Since its founding in 1862, Vaughan College of the University of Leicester has moved from a working men's institute offering elementary education to adults through a period of domination by the Workers' Education Association (WEA) to become a lively institution offering to adults university level courses in several locations. During 1946-1966, the University's extra-mural courses increased from 72 to 255 and its enrollment from 1,484 to 5,657. Students now attend voluntarily courses which have been established by the university, based on its own market research. At the same time, the concept of university extra-mural programs has narrowed to provision of part-time university education, given outside the walls of the university, by full-time university teachers to adults capable of studying at the undergraduate level or above. The present courses can be grouped in four classifications: reparative (classes provided in cooperation with WEA to introduce adults to university level education), renovative (courses to help persons keep abreast of new knowledge in their professional fields), reintegrative (classes to round out one's education, and recreative (courses providing exercise for students' intellectual powers).
Thought and Action in Extra-Mural Work
Leicester, 1946-1966

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Preface

In this paper I seek to record the various changes in my thinking about and activity in university extra-mural work during the past two decades, that is, from the time when I became Head of the Department of Adult Education in the then University College of Leicester until now. It is very much a personal record, especially the earlier part which deals with the re-shaping of the foundations of the work, but the later part is much more departmental in that the thinking and activity were shared with my colleagues. What emerges is a departmental conception of university extra-mural work and joint activity animated by that conception. This is not to say that everyone on the staff is committed one hundred per cent to the Department's current policy and practice, but that the policy is generally acceptable and the practice broadly congruent with it.

In the title of this paper I place thought first and action second, as though the one always preceded the other. This is, of course, not so. Thought and action in extra-mural work, as in most other aspects of life, constitute a reciprocal process and primacy cannot really be assigned to either.
Leicester's Department of Adult Education occupies much the same position in the world of extra-mural studies as does the city's football team in Division I of the League Table — about the middle. It may, therefore, seem rather presumptuous, even egotistical, of me to devote a paper of the length of this one to the thinking and action of the Department during my time as its Head. My justification for writing this account is three-fold: first, I believe that the changes in extra-mural work which have taken place in the Leicester region are illustrative of the changes which are taking place in the world of extra-mural studies generally; secondly, I believe that Leicester, partly through the good fortune of having a relatively small and compact extra-mural region, has been able to demonstrate, probably more clearly than any other University, that the public for extra-mural work is far greater than has generally been imagined;* and thirdly, I

*Leicester's extra-mural region contains a total population of c.1,022,000. With c.5,000 individual students attending the Department's classes and courses, the percentage attracted and held amounts to c.0.5, or 1 in 200. The region also contains c.25,000 people who have had a full-
believe that by exhibiting the changes which are taking place in thought and action in Leicester, and by showing the extent of the support given to it, this paper may help to further the changes and to encourage the state and the universities appreciably to increase their investment in extra-mural work.

In this record few failures have been noted. Failures there have been, of course, but luckily none of any significance. Round about 5 per cent of our promotional efforts have failed annually and about another 5 per cent, which did not fail in numerical terms, have disappointed us, either because students or tutors or both did not measure up to our notion of university standard. But no new type of venture which we started in high hopes ever came to naught. The luck in this is in part a reflection of my good fortune in the staff which has served the Department during the past twenty years.

time education up to or beyond 20 years of age, or are in the Registrar-General's socio-economic classes 1, 3 and 4. Leicester attracted and held c.20 per cent, or 1 in 5, of these. It is certain that in no other university region has penetration of this depth been achieved.
Members of the academic and administrative staff are mentioned in the text, but I would like here to pay tribute to the zeal of the Department's office staff, and in particular to Miss Jean Farquhar, who has been my Secretary for twenty years, and who prepared this paper for publication, Miss Margaret Schneider, Secretary to a succession of Organising Tutors, Mrs Dorothy Shilcock, who has long looked after the payment of the Department's lecturers and tutors and compiled its statistics, and Miss Joyce Matthews, Secretary to the Administrative Officer. Finally, I would also like to take this opportunity of thanking the University, and especially its present Vice-Chancellor, Mr T A F Noble, and the Registrar, Mr H B Martin, for constant encouragement and support.

The University of Leicester
May 1967
First Impressions
I came to Leicester twenty years ago from Belfast where I had charge of one of the most extensive university extra-mural regions in the United Kingdom - the six counties of Northern Ireland. Here, in striking contrast, the region for which I was to be responsible amounted to no more than a single city and not a large one at that. Why had I given up the one region for the other? The chief reasons, I believe, were these: first, Leicester had Vaughan College, the only university centre of adult education in the country, and I had a wish to see what I could do in the realm of institutional adult education; secondly, the headship of the Department of Adult Education at Leicester had professorial status, whereas at Belfast I was but a Lecturer-in-charge; thirdly, the salary offered by Leicester was far better than that being paid by Belfast; and, fourthly, being an Englishman, I wished to return to my own country lest I might there become
a forgotten man. The first reason was, I feel sure, the most important. Ever since I had seen Vaughan College twelve years previously, it had acted as a lode-star in my professional life. And now, after waiting so long, the chance had come to try my hand as Director of this already venerable institution.

Vaughan College was founded in 1862 as a Working Men's Institute, with Library, Reading Room and Classes.* Its foundation had been inspired by the London Working Men's College under the Principalship of Frederick Denison Maurice, and to signalise the Institute's progress it was in 1869 renamed The Working Men's College and Institute. Much of the teaching given during its early years was of an elementary nature. Large numbers of grown men - stockingers, cordwainers, building trade operatives and mechanics - learned to read and write and sum through the labours of its numerous voluntary teachers, but opportunities for studying history, literature, Greek and Latin and Biblical subjects were annually provided, however few takers there might be. As the great Forster Education

*Fuller details of the History of Vaughan College will be found in my Vaughan College, Leicester: 1862-1962, Leicester University Press, 1962.
Act (1870) made its influence felt, the need for the College to provide elementary education generally faded out. Thereafter, through a continuous process of adaptation to changing educational and social situations, the College (renamed in 1908 Vaughan College in memory of its founder, David James Vaughan) became a kind of independent grant-aided evening institute, but with a programme which included 'liberal' elements.

Once, however, the Local Education Authority was able to develop its own adult educational institutions and the Workers' Educational Association came into being, the days of the old College as an independent institution were numbered. In 1929 the building was handed over to University College in accordance with an arrangement about its future use agreed upon between the Governors of the College, the Council of University College and the Local Education Authority. Under this arrangement University College would maintain the building and establish within it a Department of Adult Education to promote extra-mural classes and courses, and the LEA would promote classes of an evening institute type. Roughly the two bodies were to share the building equally between them, the LEA undertaking to pay rent to University College for the accommodation used by its classes, and also
to make a grant in aid of the extra-mural provision organised by the Department of Adult Education. The main reason for the arrangement was financial; University College could not at that time afford to maintain Vaughan College as an institution without outside help. But, in any case, no one then imagined that the building could ever be wholly occupied by either of its prospective users.

There was an earnest wish among the parties to the arrangement that although the two sides of the work of Vaughan College were to be administered separately, the one by a Director of Adult Education, the other by a Superintendent, both sides would cooperate to make the College into a unified institution with a common life such as could be found in Morley College, London, or Swarthmore Settlement, Leeds. To facilitate the growth of a community spirit, a joint Common Room and a joint Library were provided, and joint clubs and societies, as well as a joint Students' Union, were to be established. This complicated arrangement was made even more so by the presence within the College of the Leicester Branch of the Workers' Educational Association, in collaboration with which most of the class provision of the Department of Adult Educ-
ation came to be made. Before long the WEA had literally captured the College,* partly because its Secretary occupied a key position within the institution, and partly because the extra-mural students had been well organised under the banner of the Association, whereas the evening institute students were entirely without organisation.

Whilst he was at the helm, H A Silverman, the Director of the College, prevented the WEA from exerting too powerful an influence over College programmes and policy, but he readily made use of the zeal and organising gifts of the more committed of the Association's members. They were to be found occupying the leading positions in the Students' Union and the various College clubs and societies, and they constituted a useful source of voluntary labour when publicity had to be got out, rooms re-arranged or functions supervised. These were, of course, the days when everywhere university extra-mural work and the work of the WEA were generally thought to be, and usually were, co-incidental.

*On the day of my appointment F L Attenborough, Principal of University College, mentioned this and suggested that one of my first duties would be to recapture 'the Vaughan' for University College.
The situation in Vaughan College seemed, therefore, to be a perfectly natural one. But the equipoise between Department and WEA, which the Director had been able to maintain, was upset when, during the Second World War, he moved to Nuffield College, Oxford, to undertake social reconstruction survey work, and even more so after his resignation as Director in 1944.

Under the arrangement devised by the Governors of the old College, the Council of University College and the Local Education Authority, both sides - the extra-mural and the evening institute - did well. The number of classes and courses provided by each rapidly increased and the enrolments, too, so that by the year 1938-39 these amounted to 136 and 2,800 respectively, the shares of the two sides being approximately 45 per cent extra-mural and 55 per cent evening institute. During the Autumn and Spring Terms the College was crowded to the doors, and even during the Summer Term it led a very active life. The provision in one year of rather more than 60 extra-mural classes in a city with a population of 263,000 was seen as a very remarkable achievement. Through its having been confined to a tiny extra-mural region, Leicester's Department had been forced
to engage in intensive cultivation and it had demonstrated that the potential demand for its provision was far greater than anyone could have imagined. Few cities, other than Bristol and Manchester, then made provision on a scale comparable with Leicester's.

The war greatly upset the pattern of provision within the College. Tutorial and Sessional Classes disappeared from the programme and the short course of 6 to 10 meetings became the rule for both sides. No more did tutors direct students' reading or set written work to be done. Instruction on the extra-mural side increasingly took the form of lectures and discussion. But enrolments remained at much the same level as in the last year before the war began. As soon, however, as hostilities ceased, a great effort was made, especially on the extra-mural side, to revert to the pre-war pattern of provision, and this met with some success. But now people were generally found less willing than hitherto to commit themselves to three years' class membership or to accept the discipline of directed reading or essay writing. The steady decline nationally of the Tutorial Class as the outstanding medium for university extra-mural work since 1908-9 began earlier in Leicester than anywhere else.
Even with generous financial assistance from the LEA, University College had never been able adequately to maintain the Vaughan College building, and during the war years it had suffered more than usual wear and tear, having had to accommodate a junior school for a part of the time. Moreover, it had become a kind of Liberty Hall to which many had free access and who used it as they pleased. Just how many people possessed keys to the building will never be known. Woolworth's obligingly cut Yale blanks whenever requested. Rained off on wet days, hiking parties would 'camp' in the College, making for themselves in winter time a roaring fire in one of the class rooms and freely using the tea urn, helping themselves from the tea caddy and using the College cutlery and crockery. These were also used by the Vaughan Players at rehearsals. Throughout the building there were marks of their handiwork - in gaping holes cut at various times in the beautiful ceiling of the Assembly Hall to accommodate spot lights, and in misshapen and gaudily painted classroom desks and tables which had once done duty as 'props' and then been returned to their usual places.

On my taking over the Directorship I found the
College, physically speaking, in a very run-down state. War-time black-out still remained, the paintwork throughout was dirty and scarred, much of the furniture broken or in a rickety condition, the curtains moth-eaten, the crockery chipped and stained, and everywhere there were accumulations of rubbish and dirt. The Common Room, which had for years been used mainly as a large classroom, was a common room in name only. Even had it not been in regular use for teaching purposes, no one would have found himself attracted to it, since it made no pretence either to elegance or comfort. The Library, too, was such in name only. It had long done duty as a classroom and the borrowings from it were few. Recently it had been gone over by a member of the English Department who had thrown out what he considered to be useless volumes, some of which I later found it necessary to re-purchase from local second-hand book-sellers. And in the corner of every classroom there stood, precariously piled on top of each other, four or five ugly and ill-assorted book-boxes.

