OWENS COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT IN MANCHESTER 1886-1914

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The formal beginning of the university extension movement in 1873 stemmed from an initiative by James Stuart, a lecturer at Cambridge, who had campaigned successfully for the university to offer an arrangement whereby lecturers provided, through lectures and courses, the type of educational experience which was available to university students, to those who would not otherwise have been able to avail themselves of it. Similar schemes were established at London and Oxford in 1876 and 1878 and at the Victoria University, of which Owens College, Manchester, in 1880 became the first of its three constituent institutions from 1886.

The thesis examines a comparatively neglected aspect of the history of Owens College: that of its contribution to the work of the university extension lecture movement in Manchester to 1914 and, in collaboration principally with the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), to the university tutorial classes movement in Manchester up to the First World War. Through a detailed analytical review of literature, the university extension movement and the WEA (established in 1903), both nationally and locally, are set firmly within the context of the development of educational initiatives for adults in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Of the four leading providers of university extension lectures prior to 1914, detailed research has already been carried out on the work of Oxford, Cambridge and Yorkshire (Victoria University) but, other than Burrows' study, rather less so on London. For Owens College and the University of Manchester little has been published about extension activities there in any detail other than a brief but interesting work by a leading historian of adult education, Thomas Kelly, in 1950. The thesis establishes the development in Manchester of a tradition of educational outreach to the community, of which university extension provision was a natural progression, by Owens College from its inception in 1851 through to 1886, via several activities organised and strongly supported by its staff, including the Manchester Working Man's College (1858-61); educational programmes for the city's poor and unemployed (1862-3); Henry Roscoe's 'science lectures for the people' in the 1870s; and the contribution of the college to the provision of educational opportunities for women. Building on Kelly's work, the thesis explores the university extension movement in Manchester from 1886 to 1903 and the changes in the nature of the type of provision after that date, primarily through the university's collaboration with the WEA and other working-class organisations, to offer three-year programmes of systematic study through the university tutorial classes. The thesis makes several new contributions to research in this area, including more detailed treatment of areas of conflict and co-operation between the Victoria University and the other main providers of university extension lectures; examines the local advertising of lectures and courses; and, in the second chapter of the thesis, offers a new interpretation of the contribution of Owens college to adult education in Manchester from the 1850s to 1886, to provide a firm basis for the development of the university extension movement there. The concluding section of the thesis uses the Final Report of 1919 by the Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee to make a retrospective assessment of the university extension and tutorial class movements and briefly to examine immediate post-war developments with the continuing expansion of the WEA and the creation of departments of extra-mural studies within universities.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Notes on Copyright

List of abbreviations and acronyms used in the thesis:

CIU	Club and Institute Union
CJACTC	Central Joint Advisory Committe on Tutorial Classes
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IWCE	Independent Working Class Education
JRULM	John Rylands University Library Manchester
LEA	Local Education Authority
LSEUT	London Society for the Extension of University Teaching
MCRL	Manchester Central Reference Library
NCPHEW	North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women
NCLC	National Council of Labour Colleges
NUR	National Union of Railwaymen
OC	Owens College
PRO	Public Records Office
PT	Pupil Teachers
RMI	Railway and Mechanics' Institute
RSA	Royal Society of Arts
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
UE	University Extension
WEA	Workers' Educational Association
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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CHAPTER ONE

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURE MOVEMENT: AN OVERVIEW

Roger Fieldhouse, in a brief but stimulating introductory essay to A History of Modern British Adult Education, identifies a number of considerations which he observes contributed in the nineteenth century to a developing interest and concern in the education of adults, as well as children. These factors included societal changes brought about by the industrial revolution, which evidenced the need for a more highly skilled and educated workforce; a wish to understand more about, and perhaps influence to some extent, the changes which were occurring; a very gradual shift away from an individual self-help approach to one which encouraged what Fieldhouse terms "a comprehensive system of collectivist intervention" and "social collectivism"; and, in the latter part of the century, an increasing emphasis on technical education and vocational education for adults, in order to equip Britain to meet the economic challenge of increasing industrial and commercial foreign competition (especially from Germany and the U.S.A.).[1]

These considerations help to explain the emergence during the early and mid-nineteenth century of various initiatives, frequently instigated by well-intentioned humanitarians from the middle and professional classes, for the education of the working classes. Such developments, including the provision of adult schools, mechanics' institutes, colleges for working men and women, lyceums and halls of science, have been well documented elsewhere and will be referred to as appropriate in the critical review of literature later in this chapter.[2] The Christian denominations in

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[1] Fieldhouse Roger 'Historical and Political Context' in Fieldhouse R. and Associates A History of Modern British Adult Education (Leicester: The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, 1996.) pp 1-4

[2] See in particular Fieldhouse and Associates, ibid, pp 10-45 and 376-380; Kelly T. A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992, third edition); Hudson J.W. The History of Adult Education (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851); Harrison J.F.C. Learning and Living 1790-1960 : A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961); the opening chapter in Sadler M. (ed) Continuation Schools in England and elsewhere : Their Place in the Educational System of an Industrial and Commercial State (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1908, second edition); the Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee Final Report (London: HMSO 1919); Peers R. Adult Education : A

England, dismayed by the findings of the 1851 census, which indicated that they were having rather less impact than anticipated upon the lives of the poorer classes of society, and in many urban areas were considered to be of little relevance to their intended parishioners, developed a significantly greater concern in the latter half of the century for the moral and spiritual welfare of the working classes.[3] This was evidenced in the organising of numerous activities which were designed to cater for their needs and included in many instances some educational and recreational provision.[4]

Exactly what was understood by contemporaries in the final quarter of the nineteenth century by the terms 'adult education' and 'university extension', is not easy to identify, and it would be helpful for purposes of clarification at an early stage in this thesis to try and elicit appropriate, if somewhat tentative, definitions of these terms. Historians of adult education in the second half of the twentieth century have usually included informal learning alongside traditional and more formal instruction within definitions of 'adult education'.[5] Harrison has suggested that it should include "the many forms of social, political, cultural, and religious activity of adults, which had some educational intent, and accept within the terms of reference all such activities as interested and

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Comparative Study (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958); Legge D. The Education of Adults in Britain (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982); Stephens M.D. Adult Education (London: Cassell, 1990); Purvis J. A History of Women's Education in England (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991) and Hard Lessons : The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989); Simon B. The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1981 edition) and Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974); McDermid J. 'Women and Education' in Purvis J. (ed) Women's History : Britain 1850-1945 An introduction (London: UCL Press Ltd., 1995) pp 107-130; and Tylecote M. The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957).

[3] This is covered extensively in Inglis K.S. Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1963)

[4] For a detailed analysis of such provision in Manchester in the nineteenth century see Lees C. The Development of Adult Education in Manchester from c.1830s to 1914 (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Manchester, 1994), pp. 174-284.

[5] For example, see Kelly, op.cit. Preface to first edition.

knowledgeable people at the time were accustomed to think of as adult education".[6] A recent writer, Roger Fieldhouse, applies the term "loosely to education for adults beyond initial, normally full-time ... compulsory education"[7] and in approaching a definition of education he follows, to a large extent, the spirit of Harrison's observations when he asks: "But what is 'education'? Is it teaching or learning?; didactic or self-directed?; face-to-face or at a distance?; formal or informal?; institutionalised or happening everywhere?; residential or non-residential?; state-funded or self-financing? Is it something that happens to (or is taken by) individuals or is it a collective activity?".[8] Certainly, there are valid arguments for including all these categories in a consideration of what constitutes 'adult education'.

Derek Legge has indicated that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the division between what were considered 'vocational' and 'non-vocational' subjects increased,[9] and Colin Lees has included this point in identifying three particular characteristics of adult education which would be understood and accepted by observers in the second half of the nineteenth century:

> "that such education could be either of a formal or an informal nature and would include what were regarded as vocational as well as non-vocational subjects; that it was not usually undertaken on a full-time basis; and that, with the exception of some of the initiatives encouraged by religious denominations, the instruction provided was almost entirely of a secular kind."[10]

In seeking to address the question of adult education provision in Manchester, this thesis will recognise any form of provision which is perceived by the providers or partakers as being educational, whether it be offered on a full-time, part-time, formal, or informal basis and whether it be offered as religious, secular, vocational or non-vocational in nature.

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[6] Harrison, op.cit. p.xiv.

[7] Such an interpretation would be acceptable from the mid-1880s, since the Education Act of 1880 included the principle of compulsory schooling.

[8] Fieldhouse, op.cit. p.vii

[9] Legge, op.cit. p.1

[10] Lees, op.cit., p.26

Interpretations of the term 'university extension' are equally fluid and the concept could be defined differently at different times in the nineteenth century. Thomas Kelly has suggested that in the 1840s "it meant primarily the extension of facilities for full-time university education",[11] whereas by about 1880 the term had a more specific meaning, indicating "primarily the creation of facilities for part-time university education for students unable to attend a university centre". The aim was "to provide the nearest approximation that circumstances permitted to the training given inside the university. The courses were accompanied by written work on the part of the students, and were followed by examinations, upon the results of which certificates were granted. Like internal university courses, they were, or could be, primarily vocational in character".[12]

The Oxford Delegacy, in1890 described the Extension scheme as " ... an attempt to provide a cheap and elastic system of higher education for busy adults"[13] and the Victoria University Extension Committee were quite precise in their definition of the purpose of extension teaching, when they addressed the Royal Commission on Secondary Education in a letter dated 31st May, 1894, an extant copy of which is to be found in the Committee's minutes and reads, thus:

> "The work of University Extension is and always must be largely a work of popularising the elements of the higher culture for an adult audience and exciting its interest in literature and science."[14]

Principal Rendall of University College, Liverpool, also expressed a view at the 1894 annual conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching, that the ideal of University Extension was:

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[11] Kelly T. Outside the Walls: Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1950) p.3.

[12] ibid. pp4-5

[13] Memorandum to the Local Lectures Committee of the General Board of Studies of the Victoria University, by the Committee of Delegates of Local Examinations appointed by the University of Oxford to carry into effect the Statute 'for the establishment of lectures and teaching in large towns.'

[14] Item 1(a) 31st May 1894. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I. Jan. 15th 1891 to March 14th 1895. (not 1874 as quoted in Kelly 1950 op.cit. p22)

> "to render study an element of life; in fact, to extend the idea of leisure and the idea of pleasure to comprehend the more serious intellectual pursuits which were a legitimate way of varying, relaxing and recreating the leisured parts of busy lives".[15]

In the light of the observation that the education of adults often includes informal, as well as more formal, instruction, it could well be argued that the term 'university extension' might be developed to cover rather less formal educational provision by universities within their communities. Jepson refers to the University Extension Lecture movement as encompassing "both .. the hopes and apprehensions of the established and ... of those whose position the Industrial Revolution had so far done relatively little to improve" as well as being for some universities ".. one aspect of their attempt to involve the universities more in the social and political life of the community".[16] The influence upon its community of the university at Manchester was discernible through the participation of its staff in several more informal educational activities, and these concepts will be explored at some length in the second and third chapters of this thesis.

The thesis is divided into five main sections. With the intention of informing the work of this thesis, chapter one reviews existing literature and in thus doing identifies the deficiency of material relating to the work undertaken in Manchester in existing studies of university extension. Despite the reasonably well documented history of the extension work of Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities, it appears that a recent and detailed study of university extension and WEA provision in Manchester is either lacking or is inaccessible. The work will also, briefly, consider the origins of the university extension movement in England, through reference to existing studies.

To assist in the contextualisation of this research, the thesis now proceeds to a review of the more significant existing literature which examines some of the more important developments in the education of adults in the nineteenth century. Secondly, the more significant works pertaining to the early years of the university extension movement and the Workers' Educational Association are critically discussed. Finally, against the

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[15] Manchester Guardian 29th October 1894 cited in Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.22

[16] Jepson N.A. The Beginnings of English University Adult Education - Policy and Problems. A Critical Study of the early Oxford and Cambridge University Extension Lecture Movements between 1873 and 1907 with special reference to Yorkshire. (London: Michael Joseph 1973)

background of this national context, literature relating to the education of adults in nineteenth century Manchester and the circumstances which encouraged the emergence of university extension work there, will be assessed.

The *raison d'etre* of the thesis, namely to establish the importance of the work of Owens College, and subsequently the University, in the provision of adult education within the Mancunian community, will be easily identified in its second chapter which will provide a synthesis of significant existing studies of adult education in Manchester in the mid-Victorian era, of which there is a sufficiency, but which have not previously been used for the specific purposes for which this thesis is proffered. In this way, chapter two will form an integral part of the thesis in demonstrating that the business of 'university extension' was in hand within the community of Manchester, largely supported by lecturers of Owens College and latterly the Victoria University from its early years and certainly well before its formal entry into this sphere of activity in 1886. This will be achieved through a thorough examination of the development of university extension tradition within the Victoria University during the period from 1851 to 1886, through:

i) a brief consideration of educational provision for adults in Manchester in the first half of the nineteenth century;

ii) adult educational initiatives in Ancoats: the educational work of the churches and Sunday Schools in the district; the Ancoats Lyceum (1838); the Literary and Educational Society (1843); the Ancoats Working Man's College (1857); the Ancoats Recreation Movement (1876); the Manchester (Ancoats) Art Museum (1877);

iii) Owens College, Manchester (1851);

iv) Manchester Working Man's College (1858);

v) the contribution of Henry Enfield Roscoe to adult education;

vi) educational activities for the poor and unemployed (1862-3);

vii) lectures for the people;

viii) non-denominational Adult Schools;

ix) women's education in Manchester.

Chapter two will also consider the question of educational opportunities for women during the period under discussion and demonstrate the involvement of Owens College staff in the promotion of such opportunities through the Manchester Association for Promoting the Education of Women.

The thesis will then, in chapter three, analyse the organisation and activity of university extension in Manchester from 1886 to 1903 up to the establishment of a new university and will include an examination of the co-operation between the Victoria University and the delegacies of the ancient universities.

Chapter four will discuss the reasons behind the foundation of the WEA, the change in the nature of university extension provision after 1903, and the work of the Joint Tutorial Committee which was established in Manchester in 1909 in order to provide tutorial classes for working men and women. The early development of this initiative, which was comprised of representatives from the university of Manchester, the WEA and several trades unions and federations of workers, will be critically assessed up to the outbreak of the First World War.

The concluding chapter will offer a brief retrospective look at adult education in the light of the 1919 Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

In this way, the thesis will examine the effect of university extension on the education of adults in Manchester through:

i) a detailed consideration of the scope and nature of the provision and the intended audience;

ii) the aspirations and motivation of those whose work was central to its establishment;

iii) the aspirations and motives of the recipients of university extension provision;

iv) some consideration will also be given to the way in which the Workers' Educational Association, in meeting the social and educational needs of the generation which followed, from its inception in 1903 until the outbreak of the First World War, was both a beneficiary and by-product of the success of the extension work during the preceding two decades.

The work will address the questions of whether or not the 'intended audience' was that for which university extension in Manchester catered successfully and, if so, to what extent it was successful and, if it was not, why this was so. In order to address the questions comprehensively, it will be necessary to identify both the audience and the needs which university extension met.

At a national level, adult education had been taking place in various forms for many generations before its formalisation and institutionalisation. Michael Sadler's[17] comprehensive study, Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere, does not deal in any detail with the work in Manchester as this present thesis aims to do, but offers vital information from a national perspective which informs the local picture.

Within his work, Sadler records the influence of church leaders on adult education from as early as the seventeenth century, acknowledging their innovative role in being "the first to offer opportunities of continued or elementary education to adults and to young people whose schooldays were over".[18] 'School days' as such were very unlikely to have offered much in the way of education anyway for working class children and young people. According to a report of 1833 " ... of every ten children of school age, four went to no school at all, three went to Sunday School only, two attended inefficient dame or private schools, and only one was considered to be receiving a reasonably satisfactory education".[19]

The 59th Canon of the Church of England required in 1603 that in order to facilitate the teaching of the church, its doctrines and its liturgy, the incumbent or curate should weekly "examine and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Belief, and in the Lord's Prayer, and diligently to hear,

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[17] Sadler 1908 op.cit.

[18] ibid. p.13.

[19] Jepson 1973 op.cit. p. 71

instruct and teach them the Catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer".[20] In order to propagate the Christian Gospel The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) had, during the first half of the eighteenth century, overseen the work with children of the English Charity Schools and in 1711 recommended the introduction of night schools for adults. Reading and writing skills were, of course, essential aids in the study of the Bible. Sadler's work traces the links between the SPCK, the adult Sunday Schools and establishment of Adult Schools which developed from the mid nineteenth century.

With similar intentions, libraries, of varying qualities, sometimes no more than a small collection of biblical tracts or commentaries, were also provided by church and voluntary societies, but these were often made available only to middle-class and reasonably well educated people. Sadler describes one such society, the Sunday Society, which was founded in 1789, as the forerunner of the more secular societies which eventually evolved into the establishment of the Mechanics' Institutes in 1823.[21]

Education may be used as a tool of social engineering; as a vehicle on the path of social mobility; or, purely as a route to personal development and enlightenment and, thus, definition may well be informed by or adapted to the perspective of the observer.

Thomas Kelly's works Early Public Libraries,[22] A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1965[23] and The History of Adult Education in Great Britain[24] present a clear picture of the origins and development of libraries and their role in the education of adults in Britain, confirming the integral part played in the embryonic development of libraries by the spiritual leaders of various Christian denominations .

These extensive works also offer a valuable national perspective through which one can chart the growing appreciation of the value of libraries through the centuries to

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[20] Sadler 1908 op.cit. p.14

[21] ibid. p21

[22] Kelly T. Early Public Libraries (London: The Library Association 1966)

[23] Kelly T A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1965 (London: The Library Association 1973)

[24] Kelly T1992 op.cit.

the period of this particular study and the manner in which their *raison d'etre* has changed and their outreach has bridged social barriers. Professor Kelly's studies provide a detailed account of the evolution of libraries and the part they have played in the education of adults in Britain beyond the landmark of the 1850 Public Libraries Act to the late twentieth century. The influence of libraries can be seen to have spread across the social strata as interest grew and subject material widened to meet demand from readers.

Early Public Libraries charts the library movement from the earliest collections of written material. The establishment of the Guildhall Library in London in 1425, similar fifteenth century 'chained' reference libraries and the appearance of the first municipal libraries in the seventeenth century are described in that study to give an informed view of the development of public libraries. The seventeenth century pioneering library planting, by Thomas Bray, through the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and its continuance into the eighteenth century to provide lending libraries is also considered in Kelly's work.

Subscription libraries such as Mudie's which charged one guinea per exchangable volume per annum and was established first in London in 1852, and then in Manchester in 1854, also offered a service to both visiting and postal subscribers.[25]

There is also evidence that in Manchester that as early as 1829 there was a library owned by Elizabeth Cockcroft of 44 Great Ancoats Street and, in 1840 mention is made of a library being owned by Sarah Cockcroft of 83 Great Ancoats Street.[26]

The first free public libraries were scarce and those which did exist offered reference material only, with the great library of the British Museum being so selective in those whom it allowed to use its facilities, that it would have been difficult for any literate working-class people to do so.

Manchester's Chetham's Library, a chained library bequeathed by Humphrey Chetham, had been "the first library in Europe to open its doors freely to all comers ..."[27] and in

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[25] Manchester Faces and Places Vol. 9 No.3 Dec. 1897 p.60

[26] Manchester Street Directories 1829, 1830, 1832, 1833, 1836, 1838, 1840, 1841, 1843, 1850 quoted in Hanley M. Educational Provision in Ancoats, Manchester During the Nineteenth Century (unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester 1981) p.407

Manchester the same commitment to public reading was evident as the provisions permitted by the 1850 Act were quickly utilised. The Mayor of the time, John Potter (later Sir John Potter) "at once set to work with admirable spirit to prevent its becoming a dead letter in this busy and important centre". Establishing a subscription appeal which attracted £4,300 even before its public launch, the Mayor led a fund-raising effort which realised a total of £12,823 towards the founding of a free library, £800 of which "was raised by a working men's committee".[28] On September 6th 1852 the free library was opened at Campfield where 77,232 books were issued on loan and 61,080 issued for reference within its first year of operation. By 1889 there were six branch lending libraries throughout Manchester with almost a million borrowers, plus some three million visitors to the news rooms and two hundred thousand visitors to the reading rooms during the year. In 1878 a Boys' Room was added and was "found to work admirably and to justify extension".[29]

The value of the moral rectitude perceived by late nineteenth century social reformers in the use of libraries by working men and women can clearly be seen in contemporary accounts of their approval of such use. A biography of William Axon, of Manchester, a proponent of the free library service, and for some time assistant librarian, reports that his "chief motive" in supporting a successful move to open the library on Sundays "was the desire to see fresh influences brought to bear in counteracting some of the evils of city life".[30]

Similarly, in its September 1892 publication, the same magazine, in reporting on the benefits of seeing "on any night in the week some hundred or so well-behaved and interested working men and women .... enjoying the comforts and advantages .." of facilities in the Ancoats Branch of Manchester Free Libraries, quotes from a contemporary address by Alexander Ireland, a Manchester publisher, on "The Moral Influence of Free Libraries" in support of their enthusiasm for its social benefits.[31]

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[27] Manchester Faces and Places Vol. 4 No.11 August 1893 p.163

[28] ibid. Vol. 1 No.1 October 1889 p.44

[29] ibid Vol. 1 No.1 October 1889 p.63

[30] ibid Vol. 3 No. 7 April 1892 p. 110

[31] ibid. Vol. 3 No. 12 Sept.1892 p.183

Following the enactment of the 1850 Public Libraries Act, the provision of the Museums was extended to encompass library facilities and, subject to the approval of two-thirds of ratepayers, finance was available to build and maintain libraries. No provision was made to stock them, however, until the Amendment of 1854, by which time several towns and cities, including Manchester, were ready to take advantage of the opportunity.[32]

Nonetheless, education, *per se*, for the working classes was not looked upon as a state or municipal concern until late in the nineteenth century. However, in the North of England A Plan for the Establishment of a General System of Secular Education for the County of Lancaster, had been drawn up in 1847 by a Public School Association which had been established for that specific purpose.[33] An undated, hand-written, draft of a plan devised by Edward Brotherton for a municipal system of education[34] would appear to have been drawn up in the early to mid 1860's and the Manchester and Salford Education-Aid Society, which was established as a result of a series of articles in the Manchester Guardian by him in 1864 in order to provide elementary education and pay school fees for poor children, "borrowed [the] fundamental idea" of a private association of "a few gentlemen" who had for some ten years previously "subscribed funds for the purpose of assisting poor parents to educate their children".[35] Established " ... with the knowledge that it was to occupy the ground

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[32] Until the 1919 Public Libraries Act introduced county council provision to be administered by county education committees and was extended to include rural areas which had previously been unserved, working-class organisations, adult schools, university settlements and philanthropic organisations (amongst which the Carnegie Trust was not only a major contributor but also a force behind the introduction of the Act), continued to be the main suppliers of library facilities. Following the 1919 Act, and throughout the inter-war years of the twentieth century, public library provision grew and improved, becoming an important part of working class education and leisure.

