fit the citizen to direct his own activities and adjust them to those of other people. The requests of the workers during late years have been as far as possible met by the University authorities, who have given every encouragement to such organisations as the Workers'

1. J.S.Mill - Inaugural address at St. Andrews (1867)

Educational Association. "University education is no longer regarded as the luxury of the rich, which concerns only those who can afford to pay heavily for it." No, the pendulum has already swung the other way, for, it is true to say that the vast majority of university students today are the sons of comparatively poor parents, many of whom could not continue their work without the aid of scholarships. In Scotland, especially, is this the case, where, by a very efficient and continuous system from the elementary school to the University a worthy student may pursue a life of study for practically nothing beyond his personal expenses. But with the older Universities of England there still remains a great deal to be accomplished. As Mr A.E.Zimmern has pointed out "our statesmen and Universities have still to realise, in full measure, that it is farcical to call a community 'democratic' unless its citizens have adequate leisure for attention to public affairs, and unless those who hold the keys of knowledge provide the opportunities for the wise and profitable use of such leisure. Democracy has still to win its spurs. It is living today upon the failures of

alternative systems of government. Only through the fruits of adult education can it secure an intrinsic and lasting justification."

The great start that has been given to adult education largely through the efforts of the leaders in University Extension promises to bear fruit in the near future. The nineteenth century which set on foot the great movement towards a better educational system closed with a fine record of achievement. In higher education as in elementary the advance was very marked. No less than seven new Universities had been created in England between 1870 and 1903; the older Universities had taken a keener interest in extra-mural work; University teaching had been extended to women. By no means the least achievement of University Extension is the great change which it wrought in the feelings of the working-classes towards the Universities. There was a time when they felt no interest in, were even antagonistic to, University education. "But the fact that this work has been undertaken, and that men have been sent down from the Universities to bring this highest and best education

within the reach of the miners, artisans and operatives in different parts of the country, from one end of England to the other, has given these men a direct interest in the Universities. . . and has completely changed their feelings towards these institutions." ^{1.}

1. Dr Watson - quoted by Draper - Op. cit. p. 45.

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V.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

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With the growing realisation on the part of the universities of what ought to be their true position in the life of the nation, a conception which was so advanced by supporters of University Extension, there developed in the early years of the present century a movement which has perhaps had a more profound influence in the promotion of that realisation than any other institution. It has been pointed out earlier that the close of the nineteenth century saw a vast improvement in the position occupied by education in the policy of the country; that the efforts of the philanthropists a hundred years before, and of the enthusiastic, though often ridiculed, leaders of the fifties and sixties, were not in vain; that the occasion was ripe for a more extensive and comprehensive system of adult education. The opportunity which thus

offered was not missed. The twentieth century opened with a practical guarantee that adult education would no longer need to concern itself with elementary instruction nor be left unsupported except by voluntary effort. The grave warnings which Sir Norman Lockyer uttered in 1901, and emphasised in 1903 are seemingly beginning to make an impression. The remedies for the dangerous drift of Britain's power and position towards declination are beginning to be heeded.

Adult education was, owing to the rapid changes of the late nineteenth century, able to assume its more correct proportions and to proceed along a definite path of progress. "The beginning of the new century, then finds us in a position which every day differs more and more from that occupied by us in the old one, for not only are our natural resources relatively reduced in value, but our intellectual resources are not sufficiently superior to those of other nations to enable us to retain our old position by force of brains."^{1.}

1. Sir N.Lockyer - Education and National progress. p.121.

This is an important point. It was only after the passing of the Act of 1870 that Britain could hope to retain her superiority "by force of brains." Thus the twentieth century opens with the great opportunity for developing that force. Ever since there has been steady but rapid progress. Sir Norman appears to have been referring in his lectures almost entirely to the need for Technical and Scientific training. He was from the first a staunch advocate of the alliance of science with industry and commerce. But he was also decided in his views on education. He saw that education generally and scientific education in particular was vitally necessary to the existence of and retention of Britain's greatness. Training in this direction was then and still is of very great importance. But quite apart from this more specialised side of education, the need is becoming more and more vital for the training of thinkers, men and women of all classes who can combine clear and unbiassed thought with practical experience. The tendency at the present time is for the pendulum to swing the other way. Continually and with increasing vehemence the cry is

raised for workers who are able to think for themselves. At the conference held at Blackpool in January 1924 Captain F.W.Bain, secretary of the works committee of the United Alkali Company of Liverpool, pointed out that this new attitude towards education was most marked in the business world. It is recognised that an educated man, though he costs more, gives more. The man who is most valued in business is not the one who has become almost a machine, but the one who, while perhaps not so skilled as the machine - like worker, can bring resource, courage and thought to his work. In recent years industry has awakened to a new consciousness that its more perfect development calls for a wider outlook and a greater acceptance of responsibilities in many matters which apparently have no direct commercial application. The great manufacturing organisations. pre-eminently the engineering organisations are devoting great attention to the selection, education, and training of the whole of their employees and to a careful study of the psychological and physiological problems with which they are faced.^{1.}

1. Conference of Headmasters (Guildhall) Jan. 1924.

That is to say that, at last, business firms are realising the great value of all-round education, education which helps to break down class barriers, and which develops in a man all the faculties and interest with which Nature has gifted him. It is this sort of education, education in the widest sense of the term; education for its own sake; education as life rather than knowledge; education which means the encouragement of a definite striving after a higher life, that the Workers' Educational Association has set itself to provide.

The recognition of the fact that the conditions of education were no longer prohibitive to the working classes, and the strong conviction that vast numbers of working men and women keenly desired to make that "best investment in the world" if only the opportunity could be found, led Mr Mansbridge and his colleagues in 1903 to set afoot the movement which has developed into a world-wide organisation known as the workers' Educational Association. It was found that University Extension lectures and courses, the forerunners of the

W.E.A., could never hope to do all that was desirable. Adult Education differs from child education in this respect, that the students, being adults, must be permitted a large amount of self-government. In the University Extension movement the students took little or no part in the management. It was a movement which sprang from the universities and was in consequence controlled by them. With the W.E.A. the case is different. The initiative was here taken by the workers themselves, and therefore stood more chance of becoming a permanent institution. Mr Mansbridge has pointed out that "there were difficulties and disappointments in the days which followed the Conference, but the dominant fact stood out clearly: Labour had made a definite move of her own account to reach out for the best education the country could offer or develop, and she had made the move deliberately in alliance with Scholarship."^{1.} That fact alone is sufficient to prove that working people as well as

1. A. Mansbridge - An adventure in working-class education. p. 14.

others understood the value of education. And it is significant that what they demanded was a liberal education as against the merely bread-and-butter education which had prevailed for many years. They had now taken a definite step towards the satisfaction of an acute desire to better understand the conditions of their own lives, and the relation between these conditions and those of the British community as a whole.

From the very beginning the movement has enjoyed success and has rapidly expanded, with hardly a serious set-back. Even during the period of the Great War when almost every organisation suffered loss in some shape, the Workers' Educational Association was able to continue its work and in some measure to even show a slight increase. In 1904 the first branches were established at Reading and Rochdale where the initial experiments clearly demonstrated both possibilities and limitations, and pointed the way to further development. If there were any doubt as to the demand for education among adults it were only necessary to regard the great growth in this sphere during the past 10 years. Just prior to the war the increase was

extraordinary, and, although the war years saw a decline in adult education as was only to have been expected, yet it has survived and since 1918 has grown to such proportions that in a great many cases the demand has far outgrown the supply. In the army itself the existence 10 years ago of young men with intellectual interests was not suspected. Today, mainly as the result of the magnificent work of the Young Men's Christian Association they can be counted by thousands, and a special educational department of the War Office has been established.