But, as far as I could tell, only I was conscious of there being anything really wrong with the College. Its rabby, down-at-heel state was taken for granted. Had not adult education always been
carried on under adverse conditions and were they not far less adverse here than in many places? Was it not right and proper that the consumer should be king, that the needs of the students (as expressed through the WEA) should have a preponderant influence in determining the policy and programme of the College? And, since all enlightened educationists now favoured permissiveness in the schools, was there not everything to be said for it in an adult educational institution? These were the kind of questions put to me when I ventured to doubt whether the College was all that it ought to be or might possibly be. I was quickly made aware that radical change would be unacceptable, especially to the few activists of the WEA.

As one who owed much of his own educational advancement to the WEA I had a soft spot for the movement and first, as a Manchester University Resident Organising Tutor in Rossendale, Lancashire, and later, as Director of Extra-mural Studies in the Queen’s University of Belfast, I had worked closely with the WEA, so closely indeed, that all the university provision I had organised appeared under the joint banner of the university I was then serving, and the Association. For most of the time, a period
of fifteen years, I had believed with my employers that what I did was right and sufficient. But towards the end of the war chiefly, I believe, through experience of providing adult education for the armed forces, I began to realise that the scope of university extra-mural work ought to be both wider and narrower than I had previously envisaged: wider, in that it should go beyond the provision of liberal non-vocational studies, and narrower, in that it should be confined to provision made at an intellectual level appropriate to a university.

I therefore came to Leicester with the intention of widening the curricula of Vaughan College, by the inclusion within its programme of provision of a scientific and technological nature, of provision which would have a vocational or professional appeal, and of making this provision at a level not lower than that which prevailed within University College. The possibility of providing refresher courses for professional workers of various kinds and re-orientation courses in, for example, industrial economics for chemists or physicists or engineers on appointment to managerial posts, I found quite exciting. I had, of course, no intention of sweeping away the existing provision, but envisaged
the new as coming into being within the College side by side with the old, and the quality of the work done in the old as being gradually improved. This task proved harder of achievement than I could possibly have imagined and even now, twenty years afterwards, not everything which I hoped to do has yet been accomplished.

II. Post-war Reconstruction

I arrived in Leicester just in time to take part in planning the Autumn Term Programme of Vaughan College and its associated centres, but in this first year the provision made followed very closely the pattern laid down before the war and resumed in 1944-45. Seventy-seven classes were arranged during the year as a whole, and of these 72 were established. There was 1 Advanced Tutorial, 4 Tutorials in their second year and 2 in their first, 17 Sessionals of from 21 to 24 meetings, and 48 Terminals, mostly of 12 meetings. The total enrolments numbered 1,484, giving an average size of class of 20. These figures were much the same as for 1945-46, even though the Department had now shed the most elementary forms of provision it was used to making – about 30 classes in all – to the WEA, which had now resumed its powers
as a Responsible Body. With these classes the Department had officially no concern and most of them were held outside Vaughan College.

The Vaughan College Programme included a new feature - two day-release refresher courses, arranged in co-operation with an East Midlands organisation of Local Authorities, for Local Government Officers returned from service in the armed forces. In my Annual Report for 1946-47, I remark that, 'A new kind of provision, which it is expected the Department will increasingly be called upon to make, is that of refresher courses of a more or less professional character,' and I instanced these for local government officers as heralds of the future. But, under the existing set-up, the arrangement of such courses met with difficulties. They had to be approved by a Joint Committee for Adult Education in which the WEA was preponderant and which looked somewhat askance at their provision. Once approved, however, they became WEA courses in that the Association collected and retained one-half of the course fees, appointed course secretaries and had free access to the students to propagate among them the WEA idea.

The first year's experience of class and course provision made in Vaughan College and its associated
centres was of good work well done, but of work which, for the most part, fell below the level which should be expected of a University Department of Adult Education. In some of the classes, notably in The Archaeology of Leicestershire (Tutor, Dr W G Hoskins) Directions in Modern Poetry (Tutor, Dr A S Collins) and The Social Development of Children (Tutor, Professor J W Tibble) students and staff alike were of university quality. The tutors brought to their respective classes mature and up-to-date scholarship; they stretched their students intellectually to the full; and the students responded willingly. But in far too many classes the tutors presented material culled from popular writings or from books about books. Moreover, the presentation offered no sort of challenge to the most able students, but was adapted to the capacities of the least able and to those whose educational backgrounds were the most meagre.

Just under one-quarter (17) of the classes were conducted by non-graduates, none of which was in any way outstanding, just over one-quarter (20) by university teachers, and the remaining one-half (35) by graduate school teachers - some secondary-modern, some secondary-grammar - members of the staff of the Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, clergy and pro-
professional men. The quality of the work done in the various classes seemed to me to be entirely unrelated to the nature and duration of the course. There were Tutorials of poor quality and Terminals of good quality in terms of their appropriateness as university provision. The services of a good university teacher were not, as I observed, sufficient to ensure a good course (although they went a long way) but there was also needed a group of able enthusiastic hard-working students, and, according to my observations, in too few cases had the two been brought together in the College. Too many of the students lacked the intellectual quality or the educational background to enable them to profit from genuine university extra-mural work as I had come to conceive it.

Two long-established practices within the College rather surprised and discomfited me and were at once discouraged. One was 'tasting' by students, the other the virtual conscription of 'followers' by some of the 'regulars' among the part-time tutors. During the first three weeks of term I found thirty to forty people floating around from class to class, trying first one and then another, to see which best suited their palates. Thus it was practically impossible to
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people floating around from class to class, trying
first one and then another, to see which best suited
their palates. Thus it was practically impossible to
find out just how many of the marginal classes were really faring, and this led to some being kept on which should have been terminated. Then, as the year wore on, I discovered that in order to prevent the closure of their numerically weak classes, certain old-established tutors and their most loyal supporters put pressure on former students and on their friends and relations to enrol. Fiancées, wives and mothers were thus conscripted, and some of these, when they had put in the two-thirds' minimum attendance for grant purposes, were not seen again in the College until required to make up the numbers in another weak class.

Thus, during my first year the programme of classes and courses was of much the same mixture as before, and so it continued to be for several years, excepting that as the non-university tutors resigned through removal from Leicester or for other reasons, I was able to replace most of them from the expanding academic staff of University College and thus strengthen the university element among the part-time lecturers and teachers. In the meantime, extensive internal alterations were made to the College building. It was also completely re-decorated inside and out and largely re-furnished. A poorly designed
building in terms of its function was made more suitable to the needs of a university centre of adult education - a spacious well-furnished Common Room, equipped to provide a modest refreshment service, and a reasonably adequate Library were provided and reserved exclusively for the purposes for which they had been designed and equipped.

At the same time there was established side by side with the Joint Committee for Adult Education, a Board of Extra-mural Studies, with myself as Chairman and Philip Collins (Full-time Staff Tutor in Vaughan College from 1947) as Secretary. Although the WEA was not without representation on the Board, it was essentially a University College institution. This Board was charged with the duty of overseeing class and course provision made directly by the Department of Adult Education or indirectly through professional, scientific and cultural organisations, and it was empowered to provide courses leading to the award of certificates and diplomas. During its early years the provision made under the Board included series of Public Lectures (including the Inaugural Lectures by newly-appointed Professors) at University College, an annual three weeks' Vacation Course in English Education, Language and Liter...
ature for Overseas Students, and a Training Course in Adult Education (later in Further Education) which was offered every year to post-graduate students in the Education Department of University College. This new provision and the arrangements made for its supervision foreshadowed the Great Divide between Extension and Joint Committee work which was to come a few years later.

In 1947 I visited Germany as one of a team of adult educationists selected to advise the Foreign Office (German Section) on the state of the German adult education movement. My main concern was with Berlin, where most of the education of adults was in the hands of the Municipal Volkshochschulen (Folk High Schools). I was greatly impressed at the speed with which the Berlin Folk High Schools had purged themselves of Nazi influence and resumed their pre-1933 character. In spite of the grievous destruction, lack of public transport and universal near-starvation, both the Volkshochschulen and the Katholische Bildungswerk (the Roman Catholic cultural organisation for adults) were flourishing. They carried on programmes of work which ranged from elementary classes in languages and literature, art and music, economics and politics, to advanced classes, many of university
quality, in these and a great variety of other subjects. The Folk High Schools, most of which were large institutions, with from one to three thousand enrolments, might best be described as centres of comprehensive adult education.

Each Volkshochschule was controlled by one of Berlin’s Bezirksverwaltungen (Borough Councils) and had as its chief executive officer a Leiter (Director). In some cases the Folk High School consisted of a large nuclear centre (housed in a day school) and a galaxy of small subsidiary centres. But, mostly the Directors were administrators each of whom spent most of his time in the Bezirksamt für die Volkshochschule (Office of the Folk High School) and was seldom seen in his own institution. These centres lacked most of the features we have come to associate with the word centre. There was no common room, no meals service, and no student participation in the work of the centre. And, except for the trade union groups in courses organised by Arbeit und Leben (Labour and Life), there were virtually no organised student societies. The teaching I observed was for the most part excellent, but discussion, in the few classes in which it took place, was poor, except in those promoted by Arbeit und Leben. Although 55 per cent of the students were women, clas-
es in handicrafts and domestic subjects were virtually absent from the programmes of the Volkshochschulen and of the Katholische Bildungswerk.

Later on, I saw elsewhere other folk High Schools, municipal and free (that is, independent of the state or the municipality) and Hausholkshochschulen (short-term Residential Centres) in which the directors were in more regular contact with the students and teachers, and in which scope was given for the development of social contacts between administrators, teachers and taught. But nowhere, except in Arbeit und Leben classes, was I able to observe adult education going on through genuine discussion. The absence of this, however, caused general concern and led to my taking to various Folk High Schools teams of experienced tutors* which conducted short courses on the British model in Freedom under Planning and Adult Education in Britain. We were very well received and had not the slightest difficulty in evoking real discussion. Always, the problem was how to bring a session to a close. But,

*These included several bright young men from other universities. One member of a couple of teams was Anthony Crosland, then Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Economics.
in addition to going out to Germany, I received, between 1948 and 1952, half-a-dozen young German adult educationists into the Department, where they worked as colleagues for a term or two.

III The 'Great Divide'

By 1948-49 both sides in Vaughan College - the university extra-mural and the LEA Evening Institute sides - had so expanded that, as in the case of Abraham and Lot's people, 'the land was not able to bear them.' The two, therefore, went their separate ways. The LEA, having bought the well-known 'Pork Pie' Chapel in Belvoir Street and Downing's Building in Newark Street, converted these for educational purposes, and during the years 1948-49 and 1949-50 it gradually transferred all the Vaughan Evening Institute provision to them. The women's craft work moved to a new Central Women's Institute in the former Downing's Building and the non-craft work was taken to a new Belvoir Street Adult Education Centre. Both these institutions embodied something of the character of Vaughan College and, to the visitor who knew the old College at all well, it is still clearly discernible in them. As is well known, all adult education centres abhor a vacuum: that caused by the removal
of the Evening Institute was at once filled with new extra-mural provision.