[33] Manchester Education Aid Society Cuttings. To be found in the archives of Manchester Central Library item no.1.

[34] ibid item no.290

[35] Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society Reports 1865-70 printed at the 'Guardian' Steam Printing Offices, Manchester, 1870 p.5. Brotherton was a silk manufacturer in Manchester who had retired to devote his life to philanthropic work. He died in 1866 as a result of an infection contracted through one of his visits to the slum areas of Manchester. See in particular Kidd A. Manchester (Keele: Keele University Press, 1993), p.136; and Kidd A.J. and Roberts K.W. (eds.) City, class and culture: Studies of cultural production and social policy in Victorian Manchester

until such time as there should be legislative action in the matter of the education of the poorest of our people", the Society issued some 34,000 educational grants to children during its seven-year lifetime[36] and felt that the introduction of the 1870 Elementary Education Act owed much to its " ... having stirred and enkindled inquiry ..." and provided impetus for the Education Bill Committee which eventually formed the Act.[37]

This major stepping stone in the intervention of the State in education in England and Wales may well also have been honed on the necessity for greater promotion of the technical knowledge needed to enable Britain to compete in international trade, but it was to open educational doors to much more than industry-centred spheres of knowledge.

Throughout the eighteenth century the 'Age of Enlightenment' had continued, though as in France in the manner of *les Philosophiques*, its light was shed mainly on an elite few whose time and energy could be given over to the pursuit of scientific, philosophical and literary debate. However, with the democratic progress of the following century, working class men and women in England began to seek out, and later demand, routes through which they could satisfy the enquiry of their minds and their desire to understand the world in which they lived. The 1919 Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee, after extensive research, concluded that since the beginning of the nineteenth century ".... educational activity ... [in Great Britain] ... probably surpasses in volume the educational work amongst adults carried on in any other country ..." and was of the opinion that that activity was " .... an indication of the depth and persistence of the demand for adult education". [38]

The provision of education for all, not just for perceived leaders, may well be seen by many as the hallmark of any democratic society and its enabling power the route to social equality which may be kept open in perpetuity, as long as those who travel it wish others to follow. However, its direction may wander as those who take its lead

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(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp.48-49 and 105.

36 Article in the Manchester Guardian February 9th 1872 from Manchester Educational Aid Society Cuttings op.cit. item no.286

37 Educational Aid Society op.cit. Sixth Report pp21/22

38 Final Report 1919 op.cit. p168

decide which destinations are to be aimed for. Tension among the vocational, social and altruistic aims of adult education providers and its recipients raises concerns in respect of issues of social control and social engineering.

Richard Price's work, using surprisingly subjective language, examines the principles, objectives and techniques of such social control through the particular medium of the Working Men's Club Movement. Price is unequivocal in his assertion that in Victorian England:

> middle class social reform effort was motivated less by pure humanitarianism than by the threat that an increasingly articulate and organised working class posed to ordered society. ... ... middle-class social reformers desired ... to cast the working men in their own image."[39]

Contrary to that, Michael Harrison eschews the use of the term 'social control' because he considers it to be " ... vague, contrived, simplistic, and in the last resort, limiting", maintaining that the working classes are not "helpless pawns" and that the middle classes are a "... complex and fissured formation".[40]

Whilst Price refers in a rather pejorative fashion to a middle class aim to ".. cast the working men in their own image ...", J.F.C. Harrison regards the same actions in a more positive light:

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[39] Price R.N. 'The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology' in Victorian Studies Volume 15 1971-72 p117. Price cites the following studies as examples of various aspects of this general theme: Webb R.K. the British Working Class Reader: 1780-1848; literacy and social tension (London: George Allen and Unwin 1955); Harrison J.F.C. op.cit. 1961; Gosden P.H.J.H. The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1961); Simon B. 1974 op.cit; Perkin H. The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1969); Johnson R. 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England' in Past and Present No. 49 1970. See also Bailey P. chapter on the Working Men's Club movement (pp.106-123) in his Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control. 1830-1885. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1978) where he identifies (p.109) the movement as having an "ultimate purpose of social indoctrination".

[40] Harrison M (Social Reform in Late Victorian and Edwardian Manchester with special reference to T.C.Horsfall unpublished PhD thesis University of Manchester 1987 abstract page (not numbered)

" The initiative in the solution of these problems lay with the dominant middle classes, and they had only one answer - to make over the whole of society in their own image. The ideas and standards and methods which had brought them [the middle classes] such conspicuous success could do the same for all the people - if only they would let them".[41]

The Working Men's Club and Institute Union was founded in 1862 by the Reverend Henry Solly, a Unitarian minister who was very much impressed by the work of F.D.Maurice, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge and a very active Christian Socialist reformer. The Union's purpose was that of " ... helping Working Men to establish Clubs or Institutes where they can meet for conversation, business, and mental improvement, with the means of recreation and refreshment, free from intoxicating drinks".[42]

Mental improvement did not, in the view of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union's founding patrons, depend solely on education, despite its acknowledged value, but education in conjunction with sociable recreation which did not rely on alcohol as its central attraction. In founding the Club and Institute Union, Solly was acting upon his conviction that temperance would be tolerated by working men as long as "superior attractions"[43] were offered to them. However, such was the objection to temperance that relatively early in the Union's genesis Solly conceded that "There is a very large number of respectable working men who desire to have a pint of beer after the day's work is done, as much as a lady desires an afternoon cup of tea ... They wish for no more, but they will take no less".[44] Once that had been accepted and the movement increasingly took steps to free it from the restricting effects of middle-class patronage, it began to flourish. In 1889 there were 329 clubs by 1899 there were 683, mainly concentrated in London and the home counties, Lancashire,

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[41] Harrison J.F.C. Learning and Living 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1961) p.39

[42] Hall B.T. Our Sixty Years: the Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (1922) pp23-4 cited in Kelly 1992 op.cit. p.190

[43] Solly cited in Levitt J. 'Adult Education in Working Men's Clubs 'in Adult Education Vol.28. No.4. Spring 1956. p260 (no internal reference given)

[44] Hall B.T. Our Sixty Years: the Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (1922) p.207 cited in Kelly 1992 op.cit. p.191

Cheshire, Yorkshire and the West Midlands.[45] As Michael Harrison observed, the working classes are not 'helpless pawns'.

Solly's conviction regarding temperance might have proved unfounded, but the 'superior attractions', as can be seen from the Manchester example discussed in the next chapter of this work, were appreciated by Club members. A circulating library, which, after initial gifts from wealthy benefactors, became self-supporting by 1882, was established and reading rooms were provided. In 1867 an agency to supply public lectures was initiated by a £10 gift from Hodgson Pratt[46] and throughout the 1870s their popularity was such that the financial stability of some clubs came from the revenue they generated. In the winter of 1886/7, 152 educational classes had been held among some 115 clubs which returned details and 1,096 'entertainments' had been offered. Essay competitions and voluntary historical examinations were introduced which apparently enjoyed some localised and limited response.[47]

Despite some dissatisfaction during the late 1870s, often revolving around the issue temperance, John Levitt's research leads him to say that "... there was also a sense of mission and much devotion".[48] By 1886 the decision to let go of the founding patronage had been taken and the Union felt mature enough to become a self-determining and democratically run organisation. The temperance objective of the original providers might not have been met but the overriding concern to supply what the Mechanics' Institutes had not offered by way of social and recreational amenities had been met and educational opportunities had been arranged where there was such demand.

An additional point concerning the aims of the providers should be made here and the fact that aims and achievements do not always coincide should be noted. The Adult Education Committee which reported to the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919 points

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[45] Kelly 1992 loc. cit.

[46] Hodgson Pratt was a "retired Indian civil servant" [Simon B. Education and the Labour Movement: 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart 1965) p.74.] He was an early active participant in the Working Men's Club Movement and in the 1870s became the Chairman of Council of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. See Lees 1994 op.cit. p.395

[47] Levitt 1956 op.cit. p.264

[48] ibid. p.265

to the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, for example, to support the case that "institutions designed for one class tend to be absorbed by another" and shows that in the six years from 1835-1841 the Manchester Institute had only 309 working class members out of a total of 1,184 members.[49] It will be seen later in this current work, particularly with reference to the University Extension Movement that middle-class students, particularly middle-class female students, often occupied the places which providers had expected to be filled by working class men.

The extensive research of the Adult Education Committee led its much respected report to conclude that adult education " ... aims at satisfying the needs of the individual and at the attainment of new standards of citizenship and a better social order" and that "In some cases the personal motive predominates. In perhaps the greater majority of cases the dynamic character of adult education is due to its social motive." [50]

It is indisputable, therefore, that the aims of the providers were two-fold, but this was also very much part of a downward transmission of educational and cultural values throughout the English class system, where just as the middle-classes (particularly the *nouveaux riches* or 'nabobs') were wont to emulate their aristocratic contemporaries to the best of their financial abilities, so the working classes also wished to improve their own intellectual skills and social and economic position within the community and there is little reason to believe that the aims of the middle-classes, in passing on such traditions and cultural behaviour patterns, were ill-intended, despite their aim to achieve " .. intellectual and moral improvement ..." within the community. Indeed, there would appear to have been a great deal of altruism, however mis-directed it may sometimes appear, in the hard work and dedication of many middle-class reformers and philanthropists in their provision of adult education for the working-classes, as will be evidenced at later points in this work.

In a similar vein to Michael Harrison, the authors of the 1919 Report, acknowledged the fact that " ... adult education is concerned with men and women of more or less mature experience, who are conscious either of their own needs or of social needs ...

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[49] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p. 16

[50] ibid. p.168

[and] ... will clearly thrive only under conditions which allow of the fullest self-determination on the part of the students ...". [51]

Price's study, however, despite its investigation into the self-determining of several London Clubs, does not credit either working class or middle and upper class adults with the integrity which J.F.C. Harrison, Michael Harrison and the Adult Education Committee of 1919 have no difficulty in recognising, and concludes with the somewhat narrower view that the Working Men's Club Movement, whilst showing " ... an absence of purely charitable and philanthropic concern ... " was purely " ... a clear consequence of the fear, latent or otherwise, in which the masses were held by the middle and upper classes".[52]

Nonetheless, that fear did exist and in recent years the same fear may well still have been prevalent amongst some civil servants, if one considers the evidence of a paper first published in 1984 in which Department of Education and Science officials are quoted as commenting that:

> "There has to be selection because we are beginning to create aspirations which increasingly society cannot match. .... We have to select: to ration the educational opportunities to meet the job opportunities so that society can cope with the output of education."

and:

> "We are in a period of considerable social change. There may be social unrest, but we can cope with the Toxteths. But if we have a highly educated and idle population, we may possibly anticipate more serious social conflict. People must be educated once more to know their place."[53]

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[51] loc. cit.

[52] Price 1971 op.cit. pp146-147

[53] Ranson S. 'Towards a Tertiary Tripartism: New Codes of Social Control and the 17-plus' in P.Broadfoot (ed) Selection, Certification and Control: Social Issues in Educational Assessment (Lewes. Falmer Press 1984) p.241 cited in Chitty C. 'From Great Debate to Reform Act: The Post-War Consensus Overturned, 1976-88' in Rattansi A and Reeder D (eds) Rethinking Radical Education (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1992) p47.

Fears of social engineering are perhaps also evident in past governmental reluctance to offer to the masses education for purposes other than those which would benefit industry and the national purse.

Elementary education provision had steadily improved between 1833 and 1860 as State annual funding gradually increased from £20,000 to almost £700,000[54] and the provision, both voluntary and private, became subject to government inspection. Despite this, the further benefits of elementary education following the introduction of the 1870 Education Act, and the recommendations of the 1864 Taunton Commission to address the weaknesses in secondary education, doubts still lingered towards the end of the nineteenth century about the wisdom of offering higher education to the masses. The Secondary Education Commission, when addressing the issue of University Extension, whilst conceding that ".... the changes of the last 30 years have done more than is perhaps generally realised towards opening a passage, up which promising pupils are able to work their way to the Universities from the elementary schools, ... " warned of the "Danger of an Over Supply of University Students". The December 1895 issue of the University Extension Journal reproduced lengthy extracts from the Commission's report, including the section which made reference to the notion that:

> ".... some of those whom we have consulted express alarm at the danger of an 'academic proletariat.' .... Several college tutors, referring to the difficulties experienced by many young graduates in finding employment, urge that, in the overcrowded state of the professions, 'it is a cruelty to tempt poor men without ability, without connections, and without any personal recommendations, to spend three or four years at a University. The usual result is bitter disappointment, and often a blasted life. .... The foundation of new universities, and the fact that Oxford and Cambridge are now largely recruited from sections of society which have had no long-standing hereditary connection with them, have doubtless made the struggle harder even for those who, under former conditions, would have readily found a career.... "[55]

However, this elitist attitude towards education may well have conflicted with the opinion of those who, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, preferred working people, in view of the growing

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[54] Jepson 1973 op.cit. p. 71

[55] 'The Secondary Education Commission on University Education,' University Extension Journal I (December 1895): p.37

likelihood of their political enfranchisement, to develop their reasoning skills rather than merely to follow the rhetoric of those who led the emerging Socialist and Marxist movements. In 1885 Michael Sadler[56] told co-operators in Wombwell that Extension lectures " ... would be the best safeguard of the country from revolutionary and all wild socialism and would enable the people to pass from one stage of happiness to another."[57] Nonetheless, it is worthy of note that Joseph Thompson, writing in 1886, felt that the report of the second annual meeting of the Manchester Working Man's College indicated no intention to "...take working men from their proper sphere of duty, nor to give them distaste for their work...."[58]

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[56] M.E. Sadler (1861-1943) Graduating from Oxford University, Sadler was appointed in 1885 as secretary of the Standing Committee of Delegates of Local Examinations for Lectures and Teaching in the large towns of England and Wales on behalf of that University. In 1892 he became secretary of the newly constituted Delegacy for the Extension of teaching beyond the limits of the University, a position he retained for three years. During this period (1893/95) he was a member of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. In 1895 he moved as director of the new government Department of Inquiries and Reports in the Education Department, the function of which was to establish and provide information on educational systems. In 1903 he moved to take up the newly created post of Professor of History and Administration of Education in the Faculty of Education at the Victoria University of Manchester. In 1911 he became Vice-Chancellor at the University of Leeds, before becoming Master of University College, Oxford, from 1923 to his retirement in 1934. For Sadler's life see Sadleir M. Michael Ernest Sadler (Sir Michael Sadler K.C.S.I.) 1861-1943: A Memoir by his Son (London: Constable 1949). A sympathetic account of his career has been written by one of his students, Lynda Grier, Achievement in Education. The work of Michael Ernest Sadler 1885-1935 (London:Constable and Co.Ltd. 1952), which is particularly helpful on the early and final stages of his working life. For a brief assessment of his career as an administrator see Higginson J.H. 'Michael Sadler the Administrator' in the Journal of Educational Administration and History Vol.27 No.2 1995 pp.148-164.

Sadler, and contemporaries who are said to have inspired him such as Ruskin, Toynbee and Percival (See Jepson N.A. 'Staffing Problems during the early years of the Oxford University Extension Movement' in Rewley House Papers Vol.3. No.3 1954-55 p.22), brought to university extension a dynamic energy which focused upon the socially reforming benefits of adult education. As Master of University College he worked with J.H. Mackinder.

[57] Barnsley Chronicle 21st March 1885 - quoted by Rowbotham S. 'Travellers in a strange country: working class students 1873-1910' in History Workshop Journal Autumn 1981 p64. Born in Barnsley, Michael Sadler became Secretary of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy in 1885.

[58] Thompson J. The Owens College Its Foundation and Growth and its Connection with the Victoria University Manchester. (Manchester: Cornish 1886) p.236.

At an International Conference which celebrated the Extension Movement's twenty-first anniversary in 1894, Professor T.F. Tout, then Secretary and soon to become Chairman of the Victoria University Extension Committee and Chair of History from 1890, pointed out that he believed:

> "... much more in the missionary character of the work than in the more elaborate or ambitious efforts. It is not our object to increase the number of pure students. Such an attempt will only lead to the multiplication of schoolmasters and teachers far beyond the demand. It will take men away from earning a good living by wholesome work and turn them into ill-paid and over-worked teachers. It is the stimulating of intellectual interest which is the main object of the movement."[59]

At the same conference, Hartog,[60] Tout's successor as Secretary from 1895 until 1903, was keen to make it clear that in the sciences university extension lectures were

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[59] Report on the Congress on University Extension reported in The Times 23rd June 1894. Tout had taken over as Secretary to the Extension Committee at Owens College in 1894 following the untimely death of Arthur Milnes Marshall, Professor of Zoology, in an accident on Scafell on New Year's Eve 1893. See Kelly T. Outside the Walls, op.cit. pp18-19.

[60] The duties of the Extension Committee post involved Hartog in the running of some one hundred lecture centres throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire and brought him into contact with the Secretary of the Oxford University Extension Lecture Delegacy, Michael Sadler, whose own commitment and dedication to the Movement have been mentioned elsewhere in this work. Indeed Mabel Hartog asserts that a lecture which Sadler delivered regarding the value of education "drew Hartog away from the field of pure science" (Hartog M. P.J. Hartog: A Memoir by his Wife (London: Constable and Co. 1949) p.32) and caused Hartog's energies to be devoted to the promotion of adult education. Through the University Extension Committee and the work of the Manchester University Settlement, Hartog enabled men and women to reach their full academic potential. His appointment as Academic Registrar at the University of London took him away from Owens College in 1903 and Hartog's dedication to educational standards was to benefit educational institutions in India from 1918 before his return to England in 1930 whereupon he continued to act in an advisory capacity at national levels until within a year of his death in 1947. Hartog's many published articles on the subject of language and education and his involvement in educational issues until the end of his life, demonstrate his unstinting dedication to the promotion of high standards of learning and teaching, whether in France, England or India. Owens College, the Manchester University Settlement and the University Extension Movement were, indeed, fortunate in having had such a renowned and highly motivated academic and administrator in their midst and committed to their progress.

in great danger of superficiality and " would never make physicists and chemists", a point which was cheered by his audience. Rather, Hartog felt, "much might be done in giving a conception in scientific method".[61]

H.J. Mackinder and Michael Sadler were also wary of giving people false expectations, although they did not confine their concerns to working men, or "poor men" as the Secondary Education Committee had, in warning that:

> "While furnishing men and women, of all ranks and ages, with stimulus and guidance in elevating studies, University Extension must not seek to inspire unsuitable persons with an ambition for callings for which they are not intellectually fitted."[62]

The views of college tutors as reported by the 1895 Secondary Education Commissioners and the idea put forward in the civil servant's paper of 1984, referred to earlier, that people must be educated to know their place, are anathema to educationists who see education as a vital part of the continuous process of personal development throughout life; a process through which, in adulthood, students are enabled to apply the life experience they have gained to their interpretation of academic knowledge and, in reciprocal fashion, allow their academic knowledge to inform their reaction to empirical experience, a process which should, surely, benefit the society in which they live.

Robert Peers sees no tension between personal growth and social development:

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[61] The Times 23rd June 1894. In addition to his work with university extension at Manchester, Philip Hartog was perhaps the most influential figure in the short-lived experiment of Manchester Ruskin Hall (1899-1903), a residential college in Ancoats, a working-class district of Manchester, for working men. The college was established on similar principles to Ruskin Hall, Oxford (later Ruskin College) which had been founded in 1899 by two American university men, Charles Beard and Walter Vrooman and Vrooman's wife, Anne. Hartog's move to London in 1903 contributed significantly to the termination of the venture. For details of the Manchester Ruskin Hall undertaking see Lees, op.cit., pp. 342-355.

[62] Mackinder and Sadler pp73-3 cited in Kelly 1992 op.cit. p.233. For brief details of the career of Halford Mackinder, see Kelly (1992) pp.230-231

> "All education must be a process of adjustment of the individual to the world in which he lives. But since he himself is one of the potential agents of change, this adjustment must be a continuous process .. when this is understood the need for education which continues throughout the active lifetime of the individual becomes obvious; and the apparent conflict between education conceived in terms of individual development and education for the attainment of specific social ends disappears".[63]

It is this balance between personal development and the attainment of specific social needs which lies at the heart of adult education provision. Peers' contemporary perspective of adult education, during the inter-war years of this present century, depicts its benefits very much in the dual terms of self-realisation and social progress as the adult student's knowledge and self-awareness influence his contribution to his role in "his Trades Union, Local Co-operative Society, in Church work and in his own family .... as a preparation for service .... an essential part of the equipment of democracy"[64]

Certainly, the attainment of social and material gain is often the key to the door of further educational opportunity insofar as poverty closes many doors through lack of stamina and resources, as portrayed in the earnest knowledge-seekers among the working classes of mid-Victorian Manchester in Elizabeth Gaskell's Mary Barton[65] whose fictional lives typify the poverty/ignorance cycle which could only be broken by the wherewithal to nourish body and mind. Employment provides nourishment and the civil servant who fears a highly educated idle population is wise to do so. Such insensitivity lies in seeking to deny the employment rather than providing the education.