The W.E.A. was, of course, established for working adults, and its aim has always been the education, largely through self-help, of the adult. In the case of the working classes their chances for higher study were very few, until this Association set out to provide opportunities for those who desired the advantages of higher cultural education. The principle of self-help had already been demonstrated. It was in existence at the People's College at Sheffield which was the precursor of the Working Men's College founded by F.D.Maurice. At the time when the W.E.A came into

being there were several organisations working more or less with the same ends in view scattered over the country, yet they were widely separated and sometimes not very sympathetic towards each other. Mr A. Mansbridge and his friends clearly saw that such a state of things could never produce any really valuable result.

Therefore, it was their object in instituting the W.E.A to establish some body which would bring these separated voluntary bodies into closer touch with one another, and to, as far as possible, co-ordinate their work. It was thus not partial to any one organisation but aimed to bring each into line with the others, and under its own care, where, if its work was to be carried out in proper accordance with its newly drawn-up constitution, it must have the full co-operation of already existing bodies. "The first constitution which was authorised at the Oxford Conference, was quite simple, and expressed the objects of the W.E.A. as follows: To promote the higher education of working men primarily by the Extension of University Training, also (a) by the assistance of all working-class efforts of a specifically educational character,

(b) by the development of an efficient School Continuation System.^{1.} How far success has attended the efforts of the Association in the fulfilment of its aims may be judged from a simple statement of the growth of the movement during the past twenty years. But it would be unwise to attempt to estimate the entire educational work now carried on among adults by the enthusiasm of its pioneers or the persistence of those most deeply influenced by it. There is a large outer fringe who get something from it, but who are unwilling or unable to give more than a little to it in the way of really solid work.^{2.}

"In 1906 the title was changed to "The Workers' Educational Association," which, according to the report presented to the annual meeting of 1911, consists^s_A of 1541 organisations, including 543 Trade Unions, Trades Councils and branches, 184 Co-operative Committees, 261 Adult Schools and Classes, 22 University bodies, 19 Local Education Authorities, 110 Working Men's

1. A Mansbridge - Op. cit. p. 31.

2. Final report of Committee of Reconstruction (1918)

Clubs and Institutes, 97 Teachers' Associations, 91 Education and Literary Societies, and 214 various societies mainly of workpeople. The Association has engaged in many forms of educational activity, with one of which we are here specially concerned, viz., the system of Tutorial Classes.^{1.} This system of tutorial classes is perhaps the most prominent feature of the constructive work of the W.E.A. The first of these classes to be formed in England was that at Longton, and ever since the rapidity of the growth in their popularity has been almost phenomenal. By 1908, while the movement was even yet trying to find its feet, there were established 8 classes with 237 students. In 1909 the number suddenly increased to 32 classes with 1,117 students. In the following year the number of classes was more than doubled. This rapid increase went on from year to year until in the year of the outbreak of war, the year 1914-15, there were 131 classes. The succeeding years saw if anything a slight decrease although the work went on, the organisation of the

1. Report 1912 - quoted W.H.Draper - University Extension
p. 70.

classes being kept alive mainly by women students. In the years immediately following the signing of peace the movement began to rapidly move ahead once more. In 1918 - 19 there were 132 classes; 1919-20; and in 1920 - 21, 245 with 5,788 students in attendance. The following table shows the increase in the number of classes held at the several universities and university

colleges:-	<u>1918 - 19,</u>	<u>1919 - 20,</u>	<u>1920 - 21.</u>
Birmingham	6	9	11
Bristol	-	-	5
Cambridge	2	5	9
Durham	9	17	27
Leeds	20	28	35
Liverpool	20	28	41
London	24	31	34
Manchester	15	19	24
Oxford	12	14	16
Sheffield	17	23	24
Reading	2	2	3
Nottingham	4	5	12
Southampton	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	<u>132</u>	<u>182</u>	<u>245</u>

An interesting fact about these classes is that whereas in the beginning they were almost entirely confined to the study of social and economic subjects, during the last four or five years the growth of interest in other subjects has become marked. For example, in 1919 - 20 although economics remained the most popular subject, yet there were 40 classes in Literature, 27 in Sociology, 12 in History, 5 in Music, 5 in Biology, and 5 in Philosophy. During the year 1922 - 23 the variety of subjects and the number of classes were as follows:-

Economics	98	classes
Literature	53	"
Psychology	39	"
Philosophy	24	"
Music	14	"
Econ. & Industrial History	13	"
History	12	"
Biology	12	"
Political Science	9	"
Social History	8	"
Human Geography	7	"
Social Problems	4	"

International Relations	4 classes
Sociology	3 "
Colonial History	3 "

There were also a few classes held in Drama, Geology, Natural Science, Hygiene, Local Government, Logic and Rhetoric, Social theory etc.

The Tutorial Class has indeed proved itself. It worthily fills a gap which had remained for so long empty. But it is also capable of very much greater, almost indefinite extension. Unlike intra-mural university work whose advantages are only possible for a very limited number of people, it does not demand more than a small portion of the working-man's leisure, while the student is not taken away from his daily work. Nor does it take the student out of his social-class. Thus, with very small cost to the student, it extends the possibility of University education to the vast majority of the population who desire it instead of confining it to the few. It is not merely an attempt to extend the continuation school system to adults, but, as Sir M.Sadler has put it, it has

"decentralised University work of the highest quality." The student comes to the class, not as the youth who has recently left school, but as a man or woman with personal social experience, and who is in the light of that experience all the keener to discover, or at least, to seek for, the truth, and is more vitally interested in the problems at issue, Under such conditions it is rather the rule than the exception that the classes prove more beneficial to both students and tutors than do the more stereotyped classes of the intra-mural university course.

The growing realisation of the importance of adult education since 1900, and the very extensive advance made in this realm by a few, at first, isolated organisations, principally voluntary, led in 1918 to the appointment by the government of a special committee to enquire into its possibilities. Such a thing was unheard of before - indeed was unwarrantable and impracticable. It was only after the Great War that any real necessity became apparent. Before the war much had been done in adult educational work, but it was during the war that the great need for the better

education of the masses was more acutely felt. The work of the Y.M.C.A and the special staff of teachers in the Army had demonstrated the very real demand for study if only the means could be provided. Thus it was in 1918 that the, so far unique body in the history of education in Great Britain, the Adult Education Committee published its first interim report. In the following year, after the publication of two more smaller reports, the final report, a formidable volume combining the findings of the committee as set out in the earlier reports, was issued. This final report is interesting and significant in that it is not only critical. It is also informative and very largely constructive. It is to a large extent "an exhaustive record of the vast amount of voluntary enthusiasm and effort which has been devoted to the cause of adult education, and asserts principles and makes proposals, which, if whole -heartedly adopted and consistently acted upon, will undoubtedly transform the whole character of the national life."^{1.}

