The history of the Department of Extramural Studies of the University of Sheffield gives a concise but informative account of the early struggle of the establishment, and the partnership between the University and the Workers' Educational Association. Considerable attention goes to the day-release classes for miners, which began in 1952; and to the past, present, and anticipated role of the Local Authorities. Attention is also directed to the staff policy, staff and cooperation, programs offered, the role of the University, and the needs of the students. (nl)
This survey of twenty-one years is a record of the growth and activity of the Department of Extramural Studies, as seen through the eyes of its first Director, and a contribution to a small part of the history of adult education in England. The section dealing with the early years draws on a mass of material, reaching back to 1910, which exists in the Department, and the last section attempts to indicate some lines of advance for the future.

Maurice Bruce

The main sections of the survey are these:

The New Building .................................................. Page 1
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The Inherited Tradition ............................................ 7
New Functions and Developments ............................... 9
The Ashby Report, 1954, and Its Significance ................ 12
The Teaching Programme over the Years ....................... 16
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A SIGNIFICANT MOVE

By a happy chance the twenty-first anniversary of the establishment of the Department coincides with the removal of its administrative headquarters from the crypt-like rooms it had occupied since 1949 at St. John's Church, Crookes Valley Road, to an attractive house nearer the University. St. John's was the Department's first home, after an unsettled period in a building intended for other University purposes, but was not for some time available for the Department's sole use, since it had to be shared with Architecture and Geography, both of which held some of their classes there, and with Forensic Medicine. It had been intended to be only a temporary arrangement, while more suitable accommodation was found, though like so much that is temporary it was to last for many years, in this case for more than eighteen. The Extramural offices occupied what had been, in the Church's flourishing days, Sunday School rooms, rooms with high windows and no outlook, distinctly cell-like in character. Above them was the Church itself, the presence of which could be heard, in organ tones, on the occasion of weddings and funerals and, more frequently, when the organ was being tuned or used for practice. Architecture and Geography, though not Forensic Medicine, eventually moved away to better quarters, and their rooms were then taken over for the Department's teaching and library purposes. By 1955 in fact a modest adult education centre had been brought into existence. The new rooms were under the Church's social rooms, however, and could not therefore be used in the evening, because of the strenuous activities of the Church's Youth Club overhead, which on several occasions brought down substantial portions of the ceiling, and always made any academic activity underneath altogether impossible: it was doubly fortunate that some of the Department's most important work was developing in the form of day-time classes. If there was any Centre by 1955 therefore, it was a somewhat incongruous one. Traditionally Extramural work has always been in the main an evening activity, and evening work was out of the question at St. John's, while despite the departure of Architecture and Geography the strange, though very friendly, partnership with Forensic Medicine was to continue. Moreover, there was little space for staff rooms, and as lecturers were appointed they had to be housed wherever the University could find space for them, usually at some distance from the Department. Interior arrangements at St. John's were in any case awkward, and the exterior was gloomy and forbidding. Whatever was done inside to improve matters, and much was done, still left much to be desired.
These irksome conditions the Department had to endure from 1955 for a further thirteen years. While so much of the rest of the University was ill-housed there could be little cause for complaint, but as new buildings were erected and other Departments were rehoused, the contrasts became more noticeable, and the Department felt more and more a poor relation. From 1959 onwards its advisory committees regularly pressed the University for better accommodation, but it was not until 1968 that at long last a move became possible. Now the Department is housed in a pleasant early Victorian building, only a short distance from the University, in which most of the present staff can be accommodated, and with ample space at the rear, which is being put to good use for a new library block and some parking space. The library block also provides a lecture room, suitable for a class of moderate size, which will be in regular use, though most of the day-time classes will continue to be held at St. John's, which will therefore still be part of the Department, though relegated now to the role of an annexe. The change in the Department's circumstances is a dramatic one, and it is not too much to say that it has had its effect on morale. There is a feeling that after twenty-one years the Department has arrived.

UNCERTAIN BEGINNING

It may seem a limited approach to twenty-one years of activity to concentrate first on accommodation, but, quite apart from the value, on several counts, of reasonable working conditions, consideration of the circumstances under which the Department was inaugurated suggests that in accommodation, as in other matters, there was little preparation in the University for its establishment. There was much good will and friendly interest in the University (though perhaps rather more reserve outside), but little notion, it would seem, of what an Extramural Department should be expected to do. (Hence a suggestion on one occasion that a single clerk might suffice for the Department's Office). By tradition Universities tend to establish Departments and leave them to work out their own destiny, but an Extramural Department if it is to be effective should reflect so much of the activities of the whole University that it calls for more considered integration with the University generally. The question is, in fact, whether Extramural activities are peripheral, a purely departmental activity with which the rest of the University has little direct concern, or form a shop-window (or "University off-licence", as has sometimes been brightly suggested) through which the University can be projected to the community outside. The uncertainty was reflected in the particulars of the proposed post of Director of Extramural Studies which was circulated to candidates in 1946, and which defined the duties of the appointment as including, in addition to existing activities, "the promotion of interest in University subjects (such as Greek and Architecture)", and "the provision of single public lectures in the University and elsewhere". The choice of subjects indicated a somewhat random approach, as Extramural Departments are normally precluded from teaching languages, and public interest in architecture is to a considerable extent limited — no doubt, unfortunately — to the study of historic buildings.
W.E.A. BACKGROUND

Rather more serious was the failure to relate the possible development of the new Department, before it was formed, to the established work in adult education to which the particulars referred. The University of Sheffield had itself been an outgrowth of the pioneer University Extension work of the University of Cambridge conducted by James Stuart in the 1870s, but, although a small amount of lecturing of the traditional University Extension kind was carried on by the University as it developed, the bulk of its own contribution had since 1910 been made by the Workers' Educational Association, organised locally in a Yorkshire District which in 1929 was divided into separate Districts for Yorkshire North and Yorkshire South. Members of the University staff had done a great deal over the year to assist the W.E.A., and were indeed sometimes encouraged to take classes in order to augment woefully inadequate salaries. The University itself, however, had been in the main an acquiescent partner with the W.E.A., serving for the most part as the channel through which the assistance of the Board of Education could be obtained. The W.E.A. had proved remarkably effective in organising the demand for adult education in the University's area, and at the outbreak of war in 1939 had built up a programme of some eighty classes, most of which were three-year tutorial classes. Associated with the classes was much vigorous voluntary social activity, based on the W.E.A.'s forty branches: all this did much to enrich life in the industrial area which has its centre in Sheffield. Some of the work was not perhaps quite as significant as it looked on paper, for many students attended year after year (it was not unusual for what was basically the same group to attend three, four, or even five consecutive three-year classes, and one sample survey by H.M. Inspectors showed that about one-third of the students had been attending classes for more than five years, one-sixth for more than ten). Nor were students always stretched to their limit, while, for all that was done, the numbers involved represented only a small proportion of the population of the region. The then District Secretary of the W.E.A. spontaneously acknowledged in 1947, indeed, that for all his efforts the achievement was not always as good as it looked, and this was also the view formed by H.M. Inspectors in the survey they made a few years later. Yet much of value was done, and many students acquired not only intellectual enrichment, but an opportunity by means of scholarships to proceed to full-time higher education, while others were helped to more effective participation in local government and trade union affairs. It was perhaps the greatest service of the tutorial class movement, led by the W.E.A., that it did something to remedy the limited educational opportunities which were all that so many industrial workers had received, though the significance of the social life of the most active W.E.A. branches is not to be overlooked in these days of infinitely greater opportunity of so many kinds. In fact, the classes had an important social as well as educational function.