How much more enlightened was the perception of the authors of the 1919 Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee Report who saw that excluding all but the "unusually ...fortunate" from higher education would lead to:

> ".... the erection of a small apex of highly-trained intelligence upon the basis of an uninformed and uncultivated population, immersed in material interests and excluded from the life of the intellect and the inspiration of

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[63] Peers R. (ed) Adult Education in Practice (London: Macmillan 1934) p8

[64] ibid p14

[65] Gaskell E Mary Barton (London: Penguin 1986. First published 1848)

knowledge." [66]

There is much evidence that social reformers have long striven to benefit the educational opportunities of working class individuals both at a personal level and as part of an organic whole.

Charles Rowley and T.C. Horsfall, to whom more detailed reference will be made later in this chapter, sought to establish, for example, in their different ways, a greater social equalisation in Manchester in the nineteenth century by introducing the working classes to healthy recreation and the study of science and literature and to the cultural values of art and nature, through their provision for the people of Ancoats, a working-class district of Manchester. Michael Harrison's essay Art and Philanthropy: T.C. Horsfall and the Manchester Art Museum[67] also discusses the aspirations of those middle-class Victorians who believed that social unrest may be abated by narrowing the cultural gap between the leaders and the led; social engineering which stands in sharp contrast to the response of the twentieth-century civil servant, towards the same potential dangers, in seeking to render that threat impotent by means of perpetuating ignorance.

The view of one of the North West of England's most active public servants of the mid and late nineteenth century, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth,[68] may be cited as an example

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[66] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p100

[67] M. Harrison 'Art and Philanthropy: TC Horsfall and the Manchester Art Museum' in (eds) Kidd A.J. and Roberts K.W. City, class and culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1985) p.120

[68] James Kay-Shuttleworth (1804-1877) was a leading proponent of sanitary and social reform in the nineteenth century. Born in Rochdale as James Phillips Kay, the son of a cotton manufacturer, Shuttleworth was in an excellent position to be aware of the educational potential of the working classes, as well as being aware of the wider socio-political benefits of educating the masses. His support of voluntary and informal educational agencies in Manchester and his influence on government intervention epitomise the shift in nineteenth century thinking from a self-help philosophy, which allowed the State to abdicate its responsibilities in the field of popular education, to a realisation that the demand in post-industrial Britain was such that could only be met by substantial government funding and organisation. He also made a substantial contribution to the Taunton Commission Inquiry of 1864 into the weaknesses in secondary education. See also Selleck R.J.W. James Kay-Shuttleworth: Journey of an Outsider (Ilford: Woburn Press 1994)

of the mid-Victorian perspective of the dangers of social unrest and the possibility of averting the increase of socialism by educating the working classes:

> "We have to lead the population forward in social and political knowledge and to a higher sense of religious duty. .... these benefits should flow from the middle and higher classes. ... ... My confidence that socialism cannot flourish in England arises solely from my conviction that our middle classes are too sagacious not to learn their duties to the working men dependent upon them, and when learned, too conscientious not to perform them. We shall not be content to trample socialism into the mud of our streets under the hoofs of our dragoons, or to bury it in the ruins of its barricades under cannonades of grape shot. If we wait for such a crisis in England, we may bid farewell to our trade. We shall anticipate that day, and prevent it, by removing every legitimate cause of discontent. .... We have reaped the fruits of this wisdom in the defeat of **chartism**. If we would in like manner defeat that form of **socialism** which manifests itself in the trades' union, we must pursue a similar policy of conciliation. Every master must look well to the sewerage of his factory village; he must improve his cottages; make his schools models of order and intelligence; .... provide for the education of young men and women in evening schools; .... Before such a system socialism will disappear like a mist before the sun."[69]

Sir John Gorst, addressing the annual meeting of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching in November 1895, said that the expense of providing the elementary education necessary to equip students for adult continuing education could be defended "upon the most vulgar economical grounds" in that:

> "... for every pound which is spent in the education of the young of the country saves many pounds in the increased efficiency of its working population and in the absence of the necessity of further gaols and workhouses and other institutions by which an ill-educated race has to be coerced."[70]

Sadler identifies the distinctive marks of the movement for further education between 1848 and the passing of the Elementary Education Action of 1870 as being: " (1) A deepened sense of personal responsibility for collective welfare; (2) an earnest desire on the part of many members of the older Universities to bring the influence and noble traditions of Oxford and Cambridge more directly into the service of the whole nation;

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[69] Kay-Shuttleworth Sir James Education Essential to the Success of Trade and Commerce. An Address to the Padiham Trade (missing word) 12.1.1854. Historical Tracts. Manchester Central Reference Library Archives.

[70] The Times November 22nd 1895.

(3) the influence of four writers and teachers, Thomas Carlyle, Frederick Denison Maurice, John Ruskin and Herbert Spencer; and (4) a new attitude towards education on the part of the State".[71]

The reaction, embodied in the Romantic Movement of Coleridge and Wordsworth, the striving towards spiritual perfection of Newman, and the organic philosophy of Carlyle, and Arnold, to the Utilitarian principles which had abounded earlier in the century, was catalyzed to a significant extent by the fear which arose from the unrest of 1848. Arnold's belief that culture offers an antidote to anarchy became widespread.

The Carlylean philosophy which embraced the idea of socially responsible leadership by a 'natural aristocracy' and which harked back to the mutual responsibility model of England's feudal system, is as clearly reflected in Kay-Shuttleworth's tract as it was in the contemporary social novels of Manchester's adopted daughter, Elizabeth Gaskell.

Alongside the middle-class ideal of providing education as a route to personal and social development, education has long been sought for those same reasons by working class adults. Recognising this desire for education, the Co-operative Movement picked up the educational gauntlet of the early Chartists and, using less radical methods, and working alongside the Trades Union Movement, attempted to achieve educational opportunities for working class adults. Their Reading Rooms and Mutual Improvement Societies, which eventually led to the foundation of People's Colleges, offered non-vocational education to those who could afford the weekly fee of ninepence; a sum more easily to be found by clerks and artisans, than labourers who largely relied for information on what they could gain aurally.

Evidence of the Correspondence Societies of the early nineteenth century (later succeeded by the National Secular Society) illustrates the way in which the working classes have long endeavoured to improve their understanding of political and economic issues through education when the opportunity has been available to them (and through reading such journals as Wooler's Black Dwarf, Richard Carlisle's Republican and Cobbett's twopenny Register[72]), a not unreasonable strategy, when

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[71] Sadler 1908 op.cit. p. 10

[72] Simon B The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780 - 1870 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1981) p.130 (see also pp 244/5 regarding the Carpenters' Hall, Manchester and pp 245-253 in respect of the Manchester Hall of Science.)

they could well see that those who ate and fared better than they seemed to possess that advantage also, and in this they were often heartily supported by their middle-class counterparts.

The likes of Cobbett, Paine, Owen and Lovett (a self-educated man), may well have seen education as a tool of social reform, but the political and social reform they sought was for the ultimate benefit of the individual as well as society as a whole.

Likewise, the response to social inequality by The Christian Socialist Movement may well have been inspired by eternal motives, but its leaders were rightly concerned with the living conditions of the uneducated in this present life and the means of improving them. The Reverend Charles Kingsley's social novel Alton Locke highlights the suffering and exploitation of sweatshop and agricultural workers and asserts their right to "aspire to a college education" just as "any do-nothing canon there at the abbey" naturally would.[73] The balancing of vocational and non-vocational education as a means of individual and societal improvement was a clear priority of the Christian Socialists. While an antipathy had developed towards the Utilitarian notion of learning for the sake of acquiring knowledge in order to carry out a particular function, the 'facts' method of M'Choakumchild and Bounderby, Arnold's theory of personal 'improvement' and, ergo, social progress, through intellectual stimulation, grew in popularity. Maurice's dictum that "We must raise Work to make it fit for association with Learning, as well as bring Learning to bear upon Work".[74] underpinned the liberal education which men such as he worked hard to bring to the working classes.

Similarly, Thomas Kelly attributes to Robert Owen an "infinite belief in the power of education to perfect the character of man and influence his moral and material well-being." [75] Owen perceived a positive cycle of physical and mental nourishment on

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[73] Kingsley C Alton Locke (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1983 first published 1850) p 48.

[74] Maurice F.D. Learning and Working (no pub. details) p.96 cited in Yeaxlee 1925 Vol. I. op.cit. p190. In addition to founding the Christian Socialist movement in 1848 with Charles Kingsley and J.M. Ludlow, Maurice was a strong supporter of the provision of education for adults and played a significant role in the establishment of the London Working Men's College in 1854. See Harrison J.F.C. A History of the Working Men's College 1854-1954 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1954).

[75] Kelly 1992 op.cit p.138. For an interesting discussion of Owen's educational views see Silver H. The Concept of Popular Education: a study of ideas and social movements in the early nineteenth century (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1977 2nd

behaviour and environment and looked forward to its self-perpetuation once the circle was complete within the working classes.

This belief in the ability of man to improve his own society appealed greatly to the philanthropic middle-classes of Victorian England who sought social reform and who were prepared to put effort into bringing it about. Joshua Hobson's The New Moral World of 1840 provided much support for that school of thought. Nonetheless, the theory of individual self-improvement as a route to a more moral and enlightened society was not subscribed to by all Victorians and a division did arise when the opposing philosophies of self-help and paternalism found themselves on the same educational platform; hence the polarisation of views which was to facilitate the diverse approaches of the University Extension Lecturers' middle-class interpretation of what is educationally desirable and valuable and the Workers' Educational Association's student determined syllabuses of the early twentieth century.

In addition, if adult education was to benefit society in any meaningful way it was also recognised that it had, of necessity, to become organised and structured and to this end institutions which will be discussed in greater depth elsewhere in this thesis, such as Adult Schools, the Mechanics' Institutes and Colleges for Working Men and (later) Women, began to emerge.

The legacy of the Mechanics' Institutes and Adult Schools was a recognised credibility of the value of adult education for working people, which was to go on to inspire the Reverend R.S. Bayley's founding of the People's College in Sheffield in 1842, to which the authors of the 1919 Ministry of Reconstruction's final report on adult education paid tribute. The ethos of the People's College embraced the philosophy of non-vocational education for the sake of personal development, rather than the purely vocational *raison d'etre* of the Mechanics' Institutes. In its turn, the success of this wider educational perspective then lent weight to the case of Maurice and those who pioneered the London Working Men's College which opened in 1854 and such institutions as Evening Continuation Schools and the University Extension Movement. It is " ... the foundation of Working Men's Colleges, and the revival of university education ..." which the 1919 Report identifies as being "In the generation following 1850 the most significant developments".[76]

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edition) also Pollard S. and Salt J. (eds) Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor. Essays in honour of the two hundredth anniversary of his birth (London: Macmillan 1971).

[76] Final Report 1919 p.23

In his preface to his novel, Alton Locke, Kingsley, refers directly to the ideals and success of the adult educators behind the Working Men's College movement:

> "Without insulting them by patronage, without interfering with their religious opinions, without tampering with their independence in any wise, but simply on the ground of a common humanity, they have been helping to educate these men, belonging for the most part, I presume, to the very class which this book sets forth as most unhappy and most dangerous - the men conscious of unsatisfied and unemployed intellect.[77]

Addressing the Manchester, Ancoats and Salford Working Men's Colleges in 1859, F.D. Maurice explained his and his friends' dual motives in founding the London Working Men's College in terms of both escaping from the "little pedantries" of their middle class ghetto existence and their realisation over the preceding turbulent decade of "a new sense of our relation to the working-class":

> "but it was not fear for our property and position; it was the fear that we were not discharging the responsibilities, greater than those which rank or property imposes, that our education laid upon us ... We believed and felt that unless the classes in this country which had received any degree of knowledge more than their fellows, were willing to share it with their fellows, to regard it as precious because it bound them to their fellows, England would fall first under an anarchy, and then under a despotism ..."[78]

Many other organisations, including the Friendly and the Social and Democratic Societies, the Fabians and the Clarion Clubs[79] played their part in the attempt to offer education to adults. However, it was not really until the enabling force of the 1870

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[77] Kingsley C. Alton Locke Cambridge 1892 p.xxx cited in Williams R Culture and Society 1780-1950 (Middlesex: Penguin 1963) p.122

[78] Furnivall F.J. 'History of the Working Men's College' in the Working Men's College Magazine 1860 cited in Sadler M.E. 1908 op.cit. pp38/39.

[79] Friendly Societies frequently met on the premises of public houses and included recreational as well as educational activities. For a local perspective, see Bailey, 1978, op.cit., pp.9-10 and 89-90; and Kidd, 1993, op.cit., p.152. For a general account of the work of the Friendly Societies, see p.11 Gosden P.H.J.H. The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961). For the origins and activities of Clarion Clubs, see Simon B Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart 1965), pp.35-38.

Education Act in its significant provision for elementary education for boys and girls that working class adults with enquiring minds could even begin to search for enlightenment through the printed or written word. In the early part of the nineteenth century, for instance, the aims of the Mechanics' Institutes,[80] to improve the employable skills of working men were frequently thwarted by their lack of elementary education.

Similarly, J.F.C. Harrison's work Learning and Living 1790 - 1960 offers very pertinent insights into the manner in which adult education is largely self-imposed and the way in which the quality of life of autodidacts is enhanced as a result of its pursuit. Examples he quotes from the nineteenth century include the experience of Joseph Barker (born 1806) who began his working life at the age of nine as a bobbin winder, working twelve to sixteen hours each day and teaching himself English grammar and Latin in his 'free time', thus equipping himself for his ultimate profession as a preacher. Harrison also cites the case of Joseph Wright who was born into a Bradford workhouse in 1855 and took up his first employment as a quarry donkey driver at the age of six, after being deserted by his father, and then going on, at the age of seven, to be employed as a 'doffer' at the model Saltaire mill of Titus Salt, where he acquired his first taste of education in the factory school. Despite the factory school education, however, Wright remained illiterate until the age of fifteen when he began to attend a night school run by a Wesleyan schoolmaster, whereby he embarked upon a course which was eventually to lead to his being appointed to the Chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford.[81] As informative as the work is, it does not make more than passing reference to extension work in Manchester, as it has drawn its material from the Yorkshire district.

Through his study, Harrison identifies "a pattern of working-class educational endeavour which was directly relevant to all attempts to organize adult educational

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[80] The work of the Mechanics' Institutes in Lancashire and Yorkshire is discussed in Tylecote M. The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957). See also Cardwell D.S.L. (ed) Artisan to Graduate: Essays to Commemorate the Foundation of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, now in 1974 the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1974.) Note especially the essays by i) Tylecote M 'The Manchester Mechanics' Institution' 1824-1850 (pp 55-86) and ii) Kirby R.G. 'An Early Experiment in Workers' Self-Education: The Manchester New Mechanics' Institution' 1829-35 (pp87-98).

[81] Harrison J.F.C. op.cit 1961 pp 44/47.

activities", commonly beginning when a person of high intellectual ability and considerable moral stamina receives inadequate schooling. The thirst for knowledge in such a person who receives no professional guidance and is offered no structured opportunity to develop his or her education progressively, is often satiated by the study of any written material which comes to hand. Thus, Harrison cites theology, mathematics and languages, along with "heavy classical works of philosophy, theology, science and political economy"[82] as the starting point for many nineteenth century adult, self-taught, learners.

The popular lectures of the late nineteenth century were, indeed, popular because they met a very real need in working people for a general knowledge of the world in which they lived. The lectures, delivered by peripatetic lecturers, provided for men and women living in towns, but in rural areas such knowledge was usually only to be gained by those literate people who had access to educative reading through small collections of books made available through charitable donation and which may well have been of the classifications offered by Harrison as examples of texts used in autodidactic study.

Harrison's work also draws attention to the significance of the contact which working people had with Methodism and Non-Conformity, the traditions of which upheld the teaching - and therefore reading - of such works as the Bible and Bunyan[83] and, also, with the "humble" yet significant mutual improvement societies which were very much a product of the warp and weft of the nineteenth century philosophies of self-help and meliorism.

Self-help, which Harrison also goes on to discuss, was a prevalent philosophy of the nineteenth century, not only in Britain where numerous, now famous, radical leaders were of a self-educated, working-class, background, but throughout the industrialised world, as is borne out by the testimony of the abundant sales and translation into several languages of Samuel Smiles' work of 1859, Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct. Mutual improvement societies provided an ideal forum for the generation of vitally sustaining mutual support among working men who sought education and the movement soon came to be recognised by the middle-classes as a

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[82] ibid p.48

[83] ibid p. 49

most admirable and productive form of self-help which would benefit not only individuals but society as an organic whole.[84]

The definition of adult education will be seen, then, to have been shaped both by the change in attitude of the landed classes towards the newly enfranchised middle-classes and the growing attitude of responsibility of the new middle-classes towards those who laboured in their factories and mills. In addition, the influence of a growing awareness of gender issues, as British society moved away from one of patronage to one of democracy and social equality, was to contribute to the dawning of a new light on the widening perspective of adult education.

Elitist views of education as the prerogative of the wealthy, except in the case of the technical instruction of working men, began to give way to the idea that improved standards of education for the working classes may lead to a society in which individuals could be self-determining and better equipped to make a responsible contribution to society. Because of this change in attitude and aided by the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902, the curriculum studied expanded from reading, writing, spelling and religious instruction, to include the study of arts, sciences and humanities and a growing cycle of expectation and demand began to redefine the concept of adult education.

Kelly's work, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, notes the change in philosophy within the adult school movement as, "A spirit of fellowship gradually replaced the old atmosphere of patronage".[85] The work also gives consideration to extension teaching in Britain, but does not discuss in any detail the extension work of the Victoria University of Manchester; rather it charts the changes within voluntary provision as the middle-class philanthropic and religious providers began to widen the offered curricula.

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[84] ibid p.50 For further discussion on the effectiveness of the philosophy of self-help see Harrison J.F.C. 'The Victorian Gospel of Success' in Victorian Studies, Vol. 1 No. 2 December 1957 pp 155-164; Fielden K. 'Samuel Smiles and Self-Help' in Victorian Studies, Vol. 12 No. 2 December 1968, pp155-176; and Harrison J.F.C. 'Adult Education and Self-Help' in the British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 6 No.1 November 1957, pp37-50.

[85] Kelly T 1992 A History of Adult Education in Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992) p.202.

What is provided for adults in the way of education may not always be what is sought by them if they can play no part in the planning of curricula. Movements towards independent working-class education reflect the disparity which lay between what was taught by nineteenth-century middle-class providers and what was sought by some, often the skilled artisans, of the working classes.

Derek Legge, in his authoritative work The Education of Adults in Britain points out at quite an early stage that "educational provision for adults has developed not by planning but by a series of pragmatic responses."[86] These responses are the creative rapport between the seekers and the offerers of education, and Legge clearly exposes the danger of regarding adult education merely as a form of recovery of educational failure experienced in childhood

The provision and the demand, or perceived need to which the university extension movement and Workers' Educational Association were responses, together with their precursors in the thirty or so years before 1886, will form the material which will be assessed in this study, with particular reference to Manchester during the period under review.

Legge's overview, which is provided in an early chapter of his book, sets an important scene describing the general situation of adult education in Britain prior to the Education Act of 1944. A clear picture emerges of the patchwork effect of the permissive nature of early legislative measures and the changes wrought by the later statutory obligation which was imposed on local authorities. The patch which represents Manchester on that landscape has long been an important and vibrant one and warrants further investigation in its own right and also as a major contributor to the overall scene.

The philosophical questions raised by Legge's consideration of opposing views of education as the responsibility of individuals and, therefore, something which can be purchased or achieved as a meritorious reward within a hierarchical or competitive policy model, and education as a responsibility of state within an egalitarian society, will inevitably, if implicitly, be exposed in this study as being the concerns of many of those who were the providers of adult education in this country during the years under discussion.

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[86] Legge D The Education of Adults in Britain (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press 1982) p.22

An holistic view of education was demonstrable in those who enthusiastically provided education for the sake of self-improvement, or personal development, long before adult education provision was formalised by the State, by providers who saw parallels between the differences in social responses and behaviour of many of the uneducated working-classes and their middle-class counterparts and the differences in cultural and academic experience between the two groups.

Emphasis has long been placed by successive governments on the provision of adult education for purely vocational purposes and this has also been sought by many adults wishing to further their job or career prospects. Nonetheless, there exists a demand for non-vocational education and the two have never demonstrated a mutual exclusivity. The argument as to which is of greater value to society, however, goes on amongst the providers, but the answer probably lies more in the motives of those who seek education, rather than those who provide it and it is those expectations and demands which largely shape its definition.

In terms of the definition of 'education', discussion has long taken place, and continues to take place, as to whether education is simply the process by which information is gained by an individual, either empirically or *a priori*, which adds to his or her knowledge and, therefore, his or her personal development and world view, or whether it is that which is taught with the specific aim of developing a person's skills in order to enable that person to perform a particular function. However, 'education', for the purpose of this study, refers to that informing of the mind for which individuals seek tuition in order to develop their awareness of any aspect of the world in which they live and function, whether they seek that knowledge with the initial aim of personal or vocational development and through non-vocational or vocational study.

Providers' assiduous attempts to distinguish between the two, are referred to by Michael Stephens as the great weakness of "either/or-ism". [87] Stephens' perspicacious study of adult education leaves the reader in no doubt about the dichotomy between the desire of many adults for non-vocational education and the willingness of voluntary organisations and universities to provide it, on the one hand, and the apparent governmental definition of education for the masses as that which benefits vocation and training, on the other. The work does not, however, specifically address

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[87] Stephens M Adult Education (London: Cassell, 1990) p.1

the provision of adult education through the extension work of the Victoria University.