1. R.St J. Parry - Cambridge essays on Adult Education
(Introduction)

In connection with University Extension and other work of a similar nature, the report points out that the extra-mural activities of universities are regarded still too much as a "side-show," and not as part of the normal and necessary work of a university. This attitude to extra-mural work was inevitable and quite natural at first, but should have long since assumed a more important place in university life. Until that attitude is changed extra-mural university work can never develop to that extent of which it is easily capable; indeed is peculiarly suited. Fortunately one can safely say that that attitude is changing and has changed a great deal since the issuing of the report. At each meeting of the universities of Great Britain some important reference has been made to this extra-mural work. In 1922 Professor Sir Richard Lodge said, "Adult education has been forced upon the minds of the community by the actual interests and needs of the community. If the Universities neglect it they will be losing one of their great chances of extending and emphasizing their service to the community at large, and they will leave

the task, which must be performed, to less capable hands." ^{1.} Thus did he express the mind of the universities generally upon this matter. But, although the universities have now expressed a definite desire to go forward with this work, yet there are grave difficulties to be overcome. Finance is perhaps one of the greatest. However, there is also an obvious hostility on the part of certain sections of the so-called Labour movement towards the universities and a strong suspicion of their teaching. While, for example, the Trade Unions are willing to co-operate with the W.E.A., the Local Authorities, and the Universities, they are anxious to keep control of adult education, and the Central Labour College and the Plebs League do not desire to be associated with the Universities at all. In 1923 Mr A.L.Smith, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, also emphasised the fact that "the time has come for this work to be made permanent and financially stable, for the ground won to be consolidated, and for the fresh ground which awaits

1. Report of annual Conference 1922. p.31.

expansion to be made good, for future policy to be planned and initiated." ^{1.}

The report of the committee seems to presuppose that there is in all adults a capacity, perhaps latent, for continued education, and points out that this is demonstrated by the efforts of the working-classes to secure for themselves that better education which was for so long reserved for the comparatively well-to-do, and by the eager response to the educational appeal made during the war. But that presupposition is not wholly true. There is no capacity for continued education in all adults. Indeed it seems that the response to the opportunities provided is proportionately very small. But it does seem true that the more the system of adolescent education is developed, the greater the demand for adult education will be. The manual worker in general has little interest in education. In the great majority of cases he is a man who has never had a taste for books and learning. Assuming, as we well may, that the manual worker has

1. Report of annual conference of Universities 1923. p. 49.

passed through, at least, the elementary school, it is certainly true that he is the man who has either had no taste for book learning or has found greater enjoyment in and better aptitude for working with his hands. Are we to expect such a person, man or woman, to suddenly develop a liking for indoor and book education? Such an one has never been and is never likely to be particularly interested in education. Of course, there is the exception to the rule. There are those who from unfortunate circumstances have been forced to adopt a means of livelihood distasteful to them. But they are more or less accounted for. In most cases, such persons, if their interest is sufficient, are provided for, and will be found to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them. Naturally, the most important factor of all the forces that go to make a man what he is, that enters into his education, and that most vitally influences his mind, character, and happiness, is his daily work. There is a vital and strong connection between labour and education. If a man

or woman gets no culture out of his or her daily work there is precious little he or she could get out of anything. On the other hand, if a man's work is educating him, developing his intelligence, and quickening his sense of responsibility, that man will readily assimilate whatever education might be given him by other means.^{1.} This view may appear as yet rather idealistic, but it nevertheless contains a great deal of truth. Education pulling with, and not against, labour will undoubtedly be one of the greatest factors in the further development of our civilisation, when education inspires labour with the passion for excellence, and with the sense of duty and love of value, transforming labour from a burden that crushed men into culture that ennobled them. As time goes on and our civilization resolves itself into its higher forms our aim must be not so much to diminish the quantity of labour but to raise its quality. Education must less and less be regarded as a beneficent extra, must cease eventually

1. Dr L.P.Jacks - Address to Froebel Society. Jan. 1924.

to be divorced from labour. The manual worker there must always be. But there is no reason why he should not have all the advantages of education.

Amongst those who attend the classes provided by the W.E.A. and the Labour College, which should provide for adherents of all creeds, there are unfortunately comparatively few manual workers. Those who form the bulk of the students at such classes are teachers, clerks, telegraphists, or typists. For instance, the occupations of some of those students attending classes during 1923 were as follows:-

Teachers	1,109
Clerks, telegraphists etc.	1,104
Engineers, mechanics etc.	942.
Housewives, domestics etc.	727
Factory workers (boot, clothing, textile ect)	646
Miners and Quarrymen	607
Civil Servants, municipale employees, postmen etc.	481
Carpenters, joiners etc.	330
Railway workers	261
Shop assistants	233

Insurance agents	123
Foremen and managers	119
Printers and bookbinders	103

But, although this is true at present there is no cause for despairing of bringing in a great many more actual manual labourers. Indeed there is every reason to hope that more and more adult classes will be attended by those who most need them. To reach the standard of perfection aimed at is a slow process. The seed has been sown and it is a matter of time and careful nursing till the tree bears full fruit. Nevertheless, it seems that one must agree with Mr H.G.Wells when he asserts that the whole mass of the people is being aroused towards intellectual creative efforts. This fact is evidenced in the continual state of unrest which prevails, as an after-math, some say, of the war. It is a misguided striving after a high ideal, a striving towards growth and a fuller life. Less work and more pay are only palliatives which can never satisfy. The vague yearning which has been created in the breasts of the masses is

misinterpreted by themselves. "The urge to grow is a biological fact. We cannot tell why it is or what creates it - but everything around us has this urge to grow, and to grow, in its own particular way. It is precisely the same urge to grow that is causing all this apparent conflict. It is the fundamental creative instinct - the most powerful instinct of the human race, by which the race is preserved."^{1.}

The lack of demand for further education among working-class adults is in large measure due to defects in earlier training. Elementary education admittedly has reached a high standard of efficiency but still there remains a great deal to be done. Perhaps the most important improvement immediately necessary as affecting adult education is that the leaving age should be raised or that some arrangement should be made for those seeking employment and who are unable at once to obtain it. That is to say, the improvements suggested in the Education Act of 1918 might with great advantage be carried out as early

1. H.G.Wells - The story of a great school-master.

as possible. It is pleasing to note that agitation for such an extension of the school period is growing in strength. Is it not wrong, at least morally, that boys and girls should be allowed to leave school at the most critical stage in their lives to obtain "blind-alley" occupations or to remain idle for a year or more so that they inevitably swell the ranks of either the unemployed or of unskilled labour? Fortunately a step in the right direction has recently been taken by the Local Authorities in some parts of the country by providing that boys and girls shall remain at school until they have gained suitable employment. Then too guidance is given to children in their choice of work by teachers and parents in collaboration. This, however, is not yet carried out on the fullest scale. There is still an enormous amount of waste, of which we shall have more to say in the following chapter. The allocation of suitable employment to children is as yet in its infancy, although its advantages to the children themselves as well as to the nation are beginning to be more fully appreciated. At the

meeting of the British Association in 1923 a paper on this subject was read by Mr M.H.Tagg, who showed that "the degree of intelligence required of engineering workers was higher than that demanded of other workers"^{1.}

It was also found that "a highly intellectual girl was not so efficient at purely automatic work as one of lower mental development, but that given a position of authority or control, which necessitated higher mental powers, she could prove a most useful official."^{2.} Therefore, the lecturer went on to urge, more attention must be given to actual vocational tests. Individual tests rather than group or ordinary laboratory tests must be carried out seriously if the best results are to be obtained. He finally instanced the claim of New York experts that efficiency had been increased by 75% by the application of suitable tests to prospective employees. What little of this selecting has been done in Britain has undoubtedly proved satisfactory and encouraging. It remains to be carried out on a

1.)
2.) Proceedings of British Association 1923.

much larger scale if the nation is to reap the benefit from the saving of the enormous waste that goes on at the present time.