The Great Divide, already alluded to, came at the beginning of the year 1951-52. A precipitating factor in this upheaval was the institution in 1949-50 of an Extra-mural Certificate Course in Social Studies for part-time evening students. Its provision had been requested by Sheila McKay, then Tutor-in-charge of the Diploma Course in Social Studies at University College, chiefly to meet the needs of established social workers who, never having received any training in the academic disciplines appropriate to their work, were now beginning to fear the competition within their own services from new entrants equipped with University awards. I was glad to accede to her request, but at once came up against difficulties with the WEA and later with the Ministry of Education. Both maintained first, that the provision of a Course of this kind was inconsistent with the traditional conception of university extra-mural work as liberal and non-vocational in character, and secondly, that the effect of preparing students for an award by examination would ultimately lead to the stereotyping both of syllabuses and of the teaching given to Certificate students.
But the WEA also maintained that if, in spite of its objections, the course were to be provided, it should come under the aegis of the Joint Committee for Adult Education. The course was established and the Board of Extra-mural Studies was given oversight of it. But, as a concession to the Association, the component classes of the Course were recognised as forming parts of the programme of the Joint Committee, thus giving the WEA a financial stake in the venture. The construction of the Course out of a series of units of varying lengths - Sessional and Terminal - was designed to meet the Association's second objection to Certificate Courses and to forestall that of the Ministry of Education. It also had the merit of simplicity and convenience. Each unit was, then, a Sessional or Terminal class and it was an 'open' class, open to Certificate and non-Certificate students alike. The tutor of each class, as of every other class in the Vaughan College Programme, devised his own syllabus and he also examined students on completion of his own unit. This arrangement worked well and is still in operation in all the Department's Certificate and Post-graduate Diploma Courses.

Another and more significant precipitating
factor in the Great Divide was a steady rise in the academic level of the provision made by the Department in Vaughan College and in the intellectual quality of the students. Forty per cent of a rather larger programme of classes held there and in its associated centres was now conducted by members of the staff of University College, whereas non-graduate tutors were now responsible for teaching in rather less than twelve per cent of the classes. But even more striking was the change in the students. They were now appreciably younger and far more of them had received at least a grammar school education. Their interests, too, were decidedly more subject-centred. Few showed any wish to take part in the social life of the College as organised by the WEA or to support the work of the Association. Their sense of belonging was first, to the particular class which they attended and, secondly, to the College as a university institution.

By this time the consumer had abdicated. Whether he ever was king in Vaughan College after the take-over by University College is doubtful, but the WEA, acting on his behalf, had played a large part in determining what courses should be included in the College programme. Now its shape and content were determined largely by the Director and the Staff.
Tutor on the basis of (a) the supply of teaching power and (b) estimates of the response by several more or less different publics. This is not to say that attempts were not made to discover what existing students might want in the future. But most of these attempts achieved negative results. There was a feeling that programme planning had best be left to the professionals. Advocacy of a particular course meant commitment to it, whereas choice made from among the wide range of classes and courses being offered gave a measure of freedom. Suggestions continued to be made by the WEA, but its contribution towards the planning of the total programme and the recruitment of students had by now become marginal.

However strong it may once have been, the case for making most of University College's extra-mural provision under the aegis of the Joint Committee for Adult Education in which the WEA occupied a dominant position, was now very weak indeed. John Rhodes, the District Secretary, felt this, and he and I were agreed that the time had come to do something about it. We quickly reached agreement about a reform of the committee structure for the general oversight of the provision as a whole (through a Board of Adult
education) and of Joint Committee with the WEA provision on the one hand and of Extension Committee provision on the other, but we differed sharply on how the provision now being made (in Vaughan College) should be apportioned between the two committees. John Rhodes laid claim for the Joint Committee to all the provision of a general cultural nature. This I countered by proposing that Joint Committee provision should be limited to classes and courses having 'a clear social content.' The Council of University College supported me in this and the division took place along these lines.

If John Rhodes's claim had been upheld, about two-thirds of the total provision would have gone to the Joint Committee, but in the event this was roughly the fraction which went to the Extension Committee. What I hoped might be the outcome of so restricting Joint Committee provision within the College was a revivification of the Leicester and District Branch of the WEA. Over the years since 1929, it had gradually ceased to be responsible for stimulating the demand for university-provided classes and for promoting them, and had become vaguely identified with the total programme of the College which, as has been stated, was now largely devised and promoted.
by the Department of Adult Education. I believed that by its being given a specific task in relation to a part of the total programme, a part consonant with the declared aim of the Association; which was 'education for social purpose,' the Leicester Branch would have the opportunity to renew itself. These good intentions of mine were not, however, appreciated and for some years the relations between the WEA and the Department of Adult Education were very strained.

Co-incidentally with the radical reorganisation of Leicester's extra-mural provision there occurred a widening of the region within which it could be made. Loughborough College wound up its Department of Adult Education and relinquished its powers as a Responsible Body. Whilst the obsequies were being arranged, long and tortuous negotiations took place between Professor Robert Peers, Head of Nottingham's Department of Adult Education, and me about future provision in the County of Leicester. Our correspondence reads like that of two foreign ministers engaged in the carve-up of a defunct national sovereign state. In the end Leicester took about two-thirds and Nottingham one-third of the county. The latter gained an area which included two very thriving centres - Loughborough and Melton Mowbray - whilst the former had to content
itself with far less flourishing centres in Coalville, Hinckley and Market Harborough, of which only Market Harborough held out any real promise of future growth.

At the time of the take-over of central and south Leicestershire, the provision made by Loughborough College in this area amounted to 21 courses arranged in co-operation with the WEA, and 8 others. Of these, 2 only were conducted by University teachers, 8 by full-time members of the staff of the Loughborough Department of Adult Education, and the remainder largely by local schoolmasters. The academic standing of the tutors as a whole was therefore no more elevated than that of the staff of Vaughan College in 1945-41, and the students were generally even less gifted intellectually and had poorer educational backgrounds. Although here and there good work was being done, the level of achievement generally by tutors and students alike, but especially by the latter, was well below what I believed to be appropriate to a university, certainly lower even than that prevailing in Vaughan College when I came there as its Director. Most of the provision ought to have been made either by the WEA or the LEA, and gradually these bodies assumed responsibility for the greater part of it.

Loughborough’s extra-mural provision had always
been made largely through the WEA, and in the early years of the take-over this partly off-set the effects of the Great Divide in Leicester itself. For example, in 1951-52 the total provision made within the University's extra-mural region amounted to 92 classes and courses, and of these, 48 (52 per cent) were Extension and 44 (48 per cent) Joint Committee with the WEA. With a programme of this size, made possible chiefly by boundary extensions, Leicester's position in the 'League Table' of University Departments of Adult Education remained 17th out of a total of 19. Birmingham now topped the list with class and course provision amounting to 526, followed by London with a score of 484. The two departments with smaller provision than Leicester were Bangor and Swansea, whose class and course provision numbered 72 and 62 respectively. Leicester's problem was still the lack of a region embracing several large towns such as every other university institution possessed excepting Aberystwyth, Bangor and Reading, the one university without a Department of Adult Education or Extra-mural Studies.

Nevertheless, the prospects of rising in the 'League Table' seemed reasonably good. The great Butler Education Act (1944) by widely extending the
range of educational opportunity within the schools system, and the steady post-war growth in the provision of facilities for higher education, and especially for university education, had resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of potential consumers of university adult education. This increase must have been fairly widespread, but some Departments of Adult Education or Extra-mural Studies were more ready than others to reap the fruits of it, and Leicester was one of the former. But if the possibilities for expansion, which I firmly believed to exist, were to be turned into actualities, more staff and a re-deployment of staff would be required. Fortunately, the Senate and Council of University College fully agreed with me and found the means to accomplish what I had in mind.

During the late 'forties and early 'fifties a lively, and at times acrimonious, discussion about 'university standards' took place among adult educationists. It was sparked off by the publication in 1949 of S G Raybould's book, The WEA - the Next Phase, and whipped into a blaze by the same author's The English Universities and Adult Education, which appeared in 1951.* In these, Raybould maintains that

*Published by the Workers' Educational Association.
the only types of extra-mural class which really satisfy 'university standards' are the Preparatory Tutorial and the Tutorial, but he allows that high-level refresher courses for scientists, technologists and professional workers, may do so. He treats these, however, as being a rather exceptional type of provision. Summarising his case for the Tutorial Class, I stated in a paper written in 1952,* that

The Tutorial Class affords time - three years in all - for the process [of achieving 'university standards'] to develop; three years in which the spirit of the academic can be caught. It also provides time for reading under the direction of a tutor - reading which, whilst it starts with elementary text books, leads the student on to progressively more advanced works. And, finally, it provides time for the student to master, as far as he is able, the art of expressing his thought in writing, through the requirement that he should regularly do written work or its equivalent.

I then pointed out that, given the assumption that the students who wish to be provided with university adult education have not previously had the benefit of a higher education, then for them the

*'University Standards in Adult Education' (unpublished).
Preparatory and Tutorial Class are the only really appropriate means (through part-time extra-mural study) of their acquiring an education of 'university standard.' But I expressed doubts about the soundness of this assumption in the mid-twentieth century, and showed that it was clearly mistaken in relation to the students of extra-mural classes and courses held in Vaughan College. An enquiry, conducted in 1949 by W G Wyman, revealed that 18 per cent of the students had received a full-time education beyond 21 years of age, 18 per cent beyond 18 and up to 21 years of age, 40 per cent beyond 16 and up to 18 years of age, and only 24 per cent had left school under the age of 16.* And, among those whose schooling had finished by 18, it was found that many had, by part-time further study, acquired Higher National Certificates and other technical and professional qualifications.

There were now, indeed, many students in Vaughan College (some whose full-time schooling had ceased at 13 or 14 years of age, but who had already 'improved' themselves, educationally speaking, through attendance at Tutorial Classes) who were capable of profiting from study in relatively short and reasonably high-

level courses dealing with some fairly limited topic, such as *Three Plays by Shakespeare*, *Existentialism*, *The Technique of Poetry*, *Types of Religious Thought*, *Plato's Republic* and *Culture and Society*, which were held about this time. To me, then, and I said so in my paper, it seemed improper that, without having made any attempt to find out what was actually going on in Leicester and elsewhere, Raybould should dismiss most of the university class and course provision made (other than that in Preparatory Tutorial and Tutorial Classes) as sub-standard, and, because of the recent rapid growth in this kind of provision almost everywhere, should also charge the various Departments of Adult Education or Extra-mural Studies with having, as it were, debased the coinage of extra-mural work.

IV A New Look

One of the consequences of the re-organisation which accompanied the Great Divide was the resignation of Christopher Purnell, who for years had combined the posts of Secretary of Vaughan College and of the Leicester Branch of the WEA. Under the new arrangements he would have become administratively responsible for Joint Committee provision in the region as a whole, and a new officer would have been
appointed to look after all Extension provision and to be responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Vaughan College building. A condition attached to the new post offered to Purnell was that whoever occupied it could not hold any office in the WEA. Regarding this condition as unreasonable, Purnell obtained another appointment - as WEA Organiser in Somerset - and left the Department. He had long served both the College and Branch with great enthusiasm, energy and imagination, and his departure meant a loss to both, but it prevented a bifurcation of the Department into competitive divisions - Joint and Extension - each with its own officer so identified maybe with his division as to be somewhat insensitive to the well-being of the Department as a whole.

Thus it became possible to think again. Two Administrative Assistants to the Head of the Department were appointed, the one, George Wilmot, to serve in effect as Secretary of Vaughan College, the other, John Gould, to act as organising secretary for work undertaken in central and south Leicestershire and for Services Education. Although he was at Vaughan College for little more than two years, Wilmot succeeded in ushering in the new dispensation with a minimum of friction, a great achievement considering
the resentment felt by the WEA at the changes forced through by University College. He also started Extension courses in subjects of particular interest to anglers, apiarists and railway enthusiasts, which continued for several years. He was perhaps the first member of the Department's staff to realise to the full the importance of seeking out different special publics for different kinds of extra-mural provision, and for recruiting from among these publics through the agency of their leading members. In the Autumn of 1953 Wilmot resigned on appointment to an Administrative Assistantship in London’s Department of Extra-mural Studies.