The education of adults had been a long-established tradition in Britain and specifically in Manchester by the time of the outbreak of the First World War, the point at which this study concludes. However, the multi-faceted perception of the nature of education has also been as traditional as the provision itself. In the late nineteenth century, for example, the Co-Operative Holidays Association offered educational opportunities in the form of excursions to the countryside, through which they sought to offer aesthetic or spiritual nourishment and also ran physical exercise classes, as well as offering courses on natural history and the sciences. These providers clearly wished to offer spiritual, physical and intellectual enrichment, perceiving the benefits of adult education as being reaped at both personal and social levels. [88]

This holistic approach can be demonstrated in the aims and objectives of most educators and aspirant educators of adults, but there is, inevitably, also much evidence of religious, social and political priorities being the motivating forces of some providers.

More specifically academic aims, with no less personal objectives, were at the heart of the University Extension Movement which gained momentum during the last quarter of the same century.

Jepson's work, The Beginnings of English University Adult Education, provides a good analytical study of the early years of the Extension Movement from a national perspective. In so doing it identifies the existence of "... an urgent need for some form of higher education for the working class ..."[89] and pays tribute to James Stuart's discernment of that need and his response to it, which ultimately led to Cambridge's pioneering of University Extension from 1873, a year which Jepson

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[88] See Speake R. A Hundred Years of Holidays 1893-1993: A Pictorial History of the C.H.A. [Co-operative Holidays Association] (Manchester: Countryside Holidays 1993)

[89] Jepson NA The Beginnings of English University Adult Education: Policy and Problems A Critical Study of the early Oxford and Cambridge University Extension Lecture movements between 1873 and 1907 with special reference to Yorkshire. (London: Michael Joseph 1973) p. 78

points out was described by a Parliamentary Committee as "unparalleled for the rapid growth and development of Trades Unionism" and, being six years after the passing of the Second Reform Act, a time of unprecedented working class opportunity for political involvement at both local and national level.[90]

Set against the national backdrop of such political and social change, the second chapter of this thesis will examine the demand for and provision of adult education in Manchester from the 1850's and will identify the local initiatives which paved the way for the University's formal venture into Extension work from 1886.

The Movement for adult education quickly became demand-led with enthusiastic requests from Co-operative Societies as well as Trades Union and other industrial, commercial and civic bodies. Although a high proportion of the membership of such organisations was made up of men, women, too, sought and found adult education opportunities through those channels.

For those middle-class providers of adult education for the working classes, however, the ethos of the early Co-operative Societies, Recreative Evening Schools and Adult Schools, embraced social as well as academic education. Because the accepted religion of the day, in Britain, was Christianity, and its tenets the foundation of British society's moral and legal infrastructure, it is hardly surprising that Christian teaching was felt to be a necessary part of the continuing education of young adults and more mature adults alike. Indeed, the Christian principles of charity and paternalism would have demanded such of those cast in the role of provider and religious teaching would have been seen as a natural and integral part of an holistic education.

Christian providers are often overt in their aim to exercise social control in the provision of moral and spiritual education and it is this moral and spiritual motivation which Basil Yeaxlee, who was a member of the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee which produced the Final Report of 1919, presents as being at the centre of much adult education provision throughout the ages, in his work Spiritual Values in Adult Education.[91] Yeaxlee refers to philosophers of many centuries in order to demonstrate his case that enlightenment is the desired and desirable state for

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[90] ibid. pp75-76

[91] Yeaxlee B Spiritual Values in Education (Volume I) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1925)

mankind and that personal and spiritual values rely on the fine honing of education to develop into characteristics of value to the individual and society. Supporting his theory with the hypotheses of philosophers from the early Greeks to John Adams' Evolution of Educational Theory of 1915, he decries educational practice which gives "undue heed to the demands of the manufacturer [with] almost complete indifference" to spiritual values,[92] but warns over-zealous Christians against devaluing practical and scientific education and using education as a proselyte's tool.

Yeaxlee's interesting discussion traverses many spiritual and religious avenues. For this present purpose, however, it suffices to observe that he presents education as fundamentally a spiritual activity, rather than one rooted in or designed to give expression to religion. The study of religion he sees as vital to education, describing religion and education as "interdependent" in a battle against "ignorance, prejudice, materialism, cynicism and selfishness".[93]

In demonstrating the spiritual and social motivation of Christian providers, Yeaxlee refers to the desire of the Society of Friends to take young men away from "unwashed laziness" by offering them "education and Christian training"[94] on Sundays and the growth of the Adult School movement in its aim to facilitate the acquisition of general knowledge in order to understand the teaching of the Bible and to act as a "counter-attraction to the undesirable recreations of the time and as centres for the expression of the Christian spirit of social service".[95] He felt that the life and spirit of adult education would "grow and fructify only as the concern of adult education with spiritual values remains primary ... "[96]

This view of adult education as an holistic and democratic reflection of Christian service is implicit in the objectives of a great many of the organisations offering adult education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Roger Fieldhouse's

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[92] ibid p.38

[93] ibid p.86

[94] ibid p.197

[95] ibid p.217

[96] ibid p.293

study of the WEA's aims and achievements[97] ably demonstrates Mansbridge's concept of education as being spiritual and non-materialistic.

When Hulme Operatives' Day School was established in 1865, whilst it was agreed that "The school shall not be connected with any religious denomination.." it was also resolved that school should begin each morning with ".. the singing of a suitable hymn or psalm and each day a portion of the Holy Scriptures."[98]

The work of Rowntree and Binns records the following extracts from the 1902 National Council's definition of the Adult School, its aims and methods:

> "An Adult School is a society of men or women (over seventeen or eighteen years of age) formed for the purpose of mutual helpfulness. .... The basis of an Adult School is the practical teaching of Jesus Christ. It does not concern itself with the spreading of special theories, but aims at helping the members in their actual lives ... The free, but reverent and practical study of the Bible conducted in common with full opportunity for discussion, is deemed the centre of the School work ... The only qualification for membership is a wish to join the School. Members of a School may belong to any denomination, or to none."[99]

Indeed, Arnold S Rowntree reported to the Friends' Yearly Meeting of 1905 that there were those Adult School scholars who worshipped as Baptists and Primitive Methodists and some "were even beginning to join the Church of England".[100]

Harrison, while noting that John S Rowntree, in reminding his Adult School students in 1871, that "the object of the school is to help men to the better discharge of the duties of this life, and to a preparation for that which is to come" is exhibiting the 'spirit of the Christian social missionary', also quotes from the York Friends' Adult

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97 Fieldhouse R The WEA: Aims and Achievements 1903-1977 (New York: Syracuse University Press 1977)

98 Cuttings of the Manchester Education Aid Society Item nos. 149 and 289 'The Scrapbook of Edward Brotherton' MCRL

99 Rowntree J.W. and Binns H.B. A History of the Adult School Movement with an introduction and additional notes by Christopher Charlton (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education University of Nottingham 1985) p.25 First published in 1903 by Headley Brothers, London.

100 ibid p.XXVII

Sabbath School (1859), to point out that, "The Friends themselves sought no sectarian advantage from their Adult Schools; they looked upon them rather as a means of promoting a sense of human fellowship, rooted in an all-embracing divine love. The secret of the success of the Adult School was that it was not just a school, but a community, based on 'the method of Socrates and the message of Christ, a rare combination' ".[101]

In his examination of the Adult School Movement, Christopher Charlton comments that, likewise, "John Wilhelm Rowntree would appear to have adopted this [Christian-Socratean] approach in his own teaching, but it was by no means universal, the sermon and the cosy inspirational chat playing a large part in some schools".[102]

In attempting to enhance the social quality and sense of social responsibility in the lives of its students, the Friends' First Day Schools Association successfully introduced coffee carts, through their Adult School Temperance Society; established Savings Funds; introduced Pleasant Sunday Afternoons; opened a reading room in Manchester for the use of senior boys; built twenty-five houses (although only seven of these were eventually bought by their scholars)[103] and slowly but gradually increased the range of their social activities towards the end of the nineteenth century[104]

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[101] Harrison JFC 1961 op.cit. p 201 - internal reference from the Rules of the York Friends' Adult Sabbath School (1859)

[102] Charlton ed op.cit.. 1985 p LXXVIII

[103] ibid. pp 26/7

[104] ibid p72. For other accounts of the work of the Adult School Movement see Martin G.C. The Adult School Movement: Its origin and development (London: National Adult School Union, 1924) and Hall W.A. The Adult School Movement in the Twentieth Century (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham 1986). Elizabeth Isichei's excellent Victorian Quakers (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) includes a chapter on the Quaker contribution to adult education and shows that from the outset their adult schools practised equality of opportunity. For an account of the work of the Adult Schools in Yorkshire, see Harrison J.F.C. 1961, op.cit., pp.301-311; for a study of the Adult School Movement in Manchester see Lees, op.cit., pp.240-283. For the origins and activities of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement, see Inglis K.S. Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp.79-85. The contribution of the Christian churches to the education of adults in the period under review and of related organisations such as the Young Men's Christian Association has been covered in detail on a national scale by Basil Yeaxlee and for Manchester by Colin Lees and needs only brief mention here. See Yeaxlee B.A.

In common with many organisations, both those which quite single-mindedly provided Christian education denominationally, as throughout the Sunday School Movement, and others who provided non-denominational education, the Adult School Movement sought to provide social and academic education based on Christian ethics and saw an increase in its membership from 10,000 in 1866 to 30,060 in 1901.[105]

The last decade of the eighteenth century had seen the growth of the secular cousin of the Sunday School Movement in the Sunday Society which, although again offering moral teaching, was concerned primarily with the teaching of the three Rs for much the same reasons as its early nineteenth century successor, the Mechanics' Institute, insofar as it sought to improve employment opportunities for working men.

Similarly, Continuation Schools, like their many successors, had a dual purpose of enabling working class men and women to earn their own living and also to cultivate in them an awareness of the society in which they lived in order that they may make a positive contribution to it and take an active part in the organic structure of its life. 'Citizenship' was much valued by educationists during the late nineteenth and early

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Spiritual Values in Adult Education: a study of a neglected aspect [2 vols.] (London: Oxford University Press, 1925). See volume 2, pp.62-123 and 225-300. For discussion of the Christian churches' contribution to the education of adults in Manchester in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Lees op.cit., pp.220-239, and for a discussion of the Manchester YMCA and adult education see the same source, pp.177-220 and also the same author's Mind, Body Spirit: A History of the Manchester YMCA (London: The National Council of YMCAs, 1996), pp.40-47. What is significant is the increasing emphasis which is placed on the provision of suitable recreative and educative activities which were designed to encourage the self-improvement of the individual so that he or she would become an asset in their employment and to society more generally. In addition, the YMCA catered for a comparatively narrow section of the lower middle-class such as clerks in warehouses, offices and retail establishments, and in addition to its religious and pastoral work included a strong element of commercial education amongst its other activities. Partly because it was becoming increasingly apparent by the 1870s that Britain was falling behind its competitors in terms of trade, the later 1870s and 1880s witnessed an increased demand for scientific, technical and commercial education which began to be supplied by voluntary agencies as well as evening classes provided by School Boards. Given the fluctuation in trade and employment in the 1880s, it was becoming more important that young persons should gain appropriate qualifications. This is a matter to which further reference will be made in the conclusion to this chapter.

[105] Charlton ed. op.cit. pp 33 and 48

twentieth century and the role of continuing and higher education in informing the popular concept of citizenship was deemed to be of great importance. R.H. Tawney, who taught early tutorial classes for the Workers' Educational Association in 1908 at Longton and Rochdale, in his introduction to T.W. Price's work, The Story of the Workers' Educational Association from 1903 to 1924, stresses that "....one of the conditions of intelligent citizenship is Higher Education".[106] By the end of the First World War this philosophy was formally recognised in the 1918 Education Act which imposed a duty on county and borough councils to contribute to "providing facilities for disinterested studies making for wise living and good citizenship".[107]

Whilst the most apparent common denominator in the motives of educators appears to have been rooted in moral and philanthropic soil this will, inevitably for many, have been interpreted in political terms. Many educators would probably agree with Robert Peers who asserts at the very beginning of his Adult Education in Practice[108] that knowledge is "the true foundation of individual happiness and the necessary condition for social progress". This is not far from what Engels observed when he articulated the "clearly formulated war-cry of the Chartists" as "Political Power Our Means, Social Happiness Our End"[109]

Education as a route to political power and the social happiness and personal fulfilment of women was also an issue of great debate during the nineteenth century and the pursuit of educational opportunities for women will be dealt with, in particular, in chapter two of this thesis when some consideration will be given to the situation in Manchester during the period under review. Nonetheless, it would be remiss of the author not to pay tribute in this literature review to the work of June Purvis in her studies A History of Women's Education in England[110] and Hard Lessons,[111]

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[106] Price T.W. The Story of the Workers' Educational Association from 1903 to 1924 (London: The Labour Publishing Company Limited, 1924) p.6

[107] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.107

[108] Peers R. Adult Education in Practice (London: Macmillan 1934) p. 1.

[109] Engels F. The Condition of the Working Class in England (London: Grafton Books 1969 first pub 1892) p.261.

[110] Purvis J A History of Women's Education in England (Milton Keynes: Open University Press 1991)

[111] Purvis J Hard Lessons : The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in

which offer a clear picture of the paucity of education available to women nationally during the nineteenth century and the slow but significant progress made by those dedicated to achieving opportunities for them on a par with those available to men.

The zealous efforts of middle-class social reformers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be seen to have been sown in the very fertile ground of working-class determination to strive towards self-improvement, so that the enthusiasm of both teachers and learners has created and perpetuated a cyclic regeneration of adult teaching and learning.

Moreover, the breaking down of class barriers to education became a more realistic possibility as some members of British society's educated elite began to recognise the educability and the educational thirst among working men, and thus supported them in their social, political and personal aims. The report of the joint committee of University and WEA representatives, Oxford and Working-Class Education of 1908, which contained what Harrison refers to as a "blue-print for a new type of adult education organization - the tutorial class and the Joint (University-WEA) Committee"[112] in acknowledging the changing role of the University from the tradition of equipping men for service in the Church and State to that of also educating the wider population, stated that:

> "The Trade Union secretary and the 'Labour member' need an Oxford education as much, and will use it to as to as good ends, as the civil servant or the barrister."[113]

This was a far cry from the Utilitarian philosophy of James Mill who, whilst calling for radical innovations in secondary and higher education provision for the middle-classes and universal, rational and unsectarian, education, had sought merely to bring together the shared capitalistic interests of government, employers and workforces and, through the 'enlightenment' of education in fields such as political economy, enable the working-classes to understand more clearly the responsibility of those who governed them. Brian Simon's interesting discussion of this educational philosophy in his work

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Nineteenth Century England (Oxford: Polity Press 1989) See Chapter 5 'Women and the Mechanics' Institute Movement' pp99-127

[112] Harrison 1961 op.cit. p.265

[113] ibid p.267

The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870 examines the Utilitarian view of compulsory education as a means of educating the middle-classes, rather than the working-classes, and comments upon the imperceptive mid-nineteenth century expectation that enfranchisement, whilst transferring power from the aristocracy and the Church, to the capitalists, and acknowledging that working-class enfranchisement may follow that of the middle-classes, did not anticipate the day when working-class MPs would take their seats in the House.[114]

A further study by Brian Simon, Education and the Labour Movement, considers the manner in which working-class subservience had been taken as an acceptable and on-going matter of fact and highlights the role of the democratic model of education in maintaining that *status quo*.[115] The study also considers the implications on education of the advent of Trades Unions and the formation of independent political organisations during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, as a result of the prosperity of industrial expansion from 1850 to 1875 and the growth of a 'labour aristocracy', followed by The Great Depression of 1876 to 1897 and the resultant spread of Marxist philosophy which embraced the notion of social ownership. Influences such as those of the Radical Clubs and the County Political Association of the Northumberland and Durham miners are also referred to in the work in the light of their facilitation of discussion and debate of radicalist and socialist approaches and, ultimately, political action. An improved standard of living and quality of life for the working-classes could only be achieved through improved working conditions and access to higher education was essential if independent working-class organisations were to become politically effective. Simon's work pays tribute to the impact on the rise in socialist drive towards better working conditions and improved educational standards of self-taught men such as Joseph Arch, Harry Snell, Keir Hardie, Will Thorne, Tom Mann and Robert Smillie.[116]

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[114] Simon 1981 op.cit. pp126/128

[115] Simon 1974 op. cit. p13.

[116] ibid. pp20/21. Joseph Arch (1826-1919) was the founder of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in 1872 and a Liberal MP in the 1890s. James Keir Hardie (1856-1915) founded the Scottish Labour Party in 1888, became the first Labour MP in 1892, was the leading mover behind the formation of the Independent Labour Party in the following year and later became the first Leader of the Labour Party. Will Thorne was an early leader of the Gas Workers' Union. Tom Mann was elected to the secretaryship in 1894 of the Independent Labour Party. Robert Smillie was a leading figure in the Scottish Labour Party and was one of the leaders of the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trades Union Congress in the 1890s. For

Education, then, has long been seen as a great liberator and social equaliser but it was fiscal matters which first elevated it sufficiently on the agenda of politicians to a place where it benefited the working man or woman prior to the other socially equalising effects of the First World War.

On proceeding to examine the literature on the early history of the university extension movement in England it will be seen that extension work at Cambridge, Oxford and London Universities, the first three providers in the field, has been reasonably well documented, but little research has been accomplished so far on similar work at the Victoria University, a fourth, early, and significant, developer of such activity. This particular gap is one which this thesis aims to fill. Brief reference in this chapter will be made also to the early years of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), although this area will be examined in detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

Although the national situation has been carefully considered by other historians in respect of adult education provision, there is little work which specifically examines provision at a local level and, in particular, still less which considers university extension and WEA provision in Manchester. Manchester appears on very few occasions in the indices of adult education studies of the nineteenth century. [117]

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further information about the careers of these five see Pelling H. Origins of the Labour Party 1880-1900 (London: Oxford University Press 1965 2nd ed). Harry Snell became a member of the Woolwich Labour Party in the 1890s and secretary in 1907 of the Secular Education League which wanted the secularisation of public education. He organised the League's propaganda work until becoming a member of the Labour government in 1931. See Simon B. Education and the Labour Movement op.cit. pp37 and 273-274.

[117] see Jepson N.A. The Beginnings of English University Adult Education (London: Michael Joseph 1973); Fieldhouse R. A History of Modern British Adult Education (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education 1996) and The WEA: Aims and Achievements 1903-1977 (New York: Syracuse University Press 1977); Jennings B Knowledge is Power : A Short History of the WEA 1903-1978 (University of Hull Department of Adult Education 1979); Price T.W. The Story of the WEA from 1903 to 1924 (London: The Labour Publishing Co.Ltd. 1924); Marriott S A Backstairs to a Degree (Leeds Studies in Adult and Continuing Education 1981); Stephens M.D. and Roderick G.W. in Marriott S. (ed) Extramural Empires: Service and Self-Interest in English University Adult Education 1873-1983 (University of Nottingham 1984); Mansbridge A. The Trodden Road (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. 1940); University Tutorial Classes (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1913); and An Adventure in Working Class Education (London: Longmans Green & Co. 1920); Draper W.H. University Extension 1873-1923 (Cambridge:

Michael Stephens' Adult Education follows the development of university extension in England, from its committed response to a " widespread discontent with Oxford and Cambridge which was not defused by the 1852-53 Royal Commission on the universities"[118] From trial courses in Leicester, Nottingham and Derby and the growth of the movement in Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds which was to lead to the founding of the Victoria University of Manchester, Professor Stephens' work is concerned with the evolution of university extension at a national level, through to the establishment of the first Department of Adult Education at Nottingham University in 1920 and the appointment of Robert Peers as their first Professor of Adult Education in 1922. Stephens' work also discusses the implications of the 1902 Education Act with its enabling powers and its provision of an infra-structure for the channelling of funds from central government to the adult night-school student and pays tribute to the success of the work of Albert Mansbridge and the WEA. However, it does not provide detailed insight into the work of individuals at a local level, a matter which this thesis seeks to address in respect of University Extension work in Manchester.

Although the notion of university extension had been articulated in England in the seventeenth century and some extension initiatives had been taken in Glasgow in the eighteenth century, the peripatetic lecturers and teachers scheme of JW Gilbart FRS, a banker of some renown, was not given any credence by academics at the time of its publication in 1847, according to Stuart Marriott's work, Extramural Empires: Service and Self-Interest in English University Adult Education,[119] which considers the process by which adult education gained its individual identity within English universities

Perhaps this lack of response to, or respect for, Gilbart's opinion was due simply to the fact that he was a self-taught banking historian and not one who had trodden the

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Cambridge University Press: 1923); Welch E. The Peripatetic University (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1973); Harrison J.F.C. Learning & Living 1790-1960 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1961); Stephens M. Adult Education (London: Cassell 1990); Kelly T. A History of Adult Education in Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992).

[118] Stephens 1990 op.cit. p27

[119] Marriott S. 1984 op.cit pp.15-17

traditional academic route himself. Either he lacked the necessary credibility amongst leading academics, or he was simply a prophet who emerged a little before his time, suggesting the founding of extension societies in towns without universities, through which lectures funded by central government could be organised.

Gilbart's suggestions were very close to those contained in William Sewell's paper of 1850, Suggestions for the Extension of the University, which were certainly paid heed to by the proponents of non-residential, countrywide, higher education, as he expounded his theory for the establishment of professorships and lectureships in provincial cities such as Manchester and Birmingham, although it was still to take some time before they were actually put into effect.

Sewell's suggestions, appearing mid-century, when social and political democracy and equality were such topical issues, would indeed be well received by those supportive of a population hurt by the rejection of the People's Charter, wearied by work which simply made rich men richer and frustrated by the autocracy and exclusivity of Academia. Informing, and in turn strengthened by, the report of a Royal Commission which underlined the social responsibility of Oxford and Cambridge towards the nation as a whole, Sewell's idea of university extension challenged the traditional admission criteria and curriculum of the universities in relation to those wider needs and also questioned the powers of the internal university boards and the traditional restrictions on Fellowships which had combined to maintain the *status quo* for centuries.