There is an accusation which in recent years has been levelled against organisations which cater for the demand for cultural education. In the words of the late F.W.Sanderson, the great and admired headmaster of Oundle, it is this: "The Workers' Educational Union, acting in sympathy with the Labour view - that vocational studies are to be avoided - practically taboos technical studies. . . . But this is all disastrous to individuals and disastrous to progress. What the workers should do is to watch for the spirit in their daily work, for it is the work itself which will hold a man to God - nothing else will." ^{1.} This charge against the W.E.A. and similar organisations one cannot but feel to be unjust. At the time when the W.E.A came into being there was in educational circles a keen enthusiasm for vocational training which has not to the present day abated. Indeed technical education

1. H.G.Wells - The story of a great schoolmaster.

has since the beginning of the century become extraordinarily well established, and is certainly not going to suffer from the advancement of non-vocational studies. It was the aim of the W.E.A. then, as it is its aim today, to provide for the other side where there was so much lacking, to take working people out of their work for a little while and to help them to enjoy their leisure hours to the fullest extent in the cultivation of their individual personalities. The W.E.A. has never opposed technical training and is never likely to do so. It recognises the vast importance of such work, while at the same time recognising the equal importance of cultural non-vocational education, which it has made its own particular sphere of effort. "Technical education with nothing but mechanical efficiency in view may have sinister results. . . . Getting the most out of a man is not the same thing as getting the best out of him, though the greater includes the less."^{1.} There is little danger, however, to the cause of

1. B.Yeaxlee - An Educated Nation. p. 19.

non-vocational adult education from such criticism. As was found by the Committee of Reconstruction in 1918, adult education is founded on permanent needs, and "school training however advanced, and however wide in its outlook, though an invaluable preparation, is not in any sense a substitute."^{1.} for that experience of the world brought to the class by the adult student, and which helps him in his maturity to a keen interest in questions which have little meaning for young people.

The real need for this type of work is very clearly set forth in the first report of the Adult Education Committee, who there state as their firm belief, after long and exhaustive enquiry, that the motive for non-vocational education is two-fold. It partly springs from "the wish for fuller personal development. It arises from the desire to knowledge, for self-expression, for the satisfaction of intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual needs, and for a fuller life. It is based upon a claim for the

1. First Interim Report of adult Education Committee.

recognition of human personality. The motive is also partly social. Indeed, so far as the workers are concerned, it is, we think, this social purpose which principally inspires the desire for education. They demand opportunities for education in the hope that the power which it brings will enable them to understand and help in the solution of the common problems of human society."¹ In the light of such findings if they are true - and it is indeed difficult to think otherwise - how can anyone fail to see the valuable place of adult education in the life of the community? One cannot believe that technical training alone, no matter to what degree it is an instrument of liberal culture, can completely satisfy the striving after a fuller spiritual life.

1. First report A.E. Committee.

VI.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

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In the previous chapter the unrest and dissatisfaction of the present day has been referred to. This state of discontent, this striving after the gratification of a vague something is undoubtedly indicative of and characteristic of a period of transition. We are yet undergoing change. Nothing is definitely and unalterably settled. The present era is one of becoming. "Our system of education is attacked, radical changes in the social order are demanded, adequate substitutes for the traditional forms of religion, which have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, are eagerly sought for. Every day novel schemes for educational reforms and social uplift are proposed only to be rejected as inadequate

for the satisfaction of human needs."^{1.}

Just as the nineteenth century has been called the century of science, so the twentieth century promises to deserve the title of the century of education, although, as yet, it can claim no more than to be recognised as a period of experimentation in education. In infant school work, in elementary, secondary and adult educational work experiments are continually being carried out and interesting results being obtained. So far the present century is to be marked by the enormous advance made in the realm of psychology, whose importance as an ally of education is being daily more fully appreciated. It is not so long since unlimited opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge have been regarded as a system of education. Education has now fortunately come to mean more than that. Those who passed through the former so-called system of education and retained, not because of but in spite of that system, the merest traces of intellectual interests and independence,

1. Stewart Paton - Human behaviour. p.3.

happily form a large part of the so-called educational classes. But what of the countless failures? They are either forgotten altogether, or worse still, are condemned for not having made the best use of their opportunities. However, we are passing on to that time when "man, after centuries of effort expended in the attempt to extend his limited knowledge of the universe, will take up the study of himself in a spirit of intelligent, active interest, striving earnestly and in a measure successfully, to obtain self-knowledge. The truth which will eventually make men free will be the truth revealed by patient, careful study of the human individual; and upon this revelation depend many of the hopes for the continued existence of the human race."^{1.} It is this opportunity that the educationalists of today are endeavouring to provide in some measure at least, an opportunity for the acquisition of self-knowledge which is only to be gained by a thorough but wide study of the humanities.

1. Stewart Paton - Op. cit. p.25.

The Workers' Educational Association is one of those great institutions of experimentation which have come into being within the past 25 years, and it is one which has met with grave difficulties and many set-backs. Yet it has triumphed and has achieved a vast amount of success. From the beginning it has stood for education of the highest quality and greatest value to the worker. Its leaders and its large staff of tutors and lecturers have definitely set themselves the task of carrying on their work without being propagandist. That is one reason for the great amount of support which the W.E.A. has received from all classes of the community. But in part, it is also one reason why it has not received the fullest support of certain sections. To obtain the highest type of education which the land can offer, the Association has necessarily come to be closely connected with the universities, which provide accommodation and organise classes of all kinds including Summer Schools, supplying teachers of the very first water from the members of their own staffs.

That the universities cannot do more than they are at present attempting on behalf of Labour is almost entirely due to the state of finance. The universities, the country, the whole world for that matter, are passing through a time of stress. We are experiencing a period of greatest possible economy. When the intricate problem of finance is solved "a great deal of the heartburning and difficulty that exist at the present time will disappear."^{1.} But despite the great efforts made by the universities, and their ever-increasing willingness to do more, the old suspicion of their teaching yet remains to some extent in certain sections of the Labour movement. This suspicion has unfortunately given birth to the development of "an independent working-class educational movement, divorced from the Universities, and carried on under the auspices of specially constituted Labour Colleges,"^{2.} whose policy and teaching is openly

1. Report of Universities' Conference 1923. p.53.

2. Report of Universities Conference 1923 p.43.

propagandist having a definite Marxian bias. While such a state of affairs exists, while there is unfriendly feeling between the two great Labour Educational Organisations, there can never be the fullest progress. What John Stuart Mill said of the universities in 1867 applies to the Labour Colleges today. He wrote then, "the proper business of an University is different: not to tell us from authority what we ought to believe, and make us accept the belief as a duty, but to give us information and training, and help us to form our own belief in a manner worthy of intelligent beings, who seek for truth at all hazards, and demand to know all the difficulties, in order that they may be better qualified to find, or recognise, the most satisfactory mode of resolving them."^{1.}

Fortunately, the spirit of hostility between the Labour Colleges and the W.E.A. seems at last to be abating. The Labour Colleges are at last seeming to realise a little more fully the truth of the claim of