Up to this time the Department of Adult Education had been located in Vaughan College, and its Head had served as the Director of the College. With Wilmot’s departure further staffing changes became possible. Philip Collins was appointed Warden of Vaughan College and Geoffrey Fenn, Bursar,* and Gould and I, together with our office staffs, moved to University College, where he assumed general responsibility for departmental administration, as well as continuing to

*Fenn, now Warden of the London University Union, was Bursar of Vaughan College from 1953 to 1956.
exercise his other functions. Separation of the administration of College and Department, and the transfer of the latter to the campus of University College, was intended to ensure first, that the Department should be seen, both intra- and extramurally, to be a Department of the University College, secondly, that, freed from the day-to-day supervision of Vaughan College, the Head would be able to view the needs and to shape the policy of the University College's region as a whole, and thirdly, that the headquarters staff should have better opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with members of the rapidly increasing academic staff of University College and of interesting them in the work of the Department.

This was the time of Miss Florence Horsburgh's unfortunate tenure of office as Minister of Education. Bowing to pressure from the Treasury in a period of economic difficulty, she proposed a ten per cent cut in the Ministry's grants to Responsible Bodies, but this caused such a storm of protest that the proposal was dropped in favour of what would now be called a grant freeze, which lasted for about three years. It also caused the setting up of the 'Ashby Committee' (the Committee on Organisation and Finance
of Adult Education). In written evidence to this body, I pointed out that whereas in the past the extra-mural provision of the Universities had quite rightly been, in the main, a species of remedial education, concerned with making good the deficiencies in their full-time schooling of its students, the need for this kind of provision was fast diminishing with the great widening of educational opportunities. Whilst the need remained the universities' departments of extra-mural studies should, of course, do their utmost to meet it, but their main responsibility now lay elsewhere.

I remarked that:

Although little has been said or written about it, university extra-mural work is developing into a public service provided for the benefit not of the 'educationally underprivileged' section of the population, but increasingly for those who have received the advantages of a full-time higher education; ... increasingly the emphasis is on the further education of the products of the grammar schools, technical colleges and universities. This change in the public which is being served by university extra-mural departments is bringing with it changes in the nature of class and course provision. Universities are finding increasing scope for work with members of a great variety
of professions. There is a growing need, in these days of rapidly expanding knowledge, for professional workers of all kinds to be kept informed of the latest developments in their own special fields of work. There is also a need, of which they are becoming increasingly conscious, for specialist workers to become acquainted with the changing general background to their professional lives ... And, lastly, there is the increasingly felt need of highly trained specialists for provision which will enable them to cultivate their intellectual interests in fields other than those immediately connected with their professions.

I further made the point that, having invested so much money in the education of growing numbers of people with a full-time higher education, the State could not really afford not to renew this living capital through expanding grants for extra-mural adult education. 'A system of full-time higher education without a comparable system of university adult education,' I ventured to say, 'would be like Nelson's Column without the statue.' What was needed was a recognition by the Ministry that university extra-mural work could no longer be limited to liberal non-vocational studies, that Responsible Bodies should be treated as really responsible, and that money should be forthcoming and granted on something more helpful
to forward planning than an annual basis. Similar views were expressed by several Heads of Departments of Extra-mural Studies, and they were to a large extent accepted by the Ashby Committee.

The case I had made out to the Ashby Committee for freedom to embark upon courses serving the professional needs of professional people was intended rather to prepare the way for the provision by the Department of courses of this kind in the future, than to justify what was being currently attempted. Much as I had wished to promote such courses, I had found this scarcely possible owing to the absence as yet in University College of departments and staffs suitable to the purpose. The one sphere on which high level professional courses had been established was Social Studies. Even so, there was no lack of new developments during the early 1950s. New Certificate Courses were brought into being in Drama and Speech and in Religious Studies, and successful research projects were carried through (these were an invention of the Warden of Vaughan College) in Local Government in Leicester, Shakespeare's Henry IV and Dickens and Education. A series of Celebrity Lecture courses, each with its associated Extension Class, was also started, the first being on Living Writers, with
E M Forster, L P Hartley, Joyce Cary and others, talking about their craft.

The research projects, of which there have been many since that time, yielded results which were embodied in publications - in G W Fenn, 'Candidates in a Municipal Election' (Vaughan College Paper, No 2, 1956) in Professor Arthur Humphreys, Arden Edition of Henry IV, Part I, Methuen, 1960, and in Philip Collins, 'Dickens's Periodicals: Articles on Education' (Vaughan College Paper, No 3, 1957). Vaughan College Papers were started in 1951 with 'Adult Education in England: a brief History,' which was no more than an expanded version of a lecture I had once given and been pressed to publish. It was soon sold out. A second and revised edition appeared in 1957 and that, too, has long been out of print. Nine papers have so far been published on such varied subjects as 'Leicestershire History: a handlist of printed sources in the Libraries of Leicester' (J M Lee, 1958), 'The Recruitment of Adult Students' (J D Gould, 1959),

*In his Preface, Professor Humphreys says, 'I gladly acknowledge the fresh insights and enthusiasm given by an adult-class research group of Vaughan College, ... which worked with me for some months on the play's problems.
'Dickens and Adult Education' (P A W Collins, 1962), 'Vaughan College Poems' (ed G S Fraser, 1963) and 'Attitudes towards the Church in Wellingborough' (Derek Wright, 1965). They are all either pieces of original work by tutors or students or the fruits of joint work undertaken in a class or course provided by the Department.

Through the energetic efforts of Collins, Gould and Eric Birkhead,* the volume of provision, and especially of Extension provision, both in Leicester and the County area, increased steadily, so that by 1955-56, during my tenth year as Head of the Department, this amounted to 114 classes and courses, towards which total Leicester contributed 88 and Leicestershire 26. Enrolments in this year numbered 2,767 and student-hours 38,919.** These figures represent an increase of roughly 25 per cent over those for 1951-52 and 50 per cent over those for 1946-47.

*After a period of service as Bursar of Vaughan College, he left the Department in 1958 for a post in the University of Auckland. He is now Professor of Economic History at Wellington. Birkhead was Administrative Assistant, responsible for organising work in Leicestershire, from 1956-59. He died in December 1959.

**For this note, please see foot of next page.
Extension Committee provision and the support it commanded amounted to rather more than 70 per cent of the total, and of the 114 classes and courses provided, 63 (that is, 55 per cent) were conducted by University teachers, and only 8 (that is, 7 per cent) by non-graduates. As most other Departments had been increasing since 1951-52 at much the same rate as Leicester, its position in the 'League Table' still remained at 17th place, that is, third from the bottom.

V Development in the Mid 'fifties

The greatest increase in provision and enrolments between 1951-52 and 1955-56 had taken place in Vaughan College which, according to an earlier statement, was already filled to capacity.* How,

*See p 22.

**Note from previous page

The comparative figures for 1951-52 (see p 25) are as follows:

- Class and Course provision: 92
  - (Leicester 69: County Area 23)
- Enrolments (total area): 1,494
- Student-hours: 31,912
- Percentage of total provision made through the Extension Committee: 52
- Percentage of teaching done by University teachers: 48
- Percentage of teaching done by non-graduates: 14
then, were the additional numbers accommodated? By a process of 'double-decking' - of using classrooms twice each evening from 6.0 to 7.30 pm and from 8.0 to 9.30 pm. But a device resorted to through necessity was soon discovered to be advantageous, since it revealed the existence of two broad publics - one which found the early evening class or course more suited to its convenience, and another whose convenience was best met by late evening classes. The double-decking also permitted members of Certificate Courses to attend their two classes each week on one evening instead of as formerly on two. This arrangement was found to have the added advantage that during the break for refreshments in the Common Room, from 7.30 to 8.0 pm, Certificate students were better able to get to know each other than in the past.

During the middle 'fifties, Collins and I made determined efforts to establish in Vaughan College Advisory Committees representative of the students and tutors: one on Studies, a second on the Library and a third on Amenities. The first was intended to provide machinery for consultation on the content of the Department's class and course provision within the College, and the third was to be concerned with the domestic arrangements and social activities.
The Advisory Committee on Studies never really came to life and was dissolved after a couple of years. For a while the others looked like becoming viable organisations, but eventually they wilted, and not even their being joined together as a House Committee could save them. After four years, the experiment of associating tutors and students with the management of the College was reluctantly abandoned. Collins and I often wondered whether the fault, if there were one, lay in us or whether, in a College in which most of the students are strongly subject-oriented, it is unrealistic to expect their active interest and participation in College administration. The experiment has not so far been repeated.

By 1955-56 the Department was providing four concurrent Certificate Courses – in Religious Studies, Social Studies, English Studies and Drama (for an award by the Drama Board). The growth in provision of this kind prompted the Principal of University College (Charles Wilson*) to advise that Senate should be informed of the development, and asked for its views. For Senate’s consideration I wrote a Memorandum on

*Now Sir Charles, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow.
Certificate Courses. Knowing that some members of Senate had the same attitude towards Certificate Courses as had the WEA and the Ministry of Education towards the first Certificate Course provided by the Department in 1949,* I pointed out that not all the courses were vocationally oriented, that even in those which were the emphasis was on academic study (as a means of widening the background of knowledge against which the members would carry on their professional duties), that the tutor of each component of every Course was virtually free to teach to his own syllabus and that, except where the numbers were such as to make it impossible, the component classes were 'open classes', which freely admitted non-certificate students.

I remarked that:

In an ideal world all adult students would, no doubt, be willing to undertake serious study without the inducement of certificates and diplomas. Many are willing to do so now, as the large enrolments in the Department's extra-mural courses testify, but wherever Certificate Courses have been offered the support for them has generally been greater than for non-certificate courses, the attendances more regular, the quality of

*See p 22.
the students higher, the progress made quicker and the volume of reading and written work done larger than in non-certificate courses. There is a greater keenness and enthusiasm amongst those preparing for awards than amongst other students. This is not to say that the condition of non-certificate courses is unsatisfactory but rather that in Certificate Courses it is really excellent ... One of the great merits of the Certificate Course is that it provides for systematic study extending over three years in a series of classes whose subjects are chosen so as to constitute a whole. Similar merits may be claimed for the Tutorial Class [a vanishing type of provision in Leicester] but the Certificate Course has an advantage over the Tutorial Class in that it provides three terms' work [double-banked each evening of meeting] every year instead of two, and thus avoids the six months' break which occurs between each year of a Tutorial Class. Leicester, with its unique tradition of Summer Term studies, is better able than most places to promote this 'improvement' on the Tutorial Class.