Nonetheless, Marriott views Sewell's suggestions as no more than "an almost despairing attempt to save unreformed Oxford by throwing some of its surplus endowments and fellowships to the country" and sees the later credit of his ideas as being "a partisan attempt .....to set Sewell up as the founding father of university extramural education" [120]

Kunzel, however, maintains that Sewell "did not envisage a general popularisation of university teaching for adult audiences",[121] rather that a mass infiltration of new

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[120] ibid. p17

[121] Kunzel K. 'The Missionary Dons: the Prelude to University Expansion in England' in Studies in Adult Education, Vol.7 No.1, 1975 p.38

students to the existing universities should be prevented "for such a plan would necessarily destroy the order of the place".[122]

However, Sewell, an Oxford Fellow himself, was well placed to comment on the narrowness of the universities' governance and was no doubt well encouraged by the development in Manchester of Owens College, with its lack of religious testing and residential qualifications. His suggestion that university education and examination systems be taken out to cities beyond Oxford and Cambridge may well have taken some time to be adopted, but were in season and well received, particularly by those who wished to maintain the standards of Oxford and Cambridge while simultaneously extending them geographically.

Lawrence Goldman's study, Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education Since 1850, refers to the negative response to an address, whose signatories included Gladstone and Lord Ashley, which was presented to the Hebdomadal Board of Oxford in November 1845, requesting that university education be made available to "sons of parents whose incomes are too narrow for the scale of expenditure at present prevailing among junior members ..".[123]

Nonetheless, with the establishment of a College of Preceptors in 1846, a system of local examination was put into place and when Oxford and Cambridge adopted a scheme for the examination of senior and junior candidates in 1857, a rapport between the universities and the rest of society began to become a reality. It also became necessary to develop a broader curriculum than had served the narrow aims of supplying church and government with leaders from titled families.

Oxford's and Cambridge's long-held monopoly of higher education had continued as long as higher education had been perceived as the exclusive terrain of the titled and traditionally wealthy families of England. What the industrial wealth of the nineteenth century brought to the country was a *nouveau riche* sector within British society, populated by industrialists and commercialists who desired the same high standards of education for their sons as that which was taken for granted by the landed gentry. The

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[122] Sewell W. Suggestions for the Extension of the University (Oxford 1850) P.7 cited in Kunzel 1975 loc.cit.

[123] Goldman L. Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education Since 1850 (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995) p.17

exclusion of non-conformist young men from Oxford and Cambridge had meant that the majority of these successful entrepreneurs had become so by very reason of their exclusion from university education and, therefore, from careers in academia, politics and the upper echelons of the Army, and the traditional professions. The growth of industry and commerce had, then, been an excellent opportunity for that first generation of non-conformist businessmen to put their intellect to good use, but what they sought for their sons was an equality of educational opportunity which many of the leading reformers of the day also agreed was their natural right.

There were also those who saw the issue of adult education as a matter of concern to the nation as a whole. In a letter to the University Extension Journal of March 1896 'Outis' expounds the philosophy of University Extension in response to the "contemptuous inquiry" of 'a German Professor' who suggested that "The University has its own work to do. It can't go wasting its time like Mrs. Jellaby in Dickens' novel. ....", by asserting that "We are a free people, and we cannot run the risk of governing a great empire with an ignorant electorate." The writer goes on to report:

> " ... I told him something of what is being done in the great towns to build up a system of higher education to which every man and woman of ability, however poor, shall have access. Of all kinds of government, a democracy most needs the higher education: but higher education must not only be concentrated to the furthest point of concentration in a few centres, but also, by wise methods and with generous provision, diffused over the whole country as well." [124]

The concerns of democracy and The Empire were also in the mind of The Marquis of Ripon as he addressed the Students of the London Society on March 21st of 1896, ' On the Political Uses of University Extension':

> "It teaches them habits of sound thought; it accustoms them to look at more than one side of the questions that are brought before them; it gives them some practice - some habit at all events - of weighing evidence and testing its value. ... University Extension ... does tend to foster those habits of mind, and those principles of judgement, that are most likely to enable those who fall under its influence to judge wisely, calmly, and justly, concerning the great questions of public policy with which, as citizens, they have to deal. ... it is .... a valuable thing .... that they should be arrived at with a sounder judgement and with a greater sense of responsibility than has hitherto been at the disposal of the

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[124] Outis, 'Silly or Dangerous? A Talk with a German Professor,' University Extension Journal 1 (March 1896): p.89.

> great body of our countrymen. .... I think that you will agree with me that to preserve such an Empire as ours, built up in so wondrous a fashion, the result of such gallant deeds, such heroic labours .... is a task for which no preparation can be too thorough, no training too complete." [125]

With similar reference to University Extension, the well-being of the nation was at the forefront of the minds of the Bishop of Hereford in 1903 and Albert Mansbridge in 1904, when they said:

> "We intend the people shall be an educated people, and we desire it because the more we educate the more we shall become a high-minded and righteous people, a great empire, and a Christian nation."
>
> The Bishop of Hereford at the Conference of Trades Unionists, Co-operators and Extensionists, Oxford Summer Meeting, 1903.[126]

> " ... the intentions of the Association [to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men] .... are to secure improvement for Working-class Education, all along the line, and to watch for and seize opportunities of bringing people into touch, after due preparation, with University Extension and the Universities. Its successful accomplishment will surely be to the enrichment of the National life."[127]
>
> Albert Mansbridge July 1904

In addition to aspirations towards enrichment of life and a desire for equality, was a recognition by the country's political and academic leaders that businessmen were enfranchised taxpayers whose influence in government and civic circles was growing and there was a vested interest among many politicians and academics alike to ensure that any future leaders, at local or national level, should have the benefit of the same liberal education as their predecessors, in order to subscribe to the same values and maintain the *status quo*.

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125 The Marquis of Ripon 'Annual Address to London Students' University Extension Journal (April 1896): pp99/102.

126 University Extension Journal October 1903 p.2

127 University Extension Journal July 1904 p.132

There was also a fear amongst academics that the influence of men of business would jeopardise the cultural and liberal nature of higher education and that it would become tainted with vocational interests.

The view that a wider perspective of life would give men and women a better understanding of the world in which they lived and enable them to enjoy their existence to a greater extent, is the same view which underpinned the philosophy of many of those, frequently Christian Socialists, throughout the nineteenth century who sought to bring the luxury of education to their working-class adult contemporaries, through the societies and organisations mentioned in the general background section of this thesis.

The philosophy of egalitarian education, by definition, embraced the idea of equality of educational opportunity across the social classes and many of those who became known as 'missionary' lecturers did so because they wished to take higher education to those who were unable to afford to suspend the earning of a living until after they had undertaken full-time undergraduate study and graduation.

Stuart Marriott[128] maintains that there was also a growing notion within the ranks of the social equalisers of the established church, that young men from non-wealthy families might have something to offer Anglicanism and that they, too, should be afforded ordination opportunities, which could only be achieved at that time via the higher education routes of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1855 Lord Arthur Hervey (later to become Bishop of Bath and Wells and to accommodate J.A.R. Marriott[129]

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[128] Marriott 1984 op.cit. p16

[129] Marriott J.A.R. (1859-1945) succeeded Michael Sadler as Secretary to the Oxford University Extension Delegacy in 1895, having for the previous nine years, thanks mainly to Sadler's encouragement, served as an extension lecturer for the university. His twenty-six years as Secretary saw some difficult times, notably with the emerging Workers' Educational Association with which he maintained a rather uneasy relationship, partly because he wished to retain the WEA within the boundaries of the conventional university extension movement. Interested in politics, he became the Conservative MP for Oxford City from 1917 to 1922 and for York from 1923 to 1929. See the short biography by Stuart Marriott in Thomas J.E. and Elsey B. (eds) International Biography of Adult Education (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham 1985) pp.399-408; and Marriott J.A.R. Memories of Four Score Years (London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son Ltd. 1946)

J.A.R. Marriott said that he saw " .. a chance of political work wholly divorced from the environment which too often besmirched politics (in the narrower sense) ... So,

when he was delivering extension lectures in his vicinity) had advocated the nomination of four peripatetic lecturers who would lecture to twenty Mechanics' Institutes per year. The cycle would be so organised as to ensure that each institute heard each of the four professors in a year. In this way the range of popular education would be extended and would be of a guaranteed standard, in addition to securing for the universities "the affection and support of all classes of the land".[130]

Two years later, the Reverend Frederick Temple's proposition, that Oxbridge regulate and moderate national standards of secondary education, met with notable approval, but the time was not yet ripe for these suggestions to be taken up. It was not until the formation of Keble College in 1871 that the abilities of the young men of concern to Hervey and Temple were offered an opportunity to flourish at Oxford.[131]

The extension of university teaching to the provinces and the affiliation of provincial colleges were seen not only by social reformers, but also by many academics as being more desirable than the provision of solely residential university education and a better alternative to the University of London's system (prior to 1902) of offering an examining function only, without providing any teaching.

Klaus Kunzel identifies the University Reform Bill which came out of the 1850 Russell Commission Inquiry into the State, Disciplines, Studies and Revenues of Oxford and Cambridge as the turning point in the modern history of English university education which "set the pattern for Oxbridge's revival and future development".[132] Sadler also identifies Oxford and Cambridge reform as bringing "the old universities into a new

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with a small group of like-minded men, strongly opposed to each other in political opinion and social outlook, but united in a common belief in Oxford's mission, and, anxious to extend its educational benefits as widely as possible, I enlisted under the banner of Michael Sadler." (Marriott J.A.R. Four Score Years cited in Jepson 1954/5 op.cit. p.25)

[130] Hervey Lord Arthur A Suggestion for Supplying the Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes of Great Britain and Ireland with Lecturers from the Universities (Cambridge 1855) p.15. cited in Kunzel 1975 op.cit. p.39.

[131] Goldman 1995 op.cit. p 17.

[132] Kunzel 1975 op.cit. p35.

relation to English life".[133] This internal reformation, which owed much to the influence of the Oxford Movement, eventually enabled the ancient universities to break away from the shackles of religious and social exclusivity. It was whilst giving evidence to the Royal Commission in 1850 that Mark Pattison urged: "We in Oxford are weary of scheming, suggesting and pamphleteering. Give us leave to be doing something. Untie our hands and open the gates ..."[134] Such pleas for a more liberal approach to university education stirred the awakening interest in the notion of extending university education to men of sparse financial means, but initially the intention was to offer it within the walls of the existing universities.

The divisions wrought by conformity and social inequality were, nonetheless, to be addressed by the examination of both internal and external reform measures within Oxford and Cambridge. Stuart Marriott's work suggests that Goldwin Smith, an Oxford liberal who in 1864 made a plea for the abolition of religious tests, also cited internal reform and external provision as being of equal value, and notes that the Social Science Congress of 1866 discussed the former and the same Congress of 1868 was in favour of the latter. In 1871 the Religious Test Act abolished religious testing.

Stuart Marriott's Backstairs to a Degree records the contributions of Oxford and Cambridge men who were sufficiently committed to the philosophy of university extension to challenge the *status quo* within their establishments, portraying Moore Ede as Stuart's "mouthpiece"[135] and Joshua Fitch as attacking the lethargy within Oxbridge walls.[136] The positive results of the efforts and commitment of individuals are clearly documented in this work and the value of the influence of the early

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[133] Sadler 1908 op.cit. p.11

[134] Report of the Oxford University Commission (HMSO 1852) p.36. cited in Kunzel 1975 op.cit. p.37

[135] Marriott 1981 op.cit. p8

[136] ibid. p.14. Fitch was an important figure in Her Majesty's Inspectorate. He was, in the mid 1860s, principal of Borough Road Training College H.M.I. and then one of the Assistant Commissioners to the Taunton Commission (Inquiry into Schools, 1867-1868). He later became Chief H.M.I. (1883-1885) and Inspector of Female Training Colleges (1885-1894). See Hurt J. Education in Evolution (London: Paladin, 1972), p.183. For an assessment of Fitch's career, see Robertson A.B. Sir Joshua Girling Fitch 1824-1903: A Study in the formation of English Educational Opinion (unpublished PhD. thesis University of Newcastle 1980)

'missionary dons' is acknowledged. Academic contributions, such as Moulton's papers on the theory of an open university, and the administrative success of RD Roberts, are presented in this work alongside an account of the debate which was conducted with regard to matters of examination and affiliation, combining to offer a comprehensive view of the struggle and success which comprise the history of the advent and early days of university extension. Both Moulton and Roberts are significant in the history of the movement: Roberts served as Assistant Secretary and later as Secretary at Cambridge from 1885-1902; Moulton was a university extension lecturer for Cambridge for twenty years.

Despite the fact that the work of the Oxford and Cambridge Extension Movements has been extensively studied, and Burrows's work examines the Movement from London University's perspective,[137] there is very little consideration given to the individuals involved in the delivery of the extension work of the Victoria University, Manchester. Thompson's work gives useful information, which will be referred to in the next chapter, about evening class students, but, however significant in other respects Fiddes'[138] work is, it contributes nothing of any substance to the picture of the extension work done in Manchester. Likewise, Jones refers merely *en passant* to the existence of Oxford and Cambridge Extension courses at Leeds and Liverpool[139] and briefly mentions the evening classes which followed the incorporation of the Working Men's College in 1861,[140] but makes no study of extension activities at Owens. Likewise, Charlton's study[141] of the origins of Manchester's University makes no reference to extension work.

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137 Burrows J. University Adult Education in London: a century of achievement 1876-1976 (London: University of London, 1976)

138 Fiddes E. Chapters in the History of Owens College and of Manchester University 1851-1914 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1937)

139 Jones D.R. The Origins of Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds & Liverpool (London: Routledge 1988) p.17

140 ibid p.51

141 Charlton H.B. Portrait of a University 1851 - 1951 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1951)

Kelly's well written but relatively slight work, Outside the Walls,[142] however, is an interesting exception to this general deficiency in that it does describe extension work in Manchester and refers to the work of certain individuals involved in its delivery. However, as a preliminary narrative which was published in 1950, it is a fairly anecdotal work which does not make full use of the information which Kelly had at his disposal. Nor does it offer the kind of analysis of students, staff and subjects, which this current study aims to provide. In addition, the intervening fifty years since the publication of Kelly's work have seen more research material become available and this will be used to inform this present study. Stuart Marriott's work also refers to the work of university extension in Manchester, but only in respect of the tension which arose between the Victoria University and Oxford University in respect of territorialism.

A recent study of adult education in Manchester is Colin Lees' doctoral thesis The Development of Adult Education In Manchester from c.1830s to 1914 which offers valuable insight into those nineteenth-century initiatives whose combined successes achieved the ultimate reward for adult education in Manchester in the founding there of the Federal Victoria University in 1880 and, in conclusion, refers to The Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction which was presented in 1919.[143] Although this work does make a contribution to knowledge of university extension and the Workers' Educational Association in Manchester, it is only a relatively brief consideration in a thesis which offers a much wider study of educational provision in Manchester. In seeking to furnish a focused study of university extension provision in Manchester and the university's connection with and role in the early years of the WEA, it is intended that this thesis will add to the findings of Lees' research.

It can be seen, then, that there is a need for a fresh and thorough academic study of the university extension provision in Manchester and the University's connection with and role in the early years of the WEA in the North West of England, and it is this need which this current work seeks to meet.

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[142] Kelly T. Outside the Walls: Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1950)

[143] Lees 1994 op.cit. See especially Chapter 2 Adult Education in Manchester c1830s - 1870.

In order to meet the lack of historical research explicitly concerning those people who actually taught in extension and tutorial classes, this thesis, in aspiring to make an original contribution to existing knowledge, will supply, where possible, details of the work of the individuals who dedicated much time and energy to university extension in Manchester during the period from 1886 to 1903, the function and structure of tutorial classes there, and the work of the WEA in Manchester from 1903 to 1914. Existing biographies and autobiographies of lecturers such as Professors Roscoe, Hartog, and Tout, and significant contributors to the field of adult education, such as Albert Mansbridge, will be acknowledged and drawn upon and will be supplemented by primary source material where this is to be found.

Manchester

Philip Hartog's history of Owens College demonstrates that as early as 1640 when Henry Fairfax forwarded a petition to Parliament requesting the establishment of a Northern University, Manchester's awareness of the value of continuing and adult education was being keenly and formally expressed. However, Hartog, attributes the failure of the petition to the "jealousy of the city of York" and states that the later attempts to secure continuing adult education in Manchester enjoyed only brief success, in that in 1783 a College of Sciences and Arts was established, but was "short lived" and although 1786 saw the foundation of the Manchester Academy, the Academy was to leave Manchester for York in 1803.

Sir Edward Thorpe, a student of the eminent Henry Roscoe at Owens College and later Professor of Chemistry at the University of Leeds, also comments on Fairfax's petition, which he says failed because the cost of £66.13s.4d. was too high to risk on an 'uncertainty'. Sir Edward's work also goes on to mention W.R. Whatton's attempts to alter and extend the existing Royal Institution in order to provide for higher education on a liberal basis, a plan which was abandoned in face of 'insurmountable' religious difficulties and refers to a paper promoting a plan for a university in Manchester which H.L. Jones presented to Manchester Statistical Society in 1836 and which "died of inanition in a few months" in spite of having been published in pamphlet form by James Heywood, presumably for distribution in appropriate circles.[144]

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[144] Thorpe Sir Edward CB FRS The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe PC DCL FRS: A Biographical Sketch (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1916)

Despite Manchester's attempts in 1640 Hartog points out that the Northern University of the Commonwealth "was established at Durham, only to be abolished by the Restoration". However, as an historical note in recent Durham University literature states, Parliament passed an Act in 1832 "to enable the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate part of the property of their church to the establishment of a University in connection therewith" and the first students came into residence in 1833. Its charter was granted on the first of June, 1837, with its first degrees being conferred there just one week later. [145]

Stuart Marriott's evaluation of Durham University's early worth, in his A Backstairs to a Degree, is unequivocal when he states that Durham's foundation ".....was largely a ploy to divert radical attention from the great and underused wealth of the Dean and Chapter .... for thirty years the University led a rather aimless existence."[146] Lees and Robertson, however, take a less harsh view, maintaining that Durham's position was similar to that of contemporary colleges, whose difficulties "were no more than the growing pains of institutions not yet of their time."[147]

Manchester, however, was expertly providing Higher Education in a formal college setting from the inception of Owens College in 1851, and the Charter which it was granted in 1880 for the Federal Victoria University was due recognition of its well established work, which had been founded on a long tradition of local educational provision for adults, albeit education which was available in the main to the middle-classes and, to a lesser extent, artisans, until well into the nineteenth century.

Although the idea of extending university provision beyond Oxford and Cambridge had been mooted since the sixteenth century, it was not until the social and economic effects of the Industrial Revolution were felt that bringing university education to the

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[145] 'Historical Note' University of Durham Calendar Vol.I. (1995-96): 98-99. For the early history of the University of Durham, see Whitney C.E. The University of Durham 1832-1932 (London: The Sheldon Press, 1932).

[146] Marriott S A Backstairs to a Degree (Leeds: Leeds Studies in Adult and Continuing Education 1981) p.4.

[147] Lees C and Robertson R 'Owens College: A.J. Scott and the Struggle Against "Prodigious Antagonistic Forces" ' in Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester Vol.78 No.1 (Spring 1996): p.163

masses became a reality and Manchester became home to one of the first civic universities in England.

With the growth of the middle-classes during the time of the Industrial Revolution and in response to the Anglican exclusivity of higher education in England, a need was felt, among commercial circles in particular, to gain cultural education and credibility; and among industrialists the need was also recognised for the wider teaching of science and technology. Being a thriving centre of commerce and industry, it is understandable, then, that in Manchester initiatives such as that of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society which was founded in 1781 should attract the non-conformist ministers and industrialists of the city and go on to inspire the founding of Manchester New College in 1786. Rather than being the sons of artisans, the students of the New College may well have been the sons of non-conformist ministers, or those of the *nouveaux riche*s seeking a route into the traditional professions and, in the latter cases, away from their fathers' occupations, but this period of higher education provision away from Oxford and Cambridge, served to highlight at least one area in which there was a demand for university education beyond the geographical areas of the traditional universities.

However, the New College's lifetime in Manchester was to be interrupted by a sojourn to Yorkshire of more than three decades from 1803 and its re-establishment in Manchester in 1840 was to last only until 1853, when the college relocated to London.

There were, as mentioned elsewhere in this work, Adult and Sunday Schools and recreational activities of various kinds offered by the religious organisations, which were aimed at labouring men and women, and the Mechanics' Institute, which drew clerks and skilled workmen. The Institutes aspired to meet the demand, which developed from the turn of the eighteenth century, for scientific teaching by which it was thought, " ... man shall extend his acquaintance with the universe of mind and shall acquire the means of enlarging his dominion over the universe of matter".[148] In an address delivered to the inhabitants of Ashton-Under-Lyne and Dukinfield at a public meeting in 1836, Samuel Robinson, a Vice-President of the local Mechanics' Institution, pointed out that it had been founded in 1825 "... when public attention was first drawn to the question of the practicality and advantage of affording to our mechanics and artizans more extended means of education and greater facilities of

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[148] Address of Dr. Birkbeck to the London Mechanics' Institute, 1825. Cited in the Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.13

adding to the practical knowledge of their several trades a more minute acquaintance with the principles on which they [were] founded".[149] Extant copies of the Ashton-Under-Lyne Reporter[150] show that by 1891 the Ashton-Under-Lyne Institute prospectus listed classes in Art, Science, Technological subjects, Commercial subjects, Music and Dancing, Continuation Classes and Cookery.

Nonetheless, there was a growing awareness throughout the nineteenth century of the credibility of the ideas of men such as Robert Owen and those of the Co-operative Movement, which was very strong in the North of England and which advocated education as a means of self-direction through self-development, in contrast to the earlier Utilitarian philosophy of the Mill and Benthamite school of thought which advocated learning by rote, rather than as a process of reasoning.[151] (Owen died in 1858 having influenced the thoughts of many contemporary philosophers and reformers with his New View of Society which was published in 1813.)