1. J.S.Mill - Inaugural address at St Andrews 1867. p.81.

the W.E.A that their teaching is not against their interests and beliefs. Trade Unions are coming more and more to co-operate with the W.E.A while at the same time they endeavour to carry on the work which they have taken up as their own. The committee of the W.E.A now has Trade Unions associated with it which are providing money for its use, while at the same time the Labour Colleges are entirely financed out of Trade Union funds. Here the question is raised, but one which hardly comes into the present discussion, whether public funds should assist the efforts of education inspired by definite sectarian, social or political views and objects. It is the communist contention that any schemes "should not be debarred from public assistance merely on the ground that they are primarily devised by, or under the control of, particular interests. This proposition goes counter to traditional educational policy and involves the abandonment of much educational practice."^{1.}

An important development of the W.E.A. work is

1. Cambridge essays on Adult Education.

its extension ~~of~~ the country. At first it was confined to the large towns. But since its phenomenal growth in those large towns it has been enabled to extend, to send lecturers and teachers further afield. Until recently it was hardly possible for adult educational centres to be established in rural districts. For all work books are the chief difficulty. Even in the large towns it is not long since Public Libraries have been established. Now, however, most country towns can boast a fair library to which students can resort for further reading. It is a significant fact that since country folk have tasted the pleasures of education there has sprung up a widespread and very strong desire for decentralisation. Although branch libraries have been established in many of the larger towns to facilitate the loan of books, there are other smaller towns which have been provided simply with what are known as 'delivery stations' where books may be obtained on one or two evenings a week. These stations which also loan books for a period have very greatly helped to solve a pressing difficulty.

The more outlying villages in a large number of cases are served by travelling libraries, the books of which are changed from time to time as the need arises. Other attempts, as, for example, the attempt in America to establish a system of home delivery of books, have met with little success. But it is still a fact that in rural districts of Great Britain libraries are very scarce. It has practically been shown, however, that stationary village libraries are not a success. What is needed is a central library from which books may circulate in smaller quantities to the villages within a fairly large area. The matter of controlling such libraries should be one of the duties of the Local Education Authority. There are, of course, many objections to putting them in the charge of the U.E.A., but there is also a very strong case in favour of such a course.^{1.}

During recent years other important efforts have been made in the sphere of adult education. One of these is the effort made by employers to establish

1. Final Report of Committee for Adult education. p. 145.

educational centres for their employees within their works. The training of the young worker in the practice of his craft is, of course, as old as mediaeval apprenticeship itself, but it is hardly necessary to go back more than a few years to find the very earliest efforts at imparting a broader education within the confines of a factory - the forerunner, that is, of the modern works school. Since the beginning of the present century great interest has been aroused in this type of educational institution, until at present there are approximately 100 British firms carrying on systematic educational work.

Just about the time of the introduction of Mr Fisher's Education Bill some scores of firms attempted to develop educational schemes; but only a comparative few survived the flood of reaction and indifference which accompanied or followed the trade slump.^{1.} Of those which do remain the most efficient are those in which the Local Authority plays some part. e.g. The Day Continuation School of the Tootal Broadhurst Lee Co.,

1. R.W.Ferguson - Education in a factory.

at Bolton, and the Staff Training College of Messrs Lever Bros., at Port Sunlight. But perhaps the most comprehensive scheme carried on by any one firm is that adopted by Messrs Cadbury Bros., at Bournville, where the scheme is so many-sided and complex that there is opportunity for the whole body of employees from the youngest to the oldest to take advantage of further education.

Without going into details, it will perhaps be well to outline the extent of this admirable system. In the first place there is the Initiation School where new employees are given a better introduction to factory life. Following that the principal educational institution is the Day Continuation School at which attendance is compulsory for both boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen on two half-days each week. For those between sixteen and eighteen one half-day is compulsory, the other voluntary. Beyond the age of eighteen provision is made for boys up to twenty one in the case of apprentices, and nineteen in the case of office youths,

and for girls for an additional year if so desired. Then besides these schools, school journeys are conducted at intervals; there are Vocational Training Classes, Recreative and Hobby classes, Popular lectures, Youths' clubs etc. A large number of scholarships are given also to higher institutions of learning. During 1922 the number of employees in attendance at the schools was 2,000. The standard of work achieved has been so high that of those who have won scholarships a considerable number have been enabled to take degrees at Glasgow, Birmingham or London University.

The second of the recent developments one has in mind applies rather to the adult who has not been afforded the same opportunity as those fortunate youths who are employed by Messrs Cadbury Bros. It is that scheme which has during the last six years come to be a definite part of the work of the Birmingham University, that scheme whereby the University and the Trade Unions have co-operated to give working-class people in some measure a university training. The

plan, which is not just that of the ordinary W.E.A classes, has worked with great success since its adoption. It does not provide for evening classes, but through a sort of part time system "provides for those in the industrial ranks who cannot afford the time to take a complete course and yet wish to enlarge their minds, to grasp at any rate the fundamental laws which govern the natural world, to trace the development of our state of society, to learn something of the history of the country that gave them birth, and of its relations with other countries, to acquire some knowledge of literature, which has so profoundly interested the thoughts and actions of men and women in the past, and to train the mind for clear and concise expression."^{1.} The University, which formed a special department called the Industrial Certificate Department, supplies the teaching and the use of textbooks free of charge; Trade Unions select the students and compensate them for the time lost from their employment, as the course occupies two full days of each week during the twenty six teaching weeks of the

1. Address by Mr Neville Chamberlain at Birmingham. September 1923.

University session. After examination an Industrial Certificate, which has proved itself of value, is awarded to successful candidates. The scheme has become so popular and has been so successful that it will in a short time undoubtedly be taken up by other universities in the kingdom.

One must briefly refer to the part played by psychology in the life of the worker. A great deal has been done during the past five years to eliminate waste in industry, to do away with the misfit. During the war we learned how many good men there were who should never have been soldiers. Soldiering has relatively little to do with heroism or the patriotic virtues, modern soldiering at any rate. Hundreds, even thousands of men showed themselves unfitted for the profession, although they nevertheless muddled through with the business till it was finished. Similar misfits are to be found in civil life in great numbers, who incur enormous economic waste. It has been said that "the chief cause of the unrest which came in with the industrial revolution was neither

superior education nor inferior wages, but distasteful work . - - In any event, vocational success is not a matter of finding the most highly - paid job: an immeasurably more important thing is to find the most congenial job." That there are vast numbers of round holes occupied by square pegs is now a commonplace, and it is to the task of remedying this state of affairs that psychologists and educationalists alike are at present applying themselves. Numerous experiments have been carried out, particularly in the sphere of psychology, with varying success, until it can now be said with confidence that men and women can be tested and with a great measure of accuracy advised in their choice of employment. The tests, or at any rate the idea of testing is no new thing. It is the application of the tests and the conclusions which have been drawn from the results that are new and so valuable. These are natural results of the newer psychology which has arisen, and which studies disparities between childhood and age, race and race, one sex and the other. The whole of applied psychology depends upon a sound doctrine of individual differences. There

are not, we are told, different mental types, as the old psychology supposed, but only mental tendencies. The ground - plan is the same in all. There is an underlying sameness in men's minds as there is in their faces. On that fact rests the whole value of mental testing, which statistical evidence has made very decisive. Dr Cyril Burt recently pointed out that "even the critics of this so-called mental factor no longer deny that, at least as a matter of mathematical interpretation, the empirical data may be formulated in these terms." And he went on to say "it should be possible to predict, from quite an early age, what will be the probable intellectual level of a child when he is grown up. Within reasonable limits such forecasts can, in fact, be made."^{1.} From this Dr Burt urged that "it is the duty of the community, first, to ascertain what is the mental level of each individual child: then, to give him the education most appropriate to his level:, and, lastly, before it leaves him, to guide him into the career for which