The partnership between the W.E.A. and the University in tutorial class work was embodied, in the customary way, in the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes, a Committee of the University Council, which had been in existence since 1910. The University employed for the
Committee's work three Tutors who were full-time members of staff, and eight others who, though holding no contract of service, were employed on a full-time basis, and were known by the elegant appellation of "full-time non-staff tutors". This was not an uncommon situation at the time, when grants to Universities were small and funds for adult education were still calculated according to a tradition of voluntary activity which was dying hard. It is to be feared, however, that Sheffield's record in the employment of "non-staff" was a somewhat notorious one.

On the Joint Committee sat representatives of the University and the W.E.A., in equal numbers. It was in 1946, in accordance with the hopeful spirit of educational advance which followed the passing of the 1944 Education Act, that the University decided, in consultation with the Local Authorities and the W.E.A. itself, to set up a Department of Extramural Studies to extend its contribution to adult education. At a meeting of the Joint Committee in May of that year W.E.A. representatives expressed concern at this proposal, however, and a University representative tactfully urged that the relationship of the Joint Committee's work to the new Department should be settled before a Director of Extramural Studies were appointed. Unhappily this advice was not followed, and the eventual establishment of the Department in June 1947 was followed by a long period of W.E.A. uneasiness, reflected in a puzzled enquiry from the then District Secretary to the new Director, on his taking office, as to what he would find to do. The Association had difficulty in reconciling itself to the new situation under which, for instance, the Joint Committee became a sub-committee of a new Board of Extramural Studies consisting of equal representation of the University, the Local Authorities and the W.E.A. itself. The apparent loss of direct control was regretted, and it was to be many years before the W.E.A. became reconciled. Reconciliation became possible, in fact, only after the Joint Committee itself had been abandoned. Yet joint work proceeded through all the years of difficulty, though unfortunately on a diminishing basis. The conditions of the 'fifties and 'sixties were not those of earlier years, and despite the Department's help the W.E.A. was slow to adjust to new needs. When, for instance, the experiment of day-release classes for coal miners, which has proved so significant an innovation, was launched in 1952, at a time when few miners were being attracted to normal classes, the South Yorkshire W.E.A., though invited to take part, was critical of the new approach, even seeing it as a threat to productivity. Since 1952 hundreds of Derbyshire and Yorkshire miners have passed through the Department's three-year day-release classes. A substantial number has proceeded to higher education, and one miner-student has in fact become a member of the Department's own staff, while the standard of work done has been much higher than in the earlier tutorial classes, as tutors have testified who have had experience of both kinds of class. It is ironic under these circumstances to recall that at the Joint Committee meeting in 1946 a W.E.A. stalwart, who had long given devoted voluntary service to the movement, expressed the fear that the educational interests of miners might be neglected by the new Department. In fact it can with some justice be claimed that more has been done for industrial workers since 1947 (or since 1952, when day-release classes started) than before. Conditions have been favourable, it is true, but
the Department can justifiably take some pride in having maintained and extended a tradition of University service to the industrial community that has by no means been preserved in all parts of the country. The Department would manifestly be failing in its duty if it did not, in an area of heavy industry, pay particular attention to the needs of industrial workers, and it is pleasant to record that after its earlier hesitation over the special provision for miners the W.E.A. has thrown itself with enthusiasm into the further provision made in more recent years for steel and engineering workers. It should be recorded, too, that from the first, in 1952, the neighbouring East Midland District of the W.E.A., which was directly concerned with part of the Derbyshire coalfield, lent its active support and aid to the day-release courses for miners in Derbyshire. This help, and that of the Nottingham University Department of Adult Education, did much in fact to make the new courses possible.

CO-OPERATION WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES

These early difficulties are recorded as a matter of history, and as an indication of the problems presented by developments the implications of which, for various reasons, had not been worked out in any detail. They typify in only too familiar a manner, in fact, problems of national development in education. Strangely, a feature of Extramural work which has become increasingly significant in more recent years, direct co-operation with Local Authorities, was not referred to at all in the particulars drawn up in 1946. For long Local Authorities have been making grants to the University for classes conducted in their areas, but the Education Act of 1944 gave them broader responsibilities, requiring them to secure an adequate provision of adult education and to co-operate with other providing bodies. For many years most Authorities were too much engrossed in other educational developments to do a great deal more than provide a measure of grant-aid and other help to the University for its classes, but it was evident that in time they would give more direct attention to adult education, and from the first the Director's annual reports made reference to the gradual development of practical co-operation. In the somewhat euphoric conditions of the immediate post-war period the University had established, with the W.E.A. and the Local Authorities, not only a Board of Extramural Studies to supervise its own Extramural work, but an Advisory Committee for Co-operation in Adult Education, intended to keep under review all adult education provision throughout the Extramural area. It soon became apparent, however, that no rapid expansion of adult education could be expected while so many other educational developments were taking place under conditions of economic stress, and the lack of adequate resources among all providers ruled out any risk of overlapping provision. Significantly enough, the Committee ceased to meet after 1952, the year in which the first economies were imposed on the post-war expansion of adult education (to be followed in 1953 by the threat of a cut which led to the appointment of the Ashby Committee). The Board of Extramural Studies did not, in the event, achieve any much more notable success. Its meetings soon became a matter of formality,
receiving reports on Extramural activities but rarely taking any signifi-
cant part in the planning of developments. There is always, of course,
a strong case for a largely formal body by the authority of which work
is carried on: indeed, such a body is essential when the expenditure of
public money is involved. Under section 100 of the Education Act of
1944 the Ministry of Education recognised appropriate provide,es of
adult education, other than Local Authorities, as “Responsible Bodies”
to which grants could be made in aid of their work. Following the
normal practice the Council of the University had established the Board
of Extramural Studies, with representation from the L.E.A.s and the
W.E.A., and named it the University’s “Responsible Body”. Inevitably,
however, membership of the Board contained few people directly con-
cerned with the day-to-day work of adult education, and increasingly,
as the years passed, the need was felt for machinery for practical co-
operation: this has particularly been the case in more recent years as the
Local Authorities represented on the Board have begun to build up their
own adult education staff.

The whole position was eventually reviewed in 1965 by a special
committee of Senate, which took particular note of developments
among Local Authorities and proposed means for ensuring more direct
contact and co-operation. A small “Extramural Liaison Committee”,
headed by the Vice-Chancellor, was established, and arranged meetings
with Chief Education Officers. From these meetings a series of practical
projects in the planning, organisation, conduct and assessment of adult
education has emerged, in which members of Extramural staff are jointly
involved with colleagues in the W.E.A. and Local Authorities. The
intention is that adult education throughout the area should be seen,
despite the variety of providers, as one, with the University as its obvious
centre. This, though it has taken long to achieve it, would seem to be
the logical outcome of the decision in 1946 to establish in the University
a Department of Extramural Studies, and various other developments
would seem equally logically to follow, in particular, attention to Adult
Education as a subject for study and research.