In Manchester, resistance to the middle-class control and oligarchic nature of the Mechanics' Institute led to the opening in 1829 of the New Mechanics' Institute, an establishment which was successful, in its six-year lifespan, in showing its predecessor how to run a democratic organisation, but not in supplanting it. There followed many such attempts to offer a wide range of adult education in Manchester, through other similar institutions whose aims and achievements have been thoroughly researched and discussed throughout Colin Lees' thesis.[152]

These organisations may well have served to show the country's leaders the extent of the educational demand and intellectual potential at large in Britain's provinces, but it was matters of international trade and commerce which were to prompt eventual governmental intervention in adult education.

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[149] Robinson S. 'An Address delivered at a public meeting of the Inhabitants of Ashton-Under-Lyne and Dukinfield on Thursday 10th November 1836 for the purpose of advocating the claims of the Mechanics' Institution' p.4 Historical Tracts Manchester Central Reference Library Archives.

[150] Ashton-Under-Lyne Reporter 19th September 1891.

[151] Simon 1981 op.cit. p148 and *passim*

[152] For further details see Lees C. 1994 op.cit. Chapter 2. See also Kirby R.G. 'An early experiment in Workers' Self-education. The Manchester New Mechanics' Institution, 1829-35' in Cardwell (ed), 1974, op.cit., pp87-98.

Whatever fiscal and political concerns may have ultimately turned governmental attention to the matter of adult education, it was largely the concerns and energies of social reformers which actually led to positive action being taken; although it must be said that the ideals of social reform and aims to make Britain competitive in international trade were not always seen as being mutually exclusive, but, rather, that the two would create a positive cycle of personal, social and political progress.

Similarly, the nourishment of mind, spirit and body was not seen by all Victorians as three separate issues. The Reverend Samuel Barnett, whose paper of 1883, at St.John's College, Oxford, on the Settlements of University Men in Great Towns, led to the founding of a Settlement at Toynbee Hall in London's Whitechapel, exemplified this holistic approach to personal and social improvement in simultaneously offering unreserved support to ventures such as TC Horsfall's Manchester Art Museum, maintaining his spiritual ministry and, as part of that ministry, establishing the Settlement movement. Barnett was the first warden at the settlement at Toynbee Hall, a position he held until 1895.

It was the example of Toynbee Hall, which inspired Owens College Principal, Dr. Adolphus Ward, and The Manchester Art Museum founder Thomas Horsfall, to arrange a union between The Manchester University Settlement and Ancoats Art Museum, in 1895, with formal amalgamation following in 1901. However, the work of Kidd and Roberts shows that as early as 1886 in his speech at the opening ceremony of the Art Museum, Oliver Heywood[153] had "claimed that the aim of the [Art Museum] Committee had been to supply Manchester with a Toynbee Hall".[154]

The University Settlement, Manchester, was one of the earliest English Settlements to be established outside of London (although many cities in the United States had established settlements by the 1880's and Edinburgh and Glasgow were ahead of

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[153] Oliver Heywood was the son of the Manchester banker, Sir Benjamin Heywood. He subscribed and contributed to a wide range of voluntary activities, both philanthropic and educational, in Manchester, and was a member of the committee of the Manchester Art Museum. See Kidd and Roberts (eds.) (1985), op.cit., p.137. He was also chairman of the governing council of the Manchester Working Man's College.

[154] Kidd and Roberts 1985 loc.cit.

Manchester in this respect by several years) and can be seen to typify the ethos of the Settlement Movement in its stated *raison d'etre*: :

> "This Settlement is founded in the hope that it may become common ground on which men and women of various classes may meet in goodwill, sympathy, and friendship; that the residents may learn something of the conditions of an industrial neighbourhood, and share its interests, and endeavour to live among their neighbours a simple and religious life." [155]

'Common ground', it was felt by many, was vital to the breaking down of social barriers and divisions. The social division which was considered to be exacerbated by geographical division is considered in Michael Rose's work Culture, Philanthropy and the Manchester Middle Classes, in which the writer cites Horsfall's concern regarding the geographical separation which had developed and widened between the wealthy and the poor inhabitants of Manchester. The intention in establishing the Settlement was clearly an attempt to go some way towards addressing that division and Horsfall, in a speech in 1895 to the Manchester Statistical Society, " recalled the 1850's when green fields began at All Saints, the well-to-do lived centrally in Mosley Street and 'the existing disastrous division of classes was in a less advanced state' ". Clearly this concern had long been held by other social reformers, as indicated by Thomas Read Wilkinson in his presidential address to the same Society twenty years earlier, when he, similarly, "... recalled ... the 'good old days' of Manchester in the 1830's when merchants and professional men lived in the town with all sorts and conditions of people"'[156] a view which was also expressed by Edward Brotherton in an article to the Manchester Guardian in 1864.[157]

By living in Settlements in poor areas, well educated, middle-class, people with social consciences could develop a more informed view of the reality of poverty and its causes and approach its reform more realistically and with some empathy towards those who suffered its effects. The notion of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor would

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[155] Hartog PJ ed The Owens College Manchester : A Brief History and Description of its Various Departments (Manchester: JE Cornish 1900) p.128

[156] Rose M. 'Culture, Philanthropy and the Manchester Middle Classes' in Kidd and Roberts 1985 op.cit. p.105

[157] Kidd A.J. 'Outcast Manchester: Voluntary Charity, Poor Relief and the Casual Poor 1860-1905' in Kidd and Roberts 1985 ibid. p.48

also be put into a more humane context. Likewise, the prejudices and pre-conceived impressions which the poor held in respect of their wealthier contemporaries would to some extent be ameliorated. In short, social barriers would be broken down and the communication necessary for effective reform made more accessible.

Mary Stocks' story of the Manchester University Settlement, Fifty Years in Every Street[158] gives an anecdotal account of the founding of Ancoats Hall; early attempts at settlements in Manor Street, Ancoats, and Higher Ardwick, the formal union in 1901 of the Manchester Arts Museum and University Settlement and the continuation of the work of the Settlement after its separation from the Museum in 1919 until the end of the Second World War. The work pays tribute to the vital voluntary teaching offered by university teachers and middle-class women and, in particular, to the first resident wardens, Miss Stoehr and Dr.Anderson.

Everything Went on at The Round House,[159] the work of Michael Rose and Ann Woods, which was written in celebration of the centenary anniversary of its foundation, also considers the work of the Manchester University Settlement, and examines its continuing legacy. The Round House gives an excellent, eminently readable, account of the work of the University Settlement in Manchester and leaves the reader in no doubt as to its value and the need for its continuance. Offering the reader a dual perspective of the settlement under the distinctive headings of 'Places' and 'People', the work builds a clear picture of the progression of the organisation and its inhabitants from Ancoats Hall and Every Street, through to its separation from the Arts Museum in 1919 and the vision which was sustained and which overcame the challenges presented by the effects of slum clearance and two World Wars, adapting and providing for constantly changing practical and sociological needs. As with Lees' thesis, this present thesis is intended to add to the work of Rose and Woods in presenting another facet of adult education provision in Manchester.

The Ancoats district of Manchester was one of the poorest and most squalid working-class areas in the country during the nineteenth century. In a letter to the Manchester Guardian of the 6th April, 1886, the Reverend William Muzzell of St.Mark's Church

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158 Stocks M. Fifty Years in Every Street (Manchester: University of Manchester 1945)

159 Rose M.E. and Woods A. Everything Went on at The Round House (Manchester: Manchester University 1995)

referred to relief meetings which he and his church members held attracting an average nightly attendance of some 220 people and distributing huge quantities of bread, soup, tea, milk, cheese, butter, sugar, potatoes, meat, groceries and coal. Although he said that "several of our men have secure work as labourers", Reverend Muzzell also wrote of "much distress" in the neighbourhood and cited the instances of two homes which he had visited that day where there was no bed, only "little bundles of straw" and some old sacks to lie on, adding that:

> "I still have on my list of unemployed many good fellows who are anxious and ready to do anything to earn for their families an honest crust. We give assistance to all in the parish without distinction of creed ... We never ask to what religion or creed our friends belong."[160]

The Reverend Muzzell was also mentioned, in a letter to the Manchester City News of 12th February 1887, as being involved in a building fund which had been established in order to encourage those Mancunians of substantial financial means to build "nice substantial" cottages for the poor of St.Mark's Parish, in an effort to restore their self-esteem by being decently housed. The letter had been written in response to an article by the newspaper's 'Special Commissioner' who had referred to the Ancoats district as being the size of a town, but "... not a town ... a great hive of workers, masters and men" and had exhorted those who were in a position to do so to "Reform [the] ... houses [of the poor] and educate their children".[161]

The 60,000 head of population in Ancoats in 1875 were served by forty churches, forty chapels and one hundred and fifty beer houses [162] and in an effort to tempt the working classes away from the more coarse attractions of the beer houses and to engage them in more intellectual debate, Charles Rowley established the Ancoats Recreation Movement, to provide enlightened recreative activities for the local population, again, regardless of status or political or religious persuasion.

The *raison d'etre* and activity of the Ancoats Brotherhood is the subject of Charles Rowley's own work Fifty Years of Work Without Wages.[163] In addition, a study of

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[160] Manchester Guardian 6th April 1886

[161] Manchester City News 5th February 1887.

[162] Charles Rowley Fifty Years of Work Without Wages (London: Hodder and Stoughton n.d.) p. 195

[163] Charles Rowley Fifty Years of Work Without Wages (London:Hodder and

the Ancoats Recreation Movement has been made in the 1959 unpublished M.Ed. thesis of J.I. Rushton, entitled Charles Rowley and the Ancoats Recreation Movement, and Mary Hanley's thesis of 1981 offers a detailed account of adult education provision in Ancoats during the nineteenth century.[164] It is, therefore, unnecessary for this present work to reiterate what has already been written about that particular strand of adult education provision, but it is important to point out that the Movement was well supported by the teaching staff of Owens College, as will be further illustrated in chapter two of this work.

Philip Hartog, for example, was one such Owens College lecturer who was known to respond positively to invitations to teach to working men and is recorded in the Ancoats Recreation Movement's programmes as having taught on the subject of 'Flame' on 2nd February 1895 and to have conducted a six part series of lectures on 'The Chemistry of Common Things' to Sunday afternoon audiences in 1896/7.

Hartog's experience of study and of students in France and England enabled him to observe the differences in written language skill level between the two student nationalities and convinced him that the deficiency exhibited by many English students was due to the fact that written language was not a formally taught subject. In order to analyse the manner in which French students acquired their skill, he visited educational establishments in Paris, from elementary schools to the lycee, and experimented in teaching children at Manchester High School for Girls and Owens College Practising School. Hartog then put into practice the conclusions he had reached from his observations and experiments and taught English composition to students through the methods he later described in his work Words in Action - The Teaching of the Mother Tongue for the Training of Citizens in a Democracy. The 'English composition for working men' classes, which he ran at Manchester Ruskin Hall for " ... about thirteen pupils, French polishers, upholsterers, printers, clerks" taught men to "listen with intelligence"[165] and to express themselves in writing with similar intelligence.

Stoughton n.d.)

[164] Hanley M. Educational Provision in Ancoats During the Nineteenth Century (unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester 1981)

[165] Hartog P. Words in Action: The Teaching of the Mother Tongue for the Training of Citizens in a Democracy (London: University of London Press Ltd. 1947) p.34

In addition to lectures, visits to summer schools were subsidised by the Recreation Movement and occasionally, free lecture tickets were provided for working men and a system of saving towards the remaining cost was implemented, from the first visit to Keble College, Oxford, in 1880 until 1895/6 when the work was passed on to the Manchester University Settlement, through which extension lectures continued at New Islington until 1905.[166] The smooth transition must have been aided by the dual role of Owens College lecturers in serving both the community and the University. In the academic year of 1902/3, for instance, Hartog is recorded as having taken the English Composition class which was run in conjunction with the Art Museum, the University Settlement and Manchester Ruskin Hall.[167]

Clearly, Rowley had an outstanding talent for persuading leading figures of the day to speak at the Recreation Movement's meetings, as he recalls invitations being accepted from such contemporaries as G.K. Chesterton, George Bernard Shaw, Sir Charles Halle, Prince Kropotkin and a host of other such nineteenth-century alumni. Rowley had himself benefited from the complementary approach of self-improvement and paternalism[168] which had underpinned the work of David Stott and Benjamin Braidley at the Bennett Street Sunday School, being described in Hassall's work as one of its most successful scholars who, later, became one of its teachers[169] and this blend of self-improvement and social responsibility of the privileged towards the less privileged was clear in his intention to introduce working men and women (although it was, inevitably, men who were more able to attend) to polite and stimulating debate and to open their minds to as wide a range of subjects as possible. In order to make these opportunities available to low-paid workers, no entrance fees were charged, but free-will collections were taken in the hope that people would pay according to their means and, therefore, the poorly paid would be subsidised by the more wealthy. Nor

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166 Hanley M op.cit. pp445-446.

167 Ancoats Recreation Movement Syllabuses 1895 - 1903

168 Hassall J. The Bennett Street Sunday School Manchester : A Study in Nineteenth Century Educational and Social Improvement (unpublished PhD thesis University of Manchester 1986) pp116-117

169 ibid p.354

were any class distinctions shown in seating arrangements. Seats were never reserved and, apart from visiting speakers, no-one was invited to platform seats.[170]

As well as intellectual stimulation, outdoor activities were also offered by the Recreation Movement and, in 1889, the Ancoats Brotherhood, which was to survive until 1938, was launched to offer 'at homes', walks, short and inexpensive holidays in Britain and on the Continent, and to provide financial support for the Ancoats Hospital, The College of Music, The Manchester Museum, and other worthy causes in the district.

Michael Harrison's article Art and Philanthropy: TC Horsfall and The Manchester Art Museum [171] gives clear insight into the philanthropic, if, naturally for its time, paternalistic, motivation of Horsfall, and his aspiration to share the cultural advantages which he and his peers enjoyed, and from which they drew spiritual and social benefit, with the slum dwellers of Victorian Manchester, in an effort to reduce social division. [172] Certainly, the elevation of the quality of life was at the forefront of Horsfall's mind, as can be seen from his letter in an extant copy of the Manchester City News in which he offers suggestions for ways in which parents and children could spend time of quality together, in an attempt to answer the question "How can slum life in Ancoats be reduced to a minimum?".[173]

In more detail, chapter four of Harrison's doctoral thesis describes the efforts of Manchester's art philanthropists to broaden the artistic horizons of the inhabitants of that 'soot begrimed' city, many of whom were said to display 'an ignorance of the whole system of natural beauty', and in particular the aspirations of social reform

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[170] Rowley op.cit. pp200-204

[171] Harrison M. 'Art and Philanthropy: TC Horsfall and the Manchester Art Museum' Kidd A.J. and Roberts K.W. (eds) City, class and culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1985) p.120.

[172] Nonetheless, in the abstract of his doctoral thesis of 1987 (op.cit.) Harrison does express the opinion that the working classes "... frequently took what they wanted from institutions like the Art Museum or working men's clubs and rarely fulfilled the cultural ambitions of the promoters" and comments that " ..Despite all the time, thought and money he spent on his schemes, a wide gap continued to exist between his vision of the 'ideal city' and the often grim realities of life in Edwardian Manchester."

[173] Manchester City News January 22nd 1887 p.5

through the art education promoted by T.C. Horsfall.[174] The thesis offers a substantial first chapter on the social and economic background of Late Victorian and Edwardian Manchester and goes on to give a well researched account of the influences and ideals of Horsfall and the sometimes conflicting views of his contemporaries among the philanthropists of the city during that period. The thesis presents an exceptionally readable and thorough study of social reform in late Victorian and Edwardian Manchester and in so doing refers to educational initiatives such as continuation schools and University Extension. This current work, in examining the Victoria University's educational outreach to the community, with particular reference to University Extension, will expand upon that aspect of social reform in Manchester.

Although Harrison's thesis does explore the provision of recreative evening classes and continuation schools it does so within the context of Horsfall's ideals of social reform, his motives and practices and, thus, produces a clear impression of the aspirations of Horsfall and his fellow reformers.

Tied in with these aspirations of social reform, were notions of the existence of a 'respectable poor', or 'deserving poor', as opposed to those who, presumably, were regarded as victims of their own choices and perpetuated their own poverty by immoral or lazy behaviour, the 'undeserving poor'; notions which were rife in Victorian Britain. In his article,[175] Harrison includes clear reference to this aspect of paternalistic philanthropy in particular relation to Manchester, and avoids the pitfalls of idealism or romanticising which could too easily enshroud a retrospective view of Victorian reform and reformers. His eminently readable essay is distinctive in the manner in which it presents, against a backdrop of social evolution, a detailed history of the Manchester Art Museum and the multi-faceted aspects of the motivation of TC Horsfall, and those who supported and those who challenged, his ideals and aims.

It is important to emphasise that, as Rushton points out,[176] the differences in purpose and ethos between the Recreation Movement, Horsfall's Arts Museum, the University

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[174] Horsfall T.C. 'Recreation in Towns' Health Journal July 1883 pp23-4 cited in Harrison 1987 op.cit. p.169

[175] Harrison ibid pp120/147

[176] Rushton J.I. Charles Rowley and the Ancoats Recreation Movement (unpublished M.Ed. thesis Manchester University 1959) Appendix F (pp 164/5) refers particularly to differences between these organisations and their complementary functions.

Settlement and the Owens College meant that, although there was much overlapping support and empathy from local philanthropists and University Extension lecturers, there was no sense of competition between the organisations, rather they fulfilled complementary purposes, as will be further demonstrated through this work.

Lees' work[177] also describes the co-operation which existed, during the period from 1870 to 1914, between the various voluntary organisations in Manchester and in particular the collaboration between the Ancoats Recreation Movement and the University Settlement in matters of programme publicity and lecture activities. The work goes on to illustrate the value of the connections between the adult education movement in Manchester, the local WEA and the National Home Reading Union, for instance, and pays tribute to the necessary influence of middle-class initiative during the formative years of these organisations, whilst acknowledging that growth followed the natural development of working-class influence.

Voluntary provision was a vital step towards eventual State intervention in the provision of post-elementary education and Maclure's Educational Documents England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day elucidates the aims and objectives of Balfour, in 1902, and Fisher in 1918, reproducing the Ministers' speeches on presentation of the Acts. The introduction by the 1902 Act of County Secondary Schools and teacher training provision and the intention of the 1918 Act to provide free day continuation classes for youths between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, can be clearly seen as moves towards social reform, particularly in the light of the findings in 1917 of the Report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War (The Lewis Report) and the inevitability of universal franchise.

The government's welfare reforms during the first decade of the twentieth century, with the beginnings of protection for the unemployed, dependent children and the elderly and the embryonic national insurance provision of the 1911 Act, coupled with the educational progress of the 1902 Education Act, were grist to the mill of the work of the Settlers. The efforts of individuals and State combined were approaching a meeting point. Indeed, Balfour had acknowledged the need for co-operation and cohesion when he introduced the Act and acknowledged the:

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[177] Lees 1994 op.cit. pp408 - 410

> "development of university life by private liberality ... where the very highest type of university instruction is given by men well qualified for their duty ...."

Balfour was eminently qualified to comment on the efforts of people at a local level to bring higher education out of universities, as he had been Vice-president of the Association for the Extension of University Teaching, which had been formed in 1891 in order to promote and support the extension of university teaching in Lancashire and Cheshire.[178] However, he lamented that despite the high qualifications and good intentions of the men providing the instruction, they:

> "will never effect all they might do as long as our secondary education ....is in the imperfect condition in which we now find it." [179]

The 1902 Act was intended to improve standards of secondary education and provide continuity from elementary to post-school education. However, the First World War was to intervene and by its end in 1918, morale in the country was low and demands on government spending great. Throughout the years of Depression and Keynesian attempts to rebuild the country's economy, the work of the University Settlement was vital in providing a lifeline of adult educative and recreationally educative activities.

The great internal migration of the slum clearance towards the end of the inter-war period and the devastation of the 1940 Blitz were to combine to fragment the work of the Settlement, but not to bring it to an end. Its contribution to adult education in Manchester had been of such significance, and the work of all who had contributed to it of such value in providing continuity not only in provision but in expectation and demand, that it was able to rise from the ashes of the Second World War and continue its vital work to the present day.

Although the subject of education for women and girls was much debated from the 1840's onward, it was not until the last quarter of the century that educational opportunities for them even began to aspire to matching those of men and boys and

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[178] ibid p. 405

[179] Maclure J.S. Educational Documents in England and Wales (London: Methuen, 1979) p.153.

until elementary and secondary educational opportunities became available to girls and women, they could have no access to higher education.

Class as much as gender, was a defining factor in the type of provision available to girls. June Purvis's work A History of Women's Education in England[180] clearly demonstrates the differing opportunities available to females growing up in England in the nineteenth century. Working-class girls may well have been taught to read and write at home, if any member of the family had the requisite skills. If the family could afford and saw fit to spend between fourpence and sixpence a week to send their children to a Dame school then girls may well have received some elementary education there, alongside the boys. Children would be taught to read and write and given a basic knowledge of Christian scripture. Girls would also be taught sewing, which was an important and necessary skill. Whatever may be said about the quality of teaching in such establishments, there might well have been much to be gained in that a working-class Dame might not inflict the social rules which would have been imposed by many middle-class teachers which could create barriers to learning by alienating working-class pupils.

The lack of sound elementary education for the working classes prior to the 1870 Act is discussed elsewhere in this work, as are the aims of the religious and voluntary organisations which provided the bulk of it both to children and adults, but it is important to note here the increase in State concern which was reflected in the establishment of the Department of Education in 1856. The need for a government department to create and manage a mechanism for State provision in order to raise educational standards had been demonstrated by the results of inspections carried out by an Education Committee led by Manchester's James Kay, whose views regarding the education of the masses are referred to elsewhere in this work.