1. Report of proceeding of British Association 1923. p. 225.

his measure of intelligence has marked him out."^{1.}

It is with this third point, the guiding to a suitable career, that we are here more particularly interested and with which psychology has been greatly concerned of late in its endeavour to eliminate the misfit from industry. "In any organization of human effort for any purpose whatever, economic or otherwise, if the best results are to be secured, account must obviously be taken of the differences between individuals in tastes, capacities, and dexterities, both general and special, both congenital and acquired. This is a principle upon which the employer of labour constantly tries to act."^{2.} It is obvious that some applicants for a position will be more suited to it than others. Why should it be left to an employer to discover, after an individual has been at work for some time, that he is inefficient at that work? It is clearly a very wasteful method economically, and a very ruinous one to the individual himself. Particularly is it harmful to the individual

1. Report of proceeding of British Association 1923. p. 225.

2. James Drever - The psychology of Industry. p. 11.

if he is put to one kind of work after another and found to be inefficient at all. How, then, is the employer to choose the best suited? What is to guide him in his choice? It is to help in the solution of these problems that psychologists have been so diligently working. As a result of their work tests have been devised by which a person's general ability and intelligence can be very accurately gauged, although there yet remains a great deal to be done before any very valuable measure of special ability can be obtained.^A But the tests for special aptitude even in their present state of development, although not so certain and accurate as those for general intelligence, are of some value and certainly show great promise. The 1924 Consultative Committee of the Board of Education reported as follows: "We are disposed to think that certain tests of vocational aptitude, have already reached a promising stage of development and should prove to be of considerable service to teachers, parents, employers, and to public and private bodies engaged in recommending or training children and young persons for certain specific

A. NOTE: Dr James Drever has so lucidly expressed the value of the work which has been done, and has given such a detailed account of that work that it seems hardly necessary to do more than refer to his admirable book, "The psychology of Industry," in which he also deals with the American Army tests which were carried out when America entered the war. "Practically all," he says, "who came into contact with the results of this great testing system bear unanimous testimony to its efficiency and success. It has indeed completely vindicated the claims made previous to the war by the advocates of mental testing, that the psychologist was now in a

occupations."¹ So great is the confidence placed in the value of these psychological tests that already in America most of the High Schools have their vocational adviser, and it does not seem long till some position of the kind will be created in connection with the schools or education authorities in this country too. For, at last, educationalists in this country are coming to see what a great number of misfits there are in industry, and, are trying to find the best method of advising and guiding children and parents in their choice of occupation.

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position to measure intelligence with sufficient accuracy and certainty to make mental measurement practically available for social and economic purposes." P.32.

1. Report P.130.

VII

Adult Education Abroad

Perhaps the strength of the movement for the education of adults is most powerfully demonstrated by the fact of its rapid spread to countries overseas. The Workers' Educational Association, for example, while still in its infancy, indeed, when only seven years of age, sought new fields for its expansion, and found its aims and methods gladly acceptable to the British Colonies. America also received much of her inspiration and many of her ideas for adult education from Britain, although the two countries have developed in this realm more or less simultaneously exchanging ideas to their mutual advantage.

Long before either Britain or America had promulgated any scheme for adult education, some European countries had already devised plans and methods, and tried them with varying success, until at present in some of those countries adult education is the really significant factor in their educational systems! In Germany, for example, adult education is one of the pillars of the new structure which she is attempting to

build up after her recent crushing calamity. The old uniformity of the pre-ordained path of education has given place to great diversity, which, in its turn, will be the forerunner of a more firmly established uniform system. In Denmark the People's High Schools, which are her great contribution to adult education, form the great central factor in her whole educational system.

It was following Denmark's unwilling alliance with Napoleon, and her consequent bankruptcy, that Bishop N.F.S. Grundtvig, inspired by a great love for his native language and literature, and by a sense of shame and sorrow at the depressed condition of his country, sought, through a knowledge of Danish History, to revive among his countrymen an interest in national literature. He wished to improve education, to substitute for the aristocratic Latin schools which had dominated education for so long, schools for the masses, where "the mother tongue should be the ruling factor." Having failed to solicit government aid in the establishment of his new type of school, he accepted the help of his friends and established in 1844, the first "People's High School" at Rodding in South Jutland. At the time of the separation of Slesvig from Denmark the Rodding school was

moved to Askov where it has since remained as the oldest of the High Schools. From that time onwards the High School movement grew in strength; new schools were planted in all parts of the country, rapidly gaining the confidence and support of the people and receiving financial aid from the government. These schools have since proved so valuable to Denmark and have so greatly influenced the life and conditions of the people that it is "not too much to say that the progress, co-operation and prosperity of the Danish farmer may be traced back to the work of these early pioneers."¹ Through the work of the People's High Schools and later that of the People's Agricultural Schools, "by the steady raising of the quality of the citizenship of the farmer class; by the practice of team-work in the co-operative societies; by the progressive improvement in their methods of production; and, above all, by the development within them of a strong national spirit founded on good-will to the whole community,"² Denmark has achieved success as an agricultural country. "The prosperity of the countryside regulates the prosperity of the nation," and her leaders in rural industries take a prominent part in national politics.

Adult educational effort in Germany, as was all

1. World Association for adult education. Bulletin No XVIII p.4
2. F.Tate - Rural Denmark p.5.

educational work to a large extent, was almost entirely suspended during the Great War. From 1871 onwards to the outbreak of the war adult education played a great part in the life of the German people, being keenly supported by middle and working class people alike. During the war it was practically dead. But since the revolution of 1918, as has been indicated, a new spirit has animated the community and education has taken a new lease of life, although it is difficult to point to the probable eventual path along which educational effort will proceed. "Everything is in a state of flux; what may be in existence today may have succumbed tomorrow; what appears dead at present may awaken to new life in the near future."^{1.} The movement which prevails at the moment, the People's University movement, is a spiritual effort, and the State, recognising its powerful force, is seconding it by instituting special departments for adult education - an extension of State control to adult education. The chief institution of the movement is the "Volkshochschule" which corresponds in many respects to the English Workers' Educational Association Tutorial Classes, although alongside it and working in conjunction with it is the Trade Union

1. World Association Bulletin No XVII p.2.

School which is designed to meet the more practical needs of the worker. But as yet nothing is firmly established and "it will take many years before Germany sees clearly where the moulding of her efforts in adult education has led to."^{1.}

Generally speaking, adult education in Southern and Central European countries has not been so progressive as it has in the North. In Italy it is too varied and limited by social and political conditions. In Switzerland the education system as a whole is marked by the completeness with which every grade is organised, though the type of organisation varies from canton to canton, as might be expected where differences of race and language exist. Adult education, therefore, is not so far advanced as in the North of Europe, although there is a great variety of modest effort.

While adult education has developed along different lines in different countries, yet it has a distinctly international tendency. Not only have ideas been exchanged between countries, but there has grown up an international movement which has during recent years established its own institutions of learning. For example, there have come into being two institutions at which students from all parts of

1. op. cit p.4.

the world attend - The International University at Brussels in Belgium, and the International People's College in Denmark, which was opened in 1921 with twenty-four students - two Americans, one Austrian, nine Danes, three English, one Irish, one Scotch, five Germans and two Czecho-Slovakians. The success of these institutions is clearly shown by their rapid increase in numbers. Each year more and more students are in attendance, and each year the arrangements are being extended. There are very naturally great difficulties to be faced. Perhaps the greatest are the difficulty of language, and the difference in outlook and standpoint amongst the students. But these difficulties are remarkably well overcome. As a matter of fact a unique opportunity of learning a foreign language is offered under very congenial conditions, and it is reported that students pick up sufficient of the language to be able to understand lectures in a very short time.