My Memorandum failed to convert the opponents of Certificate Courses but, since they were in a minority, approval in principle of Certificate Course provision was given by Senate, and since that time

*This is no longer true to the same extent.*
Growth in the University of Leicester's extra-mural provision and the response to it 1946-66

Classes and courses provided
from 72 to 256

Classes and courses meetings held
from 2,068 to 3,638

Enrolments
from 1,844 to 5,657

Student-hours
from 27,386 to 99,015
The annual statistics upon which this graph is based are given in Appendix I.
the Department's right to provide Certificate and Diploma Courses had not been challenged. Meanwhile, numerous members of the earlier courses, especially of those with a vocational appeal, have made headway in the world. One, who is now the Inspector of Welfare for the Blind in the Ministry of Health, came to her first course with no professional training of any sort. After leaving school she had devoted ten years of her life to caring for her elderly parents until their death. Another, who was a bus driver, is now the Chief Education Welfare Officer of one of the country's largest County Boroughs. Another, who was a Deputy Children's Officer in a County Borough, is now Children's Officer in a large Administrative County, and he believes that the possession of Leicester's Certificate in Social Studies materially helped him in competition with graduate candidates for the post. Still another, who was a clerk, has become Labour Relations Officer in a great steel works. This man, concurrently with his studies for Certificates in Sociology and Social Studies, prepared himself for the London External BSc(Soc) and obtained one of the eight upper-seconds awarded in his year. These are but a few examples out of many.
The year 1956-57 saw the provision in Leicester of the first Extension Course for applied scientists - in The Industrial Applications of Nuclear Physics. It was planned to meet the needs of graduate physicists and mathematicians recently engaged by the English Electric Company to undertake research into the design of nuclear reactors for electricity generating stations. The work of this course is described by the tutors (Drs E Natsukawa and P C Russell) in 'Adult Education and Nuclear Physics,' an article which appeared in Adult Education, Vol XXX1, No 2, Autumn 1958, pp 143-145. A repeat course was given in 1957-58 and in that year courses were also provided in Atomic and Nuclear Physics, Numerical Computation and Mathematical Logic. From that time, and especially since the establishment of the Department of Engineering (1961), there has been a steady growth, mostly in Leicester, in the number of classes and courses provided for graduate scientists and technologists in such fields of study as applied mathematics, statistics, computerisation, physics, chemistry, geology and engineering.

The year 1956-57 was also notable in that the Department entered into partnership with the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in the provision of a residential Training Conference in Inter-personal
It was the first attempt in Britain to produce a home grown version of the famous training laboratory in Group Dynamics at Bethel, Maine, in the USA. The object of the Conference was to help people in positions of responsibility to become more aware, chiefly through knowledge by acquaintance, of their own behaviour and feelings in inter-personal situations, and to heighten their sensitivity to their fellows. This Conference was made the subject of a book - Trist, E and Sofer, C, *Exploration in Group Relations*, Leicester University Press, 1959. Almost every year since that time a similar conference has been held, attracting as members people occupying leadership roles in industry, education and the medical and social services. More recently, there has been built into the Conference a scheme of staff training.**

Although the 1957 Leicester/Tavistock Conference

*This was also the year in which Leicester received its Charter as a University.

was not the first residential course designed to attract members from Great Britain as a whole,* this event paved the way for the regular provision of courses, most of them residential, of a national or regional character. The number provided has steadily increased year by year. In 1958 a course on Design in Print was provided in co-operation with the School of Graphic Design of the Leicester College of Art, for the benefit of those in Universities, LEAs, the WEA and Educational Centres concerned with publicity, and this has since been repeated twice. Residential poetry week-ends, organised on a regional basis, have been provided for the Poetry Society annually since 1959, and since 1960 the Department has provided, in co-operation with the Home Office, occasional national residential courses for Approved School staffs and for Probation Officers. By 1965-66, 14 such courses were being provided, in which there was a total enrolment of 619. They covered a wide range of subjects, including Fuel Cells, Christian Faith in Modern Society, The Uses of Sociology, The Training

*The first was in English Local History, a course in the historiography of the subject, held in 1954.
of Magistrates (3),* The Production of Teaching Films, Learning and Leadership (2), Sociological Causes and Psychiatric Treatment of Mental Illness, American Literature and Archaeology (2).**

VI Widened Horizons

The year 1961-62 was a notable one in many ways. Philip Collins, who had come to Vaughan College in 1947 as a very youthful Staff Tutor, and in 1954 became its first Warden, resigned his post on 'going inside' as a Senior Lecturer in the Department of English.*** He had been an outstanding success as Warden and Tutor and his departure brought with it a deep sense of loss. Denis Rice, a young Scotsman, a graduate in philosophy and a trained social worker, was chosen to take his place. Then, during the year,

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*The figures in brackets relate to the number of courses provided in the subject named.

**The Uses of Sociology led to the publication of a book under that title (ed J D Halloran and Joan Brothers) published by Sheed and Ward, and Fuel Cells is expected to result in a publication also.

***In 1964 he was elected to a Chair in the Department of English.
Vaughan College attained in April its Centenary, and in September moved into a fine new building in St Nicholas Square, designed by a very understanding and imaginative architect, Trevor Dannatt. It was the first purpose-built college of university adult education in Europe. During this year also, the University took over from Cambridge University the duty of making extra-mural provision in Northampton and Northamptonshire. And, finally, in this year, the work of the Department of Adult Education was placed under the wing of a newly-created Board of the University — the Education Board — and of its Academic Committee.

Recognition of the Centenary of Vaughan College and the Opening of its new building was effected in a single public ceremony, presided over by the Chancellor of the University, Lord Adrian. It was a splendid academic occasion, attended by members of Council and Senate, civic dignitaries from within the University's region, representatives from most of Britain's universities and from a great variety of national adult educational bodies.* An elegant-

*In the evening, after the great ones had departed, the students of the College had their own Centenary
ly lettered plaque in the main entrance to the College, which the Chancellor unveiled, records that:

This College was founded in 1862 by David James Vaughan, Vicar of St Martin's and Master of Wyggeston's Hospital. Since then it has been a centre of learning for adults. The present building, the third home of the College, was opened by the Chancellor of the University, the Right Honourable the Lord Adrian, OM, on 2 November 1962.

'Sirs, Ye are Brethren'*

The ceremony was concluded with the reading, by George Fraser, Reader in English, and a part-time tutor in the College, of a poem he had written specially for the occasion.**

In 1948 the City of Leicester established, under the direction of the Medical Officer of Health, a Training School for Health Visitors. From the beginning, the Department of Adult Education was involved in this venture. At first it simply provided occas-

Celebration. An address was given by Henry Arthur Jones, Principal of the City Literary Institute, who is to succeed me as Vaughan Professor of Education and Head of the Department of Adult Education.

*This is taken from Acts, ch 7, v 26, and was given to the College as its motto by Vaughan in 1871.

**Reprinted as Appendix III.
ional lectures in the School's premises in Halford Street. Then, in 1951, it began the provision in Vaughan College of day-time classes in Social Studies for the benefit of Student Health Visitors and for others who might care to attend; and, in 1962, shortly after the move to the new building, the School itself was given a home in the College. Whilst still remaining a Local Authority concern and under the Medical Officer's direction, the School has become very much integrated into the College's life and work. Denis Rice, the Warden, who is a qualified social worker, acts as academic adviser to the School in those branches of study in which he has special competence, and in recent years he has been much involved in the appointment of staff and the selection of students. Numerous Health Visitors, ex-members of the School, are now regular evening students in the College.

Developmental work in Northampton and Northamptonshire was placed under the general direction of James Halloran. Appointed to a Staff Tutorship in 1959, he had already, in Leicestershire and Rutland, proved himself to be an exceptionally able organiser. He had as his Field Officers, Peter Chambers in Northampton and Barry Pashley in Northamptonshire.
The volume of provision made by Cambridge in these areas had been small, and Halloran, Chambers and Pashley, therefore, found themselves working in almost virgin soil. To the great astonishment and near disbelief of the Northampton and Northamptonshire Education authorities, the following provision was made in Leicester's first year (1962-63) in these areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of classes and courses</th>
<th>No of class &amp; meetings</th>
<th>Effective</th>
<th>Enrolments</th>
<th>Student Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northampton CB</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>5,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northamptonshire</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>4,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>9,613</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and three years later (that is, in 1965-66) the figures had risen to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of classes and courses</th>
<th>No of class &amp; meetings</th>
<th>Effective</th>
<th>Enrolments</th>
<th>Student Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northampton CB</td>
<td>31*</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>13,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northamptonshire</td>
<td>26**</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>7,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>21,406</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the late 1950s and early 1960s attempts were made by the Department to open up the field of Manage-

*Excluding 1 Regional Course held in Northampton
**Excluding 3 Regional Courses held in Northamptonshire.
ment Studies, especially in Leicestershire, Northampton County Borough and Northamptonshire. For these, Halloran was largely responsible. Half-a-dozen large firms and the East Midland Divisions of two nationalised undertakings - the Coal Board and the Electricity Board - responded to the offer of courses in such subjects as, Economic and Human Problems in Industry, The Social Organisation of Modern Industry, Management and Men, Creative Thinking in Industry and Communications in Industry. All the courses promoted - averaging about 6 a year - were well attended. In the earliest of them every grade of worker was represented, from shop-floor to top management, with the result that the discussion periods were often used by each grade to 'prove', in a veiled sort of way, its own competence or the incompetence of others in management or supervision, and to carry on fights originating within the organisation. Unfortunately, the tutors then employed by the Department, not being fully alive as to what was happening, were unable to turn it to good account and thus help the students to work through their problems.

This experience led to caution, and subsequent courses were provided for a single grade or a narrow range of grades of workers, and chiefly for top manage-
ment people or younger executives selected as potential managers. Courses of this kind have no small value, but I am convinced that there is a place, and an important one, for courses in which all grades within an undertaking participate. The provision of such courses must, however, await the emergence of tutors able to spot discussion which is overtly about one thing and covertly about another and deeper thing, to bring this deeper thing out into the open and to help the students to understand if not to deal with it. The type of training given in Management Courses at Leeds University, which include T-group work,* and in the Leicester/Tavistock Conferences in Learning and Leadership, are beginning to produce tutors who can do just this. The appointment in 1966 of Colin Bourn, as the Department's Organising Tutor in Industrial Studies, presages considerable development of work in studies in the field of management.

The steady growth in the amount and scope of the Department's class and course provision from 1951-52 to 1961-62, topped by the burst of new provision re-

sulting from the acquisition of, and development work undertaken in, Northampton and Northamptonshire, found the Department's headquarters rather unprepared for the inevitable increase in its administrative burden. To strengthen the position at the centre, Neville Jeffery, who had been Bursar of Vaughan College since 1957, was transferred to headquarters as the Department's Administrative Officer, and his position in the College was allowed to lapse. A new post, that of Secretary of the College, was established and to it, Geoffrey Watmough was appointed. The office staff at headquarters was also augmented. Up to this time Vaughan College and the areas of the respective Organising Tutors had been administered as virtually autonomous units. The Warden of the College and the area Tutors were almost kings of their different domains. But, once the Administrative Officer was firmly in the saddle, a move towards centralisation began. Everyone agreed that this was desirable and necessary. But now an acute problem of state rights versus federal rights is with us.

VII A University Centre in Northampton

From 1951 the Department's class and course provision had been under the general oversight of a Board
of Adult Education which was, in effect, the Extension Committee and the Joint Committee with the WEA sitting together. The Board met every term and was little more than a 'rubber stamp' affair. In 1962 it was dissolved, and the Joint and Extension Committees were made answerable to a new Education Board, charged with the general oversight of the work of the newly-established School of Education* and the Department of Adult Education. On this Board were representatives of Senate, the LEAs, the WEA, the various Colleges of Education within the University's region, and the Department and School. In addition to the Extension and Joint Committees, there are answerable to the Board a Teachers' Services Committee and an Academic Committee. This latter took the place of a Faculty Board, but it is not permitted to bear so dignified a name because its membership embraces 'outsiders', that is, representatives of the academic staffs of the local Colleges of Education.