Jepson, while considering the findings of a Royal Commission on Elementary Education of 1858, discusses the detrimental effect of inadequate elementary provision on adult and continuing education, showing that in Rochdale and Bradford, for instance, "An examination of scholars attending evening schools .... [revealed] ... that over 60% had attended day schools for less than five years."[181] Such inadequacies in early learning opportunities could not fail to undermine any later attempts by working

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[180] Purvis J. A History of Women's Education in England op.cit. 1991

[181] Jepson N.A. 1973 op.cit. p.72

early learning opportunities could not fail to undermine any later attempts by working class people to take advantage of adult education opportunities and Jepson's work provides evidence from the Commissioners' reports of evening schools being "... almost entirely occupied in supplying the deficiency of primary education." [182]

Poor standards of elementary education would, of course, be detrimental to any secondary education which might have been available and the Taunton Commission Inquiry, which was established in 1864, reported in 1868 on the weakness of secondary education and the narrowness of the curriculum and emphasised that teachers' own standards of education needed to be raised. The report offered irrefutable evidence of the cultural gap created by the lack of secondary education opportunity for working class children, the poor standard of education available to middle class girls and the higher education available mainly to the men of the privileged classes. In particular, the report was highly critical of the standard of education of women teachers and highlighted the vicious circle created by the education, by ill-educated governesses, of middle-class girls who were likely to become teachers.

The Commission reported that there were five hundred and seventy-two endowed secondary schools for boys with an attendance of 36,000 and only fourteen for girls, with an attendance of 1,100. In Lancashire, the county probably most affected by the social upheaval of the Industrial Revolution and its concomitant generation of new wealth, although The Schools Commission Report For Lancashire stated in 1868 that there were 232 endowed schools in the County[183] there were no endowed schools for girls. Even in private schools the Commission found both teaching standards and curriculum were severely lacking.[184] The commissioners emphasised the need to raise the standard of education of girls and women and laid the foundation for the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 which empowered Commissioners to provide grammar school education for girls on a par with that provided for boys and motivated municipal secondary schools for girls to offer a wider and more advanced curriculum.

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[182] From the Education Commission Reports of Assistant Commissioners (1861) Vol.II. p.194 cited in Jepson ibid p.74

[183] Manchester Guardian April 1868

[184] Charlton H.B. Portrait of a University 1851 - 1951 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1951) p 155

Formal schools in the nineteenth century were generally segregated between the sexes, but the extrapolation of this practice to higher education prolonged the inequality of educational opportunity long after higher education was ostensibly in place for women. Edward Fiddes' introduction to Mabel Tylecote's work, The Education of Women at Manchester University 1883-1933[185] gives a most useful account of the struggle which social reformers and feminists encountered in their attempts to gain higher education for women on equal grounds and in the same setting as men. Fiddes supports his view that the Natural Rights philosophy which had been embraced in America and France in the previous century had not been upheld by the middle-classes in England because men felt threatened by the intellectual development of women, by quoting Mark Pattison's observation in the report to the Schools Enquiry Commission:

> "An average man of the middle-classes prefers a woman who is less educated to one who is more. The preference of a man for a less cultivated woman arises from his own want of culture."[186]

There is also evidence to suggest that the intellectual capacity of women was regarded in some circles as being inferior to that of men and not capable of being developed to the same extent as that of their male counterparts. Roseanne Benn, in Women and Adult Education, quotes an extract from the Durham University Journal of July 1887, in this regard:

> "The intellectual inferiority of Women as a class to man seems clear. It is also probable that this inferiority is inherent and cannot altogether be eliminated."[187]

It does appear that where women were on an intellectual par with their husbands, it was likely that their husbands would be given some of the credit for their wives' achievements. The, presumably male, writer of an article in the magazine Manchester

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[185] Fiddes in Tylecote 1941 op.cit. pp 1-16. See also Williams P. 'Pioneer Women Students at Cambridge, 1869-81' in Hunt F. (ed) Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987) pp.171-191; and Dyhouse C. No distinction of sex? Women in British universities 1870-1939 (London: UCL Press Ltd. 1995)

[186] Fiddes op.cit. p2

[187] Fieldhouse R. and Associates A History of Modern British Adult Education (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education 1996) p.380

Faces and Places,[188] whilst applauding the academic and lecturing success of Mrs. Rosa Grindon, says that he "...thinks .. [that] Mrs.Grindon has caught something of Mr.Grindon's warm and felicitous fancy, his fervour and happy use of poetry". Why the writer presumes that these positive attributes were passed on to Mrs.Grindon by her husband, rather than being part of her own personality, is unclear and it is interesting that the suggestion is not that she has passed them on to him.

In the same article, it is also made clear that a significant number of men were reluctant to allow those women who did achieve recognition of their intellectual abilities to use them to their full potential. The journalist points out that when two vice-presidents of the Microscopical Society saw fit to invite Mrs.Grindon to join their number "... astonishing as it may seem, there was unfortunately a small contingent which objected to women being admitted to membership, and .... she was not elected. The objectors, with many complimentary remarks, said they would be glad to have Mrs Grindon as a member, but they feared that her entrance would be followed by that of other ladies."

How far removed was the attitude of those men from that expressed in an article for the Technological Review of October 1866, entitled 'The Education of Women in the Middle Class', that " ..if you neglect to educate the mind of a woman by the speculative difficulties which occur in literature, it can never be educated at all; if you do not effectually rouse it by education, it must remain for ever languid. Uneducated men may escape intellectual degradation; uneducated women cannot."[189]

Nonetheless, the demand for higher education for middle-class women was reflected in the opening of Queen's College for women in 1848, followed a year later by Bedford College which quickly gained pioneering momentum. In 1850 Frances Buss and her mother opened the North London Collegiate School, providing for two guineas per quarter, "a liberal education for daughters of professional gentlemen of limited means, clerks and tradespeople".[190]

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188 Manchester Faces and Places op.cit. Vol.7 No.1 October 1895 p.11

189 Political Tracts Manchester Central Reference Library Archives.

190 Purvis 1991 op.cit. p76

In 1878 the University of London began to admit women on equal terms with men[191] and in 1880 became the first university in England to award degrees to women,[192] but in other higher education establishments the battle for educational equality was to continue for many more years, and in the ancient universities, into the following century.

In 1869 the efforts of the feminist educational reformer, Emily Davies, had been rewarded in the opening of a women's college at Hitchin in Hertfordshire for the preparation of women to take the Cambridge University entrance exams. In October 1873 the college moved to Girton College, Cambridge, and although not integrated into the university, middle-class women in Cambridge were now able to gain access to the same kind of education as men. Although they were allowed to take the degree finals examinations from 1921 there was no official recognition of the academic success of Cambridge's female students, in their being awarded degrees, until the academic year of 1948. This, despite the evidence of an article in the University Extension Journal of February 1896 which reported that:

> The support which the promoters of the movement for the admission of women to degrees at Cambridge are obtaining is unexpectedly encouraging. The petition for which signatures are being invited is a request to the Council of the Senate to appoint a Syndicate "to consider on what conditions and with what restrictions, if any, women should be admitted to degrees in the University." This petition has already been signed by a large proportion of resident members of the University, including a majority of the Professors. It was issued on Jan.11 to members of the Senate ... by Jan.18 no fewer than 1,600 signatures had been received. The list includes the names, amongst non-residents, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Manchester and several Suffragans, Mr A.J. Balfour and Mr. Gerald Balfour, Justices Denman, Romer, Rigby, and Stirling, Lord Rayleigh and Lord Crewe."[193]

Similarly, although Oxford's Lady Margaret Hall was founded in 1879, Oxford degrees were awarded to women for the first time on 14th October 1920.

In keeping with times, Newnham College (which had been founded by Anne Clough, who in the late 1860s had served as Secretary to the North of England Council for

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191 Holdsworth A. Out of the Doll's House BBC Publications 1988

192 London University Calendar 1993/4

193 Notes and Comments' University Extension Journal February 1896 p.67

Promoting the Higher Education of Women, and run as a students' residence at 74 Regent Street, Cambridge, from 1871) aimed to provide a "separate and different" education for women, whereas Girton's ambition was to provide education on a par with that offered to men. With Newnham's fees in 1875 standing at £60 per annum and Girton's at £105 per annum, it can be seen that the two colleges may well have intended to target students from differing social sectors.[194]

Although local exams had been administered by Oxford and Cambridge, the idea of taking higher education out to the general population, as was done in Scotland, was seen by such proponents as James Stuart as being the only route through which class barriers, and along with them sex discrimination, could be removed entirely from the world of education. The University Extension lecture movement was to aid the emancipation of middle class women just as it did that of working class men. Within six years of the first University Extension Courses (which will be discussed in chapter three of this work) being held in 1873, the first Vice-Chancellor's certificate was issued to a female student at Sheffield.[195]

In Manchester the struggle for academic equality had been underway since the eighteen sixties, as Fiddes so clearly outlines in his introduction to Tylecote's work.[196] The establishment of Owens College had been through the bequest of John Owens[197] whose objective was to provide higher education for Dissenters and, again

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[194] Purvis 1991 op.cit. p114

[195] Welch E. The Peripatetic University (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1973) p.44

[196] Tylecote 1941 op.cit.

[197] Little is known of John Owens but an article which appeared in the Manchester Guardian of 19th June in (probably) 1868 traced his father's firm (first in Church Street and then from 1808 in Carpenters' Lane) of hat liner, cutter and glazier, to 1797. Export and import business replaced the firm's original activities from about 1819 and according to the article "The conduct of the business for many years was in the hands of the son, John, the founder of Owens College, who was considered one of the best buyers of cotton in the market". John Owens later entered into partnership with cotton yarn producers George and Samuel Faulkner whose cotton mill was in Elizabeth Street, Ancoats. Owens was born in 1790 and died a bachelor in 1846. JRLU Archives Newspaper cuttings Vol.1 July 1853-Oct.1868 UA/10/1. See also Clapp B.W. John Owens, Manchester Merchant (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1965)

within the social context of the day, his Trust provided solely for men. Tylecote's study charts the progress of women's education at the University of Manchester from the legal entitlement of women to study at the reformed and reconstituted Owens College from 1871 to the 1933 celebration of the jubilee of the admission of women. The work records the difficulties of achieving mixed classes and the resistance to the admission of women to full membership of the college in 1883, which enabled them to achieve graduate status - except in the Departments of Medicine and Engineering where women were not admitted to the former until 1899 (despite their being admitted to the Medical Register from 1876 and being included in the University's provision for the awarding of medical degrees from 1883) and to the latter "some years later".[198]

However, Alex Robertson, in his recent work, Manchester, Owens College and the Higher Education of Women asserts that Tylecote "neither explains the causes of what she rightly identified as a very slow process nor identifies the practices and assumptions against which it took place" By virtue of a "more holistic" examination of "attempts to gain access to Owens College and to set this in the context of attitudes to women more generally in Manchester",[199] Robertson demonstrates the cultural and political influences on the actions and decisions of educationists and reformers in Manchester during the decade from the late 1860's and concludes that:

> ".... the position of women at many levels in society was slowly being redefined and men were responding in a variety of ways. Despite its urban vitality, experience of half a century of adaptation and innovation and a constant under-current of political radicalism, Manchester was in some respects a deeply conservative city and it was not at all uncommon for leading men and women to exhibit characteristics of both traditions. To think of it as a powerhouse of reform in the education of girls and women, even for the north of England, is quite misleading and distorts the contributions of some leading participants by assuming they were uniquely ultra conservative."[200]

Notwithstanding that conclusion, the work pays tribute to the dedication of individuals who and institutions which strove to raise the profile of women's education

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[198] Tylecote 1941 op.cit. p. 15

[199] Robertson A.B. 'Manchester, Owens College and the Higher Education of Women: A large hole for the cat and a small one for the kitten' in the Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester Vol.77 No.1. Spring 1995. op.cit. p201

[200] ibid p.220

and to instigate its realisation in Manchester. The influence of the Manchester Association for Promoting the Education of Women; the girls' school of the Mechanics Institute; the Manchester Board of Schoolmistresses and its links with Owens College; the Manchester and Salford College for Women (which in 1883, having been virtually an extension of Owens College, became the Department for Women in the new Victoria University); the Manchester High School for Girls, and the people behind these organisations, are carefully documented in Dr Robertson's paper. The importance of their work in establishing educational routes and securing examination on a par with that of male students is brought into sharp focus.

Despite the removal in 1871 of the legal restrictions against women contained in John Owens' will and the Charter which endowed the college with Federal University status having provided for the graduation of women from a constituent college from 1880[201], Owens College, the only constituent college at the time, refused their admission. Graduation was, therefore, denied them. However, it will be seen from the discussion included in chapter two of this work that other local initiatives to improve the standard of education offered to women were well supported by members of Owens College lecturing staff.

The establishment of civic universities such as Owens meant that the expense of residential restrictions could, in many cases, be dispensed with and, combined with the admission of female students, brought about significant socio-educational change. Julie Gibert's study reveals interesting statistics in relation to the social background of women students in the traditional universities and in the civic universities which developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The work shows that of two hundred and twenty-four women students in universities and university colleges in Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester between 1877 and 1907, 18% came from professional or upper class backgrounds; 27% from semi-professional; 31% from manufacturing or mercantile families; 16% from the families of skilled workers and tradesmen and 8% from what could be classed as working class families.[202]

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[201] Owens College Calendar 1880/1 p.7 (pp5/19 The Royal Charter 20th April 1880)

[202] Gibert J.S. 'Women students and student life at England's civic universities before the First World War' in History of Education Vol.23 no.4. 1994. p407

Gibert gives the source of her figures as Mason College Register for 1892-3, Birmingham University Archives; Manuscript Registers of Students for the session 1877-78 and 1882-3, Bristol University Archives; and the Women's Department Declaration Book for 1906-7, Manchester University Archives. In classifying fathers'

However, Gibert draws on the research of Janet Howarth and Mark Curthoys to compare the civic university case with that of Oxford and London where working class groups were entirely unrepresented. Of the nine hundred and fifty-nine women students at Oxford between 1881 and 1913, Howarth and Curthoys' research demonstrates that 52% were daughters of professional or upper class fathers, 4% semi-professional; 22% manufacturers and merchants; 3% skilled workers and tradesmen and 19% not known. At the Royal Holloway, during the same period, the breakdown shows 27%; 7%; 29%; 14% respectively with 23% not recorded.[203] The indication that more than half of Oxford's and approximately one-fifth of the civic universities' female students were from the upper or professional classes and that 27% of the civic universities' women students were from semi-professional backgrounds, compared with 4% at Oxford and 7% at London, can be of no surprise given the increase in the middle-class population during the nineteenth century. The classification of parents' occupations mirror the industrial and commercial growth in cities such as Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield and Manchester where the early civic universities were established and where women were admitted

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occupations Gibert followed the model set by Sanderson in The Universities and British Industry: 1850-1970 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1975) and discloses that in her study occupations (as stated by the students themselves or their parents) are classified as follows: 'professional or upper class' - solicitor, surgeon, doctor, principal or governor of college, member of parliament, clergyman, judge, almoner, professor, army, architect, gentleman, consulting chemist, dentist, civil engineer, banker and accountant; 'semi-professional' - schoolmaster, clerk agent, manager, secretary, bookkeeper, commercial traveller, cashier, inspector of postmen, assurance superintendent, buyer, manager, superintendent, railway official, surveyor rate collector, inspector of schools, gas inspector and land agent; 'manufacturers and merchants' - merchants (including such designations as 'tea merchant' and 'corn merchant', manufacturers (including such terms as 'safety-pin manufacturer'), jeweller, auctioneer, contractor, factor, ironfounder, ironmaster, colliery owner, consulting brewer, co-director and sugar refiner; 'skilled workers and tradesmen' - draper, bookseller, grocer, builder, engraver, joiner, blacksmith, baker, mount maker, clothier, goldcutter, printer's reader, wine drawer, china gilder, tailor, gold beater, ironmonger, confectioner, chemist, papermaker, tobacconist, pawnbroker, miller, dairyman, jointer, drysalter, house decorator, lodging-house keeper, butcher, hatter-hosier and nurseryman; 'working class' - foreman, engine driver, mechanic, engineer, grazier, miner, mechanic and caretaker.

[203] Howarth J. and Curthoys M. 'The Political economy of women's higher education in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain.' Historical Research (June 1987) p.217 cited in Gibert ibid pp 407/408

(notwithstanding the thirteen year delay at Manchester referred to elsewhere in this thesis) on an equal footing with men.

As well as the social concern for the standard of education of women, and in particular women teachers, the spread of electoral franchise within the growing middle-classes also contributed to political concern about the standard of education outside of the upper classes. Fieldhouse comments upon the change in governmental approach to adult education during the nineteenth century, from an early paternalistic stance of protectionism, through a period in the early part of the century of laissez-faire non-interventionism, to the rather reluctant State involvement of mid-century.

However, until industrial progress and the demands of foreign trade put Britain under pressure to improve technical education, little attention was paid by British politicians to the educational needs of the adult population as a whole. Certainly Fieldhouse finds significance in the fact that British industry "achieved pre-eminence" in only twelve of ninety classes at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 and that "this failure was attributed by the jurors to the lack of suitable educational facilities."[204] Professor Roscoe, speaking on the 11th October, 1867, at the opening of the evening classes for the winter session, responded to Professor Greenwood's[205] observations that "The recent Paris Exhibition gave evidence of a certain deficiency in England of technical education", by pointing out that in Germany, France and Switzerland "... masters as well as workmen had better opportunities for instruction in the principles of the sciences which they had to apply in the workshop than persons of the same class in England had." [206]

In 1868 Roscoe and Principal Greenwood reported their findings from visiting universities and science schools in Germany and recommended that there should be ".. a sub-division of each leading subject more complete than is usual in England and a provision for the scientific departments far more elaborate; ... some measure of aid

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[204] Fieldhouse R and Associates 1996 op.cit. p.11.

[205] Greenwood was the first Principal of Owens College and his influence on college policy and administration before and during his time as principal is discussed in Lees C and Robertson R 'Owens College: AJ Scott and the Struggle Against 'Prodigious Antagonistic Forces' in the Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester Vol.78 No.1 Spring 1996 pp.155 - 172

[206] Manchester Guardian October 12th 1878. JRUL Archives UA/10/1

from the exchequer ...; the [maintenance] of university character and organisation ..." but pointed out that the " ... usefulness of institutions for the higher education will mainly depend on a corresponding amount of efficiency in secondary schools".[207]

Working men in Manchester, however, were not to sit back and await the actions of the others. In February 1869, for example, The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners of Manchester and Salford started a movement for the promotion of technical education and " ... formed an institute for the instruction of its members in practical geometry, mensuration, drawing and all other matters concerning the science of carpentry and building construction."[208] It was obvious to the construction workers that they were in need of technical education and their concern was clearly such that they could not wait for others to take the initiative in providing it.

Others were prepared to take the initiative to encourage and motivate students of technical subjects. In April 1868, Joseph Whitworth, gun manufacturer and machinist, was prepared to do so to the extent of offering £100,000 in order to establish thirty £100 annual scholarships nationally, to be awarded through open competition to English, Irish or Scottish students, of any institution and with no religious qualification, demonstrating " ... intelligence and proficiency in the theory and practice of mechanics and its cognate sciences."[209] It was no doubt a matter of great pride to both student and Institution that the highest marks for the ten Whitworth scholarships awarded in September 1869 were achieved by a Mr. W.H.Greenwood of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution and third and fourth places went to Owens College men.[210]

This concern about technical education became particularly widespread in Britain in the wake of the Paris Exhibition of 1867. The Government appointed a Select Committee to report on Scientific Instruction and during the course of its investigations was informed by Professor Roscoe that Owens College " ... might be

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[207] Owens College Extension Committee Report to the Extension Committee of an Inspection of the Universities and Science Schools of Germany. December 1868.

[208] Manchester Guardian February 15th 1869

[209] Manchester Examiner and Times 4th April 1868

[210] Manchester Guardian 16th September 1869

taken as a fair example of what a science school should be, or rather what was needed." [211]

At a local level, in Manchester, other people were keen to keep abreast of the issues of technical education and its implications in matters of foreign competition. On January 28th, 1868, of no little significance, a meeting of the Members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce heard an address from Professor Leone Levi of King's College, London, on the very subject of foreign competition and technical education. Referring to a conference which had "lately [been] held in Manchester [and which] was of the greatest possible use", Professor Levi told the meeting that " The nation has made a lofty resolve. It is that the shame of being inferior in education to Prussia, Switzerland America, and other states shall for ever be removed. It is that, at whatever cost, and notwithstanding all difficulties, a through an practical education shall be diffused among all classes of society ... time-honoured universities have awakened to a new life; middle-class schools have been established with princely munificence .."[212]

The Technical Instruction Act of 1889 was introduced in order to address such technical deficiencies in the nation's educational provision and the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 was to be of great benefit to future generations of , particularly middle class, young people.

The long standing desire for intellectual stimulation among the middle-classes in Manchester is easily identifiable in the response to the founding of Manchester Athenaeum in 1835. As the middle-class population of Manchester swelled in number, there was evidently room for an addition to the few organisations which already existed to meet that demand. In Manchester, the Athenaeum which was established in 1835 in order to provide suitable educational facilities for "... useful, social .... literary and scientific ..." study, which could be offered at a "... reasonable charge ..." for "... professional men of all grades, quiet men of business, as well as the multitudes of young men employed as clerks in warehouses, and in retail establishments"[213] played an important part in identifying and meeting the educational needs of the local middle-

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[211] Manchester Guardian June 19th 1868

[212] Manchester Guardian January 29th 1868

[213] Hudson J.W. 1851 op.cit. p.110. Hudson was the first honorary secretary of the Manchester Athenaeum.

classes population.[214] With an annual subscription of thirty shillings, the Athenaeum would indeed have attracted middle-class and professional men only.