The mutual benefit derived from the exchange of ideas is, perhaps, best demonstrated by the exchange which has taken place between Great Britain and America. We, in Britain, for example, owe the conception of our Summer Schools and Meetings to the American Chautauqua movement, while the idea of the local lecture was borrowed by America from

England. And it must obviously be recognised that this cross-fertilisation of English and American ideas will produce the best results if only the movement for adult education will retain this international character. American education as a whole is characterised by freedom, practically the whole resting on popular control, the administration depending on free discussion. The Day Schools form the principal part of the educational system yet there is also an extensive organisation of evening schools.

In the field of adult education differences of form and method are very naturally to be found in different countries. "As the Workers' Educational Association is, perhaps, characteristic of the British Empire, so the Popular Universities are characteristic of Latin countries, the People's High Schools of Scandinavia, and the Chautauqua Settlements of the United States of America." ^{1.} In America, in the ordinary school course the High Schools form the centre of gravity, and, in some cases, award the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Beyond them are the Universities and Colleges which are conducted on much the same lines as our own, and, therefore leave room for a great deal of adult educational

1. Final Report adult education Committee. p.359.

effort outside them. America took up University Extension work for the first time in 1887, and in 1891 the State of New York made its first grant in support. The work is carried on almost entirely on the plan of English University Extension although the lectures are usually more confined to the immediate vicinity of the universities. But the Chautauqua Summer School is probably the most typical of all American adult educational efforts. It was first organised in 1874 and has since grown to such an extent that about 50,000 persons are attracted each year to Chautauqua in the State of New York, where "rowing", sailing, and games provide an unacademic setting for the lectures and other educational efforts - - - A full course lasting for six weeks costs the student about £1.10.0. The lectures are given in groups of ten, and they include in the subjects, English, Literature, , modern languages, classical languages and art, mathematics, science and education.^{1.} Since the first settlement at Chautauqua in 1887, there are now about 1500 other settlements and schools of the same kind in various parts of the country.

A young but significant movement in the realm of adult education in America is that through which the United Labour

1. Ibid p 361

Committee
Education of New York was recently established. This committee, which is formed from about ten trade unions federated for the purposes of education, has already started its work, and has met with a considerable amount of success, although its programme is for the most part a project as yet.

Another very interesting experiment which is, among others, being carried out in America is that known as "University Weeks," which is Minnesota's unique contribution to University Extension. Under this scheme a number of towns within the State are visited, and each treated to a "six-day programme of popular lectures, scientific demonstrations, health talks, vocal and instrumental concerts, dramatic readings and plays. The plan is very much like that of a Chautauqua, with the emphasis placed, perhaps, more on the educational than on the entertainment features."^{1.}

In the British Colonies and Dominions the chief forms of adult education are those adopted in the mother country - University Extension, W.E.A. tutorial classes, etc. But perhaps the most successful of all efforts has been that of the W.E.A. which is now well established in nearly all parts of the Empire. In some of the Colonies adult educational

1. W.H.Draper - University Extension. p.108.

effort has been far more successful than in others for very real reasons. Each country has had its own peculiar difficulties to face and overcome. Australia, whose population is ninety eight per cent British, and New Zealand, where practically the whole of the white population is British also, have had to face obstacles very similar to those encountered in Britain itself. Canada has met with considerable trouble on account of her mixture of races and religions, although since 1914 when a branch of the W.E.A. was established, adult education has progressed more satisfactorily. The problem in South Africa has been enormous. With her vast black population; the recent great influx of Indians; and the undercurrent of jealousy and prejudice which still exists to a certain degree between the white races, she has had little chance to achieve much success in this sphere. Regarding European adult education in South Africa, it was, up to 1915 when the W.E.A. founded its branch there, in a somewhat similar state of confusion as existed in Britain prior to the twentieth century. But even though some advance has been made "no organisation for the adult education of workers has as yet come into existence in Cape Town or any other centre of South Africa save

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Johannesburg and Durban."

In Australia and New Zealand adult educational effort has been rewarded by far greater success. In New Zealand primary and secondary education are of a high standard, primary education to the age of fourteen years being compulsory, free and entirely secular. W.E.A. classes were started in 1915 and have since progressed rapidly. Although there is even now only a small State grant, yet with the aid of contributed funds nearly one hundred classes are held each year and there are half a dozen permanent tutors.

"Although Australia is one of the most recently settled parts of the world it has already a long educational history,"² and that history is a very creditable record of progress., As far back as 1821, while Sydney was still little more than a penal settlement, there were a few private schools and academies, while a State system of primary education was sought even long before the State of New South Wales had been granted self-government. The history of State education in Australia is very similar to that of Great Britain. There was the same hesitancy on the part of the Government to make any decisive move, and there was

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1. Bulletin of World Association. No.XIII p.10
 2. " " No XX p.17

the same furious controversy between Church and State when the Government did finally take a step. The result is that Australia now has an educational system which differs from that of Britain in only one or two respects, the greatest difference being that, whereas primary and secondary education in Britain is controlled by Local Authorities working in conjunction with a central authority, it is under the sole direction and control of the Minister for Public Instruction in each State of Australia. This present system was fixed by a series of Acts extending from 1872 till 1893, and has proved itself to be very efficient, although it is far from perfect - it is difficult to keep pace with the requirements of a growing community. "Primary education has long been compulsory in Australia. Secondary education seems likely to become so in the near future, partly by a raising of the legal age for whole-time schooling and partly by requiring part-time attendance at a trade school by all young people under 18 years."¹

But the State-provided schools are not all. There are in each State numbers of large, prosperous and well-conducted private and church-controlled schools which take a corresponding place in the

1. Prof. A. Mackie - Ch VI Australia (M. D. Atkinson) p.254.

community to the private and public schools of this country.

Each State has its university which is supplemented in most cases by colleges for trade and industry, agriculture, mining, music and fine arts. Thus is higher or tertiary education provided for, the universities being very greatly aided by government grants so that it is possible for the very poorest of students to procure a university training. The consequence is that a very large percentage of the students at Australian universities pay no fees, but receive their training purely and simply as a reward for their scholastic ability. But we are here more particularly concerned with what the universities are doing extra-murally.

University Extension work, which is essentially of the same character in Australia as it is in Britain, was begun in Melbourne, the first of the Australian universities to take it up, in 1891, and was so successfully carried on that Sydney University followed suit two years later. There had been at Sydney for some time a system of extra-mural lectures, but this system had few or none of the characteristics of University Extension. "Within the last year, however, Sydney University has remodelled its scheme and has adapted a constitution resembling that which has worked so favourably

during the past two years in Victoria." ^{1.} From this time onward University Extension spread to other states reaching Tasmania in 1894 and synchronising with the establishment of the Hobart University. In Queensland too, it is interesting to note the fact that there was University Extension towards and not from a university. The work has continued with success in Australia and is even now undergoing the process of further development along with other institutions for adult education. Part of this further recent development is to be found in the newly established scheme for correspondence tuition, which is now carried on very much on the plan adopted in America. This form of tuition was in the case of the Melbourne University its expressed intention when seeking from the Government a special grant for Extension work. It aims solely at assisting by advice and tuition, those students in the country desiring to acquire a knowledge of social and cultural subjects such as History, Literature, Sociology, Economics, Psychology and International Politics. After a little over six months the number of students availing themselves of this kind of tuition was 32, while those who made enquiries but did not proceed numbered 18. This

1. Melbourne University Extension Journal. Dec 1893.

type of work seems to be a direct outcome of the influence of the Workers' Educational Association, which has been at work for a dozen years past, and whose object it had always been to counteract to some extent at least, the tendency to centralisation which is one of the characteristic features of Australian education.