THE ADULT EDUCATION ASPECT

The Department was established as a Department of Extramural Studies,
that is, as a service to the public outside the walls of the University, who
through the Department’s lectures and courses could share to some
extent in the intellectual life of the University as a whole. This is a
different concept from that of a Department of Adult Education, which,
strictly speaking, should concern itself with the training of staff and with
research into adult education as a subject in its own right, rather than
with the organisation of a public service. An Extramural Department
to be efficient must have at least some concern with methods of teaching
and presentation, and must be able to help those engaged in its work
to become proficient, but these are only some among the many tasks
to be tackled. An Extramural Department, in fact, is concerned with a
service rather than a subject. Yet the two functions have been widely
confused. Some Universities have established Departments of Adult
Education which have in fact been hardly more than Extramural
Departments, and the scale of adult education in England has hitherto been so limited that the scope for serious investigation has also been small. If Adult Education is ever to mean anything other than Extramural provision it needs special resources and a division of function, such as has been achieved, for instance, at the University of Manchester. In Sheffield, the limitations of resources and the need to concentrate for many years on the creation of an efficient departmental structure, together with the heavy demands on resources of all kinds of the special programmes for industrial workers, kept the purely Extramural aspect dominant. There was never until recent years a case for any major project of training, or any inducement or encouragement to look at problems of adult education in any broad context. With the development of greater Local Authority concern with adult education, however, the situation has changed, and it has become an obvious duty of the University to endeavour to provide the kind of help which it has long provided for other aspects of education. An Institute of Adult Education, or a Department of Adult Education in a broader Institute of Education, may be a possibility, and a need, of the future. To meet immediate needs, and to ascertain what may in time be necessary and possible, some special appointment in adult education in the Extramural Department is essential. From this, if it could be achieved, much might grow, not only in the Department itself, but also in service to colleagues outside. Given that greater, if still inadequate, resources are available to meet recognised needs, the investigation of need in relation to provision in an area such as that of the Sheffield sub-region offers great opportunities. Working with colleagues in the field, by whomsoever employed, a specialist in adult education could expect to make a significant contribution. There perhaps is the most obvious line of new advance, but it would be a direct development from what has gone before, which reaches back to 1947 and 1910, and even into the 1870s and the earlier efforts of People's College and Mechanics' Institutes.

THE INHERITED TRADITION

So far the staffing of the Department's work, whether full-time or part-time, has been dictated by the recognised needs of teaching, the Extramural aspect, that is to say, has been uppermost. On its establishment the Department found itself, as has already been mentioned, with three established members of staff and eight others to whom, though there was no formal obligation, the University had a moral responsibility on account of their years of service to the Joint Committee, extending in one case over thirty years. The three members of staff were Dr. D. Crowther, Mr. W. Gawthorpe and Mr. J. I. Roper, who had been appointed in 1925, 1923 and 1938 respectively (though Mr. Roper had been taking classes on a non-staff basis since 1924). Two of the "non-staff" group, Mr. A. A. Eaglestone (well known under the nom de plume of Roger Dataller) and Mr. W. E. Whittington, who had been taking classes since the early 'thirties, were added to the permanent staff, the others in the main continuing in their non-staff role until they reached retiring age. The last of the group, Mr. H. Bacon, took classes until 1957, the year which also saw the retirement of Mr. Eaglestone.
Mr. Gawthorpe had already resigned in 1951, and Mr. Roper retired in 1958, though he continued to take classes for a time. Dr. Crowther unfortunately died in 1963, the year before he reached retirement, and Mr. Whittington retired in 1964 (spending his last year as Mayor of Doncaster, the culmination of a long period of service as a Councillor).

In view of his long experience Mr. Roper had for some years had a special responsibility in the Department for its joint work with the W.E.A., and he had done much to help the District to adjust itself to the Department's existence, a task which from 1956 was eased by the appointment of the District's third Secretary, Mr. R. H. Roche, with whom close and friendly working relations had quickly been established. Dr. Crowther had also been for many years an ardent worker for the Association, which he had served as Honorary Treasurer. His untimely death was a great shock to the many who had admired his devoted work, and a memorial fund was established, from which it is hoped periodically to arrange public lectures on subjects with which he was concerned in his teaching. The first lecture was given in 1964, appropriately enough by Professor W. J. H. Sprott.

The retirement of Mr. Whittington in 1964 brought to an end a notable line of pioneers of adult education, who had been active in the W.E.A. since the 1920s. With them, it may be said, there passed the heroic age of adult education in South Yorkshire. In earlier days, as the records show, classes had been fewer and there had been something of an aura of the remarkable about them. "On occasions even the most serious-minded students felt that they required some kind of diversion at the end of a week's work of a lighter kind than Economic History", wrote a lecturer in 1911, without any suspicion of irony, of a class at Barnsley which had been meeting on Saturday evenings, though he added that the intelligent response of his students, when they were present, sufficed to show that the teaching of Economics was not wasted on them:

"Of course, the scientific treatment of subjects that are of burning concern to them was new and strange to their minds, and sometimes a little unpalatable. But they gradually acquired the habit of taking a more dispassionate and wider point of view."

The rapid expansion of the classes in the 'twenties and still more in the 'thirties, after the establishment of the South Yorkshire District, removed any occasion for so patronising a tone, and the stress fell rather on the social content and contribution of the work. It was then that the impact of the W.E.A. most effectively made itself felt, and although the University presided over the work its contact with it, except through members of the internal staff who took classes, was somewhat tenuous. Even the full-time staff engaged on the work felt themselves in practice to be closer to the W.E.A., while the non-staff tutors had for the most part progressed themselves to academic careers through W.E.A. classes.

The war-time record of the work, from 1939, was an impressive one, and classes were kept going to a remarkable extent, aided by a reasonable relaxation of standards of enrolment and attendance. Inevitably, however, the relaxation extended to some extent to the actual work of the classes, and it was unfortunate that, when it was decided to establish a Department to be responsible for the work, advantage was not taken of
the opportunity to examine it critically, and make something of a fresh start, as was, indeed, done at this time elsewhere in the country. The new Director certainly found himself faced with a difficult situation. He could not but agree with the W.E.A. District Secretary, on visiting some of the classes, that they were less satisfactory than they appeared on paper, but the W.E.A. itself, in view of its long record of success, was not easy to move, and was indeed suspicious of any suggestion of change, as a number of episodes revealed. Moreover, the Director was almost headed off from any attempt to bring pressure to bear by one of H.M. Inspectors, who having had long experience of the area had a respect for the W.E.A.‘s achievement which, while soundly based, took too little account of the need for re-adjustment to changing conditions.

NEW FUNCTIONS AND DEVELOPMENTS

It was under these circumstances that the Department of Extramural Studies came into existence on 1st June, 1947. The new Director had been James Stuart Lecturer of the Cambridge Board of Extramural Studies, and had had a good deal of experience of lecture courses of the University Extension type, together with some experience of W.E.A. classes, which he had not found markedly different, whether in method or in the type of student involved. He was not, however, well prepared for a situation in which the University counted for so much less, and soon came to feel that the interviewing committee had made an unwise choice. There is evidence to suggest that knowledge of the difficulty of the situation narrowed the field of candidates, but it may have been the new Director's experience of University Extension work that caused the choice to fall on him. His task he has seen from the first as ensuring that the University's contribution to adult education in the area should be direct and effective, and aimed not so much at a particular kind of provision as at the participation of members of Staff in activities of various kinds. The particulars of the appointment, as drawn up in 1946, though they did not go far gave something of a lead, and a common attitude in the University, which saw Extramural work only in established W.E.A. terms, represented a challenge. The Department was in fact established on the eve of a great expansion of all forms of higher education, which in a short time was radically to alter the character of the University of Sheffield. From its origins in 1879 the University, in common with other “civic Universities”, had been essentially a local development, precariously based and catering mainly for students from its area who lacked the means or opportunity to attend an institution of higher prestige. The far greater resources of the past twenty years have converted a local to a national, and even international, institution, and turned the local students' majority of earlier years into a minority. Under these circumstances it is to a considerable extent the Extramural Department which can continue the tradition of service to the local community. This was not necessarily apparent in 1947, when the scale of future University expansion was only modestly conceived, but in the event a policy aimed at increasing the University's contribution to adult education was to prove a sound one. The first essential in 1947 was to strengthen the new Department's teaching resources. Ministry of
Education policy made it possible to appoint more full-time staff, though salaries were still largely restricted and assessed on a class-fee basis. The existence of the "full-time non-staff" team, not all of whom could be taken on to the staff, left only limited scope, however, especially as an early meeting of the Board of Extramural Studies, while pointing out that employment could not be guaranteed to them, decided that they should receive "special and sympathetic consideration in view of their past services". The decision to take only two of them on to the staff undoubtedly caused some concern, but it proved possible to employ the rest on a part-time basis until their retirement, though the problem of providing for tutors whose services, as the years passed, were no longer in demand for classes was raised in the Board on a number of occasions, if without any solution being found. The Department's first new appointments were made in 1949. The Derbyshire and Lindsey County Councils had asked for the appointment of Resident Staff to organise Extramural work, and Mr. J. M. Bestall and Mr. G. R. Hawkins, respectively, were appointed, while Mr. J. Mendelson became the first new member of staff at the centre. It is not proposed here to list all staff appointments and changes over the years, but it must be recorded that by 1968, as against the 11 full-time staff which, in effect, it had inherited in 1947, the Department had only 12 members of teaching staff, in addition to Mr. Bestall, who having been appointed Deputy Director in 1963 was only partly engaged in teaching. A thirteenth appointment, made possible by the Department of Education and Science in 1968, could not be taken up as the University was unable to meet its share of the cost.