The Academic Committee of the Education Board consists of representatives of the staffs of the Department of Adult Education, the School of Education,

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*The School of Education was created through the fusion of the Department of Education and the Institute of Education.
the Colleges in the Leicester Area Training Organisation, and the Senate of the University. It is responsible to Senate for framing regulations governing the admission of students to all courses leading to the award of degrees, diplomas, certificates or other distinctions; for regulating the teaching and subjects of study in the School of Education, the Associated Colleges and the Department of Adult Education; for the appointment of Boards of Studies and of internal and external examiners; and for recommending the award of degrees (other than Honorary Degrees) diplomas and certificates.* Through the creation of this Committee, the Department was able to sweep away the various ad hoc Supervisory Committees which it had been obliged to set up for the different Certificate Courses, and it found itself with appropriate means to hand for bringing into being new courses leading to named awards. The existence of the Academic Committee also facilitated co-operation between School and Department in the provision of Diploma Courses in Education and in the supervision of students reading for Higher Degrees in Further and Adult Education.

*The foregoing is a summary of Ordinance XX, Sections (3) and (4).
Already, on the eve of the transfer of Northampton and Northamptonshire to the University of Leicester (that is, in the year 1961-62) the amount of provision made by the Department within its region, and the response to it, had progressed at such a rate as to raise Leicester's place in the 'League Table' from 17th (3rd from the bottom) to 12th out of 21* English and Welsh Universities and University Colleges with Departments of Adult Education or Extra-Mural Studies. In the process, Leicester had by-passed Sheffield, Durham, Aberystwyth, Exeter and Cardiff, but between 1961-62 and 1965-66, it shot up to 9th place, having in the meantime overtaken Cambridge, Leeds and Newcastle in the number of classes and courses provided, class and course meetings held and enrolments recorded. In that year the total provision made amounted to 255 classes and courses, which held 3,638 meetings, and in which there were 5,657 effective enrolments. The percentage distribution of provision within the region was approxi-

*Which now included Keele.
mately as follows:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicestershire</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northamptonshire</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National and Regional</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and that between the Extension and Joint Committees 76 and 24 respectively.

By this time the number of Full-time Tutors had grown to 7 but, since Halloran had recently been seconded wholly to the Television Research Committee as its Secretary, the effective establishment was 6. The national average (for England and Wales) per Department then stood at 13, but, although occupying 9th place in the 'League Table', Leicester had in fact the smallest full-time academic staff of any. This was partly due to ill-luck in that in the years 1945-1950 Leicester (for what were then good reasons) was not permitted to establish the nucleus of a full-time staff such as most other Departments were able to do.

*Based on the number of class and course meetings provided.
It was also partly due to policy decisions. Leicester has kept its region down to a size which permits even the most distant of its centres to be served from the University city, whereas most other Universities have such extensive regions that if the more remote areas are to be served by university teachers, these must be full-time extra-mural tutors. Some Universities have built up large full-time staffs, however, not only because of the wide extent of their regions, but because they have believed that there is something special about university extra-mural teaching which requires full-time tutors endowed with special gifts for it. Leicester does not share this belief.

But, largely through my influence, Leicester has come to believe that university extra-mural teaching can only properly be done by people who are themselves at the cutting edge of advancing knowledge. It is not so much a matter of the level at which the teaching is pitched as of its being informed by the latest contributions to scholarship, and especially those coming from the lecturer or tutor himself. This is the kind of teaching which cannot normally be expected of others than members of university staffs. Therefore, in Leicester's view, university extra-mural teaching should ordinarily be done by university teachers.
it is not, what grounds, other than historical ones, are there for not handing over its provision to the LEAs or the WEA? How far, however, did Leicester in 1965-66 live up to its own view? Not as far as it would like to have done. The 6 full-time Tutors contributed 12 per cent of the total, 77 internal university teachers (representing rather more than 1 in 4 of the University's academic staff) contributed 47 per cent, that is, 59 per cent in all, whilst 58 others contributed 41 per cent. This was due in part to the University's still lacking departments in several important subjects,* and in part to the failure of the Department of Adult Education to interest a sufficient number of internal teachers in its work.

When the take-over of Northampton and Northamptonshire was being considered by the Establishment Board of the University, I had urged that if the offer from Cambridge were accepted, the University should

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*In 1965-66 the University lacked departments in, for example, Anthropology, Art, Architecture, Biblical Studies, Management Studies, Medicine, Oriental Studies, Regional Planning and Theology, and lecturers and tutors in these subjects. In many cases, recruited from non-university institutions.
undertake to provide as soon as maybe in Northampton a centre for extra-mural work similar in character to Vaughan College. This the University agreed to do, and for rather more than a year many properties in Northampton were looked at with a view to purchase and conversion. After numerous disappointments Nazareth House in Leicester Parade, Barrack Road, formerly a children's orphanage and an old men's home conducted by a Roman Catholic Sisterhood, was discovered and found suited to our purpose. It proved to be a much larger building than would be required to serve the needs of the Department for some years to come and the University decided, therefore, to divide it between the Department and the School of Education.

As long a time was taken in buying Nazareth House as in finding it. Legal difficulties were the main cause of the delay, but during the Spring Term of 1966 it finally passed into the hands of the University. It has been named the University Centre and is now in use. The Department's accommodation within the Centre, which is quite separate from that of the School of Education, consists of an Assembly Hall, a Library and Reading Room, a spacious Common Room with a well equipped Servery, 2 Tutorial Rooms and 6 class rooms. Twice as much space has been made
available as the Department's present needs require, but these are expected to expand rapidly now that the Centre is open under the energetic leadership of Ronald Greenall, the Warden.

VIII On 'Going over to the UGC'

The year 1963-64 saw the start of several new ventures. First, there was a one-year full-time training course in Residential Child Care, financed by the Home Office, and intended to equip its students for employment in Approved Schools as Housemasters or Housemistresses. This course, which had a maximum annual intake of 15, was located in Vaughan College and placed in charge of David Peryer, a one-time Assistant Prison Governor. The Children's Branch of the Home Office was so well pleased with it that in 1965 the Department was invited to establish additionally a course of In-service Training for new entrants into Approved Schools - for Teachers and Instructors as well as for Housemasters and Housemistresses, and also for direct graduate entrants to the latter posts. The invitation was readily accepted, and Peryer became Tutor-in-charge of both courses, with Mrs Nozlopy-Forster, a psychologist, as his full-time assistant.

Secondly, in 1963-64, the Department's first post-
graduate Diploma Course was established. This had as its aim the further education principally of graduate clergy in the Diocese of Peterborough in Social and Religious Studies, and it had an initial enrolment of 25. Meetings are held in the day-time (10.0 am to 12.30 pm and 2.0 pm to 4.30 pm) fortnightly in the Technical College, Kettering, and they are attended by students from within a radius of 20 miles. In this course the experiment is being tried of judging fitness for award by tutors' assessments of course work, but the amount of time and trouble in which it involves the Department's administrative staff is so great that in succeeding courses there will almost certainly be a return to written examinations.* Since 1949, when the first Certificate Course was launched, this kind of course has greatly increased in number and diversity. There have been courses in, for example, Criminology, Religious Studies, British Archaeology, Leicestershire Studies, Trade Union Studies, Sociology and Industrial Studies. At the time of writing there are 6 Certificate Courses in being in Leicester, 2 in Northampton, the Diploma Course in Kettering and a

*Until such time as some better method of testing students' work is devised.
Certificate/Degree Course at Corby in Economic and Social Studies. The degree for which students are preparing in this last case is the London External BSc(Econ).* In all, 215 students are currently reading for Leicester awards of one kind or another.

A third new venture in 1963-64 deserving of mention is the day-release course in Economics and Industrial Relations, provided through the Joint Committee with the WEA. Tom Burrow, the East Midland District WEA Tutor in Industrial Studies, was primarily responsible for persuading about a dozen Leicester firms to release one or more of their shop floor workers, on more or less full pay, to attend this course at Vaughan College on one day each week for 30 weeks in the year. The Trade Unions at the same time agreed to pay the students' fees, and were associated with the WEA and the Department in selecting the most suitable candidates from among the many.

*This is a two-year course involving 4 class meetings each week for 30 weeks. It is based upon the syllabus of Part I of the BSc(Econ) degree, and leads to the award of a Leicester Certificate. One-half of the members of the Course are studying for both the Degree and the Certificate, and one-half for the Certificate only. If a Part II Course is proceeded with, it will lead to the award of an Advanced Certificate.
who applied for places. Seventeen, most of them shop stewards, were admitted to the first course, which seems to have satisfied everyone concerned. A similar course has since been held every year, but hopes that more firms would be found willing to release their workers and make possible the provision of two concurrent courses have so far been disappointed. But Burrow goes on trying each year to obtain from Leicester's industrialists as good a response as he gets from their counterparts in Nottingham.

Following close upon the heels of the full-time course provided at the request of the Children's Branch of the Home Office came another, whose provision was asked for by the Probation Branch of the same Ministry. This, too, was a one-year course. Mark Monger, a Senior Probation Officer with a great deal of training experience, was appointed Tutor-in-charge, and the course started in July 1964 with an intake of 15 students. This, too, was found a home in Vaughan College. Before long, the Home Office pressed for an enlargement of the intake, and this was raised for 1965 to 20. Mrs Kathleen Curnock, an experienced officer in the Leicestershire Probation Service, was then appointed part-time Assistant to Monger. By this time, Vaughan College was thronged

69
with day-time as well as evening students. From 9.0 am to 9.0 pm it was a hive of industry which posed for the staff of the College difficult problems of catering and cleaning. The place was, without doubt, being over-used.

Among the many innovations made in Vaughan College since Denis Rice became Warden in 1962, one of the most significant has been regular patronage of the arts and in particular of the arts of painting and sculpture. The College cannot finance exhibitions but it is able to offer space, and this is what it has done since 1964 to artists of from fair to excellent quality. The space is provided by the College, the artists do the rest and, in return for the space, they are required to donate one exhibit, chosen by a small committee, to the College. This is what Rice says of the exhibitions so far held:

Their presence has been rewarding in several ways. New and varied works of art have added to the stimulation and enjoyment of the College’s life. Students who have sat in the College eating and talking in the company of pictures have come to buy them for home..... Learning opportunities would be lost if only expert work was shown.

In seeing a bad painting or a bad hanging the good appears more graspable. There has been a growth in understanding of non-representational art.

When the College's collection of works of art has grown further a loan scheme to students and staff will be introduced.

From time to time, and especially when threats of stops on, or cuts in, Government grants to Responsible Bodies have been mooted, the Universities Council for Adult Education has reviewed the arrangements under which extra-mural work is financed. These are very complicated, since every Department of Adult Education or Extra-mural Studies receives monies from the DES (towards teaching costs only) the LEAs within its region, students' fees and the University Chest. These are given to it under widely varying conditions, but the money received from its own university is usually in effect a deficiency grant. As most members of the UCAE have believed with Lord Craigavon* that a table is all the stronger for having many legs beneath it, the Council's reviews have usually resulted in the conclusion that the existing arrangements, although far from ideal, were better than any imaginable

*Prime Minister of Northern Ireland from 1920 to 1937.
alternatives, especially in relation to those Departments of Adult Education or Extra-mural Studies whose universities were not too well disposed towards extra-mural work. But in 1964 a new view emerged. The Council decided to recommend that the member Universities should be invited to consider 'going over to the UGC' for the finance of their extra-mural work.

To assist Leicester's Senate in dealing with this question, I prepared a Memorandum in which the history of grant-aid from the Government to Responsible Bodies in adult education was briefly recited and in which a case was made out for the new view of the UCAE as to the appropriate means of financing extra-mural work. I pointed out that under the existing system of Government grant-aid a notional 75 per cent of teaching costs on an 'approved programme of work' was payable to Universities, but that in practice the DES simply undertook every year to pay a maximum grant of a certain size which rarely amounted to 75 per cent of the cost of the proposed total programme. At the same time, it reserved to itself the right, should the programme actually carried out fall short of the Department's (DES's) expectations, to reduce the grant. But it warned Responsible Bodies that if any of them should exceed their approved programmes, no extra
grant could be expected. This, as I remarked, was a 'heads we win, tails you lose' kind of arrangement. I further stated that,

During the past twelve years the grant policy of the DES has oscillated between 'stop and go,' but that even when the word 'go' has been uttered, it has been accompanied by a warning that it cannot be more than a 'little go.' This oscillation has made planning ahead virtually impossible.