Nearly half the population of Australia is concentrated in the six capital cities, so that the tendency towards centralisation in education has naturally been very great. It was comparatively easy to provide schools for people in the large cities, but it was very difficult to do the same for country folk who often live many miles from any centre. However, the difficulty has been exceedingly well attacked in the case of primary education, the States having planted schools in every conceivable corner of the land where it has been found practicable. But the universities have not met this great need as they might have done. There is an ever-increasing cry from the country for decentralisation. Correspondence tuition is a step in the right direction, but it is only a step and a small one at that. However, there are signs that the great controversy which took place in 1924 between the Extensionists and the Senate of the University of Sydney will bear fruit and that country

students will in the future be considered worthy of a real effort to bring a university training within the realm of possibility for them.

The organisation of the W.E.A. in Australia dates from the visit of Mr Albert Mansbridge in 1913, when he spent some time in each of the States, endeavouring to link up the universities, the outside organisations and the labour movement. The reception which he and his friends received was indeed cordial. "At Melbourne Dr Leach and Dr Barrett had arranged a full programme for us," says Mr Mansbridge. "It was there that it became clear to us that our mission was bound to be successful, so lively was the interest evinced, and so strongly expressed was the determination to organise and to develop the extra-mural work of the University."^{1.} But it was at Sydney that ~~the~~ most complete piece of work was done when Mr Meredith Atkinson was definitely offered the post of Director of Tutorial Classes in New South Wales, and Government Aid was extended to the University in its new work. Since that time, except for a few set-backs, the work has steadily gone on and grown in strength and

1. A.Mansbridge - An adventure in working class education
p. 49.

importance. By 1918 the W.E.A. was well established in practically all the States, the government grant for this work having reached an aggregate total of approximately £7000. During the war the grant had to be suspended so that it became exceedingly difficult to carry on the classes. However, the association struggled on making little headway but managing to keep things going until the Government was once again able to come to the rescue.

From its very beginning the W.E.A. has worked in close co-operation with the universities, especially in the organisation and control of tutorial classes. "The generally accepted principle is that the Association exists primarily to create the demand for such classes, and that this demand is then met by the University Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes."¹ In Adelaide the W.E.A. offices are in the University buildings, while in Melbourne in 1921 it was found expedient to amalgamate the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes with the University Extension Board. A new statute was drafted and ultimately adopted by the Council and Senate of the University embodying the scheme agreed upon by the Board, the Joint Committee, and the Council of the W.E.A.

1. World Association Bulletin no XX p. 24.

Under this new arrangement the secretary of the W.E.A. is also the secretary of the University Extension Board.^{1.} During the past five years adult education carried on under the conditions indicated has made great progress. In Victoria Tutorial Classes have been successfully formed at many outlying centres, particularly at Ballarat, Bendigo, Castlemaine and Geelong. The offices of the Board report that the whole system of classes, lecture courses and educational conferences organised in conjunction with the W.E.A. has acquired a certain momentum which assures to the movement an ever-widening and more extensive influence. That these classes are being attended by people for whom they are held is evidenced by the following classification of the students in attendance in Melbourne during 1923.

Engineering trades	32
Boot trades	40
Distributing trades	36
Postal employees	38
Railway employees	15
Building trades	13.
Printing trades	11

1. Annual report of University Extension Board 1921.

Textile & clothing trades	9
Accountants & clerks	73
Secretaries	4
Civil servants	19
Typists	10
Teachers	85
Students	11
Jewellers	4
Nurses	9
Professional	13
Clergymen	5
Home Duties	81
Agents	4
Miners	3
Miscellaneous	<u>92.</u>
	<u>607</u>

In Adelaide 645 students were in attendance. These students were also drawn from all sections of the community and represented about fifty different occupations. For the same year about 120 classes met in the various states with about 4,500 students on the roll.

The most recent developments in adult education in Australia are the organisations of Vacation Schools and University Settlements. For some time the idea of a vacation school under the Board has been under tentative discussion. In 1921 something of the kind was proposed but had finally to be rejected. But in 1924 under Dr Alex. Gunn, the new Director of Tutorial Classes at Melbourne, in co-operation with the Department of Education, it was finally arranged to hold a vacation school from May 26th to June 5th. The University buildings were placed at the disposal of the Director for the purpose, and during the period the University grounds presented an unusually animated appearance. "The appearance of desertion which is the natural state of the University during vacations has been changed during the current period. Throngs of 'strangers' are visiting the lecture theatres daily in connection with the vacation school which is in full swing. There are 1,200 students of all ages, both sexes being fairly evenly represented." ^{1.} Thirty-one courses of

1. Melbourne "Argus" June 1st 1924.

lectures, in most cases of 10 lectures each, were delivered upon practically all branches of learning from town-planning and agriculture to modern developments in psychology. Altogether the experiment was wonderfully successful, and will very probably become a permanent fixture.

Australia's first University Settlement was also established in 1924 following the plan of the 50 extant in Britain and the 400 of America. In May last a meeting was held at the University of Melbourne to discuss the proposal to establish a Settlement. A provisional council was formed consisting of University men, Labour men, employers and other special social and religious workers, the secretary being that tireless enthusiast, the Rev.

R.G. Nichols of Fitzroy. The sum of £10,000 was asked for, and a campaign to raise it was immediately begun, so that building operations could be commenced at the earliest possible moment. What has been the success of the venture can hardly yet be known. One can only guess at the result of such an effort. The city is a large one, and there are great numbers living in very poor circumstances. Such

an institution as this proposed Settlement is assuredly necessary. Let us hope that it may achieve the success which it deserves.

In conclusion one might add that although there yet remains a great deal to be done in the educational world, yet education alone and unaided can never bring about the longed-for reforms which many enthusiasts would claim. Education alone can never raise to a high level the standard of living of certain classes. We no longer believe with Socrates that knowledge is virtue. Indeed education alone can never affect to any great degree those who are apathetic, who do not spontaneously take advantage of what it offers. All that can be done in the realm of adult education is to provide a means to betterment mentally, morally, and physically for those who will of their own accord accept of it. Education can never be thrust upon adults. It must be provided in response to a spontaneous demand. In that respect therefore, adult education depends upon primary and secondary education. If they are unsuccessful adult education is almost an impossibility. Again, if education is to achieve

anything very much it must co-operate with other arts and sciences which have to deal with human beings.

"At present the educational campaign to direct our energies to better advantage is carried on by various field services, which, working without any knowledge of the general purpose and scope of other operations, are marked by much confusion of intention and enormous waste of energy. The responsibility for this disadvantage must lie in the patch-work character of most of our schemes of educational reform, social improvement and betterment of living conditions. Real progress towards such betterment demands a biological point of view, and intensive co-operation in the numerous departments of research..... The word life should be associated with words suggesting the commonest phases of human behaviour - home, school, college, social and political life, the life of the courts, prisons, reformatories, and of individual persons and groups, such as the life of a community, nation and race."¹.

1. S Paton - Human behaviour.