STAFF POLICY

Several of the staff appointed over the years have moved on to interesting positions, the two most notable being Mr. Mendelson and Mr. J. T. Park, who entered Parliament. Extramural work demands special qualities which are not always easily found, or adequately assessed at interview, and the Department has had its share of staff who have realised that their interests lay in other directions. The policy of making special appointments, has, however, more than justified itself. The Department is, of course, able to call on the help of many members of the University's Internal staff, and it is a major part of its duty in this way to project the University to the local community. Specialists in various subjects are, however, needed in the Department itself to give a lead in the development of work in their subject, to build up a team of University teachers (and, if necessary, others) interested in it, and in general to advance the subject among the public. Mr. Bestall has long performed this task in the field of History, and Literature and Drama are the concern of Mr. J. D. Hainsworth, Psychology that of Miss S. Shimmin, and Art that of Mrs. G. Moray. Most of the remaining members of staff are principally concerned with the day-release classes for industrial workers, in which the immediate responsibility rests on Mr. M. Barratt Brown for steel and engineering, and on Mr. W. A. Hampton for coal. The team is in some respects an unbalanced one, but has been developed in response to urgent needs in teaching, while many gaps in subject provision have remained unfilled through lack of funds.
One decision of policy that has affected the type of appointment made to the staff has been the abandonment of resident posts. In an area so concentrated as that of Sheffield there is not the same need for resident appointments in outlying territory as exists in the more extensive areas of many other Extramural Departments in the country, and there have been doubts of the advisability of isolating staff from the University. In any case, financial limitations and other immediate needs in teaching have made it impossible to build up at the same time a specialist team at the centre and an organising one on the periphery.

STAFF AND CO-OPERATION

The build-up of W.E.A. classes before the war had been largely the work of the team of non-staff tutors, working closely with the local branches, and the District's policy was opposed to the creation of any but a minimum of staff appointments. This in essence was the policy which created difficulties of moral responsibility for the University. After the war Ministry of Education regulations made it possible for W.E.A. Districts to appoint organising and teaching staff of their own, and most of them took advantage of this development. The South Yorkshire District, however, loyal to its traditional policy, endeavoured to maintain "voluntaryism" against what was felt to be an increasing "professionalism" until the mid-'fifties, when the decline in the number of branches was so serious as to necessitate a reassessment of the position. A number of staff appointments has since been made by the District, in Derbyshire, the West Riding, Lindsey and Sheffield, and the Department has been glad to welcome each member of the W.E.A. staff as a close colleague. The appointment of adult education staff by Local Authorities has already been referred to. This has followed a broadening and liberalisation of the traditional Further Education provision of Evening Institutes, which is certain to be of increasing significance. The first steps in the new policy were taken by the West Riding some years ago, and from 1953 onwards the Department was involved in discussions with the County's full-time Principals which led to much interesting joint activity, outstanding in which was a series of day-time courses for clergy at Wath-on-Dearne, which continued for a number of years. Developments in other Authorities came later, but are now assuming significant proportions. The possibility of making resident University appointments is still raised on occasion, but with these developments in L.E.A. and W.E.A. policy would seem still less valid than previously, while the prospect of acquiring funds for such posts in the near future is equally unlikely. It would seem a more constructive policy to make the Department a centre for the consideration of adult education needs and developments, and to give its staff special responsibilities for contact with fellow-workers in particular parts of the area, and it is on these lines that co-operation is now being worked out. A series of conferences has been planned to take part in the Department, with working-parties established to investigate particular needs and problems and made appropriate arrangements. Each member of the Extramural staff now has contact with those responsible locally in some part of the area, and it is hoped that through these contacts not only will
the help which the Department can give be extended but broader problems of adult education will be kept constantly under review.

INTEGRATION — THE ASHBY REPORT AND STAFF

With this building up of Extramural staff, and development of contacts with others involved in adult education outside the University, has gone a long process of integration of the Department with the University in general. This became more readily possible with the publication in 1954 of the report of the Committee on the Organisation and Finance of Adult Education, chaired by Sir Eric Ashby, which had been appointed by the Minister of Education in the previous year, after the storm aroused by the decision to reduce government grants to adult education. The Committee made recommendations which had an important bearing on the Department's work as it was by this time developing. In the matter of staff it recommended that the limit set on salaries should be removed, and this, when implemented by the Ministry, meant that salaries could be brought into line with those of Internal staff. The implications of this change were considerable. With salaries no longer related to a total teaching programme on a class-fee basis, parity of status with Internal staff was achieved, and for the first time a career structure in University adult education was created. No longer was the work to be thought of as on a part-time basis; henceforth it could have its specialists on a secure basis like other University teachers. By 1963, indeed, the Department had its first Senior Lecturer, in addition to the Deputy Director, and two further Senior appointments have been made since. The final change, which gave Extramural staff the same titles as Internal staff, was made in 1964. Hitherto, on account of the origin of the three-year tutorial class in the Oxford tutorial tradition, staff had been known as Tutors. The greater range of the work in recent years, and the integration of staff with the rest of the University (signalised in 1963 by the first promotion to a Senior Lectureship) had made a distinct title less desirable, the more so as it had no other recognised place among University titles. Extramural staff therefore became Assistant Lecturers, Lecturers, and Senior Lecturers, like all other members of University staff, though in view of the character of the more intensive aspects of the Department's work "tutor" continues to be used as a generic term. By a significant, though unconscious, coincidence the change was made in the year of the retirement of Mr. W. E. Whittington, who, as already mentioned, was the last to retire of the pre-war team of Joint Committee Tutors. Nineteen sixty-four, like the appearance of the Ashby Report ten years earlier, therefore marked something of a watershed in the Department's history, and indeed rounded off the changes brought about by the Report.