On grounds of the inadequacy of the grants received from the DES in recent years, the uncertainties resulting from the existing system of annual grants, and of the source of the grants - that division of the DES which deals with schools, technical institutions, evening centres and the Youth Service - I urged Senate to support the notion of our 'going over to the UGC.' To these grounds I added another, and for me the most important one of all, which I expressed thus - 'that our universities are not likely to treat their extra-mural work with the seriousness

*With the establishment within the DES of a Higher Education Division it seemed inappropriate that the financing of University Extra-mural work should remain with what is in effect the Lower Division of the Department.
it deserves until they are obliged to meet the full cost of it out of their own resources.' But, realizing that some Departments of Adult Education or Extra-mural Studies might not do at all well out of the alleged annual scramble for departmental maintenance grants within the universities, I recommended that in the first quinquennial period at least, earmarked grants for their extra-mural work should be made through the usual UGC channels to the different universities. The Senate gave to the Memorandum its general approval.*

In 1962, after the death of Sheila McKay, its Director, the University's School of Social Studies closed down. Its two-year Diploma Course was discontinued and its post-graduate Certificate Course in Applied Social Studies transferred to the Department of Sociology. In the Committee set up by Senate to enquire into the future of the School, I had urged that it be continued because of the ever-pressing need for more University-trained social workers, and because the School had been helping in an admirable

*The case for 'going over to the UGC' was made by the UCAE in a Memorandum submitted to the Committee of Vice-Chancellors, but so far no action has been taken on it.
way to meet this need.* But the mood was one of
destruction and the School had to go. I determined,
therefore, to try to smuggle full-time social work
training into the University through the back-door,
as it were, by taking on a series of specific full-
time courses, such as those in Residential Child Care
and Probation Training,** and a course in Nursing and
Community Studies.*** My intention was gradually to
provide these courses with a common core of training
which would lead to the award of a Diploma in Social
Studies. But a new Vice-Chancellor (T A F Noble),
more favourably disposed towards Social Studies,
baulked me in this. A new School of Social Work was
established in the University in 1966, which I heart-
ily welcomed, and to it was transferred all the full-
time social work training in which the Department was

*I did not ask for more than a brief continuance
of the Diploma Course, but urged the establish-
ment of a Course leading to a General Degree in
Social Studies.

**See p66 and p69.

***This was to have been a four-year course arranged
in co-operation with the Sheffield Regional
Hospital Board and the City of Leicester Health
Department.
then engaged.

IX Final Conclusions

When in 1957 the first Leicester/Tavistock Training Conference in Group Relations was held, the Tavistock Institute did the training and the Department of Adult Education the administration. This was found to be an unsatisfactory arrangement, and it became clear that if the partnership were to continue Leicester must also be involved in the training. So, in subsequent conferences I learned on the job the business of conducting Study Groups and Sectors in Inter-group Exercises, and eventually became a full staff member. Soon I was joined by Professor Tibble and a little later by others, notably Denis Rice and Peter Chambers of the Department, and Eileen Churchill, Dr Mildred Collins and John Eggleston of the School of Education. But the learning was not all one-sided. Our Tavistock colleagues learned something from us, too, since Inter-personal and Inter-group Relations Training, although it owes much to clinical psychology, is essentially an educational process. By 1960-61, Professor Tibble and I were not only taking full staff roles in what had become a Leicester/Tavistock annual training event, but were now conducting weekly
Study Groups of our own for members of the teaching profession locally.

In 1961-62 an experiment was tried of building into the first year of the Leicester Certificate Course in Social Studies an inter-personal, inter-group relations training component. It was thought that this would be particularly helpful to social workers in their day-to-day work and that the 'learnings' it provided would also highlight the more formal teaching in Developmental and Social Psychology which formed the other component of the first year of the Course. The results were encouraging, and since that time all the Certificate Courses in Social Studies and Criminology provided by the Department, have included at least some inter-personal relations training. Many independent courses, both residential and non-residential, have also been held for Approved School Staffs, Youth Leaders, and Officers of the Royal Army Educational Corps and the Royal Pioneer Corps. But, more recently, the Department has ventured into full-scale inter-personal inter-group relations training on a week-by-week basis, and provision has been made in Leicester and Northampton through courses attended by large numbers of professional people such as educationists, psychiatrists, medical officers and
their auxiliaries, social workers and clergy. Into these courses there have been built staff training facilities.

Although those members of the Department's staff who have been most active in inter-personal and inter-group relations training are convinced, and not merely from personal impression, of its value, they do recognise the need for systematic research into its effectiveness. And by effectiveness here is meant the more productive use by the students of themselves in the performance of their primary tasks as teachers, social workers, clergy, doctors and medical auxiliaries. Some work in this field has been done elsewhere,* but not enough. More is needed, and where better could it be done than at Leicester where so much training of this kind is being undertaken? An important by-product of the inter-personal, inter-group relations training in which the Department has been engaged is a clearer

*The most important piece of research so far done is by D Bunker, 'The effect of laboratory education on individual behaviour,' in Schein, E H and Bennis, W G (eds), Personal and Organizational Change through Group Methods, Wiley, New York, 1965. For a review of recent and current research, see article, P B Smith and D Moscow, 'After the T-group is over,' in New Society, 29 December 1966.
realisation than hitherto of the basic function of the educator — whether of adults or not — as that of a designer of optimum learning situations, in terms of whatever it is that the students need to learn.

On reflection it was realised that already the Department had been working unthinkingly along the right lines. Its field study courses and research projects,* had, for example, provided reasonably well designed learning situations in terms of the things to be learned, although we had not considered them in that light. But now some members of the Department's staff began consciously to design courses of various kinds with the aim of providing optimum learning situations for particular groups of students. Anthony Brown and David Parsons (Organising Tutors in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire respectively) who are archaeologists, promoted courses in which students learned archaeology, chiefly through active involvement in it as a field exercise; Mrs Judith Chaney (a specialist in methods of social investigation) directed courses through which members learned social problems by actually engaging in social surveys; and Colin Bourn (Organising Tutor in Indus—

*See p 39.
trial Study) planned courses* in which students would learn to deal with managerial problems through participation in simulation exercises and games.**

From time to time courses about programmed learning have been provided by the Department, but as yet it has not offered facilities for students to learn through the medium of teaching machines or teach books. The desirability of making an experiment in the field of automated instruction is recognised, and the installation of a variety of instructional devices in a room set apart for the purpose in Vaughan College has been agreed to in principle. Here students would be free to work at their own pace and at their leisure in those areas of study in which programmed learning is the most suitable educational medium. Thus the range of learning situations specially devised by the Department has increased and is increasing, but the traditional media of teaching and learning - the lecture and discussion - remain dominant, although most of the research evidence points to their

*These have yet to be held.

**This is not to say that formal teaching has no place in these courses, but that it is subsidiary to 'learning by acquaintance.' Reading is, of course, prescribed.
not being very effective in the realms of information-giving, training in skills, physical, intellectual or social, or of forming or changing attitudes and values. Lectures and discussions apparently come into their own, to some extent at least, with advanced students, but their suitability, excepting for inspirational purposes, seems to be minimal for all others.

Among the most effective lectures I have observed within the Department in recent years were some which formed parts of courses in advanced mathematics - in Topology, Infinite Numbers and The Theory of Number. The primary task of these courses was, I understand, to introduce to the students the most elegant and economical ways of attempting the solution of certain very difficult mathematical problems. Yet at least one of the lecturers broke every rule in the book. Most of the time he turned his back on the class and mumbled into the blackboard. When questioned, it is true, he faced his audience but, being a shy man, looked everywhere except at the questioner, and then quickly swung round to the blackboard to write down his answer. Quite evidently it was not necessary for the class to hear much of what he said. It was able to interpret his message through the language of the subject as it flowed from the point of his chalk.
And the class also used chalk rather than talk in discussion. The students were, of course, highly competent mathematicians.

The advanced mathematics courses mentioned above are examples of the trend in recent years towards provision of a far more specific nature than in the past for men and women with higher formal educational attainments. To take part in courses of this kind, many people now show a readiness to travel up to twenty miles, using for the purpose their own transport. This had led to new thinking in the Department about the planning and location of courses. As a consequence, Vaughan College is gradually being transformed into an area institution, serving the whole of Leicestershire, and from the beginning the new Northampton University Centre will also serve as an area institution for all but the north-eastern part of Northamptonshire. This will leave the area to the north and east of Kettering (including the County of Rutland) without a University Centre, but the duty of the University to provide one when circumstances permit is now accepted.

In due course the Area Organising Tutors will move into the University Centres to serve as Deputy Wardens, the academic staff at each Centre becoming
responsible thereafter for all the provision (both Extension and Joint) made within its area. In the organisation of certain types of class or course, however, the staff will be able to call on Departmental headquarters for the services of Subject Organising Tutors. This arrangement is intended to provide for the greatest measure of decentralisation in the planning and organisation of other than regional and national class and course programmes, since each Area Centre will have a considerable degree of autonomy. It will also permit the academic staff of the Centres to have rather more off duty evenings than is now possible, and maybe occasional study leave terms which are now impossible. But, most importantly, it will rationalise, and should eventually lead to further expansion of, the Department’s extra-mural provision within each Area.

There is not, of course, any intention of organising a kind of laager in each of the Areas and to retire within it. Local Education Authorities throughout the University’s region are establishing comprehensive adult education centres of their own and expect the University to make its contribution to the centres’ programmes – to those of Further Education Centres in Leicester, Community Colleges in
Leicestershire, District Evening Institutes in Northampton and Colleges of Further Education in Northamptonshire. The expected contribution, whilst flattering to the Department, has almost always and everywhere been too large, but protestations on this point have usually been put down to false modesty on our part. Even the greater than average failure which has been the lot of provision arranged in most LEA centres has not yet convinced the Authorities that the scope for university work in these institutions is rather limited.

Nevertheless, the amount of provision made in LEA centres (both Extension and Joint) continues to grow at a modest pace, and everything possible is being done to expand it. Except in certain Colleges of Further Education, where high-level courses in Science and Technology are occasionally provided, most of the provision made in LEA centres is in the field of general cultural studies. Where contraction is taking place is in villages and townships, places where scope for subject choice on the part of students is strictly limited, where accommodation is rarely in keeping with modern standards, and where the results of the labours of Organising Tutors are mostly disproportionate to the time and effort involved. This contraction has come about less,
perhaps, through deliberate policy on the part of the Area Organising Tutors and more through their having followed the rule that

Thou shalt not kill; but need'st not strive
Officiously to keep alive
which, according to Arthur Hugh Clough,* guided the social Darwinians of his day.

In addition to the three Area Centres, which the Department hopes eventually to have, it will also enjoy about a one-quarter share in a short-term Residential College which is to be established jointly by the William Hanbury Trust, the Leicestershire Education Authority and the University. During the eighteenth century, the Rev William Hanbury, Vicar of Church Langton, near Market Harborough, in Leicestershire, left a sum of money to found in his parish a kind of people's university. It was never possible for the Hanbury Trustees to do more than erect a group of school buildings to serve the children, young people and adults in the locality as a kind of embryo Community College. Recently the school moved out and the buildings, which are in a good

state of repair, lie for the most part unused. It was Stewart Mason, Leicestershire's Director of Education, who first thought of the idea of their being adapted and extended to serve as a Residential College. Plans have been drawn up and money raised to build two blocks of study bedrooms on the former school playing fields and to adapt the school buildings to provide dining facilities and common room and teaching space suitable for adult use.