THE ASHBY REPORT AND STUDENTS

It would be convenient at this point to consider other recommendations of the Ashby Report which were relevant to the Department's experience. Recommendation (10) urged that "less prominence should be given in future to the length of course as compared with other and equally important criteria", and (11) and (12) that courses could be arranged
for special groups of students, even if a vocational interest were present, provided that other students were not unreasonably excluded. These recommendations reflected changes already taking place in Extramural programmes throughout the country, and not merely in Sheffield. Here by this time, while the number of Joint Committee classes had fallen seriously, shorter courses by University staff were increasing. A survey made by H.M. Inspectors in 1951-52 had shown, indeed, that there had for many years been "an inflated number" of longer, and nominally more demanding, classes on the Joint Committee programme, and had drawn attention to the fact that this had also been the view of an earlier report in 1927. It was clear that the provision of longer courses needed to be more closely related to the purposes aimed at, and that there were many people for whom a short course by a University specialist was as much as they required. In fact, as has already been suggested, the Joint Committee classes had for long been serving a social as much as an educational purpose, and it was to this aspect that some part at least of their pre-war success could be ascribed. The point was brought out at a meeting of the Board of Extramural Studies which considered the survey presented by H.M. Inspectors. Certain W.E.A. members of the Board, who remembered the heroic days and deplored their passing, regretted also the decline in full-time non-staff tutors, whose livelihoods depended on stimulating the demand for classes, and who therefore served to some extent as W.E.A. organisers. These W.E.A. representatives felt that there was among established staff "some lack of belief" in the social aims of the work. This was but to regret, however, a changing pattern brought about by changing circumstances. It was clear that the Ashby Report recognised that changes had taken place, and the Report made possible a greater variety of Extramural provision, better suited to the needs and interests of the new times.

DAY-RELEASE CLASSES

The recognition of the possibility of arranging courses for special groups of students was particularly helpful at a time when the Department was engaged in the development of an entirely new type of Extramural course, day-release classes for mineworkers. These had begun in 1952 as an attempt to solve the problem of forming adequate classes of the traditional kind for miners. To ensure attendance the classes were conducted in the day-time, and the students' loss of wages was made up, at first entirely from Union funds, later jointly by the Union and the N.C.B. The classes had the enormous advantage that the students came to them fresh and that they could therefore be expected to tackle their work seriously. The results were impressive: the ground covered and the work done were far greater than in normal classes. The venture had its origin in a discussion between the Director and the Secretary of the Derbyshire Area of the N.U.M., Mr. Bert Wynn, in July, 1952, when, the possibility of day-time classes having been raised by the Director, Mr. Wynn suggested that they be held in working hours, with the Union making good loss of wages from its funds. From that moment the project did not look back, and since then it has been extended, first to the Yorkshire Area of the N.U.M. and eventually to the steel and engineering industries, while
other Extramural Departments have taken up the idea in various forms and it has been adopted by the T.U.C. Education Scheme. In putting forward his proposal Mr. Wynn had in mind the day-time attendance at the University College of Nottingham, which he and many others had been enabled to make many years before by the Miners' Welfare Scheme operated by the Nottingham Department of Adult Education under Professor Robert Peers. The new scheme carried this original idea much further and drew on Union, rather than merely Welfare, funds. It therefore opened the courses to many more students, and a group of twenty from the Derbyshire coalfield has indeed been enrolled for a three-year course every year since 1952, a remarkable record. But for the Ashby recommendations such a volume of work concentrated on a particular group of students would hardly have been possible. Yet the new courses were essentially an adaptation of traditional tutorial class methods to new conditions. They were in every way a joint venture, which drew on much past experience and involved many people and interests. The original syllabus for them was drawn up by K. J. W. Alexander, then a Lecturer in the University and now Professor of Economics at the University of Strathclyde, who for several years took a leading part in the teaching. Mr. Wynn, to whom the courses owed so much, was given an honorary degree by the University on the tenth anniversary of their establishment.

OTHER SPECIAL INTERESTS

The idea of catering to special groups was extended to other occupations, such as the Church and the Ministry, social work and the police, and the advantages of this kind of development have been manifold. It is most necessary today that professional and other workers should be able to come together to consider their tasks and their responsibilities in depth, and to be helped to see them in social perspective. Though it had begun before 1954 this aspect of Extramural work has been greatly extended since the Ashby Report appeared.

THE EXTRAMURAL ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

An important administrative development in the University which arose from consideration of the Report was the creation of an Extramural Academic Committee, consisting solely of members of University staff, to advise and assist the Director. The Report in recognising the leading part played by the Universities in adult education, and in making the recommendations for the development of the work which have already been considered, placed still more responsibility upon the Universities and therefore on their Extramural Departments. Under these circumstances the Director felt the need for machinery for formal consultation within the University, and the need was increased by difficulties which had arisen in relations with the W.E.A. The Committee first met in December, 1954, and has proved its value to the Department in regular meetings since that date. In addition to normal routine business it deals with all matters concerning Extramural staff and the position of the Department in the University, and is able to consider any developments, whether local or national, affecting the University contribution to adult
education. At the same time as the Committee was formed, the Joint Committee was suspended, co-operation with the W.E.A., which continued to be effective, being handled administratively. By a not insignificant coincidence the national organisation of Joint Committees, the Central Joint Advisory Committee for Tutorial Classes, which had been in existence for nearly fifty years, also ceased to operate shortly afterwards, in 1956. The pattern and organisation of University adult education were taking new forms even as changes were occurring in the type of need met and provision made, and it is interesting to observe how national developments were anticipated or reflected at Sheffield.

W.E.A. REVIVAL

It has already been noted that relations with the W.E.A. improved with the appointment of Mr. Rochell as District Secretary, and the position of the W.E.A. itself also began to improve. Although no Joint Committee has been re-established, formal co-operation has been ensured by the presence of five W.E.A. representatives on the Board of Extramural Studies, but the close working relations of the Department with Mr. Rochell and his colleagues have been of greater practical importance. An unusually interesting venture was the planning by the Department in 1958, jointly with the W.E.A., of a programme of “Trailers”, devised to stimulate interest in new subjects and approaches among W.E.A. branches and potential centres of interest. This project produced some useful results, though in view of the decline of many W.E.A. branches not as much as had been hoped. Many other joint enterprises flourished, however, and when Mr. Rochell resigned in 1966 to return to his native North Wales it was the Department’s Administrative Assistant, Mr. J. R. Fisher, who was invited to apply for the vacant post, and was appointed to it. This step might be regarded as closing the period of adjustment that had begun in 1947.

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS

Mr. Fisher’s move was an unexpected one, but in making the change to a position of greater scope and responsibility he was only continuing a tradition established by his predecessors. It may be noted here that the Department’s first Administrative Assistant, Mr. H. E. Bell, was appointed in 1952. He later moved into Internal University administration at Bristol, and is now a Senior Assistant Registrar at Reading. His successor, Dr. H. Blakemore, after a time took up a teaching post in the Department and then moved to the School of Oriental and African Studies: he is now Secretary of the recently-established Institute of Latin American Studies at London. Two later Administrative Assistants have become, respectively, a University Lecturer and a Steelworks Manager. Mr. Fisher’s translation was therefore not exceptional. All of the Department’s Administrative Assistants have had interesting later careers, though the present holder of the post, Mr. H. P. Neal, moved the other way, coming as he did from an unusual career in Cathedral singing.
THE TEACHING PROGRAMME

This survey has been concerned, up to this point, with administrative problems and policies, but although these have inevitably loomed large it is the teaching work actually undertaken that provides the real interest of an Extramural Department as much as of any other academic centre. The pressure of administration has normally prevented the Director himself from undertaking much more than occasional lecturing, and while arranging interesting and exciting assignments for others he has at times felt a lively sympathy with Dr. Johnson's celebrated description of himself, in his lexicographical days, as a "harmless drudge". Fortunately spare-time drudgery, after many difficulties, produced a pair of books that excited interest in the United States, and led to invitations to teach there. The University is generous with leave in such cases, and the Director has been able to spend three summers in America, while plans for a whole session's absence are in hand. Such absence would not be possible without adequate help in the Department, which is fortunate to have in Mr. Bestall, who joined the staff in 1949, a Deputy who is well qualified to serve as Acting Director.

Mr. Bestall himself has been a pioneer of the study of Local History, and introduced methods of work by students on original records which have become a prominent part of the Department's programme. He and Mr. Tillott, who share this aspect of the work between them, even with the help they have been able to enlist, are hard put to it to meet all the demands which public interest makes upon them. This, however, is only one of the new lines of interest developed in the programme over the years. Great variety has been cultivated in subjects, treatment and length of course, and the work has ranged from single public lectures to three-year courses which have sometimes been extended even a little further. The first short course of special lectures was arranged in 1948 to mark the centenary of the "Year of Revolutions", and set the pattern for much later development. The opening lecture was given by a distinguished historian, Sir Lewis Namier, to an audience of some 200 people, though 100 more had to be turned away. The rest of the series was given by members of University staff, including the familiar names of Professor G. R. Potter, Mr. W. H. G. Armytage and Dr. G. P. Jones (the two last being not yet Professors). Among other activities of the first session which may nostalgically be recalled was a special course for German Prisoners of War, inspired by a similar course which the Director had visited at Cambridge. The comment of one prisoner, "You have shown us that we still have minds", rings down the years.

VISITING LECTURERS

From the first commemorative project has followed a number of courses and single lectures, some given by visiting lecturers from other Universities and others by Sheffield staff. A Bach tercentenary was commemorated in 1950, a venture which led to the establishment of a notable Bach Society which still flourishes, while, among other occasions, Mozart was recalled in 1956, Prince Henry the Navigator in 1960, and in 1966 the Reform agitation of a century earlier. Visiting lecturers have included
It was the response to the first visit of Professor Piggott in 1955, when he described to an enthusiastic audience of more than 300 his recent work at Stonehenge, that inspired the arrangement of a series of public lectures on archaeological and similar topics under the title *New Light on the Ancient World*. This series has become a regular and looked-for feature of the Extramural programme, with a strong following. Quite apart from the current interest in early history there is an obvious appeal in the presentation of new light on old problems, and the idea has been extended with success to other subjects. Ancient History first appeared in the programme in 1948, in the form of a course by Professor R. J. Hopper, and has never been absent from it since. From evening lecture courses at the University it developed through visits to sites of prehistoric and early historical interest in Britain and thence abroad. Weekend courses to the Roman Wall have been arranged on a number of occasions and there have been study tours to Ireland (twice), Italy (thrice), Denmark and France. Mr. Bestall has been responsible for most of these tours, though in recent years Mr. Tillott has also taken part. Each tour has been prepared with a series of lectures, often not merely attended by those who were members of the party, and followed by reunion meetings to consider again what had been seen. Ancient History, in many of its aspects, could be presented by members of University staff, though it was to be some years before the appointment of Dr. W. M. Bray to Professor Hopper's Department made it possible to develop archaeology. Much help has been given by local Museums, and the co-operation between the Department and the Sheffield City Museum has been particularly fruitful. Nor must this aspect of the work be concluded without a reference to Leslie Armstrong, one of the last of the amateur pioneers of the Palaeolithic, who gave many lectures and courses for the Department, despite his years, and received an honorary degree from the University.

**ART HISTORY**

A related subject which was much more difficult to include in the programme, because of the lack of a University Department in the subject, was the history of art. For many years an appointment in this subject was a frustrated aim of the Department, and not until 1963 were the necessary resources made available. It then took a whole year to find a suitable candidate, but at last in the summer of 1964 Miss Gerta Glasser, now Mrs. Neville Moray, was appointed. In the meantime a number of courses in the subject, given by visiting lecturers, were arranged, especially in connection with the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibitions, though one particularly successful course of 1958, on Byzantine Art, was associated with a special exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Miss Glasser's appointment made it possible to offer more, and more extended,
courses, and she also took part in a study tour of Southern Italy and Sicily. During the session 1967-68 she was on leave of absence with her husband in the United States, and the Department was fortunate in finding a temporary replacement in Mr. Michael Stone, who as part of his programme led the Department's first study tour to Holland to study Dutch painting.

MUSIC

Music has also had its place from the first, though an appointment in this subject is still an aim of the future. There has been much co-operation with the University Department of Music, and Dr. Phillip Lord, who has taken classes for many years has been able, in co-operation with Miss Glasser, to link musical studies with art history. He has also arranged performances in connection with courses. In earlier years recitals were given in courses by two notable pianists, Dennis Matthews and Iso Elinson.

LITERATURE AND THE THEATRE

Much has been done in the field of Literature, both English and foreign, which has in recent years been the particular province of Mr. Hainsworth. Of outstanding interest among occasional ventures has been a series of poetry recitals, which have drawn large audiences. Among the poets welcomed have been Edith Sitwell, T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden, and the first recital, which indicated the scale of public interest, was given by C. Day Lewis and Jill Balcon.

Among the Department's many co-operative ventures has been a series of lectures arranged jointly with the Sheffield Playhouse. These began in 1956 with a commemoration of the Shaw centenary, and have continued since, usually, and most successfully, arranged in connection with particular dramatic productions. In recent years Mr. Hainsworth has been the Department's link with the Playhouse. He serves on its play-reading committee and helped to devise the spectacularly successful entertainment, The Stirrings in Sheffield on Saturday Night, based on aspects of the social history of the City in the nineteenth century. With the Playhouse's help too he has mounted popular courses on "The Arts of the Theatre". Another of his successes has been a programme of day-time courses for Housewives. These began from a suggestion from an evening group which preferred the idea of meeting in the day-time, when more housewives could attend, and have developed into what has fitly been called "housewives' day-release", to match the trade union day-release classes. More of these courses are now demanded than teaching resources can provide. The idea has been extended, with equal success, to history.

BIBLICAL STUDIES

Among other subjects of general interest which have provided a number of successful courses has been Biblical Studies. The standards were set
by Professor F. F. Bruce when he was at the University, and he also gave the first lectures on the Dead Sea Scrolls, which have proved to be of perennial interest. One of the few languages which an Extramural Department can properly concern itself with is New Testament Greek, and several courses have been given, associated, of course, with a study of the texts.

SCIENCE

In the field of Science successes have been less striking, and, while it has been possible to a certain extent to arrange courses at an advanced level for people with some scientific qualifications, general public interest has been slower to stir. The Department was the first in the country to appoint a Physical Scientist to its staff. Dr. H. D. Turner joined the staff in 1950 with an enthusiastic desire to provide a programme of courses in science to match other subjects. After some years, however, he found himself baffled by a persistently unequal response, and turned to University administration. Since his resignation the problem has been no nearer an enduring success. Many successful courses and single lectures have nevertheless been arranged over the years, and recently the “New Light” approach has been applied in courses on “The Science of Life”. In fact, the biological sciences have always proved a more fruitful field than the physical, which would seem to deter the non-specialist public, while the needs of the scientifically-qualified tend to be met by the numerous societies active in the area.

Some of the most striking successes in science have been in the Applied Sciences, in the form of special residential courses requested by the R.A.F. for officers, first in Jet Propulsion, then in Rockets and eventually in Nuclear Propulsion. These courses were largely arranged by Professor M. W. Thring, who was, as always, apt at practical illustrations of principles and techniques.

Another development in science was the provision for some years of special lectures for sixth form pupils in Sheffield schools, which were organised with the help of an informal committee of specialist staff from the schools. The success of these lectures was in part responsible for the creation of the Junior British Association, which followed the British Association meeting in Sheffield in 1956.

PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS

Reference has been made earlier to the development of courses for special professional or semi-professional interests. In addition to a number of courses, most of them in Psychology and Psychiatry, for Clergy and Ministers, there has been a wide range of courses for social workers, and since 1956 special two-year courses in Law, Psychology and Sociology have been arranged for officers from local Police Forces. Under the Lord Chancellor’s scheme, too, lectures on various aspects of their duties have been arranged for Magistrates. Other courses of professional interest have been the seminars for Managers conducted for several years by Miss S. Shimmin. The provision for social workers led in 1961 to
a request from the Central Training Council at the Home Office that the Department should undertake a one-year full-time course of training in Child Care, as part of a national programme to extend social work training. The proposal was accepted and the first course was held in 1962. Since then 78 students have passed through the course and have received the Home Office Letter of Recognition. Eventually, no doubt, there will be more specialised provision for social work training of all kinds, but in 1961 the Department was the only source readily available in Sheffield, and it has been glad to play its part in an important development.

OTHER CENTRES

All that has been said illustrates only part of the Department's multifarious activities, and in concentrating upon what has been done in Sheffield pays insufficient tribute to so much work done in other centres. The years of co-operation with the Public Libraries at Chesterfield, Rotherham, Worksop and Retford and with the Museums at Doncaster and Scunthorpe call for much more than a mere reference, though space does not permit more here. There has been much fruitful co-operation also with Technical Colleges, which has led to close working relations with the Colleges at Doncaster and Chesterfield in the day-release courses for trade unionists. Recently special centres for adult education have begun to come into existence, the first of them at Chesterfield, and they open significant possibilities for the future.

DAY-RELEASE TEACHING

It has been upon the day-release course, of course, that much of the Department's resources have been concentrated: eight members of staff are largely engaged upon it, and have the co-operation of W.E.A. and Technical College colleagues. With the course goes much ancillary activity in weekend schools, and the Easter School at the Miners' Holiday Home at Skegness has for some years been a highly popular feature. A more unusual ancillary activity is the regular production of The Bookshelf, a collection of reviews of appropriate current literature for day-release students, past and present. In 1963 H.M. Inspectors surveyed the work, and their report presented both encouragement and helpful advice: "an outstanding venture in adult education" was their final verdict. The courses are intended to give active trade unionists a broader understanding of their industrial organisation and its problems in the setting of the national economy, but inevitably some students develop latent abilities during their three years of study, and move on to some form of higher education. In 1966, admittedly an unusual year, 10 of the 98 students who completed their three years went on in this way. A Derbyshire student who started his course in 1956, Mr. R. H. Heath, is now a member of the Department's staff, and is teaching in the course on which he was once a student, joining four others of the staff who had entered on their University studies as mature students, a fact that gives them a particularly sensitive understanding of the needs of the day-release students.
The Department continues to insist that if this important part of its work is to be done it should be done well, that most students on a part-time course of this kind need the three years of contact with University teaching that they are offered. There is much discussion elsewhere nowadays of the provision of shorter courses, but it is essential that the educational purposes and possibilities of the work should be kept in mind. There can be no slick approach to the study of the complex problems which face the British economy and those who work in it.

The very length and seriousness of the courses has been an attraction to visitors, and the Department has been especially fortunate in having over the years no fewer than five Fulbright Fellows from the United States taking part in its work. One of the five, Dr. R. C. Reinders, provided the best justification for what is being done when he commented in a report on the "sea change" which he could see in the students between their first and third years. There have now developed from the courses for Derbyshire and Yorkshire miners two research projects, one, conducted by Mr. Heath, with the help of some of the students, an enquiry into the holiday patterns of Derbyshire pits, the other, on a larger scale, an investigation, under the guidance of Mr. Barratt Brown, of the female labour force in the South Yorkshire "grey zone".

THE LIBRARY

Underpinning all the work that has been touched on is, of course, the Department's library service, the supply of books to classes from the 16,000 volumes which the Department possess. The books which the Department inherited in 1947 were stored in a cellar, and had to be handled literally with gloves. The Department now possesses a handsome library building at its new headquarters, conveniently arranged for the receipt and despatch of book boxes. The present organisation of the library was the achievement a few years since of Mr. Tillott, who still presides over it, but the detailed work is now the responsibility of a part-time qualified librarian, ably assisted by an experienced member of the office staff.

SOME FRIENDS

Finally, a word on the support the Department has received over the years from so many who have taken part in a variety of ways in its activities. It would be invidious to name individuals, but perhaps an exception can be made in the case of three, now retired from the University's service, who, though they were never able to achieve all that was required, never failed in interest, patience and friendliness — Dr. J. M. Whittaker, sometime Vice-Chancellor, Professor L. E. S. Eastham and Professor G. R. Potter — and to them should be added the name of the late Dr. J. G. Boswell. Professor Potter's long interest in the Department's work is commemorated in the title of the George Potter Lectureship in Local Studies.
CONCLUSION — THE FUNCTION OF THE UNIVERSITY IN ADULT EDUCATION

The record of developments since 1947 having been sketched, it would be appropriate to attempt to draw some conclusions, and in particular to ask what in the changing conditions of the times the function of the University in adult education can reasonably be said to be. Hitherto that function has clearly been one of leadership. The Universities were pioneers in the extension of teaching at a high academic level at a time when University graduates formed but a small part of the population. Whether through the Extension movement from 1873, or through the W.E.A. and the Tutorial Class from the early years of the present century, the lead in the provision of liberal adult education (to use a phrase more easily understood than defined) has long been in the hands of the Universities; originally with Cambridge, Oxford and London and, later, with others, though some came only late into the field. This is not to say that there were no other providers, but simply that the Universities were responsible, directly or indirectly, for the greater part of what was offered (they even influenced, by stimulating a reaction against their style of teaching, the growth of politically aligned adult education). Inevitably, however, provision was unequal over the country, and it was always inadequate. Not until the 1944 Act was passed was there any conception of complete coverage, with the responsibility for securing it placed on the Local Authorities who alone could undertake the task, and with so many other educational claims to be met progress was necessarily slow. Further, the whole conception of liberal adult education was for too long linked to the notion of University entrance. The Extension movement was originally intended to provide contact with University teaching which would enable some at least to proceed to full-time study, and the tutorial class was similarly devised to prepare the way for entrance to Oxford. What actually developed in both cases, the formation of student groups combining study with the satisfaction of social purposes, achieved much wider aims, but was still restricted to a fairly narrow range of activities. Local Authorities were at the same time developing not only vocational further education on a part-time basis but also adult recreational activities which were, however, completely divorced from local Extension and W.E.A. groups, who were often enough divorced even from each other. In the case of the joint University-W.E.A. classes the concentration on the great ideal of the three-year tutorial class as almost the only legitimate form of provision undoubtedly inflated much worthwhile effort beyond its true scope. A more broadly based range of activity would have been more appropriate, but was hardly possible until well after the 1944 Act, while it was the Ashby Report, as has been indicated earlier, that finally eased the restrictions on University classes. Meanwhile, because of the lack of adequate organisation, much that was done was handled mechanically, and regulations were sometimes obeyed in the letter rather than the spirit, as is clear, indeed, from the early records at Sheffield. Various devices were resorted to, for instance, to meet the demands of regulations that tutorial classes should entail the production of "written work" by students: the work was too often produced for administrative rather than educational reasons. "Written work" has, in fact, long been the bane of adult education. If a class is to be successful active student participation
is essential, but the writing of papers is only one way of ensuring this, and that not necessarily the most useful. Given that the English educational tradition is what it is, however, it was for long the production of written work that was the test of serious purpose. The greater freedom of recent years and the greater range of subjects studied have made it possible to develop student participation in more helpful and significant ways, of which the variety of activity in the day-release classes for industrial workers and the work done on records in local history classes are notable examples.