Unfortunately, the carrying out of the plan has been delayed by the Government's recent severe restrictions on capital expenditure, but when eventually the College comes into being it will provide efficient, comfortable and pleasing accommodation for courses with memberships of about forty at a Centre deep in the country, yet only twelve miles from Leicester. Here the LEA intends to provide courses for teachers, youth workers and others engaged in its service, and the University hopes to arrange for undergraduate reading parties to stay for short periods, and expects the School of Education to make provision for practising teachers and the Department of Adult Education to provide national and regional courses of various kinds.*

*The possibility has been mentioned of the Warden being provided by the Department of Adult Education.
The great value to the Department of this College will be its availability in term time. At present almost all national and regional courses are housed in the University's Halls of Residence and have therefore to take place during vacations; times not suited to everyone and times when members of the Department's academic staff are entitled to some relief from the claims of organising and teaching.

During the twenty years - 1946-1966 - which this paper reviews, there have been great changes in thought and action in the extra-mural work of the University of Leicester. Perhaps, in the realm of thought, the most significant of these has been a narrowing of the concept of university extra-mural provision to that which (ideally at any rate) better fits the name than it did a couple of decades ago. It is that of part-time university education given, outside the walls of the University, by full-time university teachers, to adults who have already been educated to a point which enables them to study at a level appropriate to a university, that is, at its lowest, at the undergraduate level,* but normally

*Leicester will always, I hope, be willing to make provision for the few who, although gifted with
well above it. This has already been rather starkly expressed in the phrase that university extra-mural work is, or at least should be, primarily concerned with the further education of the educated,* with the output, that is, of Britain's institutions of higher learning, which now exceeds 50,000 per annum.

But this narrowing of the concept of university extra-mural work has at Leicester had as its concomitant a widening of the scope of provision and of the interests it is intended to serve. Whilst there is still a great deal of provision, within the fields of arts and the social sciences which is intended to minister to the students' cultural and civic interests, even some of this is now used by them to serve their business or professional needs. Examples are furnished by many courses in Economics, Sociology and Social Psychology. But provision in the sciences, high intellectual ability, have somehow missed their way, educationally speaking, in earlier life, but for the Department of Adult Education to make these its main concern, as once it professed to do, and then perhaps quite rightly, would now be quite inappropriate.

*See pp 37-8.
in technology and in management studies, subjects in which the growth rate has been greatest, makes only a vocational or professional appeal. Among these Pure Mathematics seems to be the one exception. It attracts some students with cultural interests and others with business or professional interests. Today provision at Leicester is designed to serve every legitimate major interest in study at levels and in subjects appropriate to a university.

In recent years I have come to class the Department's provision under four R's, namely, Reparative, Renovative, Redintegrative and Recreative. This is a classification based on promotional intent rather than on student motivation, and it is one which is becoming increasingly valid in the larger centres of provision, where a wide variety of classes and courses is offered and guidance is available to intending students. Included in Reparative provision are classes provided in co-operation with the WEA and certain Certificate Courses in which the object is to introduce those who have never previously had the chance of it to education of a university character. Renovative provision aims to help those who have had a full-time higher education to keep abreast of new knowledge in professionally relevant subjects.
Redintegrative provision has as its object the making whole (or balanced) again of those whose higher education, because of its specialised nature, has made them, culturally speaking, lopsided beings. And the aim of Recreative provision is to provide scope for the exercise of the students' intellectual powers and the enjoyment which this can bring. I estimate that of Leicester's current provision the percentages are roughly, Reparative 28, Renovative 24, Redintegrative 26 and Recreational 22.

During the twenty years there has also occurred at Leicester another change of great significance. Once the Department's staff went out to prospective students wherever they happened to be and, as in the famous parable, literally compelled them to come in. But pressed men are never very reliable, and backsliding among students was common. The registers had to be regularly scanned to discover the guilty ones.

*The two full-time Home Office courses of Training for Residential Child Care Officers and Probation Officers, now transferred to the School of Social Work, swelled somewhat the percentage of Reparative provision.

**There is, of course, a considerable overlap between Redintegrative and Recreational provision.
so that arrangements could be made for moral pressure to be put on them to return to the fold. But, increasingly, the Department invites prospective students freely to come into its own centres of provision and to attend classes and courses which, in the light of its own 'market research,' it has chosen to establish. There is now no compelling of anyone to join any class or course and therefore practically no problem of backsliding. The relatively few students who fall away are today permitted to do so in peace. This radical change in the Department's approach to programme planning, the location of class and course provision and student recruitment has been reflected in percentage attendances which have risen from just over 69 in 1946-47 to a little under 80 in 1965-66.

From time to time in this review attention has been drawn to growth in the volume of class and course provision made by the Department of Adult Education. This growth has taken place partly because of territorial expansion, first into central and south Leicestershire and secondly, into Northamptonshire, but chiefly (excepting perhaps in central and south Leicestershire and Rutland) because of more intensive cultivation of the different areas. As a consequence, the provision made within the Univer-
sity's region in 1965-66 and the support it received was, according to the different indices - class and course provision, number of class meetings held, enrolments and student-hours - approximately 3½ times as large as in 1946-47, whereas the comparable figure for the Universities and University Colleges of England and Wales taken collectively amounted to just under 2. Yet I am convinced that more could have been accomplished within the Leicester region if only more resources, human and financial, had been given to the Department, and more, much more, remains to be done if the University is to serve adequately the needs of the 25,000 potential extra-mural students who live within the bounds of its Extra-mural Region.

*The details are presented graphically on the centre pages and in a table on p viii.

**See Appendix 3 in The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, HMSO 1954, for the provision made in 1946-47 and Tables 1, 2 and 3 in the Report of the Universities Council for Adult Education, 1965-66.

***This figure is an estimate, based on the Census figures of 1961, and allows for population growth since that year. It is approximately the mean figure between those 21 years of age and over whose terminal age for full-time education was
at least 20, and those 21 years of age and over who belong to the Registrar-General's Socio-economic Groups: 1, that is, employers and managers in central and local government, industry and commerce - large establishments; 2, that is, professional workers - self-employed; and 3, that is, professional workers - employees.
APPENDICES I, II and III
APPENDIX I

Growth in the University of Leicester's extra-mural provision and the response to it 1946-66

Leicester CB since 1946-47

Leicestershire and Rutland* since 1951-52

Northampton CB since 1962-63

Northamptonshire* since 1962-63

National and Regional** since 1964-65

TOTAL GROWTH since 1946-47

*Administrative Counties
**1964-65 the first year in which National and Regional Courses were separately classed

(vi)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes and courses provided</th>
<th>Class and course meetings held</th>
<th>Enrolments</th>
<th>Student-hours</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72 to 153</td>
<td>1,068 to 2,190</td>
<td>1,484 to 3,402</td>
<td>27,386* to 56,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 to 31</td>
<td>465 to 420</td>
<td>331 to 516</td>
<td>7,187* to 7,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 to 31**</td>
<td>314 to 491</td>
<td>316 to 659</td>
<td>5,578 to 13,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 to 26***</td>
<td>179 to 329</td>
<td>317 to 461</td>
<td>4,035 to 7,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 14</td>
<td>148 to 208</td>
<td>189 to 619</td>
<td>7,373 to 13,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 to 255</td>
<td>1,068 to 3,638</td>
<td>1,330 to 5,657</td>
<td>27,386 to 99,015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Estimate  
**Excluding 1 Regional Course held in Northampton  
***Excluding 3 Regional Courses held in Northamptonshire
APPENDIX II

Growth year by year in the University of Leicester's extra-mural provision and the response to it 1946-66.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Classes and Courses</th>
<th>No of Meetings</th>
<th>Enrolments</th>
<th>Student-hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>1,484</td>
<td>27,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1,093</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>28,211</td>
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<tr>
<td>1948-49</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>23,855</td>
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<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td>26,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1,157</td>
<td>1,413</td>
<td>26,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-52*</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1,521</td>
<td>1,494</td>
<td>31,912</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1,433</td>
<td>1,619</td>
<td>27,612</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1,641</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>34,885</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1,620</td>
<td>2,161</td>
<td>35,384</td>
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<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1,761</td>
<td>2,767</td>
<td>38,919</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>2,841</td>
<td>36,545</td>
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<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>1,831</td>
<td>2,716</td>
<td>39,998</td>
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<td>1958-59</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>2,744</td>
<td>40,228</td>
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<td>1959-60</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>3,185</td>
<td>42,728</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>1,904</td>
<td>3,665</td>
<td>47,972</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>2,347</td>
<td>3,993</td>
<td>52,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63**</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>2,386</td>
<td>3,666</td>
<td>52,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>3,007</td>
<td>4,858</td>
<td>75,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>3,391</td>
<td>4,695</td>
<td>90,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>3,638</td>
<td>5,657</td>
<td>99,015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The year in which provision previously made in Leicestershire (part) by Loughborough College was first made by Leicester.

**The year in which provision previously made in Northampton and Northamptonshire by Cambridge was first made by Leicester.
APPENDIX III

POEM

recited at the Opening of the new Vaughan College building

Sirs, ye are brethren, is our motto here.
A hundred years ago we dimly started,
Two humble rooms, one up, one down: night classes
In a borrowed schoolroom. There were classes in
Reading and writing and arithmetic,
Twopence a week to use the library;
Sixpence a month, and in a month save twopence.
Discussion classes on such subjects as:
'Is Woman Mentally Inferior?'
'Do Public Executions Help Society?'
A small, dim start a hundred years ago:
For some years, hardly noticed in the papers.
But like a grain of mustard-seed we grew.
By 1898 an institution
Esteemed and prized in Leicester. Then Vaughan wrote:
'As to our principles, our College motto,
"Sirs, ye are brethren", gives all we want.
For it implies a kindly brother feeling
That matters more even than the honourable
Professional zeal any good teacher has
To do his subject justice. As to methods,
Think of each student in each class as being
An individual person whom you care for.
That touch keeps up the kindly College spirit.
But every method needs a driving force,
To put life into it. In our own case here,
What is that driving force? Some men would call it,
Grandly, "enthusiasm of humanity".
I like that dear old phrase, "the love of souls".'

(ix)
We seem to see a cluster of small candles
Gathered around one large, mild central light,
A love of souls greater than love of learning.
One soul who learned here wrote: 'Here I found
The real life of the College had been founded,
And day by day must still depend, upon
Each student's spirit of self-sacrifice
For all the others!' Ye are brethren, sirs!

And when Vaughan weakened, one old student wrote:
'I trust that it may be the will of Him
Who ordereth all things that your health again
May be restored, that we may meet again
In the near future, once again to study
The truth and beauty of God's Holy Word.'

Those times are changed, for worse and better also:
One poverty and ignorance has gone:
We have another: poverty we serve:
The Heart's, the imagination's poverty.
Kindle new candles! Let this bright new building
Be, like those first two rooms, still dedicated
To truth and beauty and the love of souls.
Sirs, ye are brethren! Be ye at one.

G S FRASER

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Previous Vaughan College Papers

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A J Allaway, 1951 (out of print)
New and revised edition, 1957, price 1s 6d.

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G W Fenn, 1956, price 1s 6d.

No 3 DICKENS'S PERIODICALS: ARTICLES ON EDUCATION
P A W Collins, 1957, price 2s 6d.

No 4 LEICESTERSHIRE HISTORY:
A HANDBLIST TO PRINTED SOURCES IN THE
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J M Lee, 1959, price 2s 6d.
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(a contribution to the Sociology of Adult
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Derek Wright, 1965, price 2s 6d.