THE FUTURE

The scene now is of much greater breadth and range, with the Universities rather less dominant than for so long they were. The future lies with the Local Authorities and with the widely-based centres that they are beginning to develop, centres which offer a range of adult education activities at various levels and catering for a variety of tastes. In these will be found as their organisation develops the social activity which will make them the modern counterpart of the Extension society or W.E.A. branch, though in true English style all three types of student grouping will continue to exist side by side. Similarly, as the Local Authorities build up their specialist staffs the Universities and the W.E.A. will continue to maintain and develop theirs: each has a particular contribution to make, though in future they are likely to be made increasingly in collaboration rather than in isolation. Two needs, in fact, have long been felt, more organising staff to investigate need and provide for it, and better facilities for the work. Whatever the scale of University and W.E.A. organising staff in the past (and there was little of it before the 'thirties), it was never adequate to its task, and the creation by the Local Authorities of staff on the ground to stimulate and encourage the work will for the first time make adequate provision possible, though it is likely to be many years before staffs can be adequate to the need. By the same token the creation at long last of centres appropriate for adult students will help to create an entirely new image of adult education. Too often in the past adult classes had to be taken in schoolrooms used in the day-time by young children: the stories of students sitting on the desks because they could not get into them are no exaggeration. Much excellent work was done under these conditions, for they could not damp the ardour of keen students with good teachers, but the effect of the new accommodation, specifically created for adult use, which has been erected in many parts of the country has shown how much greater is the response to more suitable facilities. The location, equipment and even the arrangement of rooms for adult classes exert a significant influence on the character and quality of the work done. England has had compulsory elementary education for less than a century. Adult education as we know it has largely developed during that time, but its growth has been empirical and only now can we begin to see the beginnings of a pattern of provision adequate to modern needs.
THE UNIVERSITY ROLE

In the new pattern the Universities will still have an extremely important part to play, though one somewhat different from their role in the past, and the experience of the Sheffield Department over the years suggests what that part will be. Three aspects can perhaps be distinguished. It is clear, in the first place, that many people, including a certain number who are prepared to face winter journeys, appreciate the opportunity of coming to the University itself. At the University are to be found lecture-rooms, large and small, which can be put to Extramural use, and public lectures which attract large audiences (and which now call for the additional aid of closed-circuit television for overflow meetings and for recording for later showing) demand large lecture-theatres. Much Extramural work is, however, of a more intimate character, and needs small rooms, carefully equipped for class use, and near to library facilities. Such rooms the Department can best provide, and it is therefore important that it should have its own teaching centre, which it will need also in the daytime, when the availability of other University accommodation is more restricted. No small part of the general Extramural programme is likely to find its place, therefore, at the University.

Through the Department the University can, secondly, help to provide adult education in every part of the area with which it is principally concerned. It can provide single lectures, courses and classes as part of its own programme, and can also assist other agencies with their own provision. Increasingly what is provided is likely to take place in local centres, and University staff may well give some assistance in the management of these and contribute to their value as centres of social as well as educational activity.

Thirdly, as suggested earlier, the University should serve as the local centre for adult education studies, bringing together all staff engaged in the work, and providing them with opportunities for training and investigation. For this some academic provision for the study of adult education as a subject, not merely assistance in providing classes, will be required.

A further possibility, on which there is as yet little information, is the creation of special courses and qualifications for part-time adult students, on the lines of the Extension Colleges of American Universities. The notion of "continuing education" is an attractive one, and though not identical with the "philosophy of the second chance" which has so long characterised much English adult education, is not unrelated to it. The day-release classes in particular have shown how much talent is still latent, how many even among high-fliers the educational net fails to hold at school level, and the needs have not been fully met by the State Mature Awards that have been granted for some years now. The Open University will presumably provide much that is required, though a great part of the work done by the students of that University will have to be done in local tutorial centres, and there may even be scope for independent work in other Universities. (The Open University might best have been projected, indeed, as a co-operative venture, as proposed some years since by a committee of the Universities Council for Adult Education, of which the Director was convener.) The remarkable experience of the Extramural
Department of the University of London certainly suggests that a development of adult education qualifications is a possibility.

STUDENT NEEDS

Amid all the discussion of plans for providing adult education the needs and interests of the students themselves must not be overlooked. What will they want, and will what they want fit conveniently into administrative categories? Again, we must look to the Department's experience for a lead, and that experience is to a large extent a reflection of developments in all parts of the country, as is shown by the long series of annual reports of the Universities Council for Adult Education (the first three of which, from 1952 to 1955, were written by the Director). Four main types of need can perhaps be identified. There is first, and most obviously, what might be called the "general cultural" aspect of adult education, the interest of people, whatever their educational background, in the study of a subject for its own sake, for the enlargement of experience and understanding which it gives them, and indeed for sheer pleasure. Under this head must be included the concept of "new light", of knowledge but recently discovered, which conveys its own appeal. Secondly, there are many courses of professional interest, providing a background of understanding to professional and similar tasks. Thirdly, there are courses of a "refresher" nature, which are likely to become increasingly important with the advance of knowledge and the increase in the number of people with educational qualifications. Finally, there are courses of an intensive nature, exploring a limited area of knowledge in depth, and intended in the main for people without much educational background who can nevertheless be carried forward in a limited field provided that the conditions and guidance are of the right kind. This last need has long been an essential feature of adult education and has found its modern expression particularly in the day-release class.

With all these tasks to perform the University is not likely to cease to play an important part in adult education. What it can offer in particular is the help of specialists whose duties require of them that they should keep abreast of their subjects and contribute to their advancement. Not all educational institutions can provide the scope which is an essential part of the University teacher's activities, though it stands to the credit of the English University tradition that so many members of staff over the years should have had the sense of social responsibility which led them into work "outside the walls". (The contrast in such countries as Germany and Japan, where there is little University involvement in adult education, is a striking one.) Yet experience has shown, and the experience of Sheffield not least, that without an Extramural Department to channel the interest of members of staff the work outside the walls cannot be directed to the best advantage. It is to be hoped that the achievement of twenty-one years, inadequate though that seems to the first Director, may have proved at least sufficiently well the value of the University contribution to adult education in the Sheffield area, and the value of the Department itself to the University.
EXTRAMURAL STAFF, 1947-68

This list names, in alphabetical order, members of the teaching staff who held their appointments for more than a short period, and indicates in the case of those who have left whether they retired or moved to another appointment. The names of Fulbright Visiting Fellows are added.

H. Barnes
J. M. Bestall
H. Blakemore (to the London School of Oriental and African Studies)
M. Barratt Brown
D. Crowther (deceased)
A. A. Eaglestone (retired)
W. Gawthorpe (retired)
Gerta Glasser (Mrs. N. Moray)
J. D. Hainsworth
J. L. Halstead
W. A. Hampton
R. J. Harrison (to the University Department of Political Theory and Institutions)
R. H. Heath
F. K. Hedderwick
N. P. Howard
J. D. Hughes (to Ruskin College, Oxford)
Rachel Jenkins (to Smith College, U.S.A.)
N. V. Kay
J. Mendelson (M.P., 1959)
J. T. Park (M.P., 1964)
J. Peel (to the University of Hull)
J. I. Roper (retired)
Sylvia Shimmin
P. B. Smith
M. H. Stone (1967-8)
P. M. Tillott
A. Morwenna Toleman (to the Child Care Service)
H. D. Turner (to the University Registrar's Department)
W. E. Whittington (retired)

Fulbright Visiting Fellows:
E. F. Melder (Clark University, 1956-57)
M. Handsaker (Lafayette College), 1957-58
R. C. Reinders (Tulane University), 1965-66
M. D. Speizman (Tulane University), 1967-68
Connie Kopelov (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America), 1967-68