Originally meeting in the Royal Manchester Institution, the Athenaeum moved to Mosley Street in 1839 where it offered a library, reading room, dining room, classrooms, lecture theatre and rooms for billiards, smoking, coffee and chess and a room in which ladies were allowed to meet. An average of seven lectures each month were offered covering such topics as chemistry, geology, French language, astronomy, elocution, poetry and education.[215] By 1850 classes in drawing, bookkeeping, mathematics and instrumental music had been tried and abandoned but French and German classes had proved more successful, attracting between twenty and fifty students, and Italian and Spanish classes were introduced.[216]

For five years from 1843 annual soirees were held which, in 1843 and 1844 respectively, had as their presidents Charles Dickens and Benjamin Disraeli.[217] At the end of 1849 the Athenaeum's services had expanded to offer journals from America and parts of the British Empire and members were allowed to use the general library for study and note-taking on one evening each week. In addition, a commercial and statistical reference library was established and a room was made available for correspondence. Annual subscriptions were reduced that year to twenty-four shillings (and remained so for fifty years) for adult members and members under the age of

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[214] Manchester's tradition of adult education provision is well documented by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in its publication Manchester and Its Region (ed Carter C. Manchester: Manchester University Press 1962) and the contribution to this work of Waller R.D. and Legge C.D. 'Adult Education in the Manchester Area' (pp 226-233) outlines the progress of the Mechanics' Institutes; the Technical School, which was to go on to become the College of Science and Technology; the Manchester Athenaeum and the pioneering work of the Lyceums. Lees' doctoral thesis (1994 op.cit.) also describes the contribution of the Athenaeum to the work of adult education in Manchester in some detail pp145-154

[215] Report of the Provisional Directors of the Atheneum and proceedings of the First Annual Meeting 25th January 1837 cited in Lees 1994 op.cit. p.147

[216] The Manchester Athenaeum: Its History and Purpose p.35 cited in Lees ibid. 1994 p.151

[217] The Manchester Athenaeum: Its History and Purpose p.10 cited in Lees ibid p148

twenty-one were then invited and admitted at a subscription of five shillings per quarter. The news and reading room, which was the Athenaeum's most popular feature, offered foreign newspapers alongside a wide range from England, Ireland and Scotland, as well as the library's collection of some fifteen thousand works of non-fiction and fiction. Encyclopaedias, dictionaries, directories, and commercial, geographical, statistical, historical and legal works were provided for use in the reference library.[218] In 1847 a Dramatic Society was established and by 1850 there was also an Essay and Discussion Society within the Athenaeum. In addition to intellectual stimulation, the Athenaeum offered sporting and social clubs[219]

In its first year of operation the Athenaeum had attracted one thousand one hundred and fifty subscribers, but a rise in annual subscription to £2 in 1841, in the face of the new mortgage repayments, membership fell to five hundred and twenty-six[220] by the end of 1842 but, by 1849 had risen again to one thousand one hundred and forty-four.[221]

Undoubtedly, in the nineteenth century there was a most remarkable, if somewhat limited, reciprocity of enthusiasm for the providing and receiving of adult education and by 1919 the authors of The Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee Final Report perceived "the growth of a demand for education within the ranks of the working-class movement" as being "more significant than the efforts of the educationalists" and cite the working-class management and support of Ruskin College and The Labour College and the working-class membership of the Workers' Educational Association as evidence of that demand. The report acknowledges the enthusiasm of working-class adults for education for its own sake, quoting from the findings of a Royal Commission on University Education in London to emphasise the working-classes' "true spirit of learning, the earnest desire for knowledge .... not diplomas or degrees".[222] In Manchester that "true spirit of learning" had been in

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[218] Hudson op.cit. p.116 cited in Lees 1994 ibid. p.150

[219] Hudson ibid p.120 cited in Lees 1994 ibid.pp150/151

[220] Hudson ibid p.112 cite in Lees 1994 ibid p.147

[221] Hudson ibid p116 cited in Lees 1994 ibid p149

[222] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p 31.

evidence at least as much as anywhere else in the nation and certainly for as long, as demonstrated elsewhere in this work

CHAPTER TWO

THE PRECURSORS OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN MANCHESTER 1851-1886: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRADITION

Educational initiatives for adults in Manchester in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The lengthy review of literature in the opening chapter has provided a useful overview of the studies covering the national background to the provision of early university extension developments in Cambridge, Oxford and other areas of England and of the origins and development of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) from the early twentieth century. Rather more detailed reference will be made to this national context of these movements at the beginnings of the third and fourth chapters respectively. This present chapter will examine the development of educational initiatives in Manchester from the middle of the nineteenth century and how these contributed there to the preparation of conditions which would help to create the foundations for the emergence via its first tentative steps of the university extension movement in the city in 1886. The university extension movement more generally afforded one means of catering to some extent to a demand for higher education for women,[1] and the evidence for such a demand expressing itself from the late 1860s in the Manchester area will be assessed. In some respects the university extension movement in Manchester was a natural expansion of the university's contribution to its community. This provision in fact took several forms after the institution's inception in 1851 as Owens College, and existing studies and primary sources will demonstrate the importance of the activities of university staff to the provision of adult education in the city in the years to 1886. As this chapter is providing a synthesis of information which has been referred to, sometimes in more detail, elsewhere, due acknowledgement of these sources will be made as appropriate. In reviewing critically this material in the context of the establishment of a strong tradition of educational provision for adults in Manchester by 1886, it is intended to bring fresh insights to existing knowledge and

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[1] See for example Jepson N.A. The Beginnings of English University Adult Education: Policy and Problems. A Critical Study of the early Oxford and Cambridge University Extension Lecture movements between 1873 and 1907 with special reference to Yorkshire (London: Michael Joseph 1973) pp31-45.

provide a firm basis from which more detailed consideration of the university extension movement and the WEA in Manchester can be undertaken in the third and fourth chapters of the thesis.

One hundred years prior to the formal beginnings of Extension work in 1886, Thomas Barnes and Ralph Harrison, ministers of the Unitarian Chapel in Cross Street[2], had led the founding of Manchester New College which was to offer ".. a full and systematic course of education for Divines, and preparatory instruction for the other learned professions, as well as for Civil and Commercial Life"[3] and like Owens College in its turn imposed no religious testing or qualification on entrants. The College removed to York in 1803 but returned to Manchester in 1840 and retained a loyal staff, among whom from 1846 until the College's removal to London in 1853, was the Reverend William Gaskell[4] of Cross Street Chapel whose contribution to adult education in Manchester is mentioned throughout this work.

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[2] The community network in Manchester, in facilitating the voluntary provision which pre-dated formal extension teaching there, was vital to the early development of formal adult education provision, and an important link in that network was the Cross Street Unitarian Chapel. The Unitarian principles of non-denominationalism, respect for individuals and a belief in human potential lent themselves well to matters of social reform. Also, from its earliest days, the Manchester Guardian's editors had been members of Cross Street Chapel and the overriding socio-political and ethical views of the congregation were long reflected in the newspaper's editorial columns in the support shown for matters concerning social and educational reform. For further details see McLachlan H. 'Cross Street Chapel in the Life of Manchester' in McLachlan H. Essays and Addresses (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950); McLachlan H. The Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England: 1. Its contribution to thought and learning, 1700-1900 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934); Holt R.V. The Unitarian contribution to social progress in England (London: The Lindsey Press, 1937); and Burney L. Cross Street Chapel Schools, Manchester, 1734-1942 (Manchester: privately published, 1977)

[3] Notice convening a meeting for the establishment of Manchester New College, 22nd February 1786 cited in Lees C. The Development of Adult Education in Manchester from c.1830s to 1914 (unpublished PhD thesis University of Manchester 1994) p.111

[4] The Reverend William Gaskell, Minister of the Cross Street Chapel, was also one of Manchester's Extension Lecturers and taught English Language and Literature in evening classes at Owens College, deputising for Principal Scott during a period when absence prevented his teaching the Logic and Literature class. Gaskell had gained his Master of Arts degree at the age of nineteen and had become assistant minister at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, in 1828, being appointed to the post of senior minister in 1854. During the fifty-six years of his work in that post he also held positions of leadership and responsibility in various philanthropic and educational

The thirteen years of the College's second spell in Manchester were not as successful as its trustees would have hoped and this could well have been due to the difficulties of attempting to balance the dual purpose of providing for both divinity and lay students. Certainly the College abandoned its provision for lay students once it left Manchester. Had the decision to remain in Manchester or remove to London not been taken at the time when Owens College was struggling to maintain its own survival it could well have been that a merger might have taken place between the two organisations and the idea was considered in 1852 by a committee appointed by the trustees of Manchester New College.[5] Nonetheless, a need for the provision of continuing education for middle-class students had been demonstrated in that in excess of two hundred and forty students had passed through the college between 1840 and 1853.[6] What remained to be ascertained was what the nature of that provision should be and how the organisation of its delivery could be successfully arranged.

Writing in 1851, J.W. Hudson, adult educator and first honorary secretary from 1835 of the Manchester Athenaeum, commented that "There are no adult schools at Manchester" but went on to note that "The 'Roby Day and Sunday Schools' have evening classes for instruction in Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar and Drawing, which are attended by one hundred and fifty pupils above thirteen years of age, each paying eight-pence per week"[7], among whom were one hundred working men who were employed in the mills and outdoor occupations.

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enterprises in the city and was of great support to those movements which provided education for working class adults. He was Professor of English History and Literature at Manchester New College from 1846-53 and chaired the Portico Library Committee for some thirty years. (see Lancashire Faces and Places April 1901 Vol.12 No.4 p.71) When a substantial sum of money was presented to Gaskell at his jubilee celebration he immediately passed it on to Owens College in order to provide a scholarship, such was his commitment to the provision of adult education. Cross Street Chapel was the spiritual home of many of Manchester's leading industrialists and social reformers during Gaskell's incumbency there.

[5] Lees 1994 op.cit. pp.116-117

[6] See Lees ibid p.115

[7] Hudson J.W. The History of Adult Education (London: Longman, Brown Green and Longmans 1851) p.20

Hudson's work also considers the role and function of the Mechanics' Institutions and in so doing describes the founding of the Manchester Institution in 1824[8] through the committed support of local educational philanthropists such as Sir Benjamin Heywood and Joseph Brotherton, M.P.[9] The intention was of teaching, not the trade, but the " ..scientific principles upon which the business of machine-maker, ... dyer ... carpenter ... mason and others depend", in pursuit of which systematic lecture courses were offered on chemical and mechanical philosophy and went on to cover other areas such as mathematics, mechanical and architectural drawing, physics, astronomy geology, geography and natural history.[10] Students were charged five shillings per quarter and founding members subscribed and invested in shares, but by 1834 the Institution was in debt by £8,195.[11] Nonetheless, by 1850 the Institution's library boasted some 12,000 volumes which, alongside the traditional supply of general and scientific works,

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[8] The early history of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution to 1850 is described in Tylecote M. The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), pp.129-189. See also her contribution 'The Manchester Mechanics' Institution, 1824-1850' pp.55-86 and that of Cruickshank M. 'From Mechanics' Institution to Technical School, 1850-1892' pp.134-156 in D.S.L. Cardwell (ed) Artisan to Graduate (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974). For an early working-class rival institution see from the same edited volume the essay by Kirby R. 'An Early Experiment in Workers' self-education: The Manchester New Mechanics' Institution, 1829-35' pp.87-98.

[9] Benjamin Heywood was the first president of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution from its inception in 1824 to 1840. He paid for the building and equipping of a Mechanics' Institution in 1836 in Miles Platting, a working-class district of Manchester. He was the first president of the Manchester Statistical Society in 1833 and was treasurer of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. For an account of his educational and philanthropic work for Manchester see Foy C. Civic Life in Nineteenth Century Manchester (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1996). Edward Brotherton was M.P. for Salford from 1832 until his death in 1857. He was a strong campaigner for the establishment of free public libraries and it was largely due to his efforts that one of the country's first free libraries was opened at Peel Park, Salford, in 1849 under the Museums Act of 1845. See Kelly T. A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992, 3rd edition), pp.176-177 and Victorian Manchester and Salford in 'The Living Past Series' Photographs by Ian Beesley, Introduction and Commentary by Peter de Figueiredo (Halifax: Ryburn Publishing, 1988), note 93, no page numbers given.

[10] Tylecote M The Manchester Mechanics' Institution in (ed) Cardwell 1974 op.cit. p62.

[11] Hudson 1851 op.cit. p.124

were added subjects of History and 'Polite Literature'[12] and the news and reading rooms, which were open from 8am to 10pm, were in such demand that permission to use them was withdrawn from non-members.[13] A natural history society and a mutual improvement society were also established within the Institution and the Institution was to continue to provide education for working people until 1882 when its function evolved into that of a technical school.[14]

An example of an altruistic desire to help working men obtain the knowledge that they desired can be seen in the origins of the Mechanics' Institute, as related in the Final Report in 1919 Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, wherein Dr. George Birkbeck's horror upon discovering that the scientific interest of mechanics was going unmet is described. "Why", he asked .... "are these minds left without the means of obtaining that knowledge which they so ardently desire, and why are the avenues to science barred against them because they are poor?" In order to satisfy that desire for knowledge, and in the face of cynical opposition, Dr. Birbeck[15] opened the lectures at his Glasgow college to working men and was rewarded during three academic seasons by the attendance of some five hundred mechanics, of whom he said: "An audience more orderly, attentive, and apparently comprehending I never witnessed".[16] Dr.Birkbeck left Glasgow in 1804, but his work continued and led to the establishment of the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution in 1823 and Institutions in London and in Manchester in 1824.

Certainly, Benjamin Heywood, of the influential family noted as bankers and philanthropists, when addressing in 1835 the members of the Manchester Mechanics'

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[12] Tylecote in Cardwell (ed) 1974 op.cit. p.63

[13] ibid p.71

[14] The transition of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution is discussed in Cruickshank M.J. 'From Mechanics' Institution to Technical School, 1850 - 1892' in Cardwell D.S.L. (ed) Artisan to Graduate (Manchester University Press 1974) pp.134-156.

[15] George Birbeck is frequently credited with the establishment of the London Mechanics' Institution in 1823. See Kelly T. George Birbeck: Pioneer of Adult Education (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1957) pp.20-22 and pp.74-92.

[16] Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee Final Report (London: H.M.S.O.1919) op.cit. pp. 13/4

Institute (of which he presided over a membership totalling 1,365), referred to the aims of the institute as being " .... the promotion of education, and the intellectual and moral improvement of the community ...". At the same meeting the Secretary's report assured the assembled men that his report constituted "... a permanent record of the exertions made to promote your moral and intellectual improvement ...[17]

ADULT EDUCATION IN ANCOATS

The Ancoats community in Manchester, as described in chapter one of this thesis, embraced some of the poorest and least skilled workmen in the country, who lived in some of the worst housing conditions, but among whom an appetite for general knowledge and political awareness has been noted in several academic studies of adult education and recreative activities in the area.[18] Indeed, Lees cites Engels' and Dennis's work in order to demonstrate the extent of the sordidness of the surroundings of the working class poor and expresses an opinion that the, albeit "small proportion" of Ancoats residents who took an active interest politics and education might well have done so in order to "... ameliorate such depressing circumstances".[19]

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[17] 'An Address of Lord Brougham to the Members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute on Tuesday 21st July 1835' in Historical Tracts. (Manchester Central Reference Library Archives) pp4/5

[18] See Hanley M. Educational Provision in Ancoats During the Nineteenth Century (unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester 1981.) See also Barton W. Philanthropy and Institutions for Adult Education in the Manchester Area from 1835 to the Early Fifties (unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester, 1977) which concentrates mainly on the lyceum movement and in particular the lyceums at Ancoats, Chorlton-on-Medlock and Salford, and Rushton J.I. Charles Rowley and the Ancoats Recreation Movement (Unpublished M.Ed.Thesis University of Manchester 1959) See also Lees C. The Development of Adult Education in Manchester from c.1830s to 1914 (unpublished Ph.D thesis University of Manchester 1994); See also the special issue on Ancoats of the Manchester Region History Review Vol. 7 1993.

[19] Lees C. 1994 op.cit. pp.286/7 Refers to Dennis R. English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, paperback edition, 1986; first published 1984), pp.69-85 and Engels F. The Condition of the Working Class in England (St.Albans, Herts: Panther Books Ltd., 1969 4th edition 1976. First published in Britain in 1882) p92 and Reach A.B. in Aspin C.(ed) : Manchester and the Textile Districts in 1849 (Helmshore: Helmshore Local History Society, 1972) p.3.

Hanley, too, (Hanley 1981 op.cit. p.398) paints a vivid picture of the contrast between the comforts of the Ancoats Lyceum and the starkness of the homes to which working men would return at the end of a long day in the factory and it is worthy of comment

The work of the churches and Sunday Schools

It was against such a background as outlined in the preceding paragraph that the churches and Sunday Schools in Ancoats undertook their religious and secular work, including that of providing education, primarily elementary, for adults. In order to take advantage of educational opportunities it was, of course, essential for working people to develop literacy skills. In 1839 it was estimated that only a very small percentage of the adult population in Manchester was capable of completing even the most basic writing task,[20] yet the opportunity to overcome this difficulty was made widely available through the teaching offered within Sunday Schools.

With the intention of opening the minds of the poor to the teaching of the scriptures and the doctrines of the church and to improve their domestic skills, lessons were offered to men and women through evening classes. In the Ancoats district of Manchester, for example, St.Martin's in German Street, in 1865, in addition to a service in school on Wednesday evenings and Bible classes on Thursday evenings, offered sewing classes on Tuesday evenings and attracted an average of forty-one pupils at classes throughout the year. It also maintained a varied library from 1825 until at least 1878.[21] Gun Street Sunday School also operated for two hours each Sunday evening as a ragged school[22] and the Reverend William Muzzell of St. Mark's, Holland Street, who was actively involved in the provision of adult education in Ancoats, was also " ... a leading influence .." in the founding in 1846 of the People's Institute in Heyrod Street.[23]

Despite being called 'Sunday' schools, such schools operated on any, and indeed most, days of the week. Bennett Street Sunday School (founded in 1801 and described by

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that the ratio of elementary classes for male students to those for female students was five to three in 1839. (Report of Provisional Directors of Ancoats Lyceum January 1839 p.16 cited in Hanley op.cit. p.405)

[20] Greg S. Two letters to Leonard Horner Manchester 1840 cited in Hanley 1981 ibid. p.395

[21] ibid. p. 48

[22] ibid. p. 377/383

[23] Lees 1994 op.cit. p.290

Hanley as "... perhaps the country's most important Sunday School".[24]) offered men's classes on Saturday afternoons, which taught religion and social work and had the added benefit of the use of a book club. The wives of men's class pupils were offered the benefits of a domestic economy class on Thursday evenings, which covered such areas as cooking, sewing and nursing. In 1883 a separate sewing class was established with an annual subscription charge of one shilling, though the classes ran only from April to October.[25]The sewing class also gave opportunities for conversation, music, readings and "... other entertainments."[26]

Joan Hassall's doctoral thesis gives particular consideration to the work of the Bennett Street Sunday School in Manchester from its foundation in 1801 and erection in 1818. Bennett Street's Sunday School was founded by David Stott, a man who had a profound and active belief in the principle of self-improvement and who was aided in his work by the patriarchal Benjamin Braidley. Clearly the two approaches combined to meet the spiritual, social and educational needs of the locality through the medium of the Sunday School which Wadsworth describes as having " ... offered a field of warm personal service for the laity".[27] The Trust Deed of the Sunday School specified its raison d'etre as being "... for the education and Religious Instruction of the children and others of the labouring poor residing in Manchester ... according to the doctorines [sic] and discipline of the Established Church of England".[28] Alongside prayer meetings, religious study and services throughout the week and at weekend, Braidley ran writing lessons on Monday and Thursday evenings for the very same people whose living standards and working conditions he also worked hard to improve through a very practical ministry.

St.Andrew's Church, of Travis Street, Ancoats, offers a good example of the adult education work done by churches in working-class districts of Manchester. Classes in

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[24] Hanley 1981 op.cit. p.60

[25] ibid p. 379

[26] ibid p.73

[27] Wadsworth A.P. 'The First Manchester Sunday Schools' p.322 cited in Hassall J. The Bennett Street Sunday School Manchester : A Study in Nineteenth Century Educational and Social Improvement unpublished PhD thesis University of Manchester 1986 p.119

[28] ibid p.157

reading, writing and arithmetic and "the most useful branches of education" and general and scientific lectures had been offered for some sixteen or more years when the St.Andrew's Parochial Association was formed in 1856 with the intention of further promoting ".. the religious, moral, physical and intellectual improvement of St. Andrew's Parish".[29] Under the presidency of Canon Charles Richson, two series of lectures were given during 1856/7 and in January 1857 Canon Richson also presided over a meeting which was to bring about the establishment of a free public library in Ancoats and a second meeting which instituted the Ancoats Working Man's College. The determination of such men as Charles Richson, who was also a member of the Manchester School Board[30] from1870, and J.A. Nicholls who supported him in the Association and also brought much success to the work of the Ancoats Lyceum, was vital to the progress of education among working-class adults during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Reading and writing were also taught alongside religious instruction at the Ragged School which was established in 1855 in The People's Institute at Heyrod Street and which almost forty years later was remaining open every day of the week, attracting some 15,000 to 18,000 students per month who were taught by a staff of almost one hundred teachers and working men.[31]

Ancoats Lyceum 1838

Positive local response to the various adult education initiatives which were available evolved during the decades of the mid-nineteenth century into a tradition which became formalised and was, from 1886 exemplified in the University Extension Movement, and later the Workers' Educational Association. One of the most appropriate examples of that tradition can be seen in the success of the Ancoats

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[29] 'Catalogue of Books in the St.Andrew's Library and Reading Room' (1864) cited in Skot J.H. (ed): St. Andrew's Church, Travis Street, Ancoats, Manchester: Commemorative Booklet for the Centenary (Manchester: Published for St. Andrew's Parochial Church Council by the Holt Publishing Service, 1931) p.62 cited in Lees 1994 op.cit. p.291

[30] For evening school information following the establishment of the Manchester School Board Evening Schools Committee on the 25th January 1892, see Hanley 1981 op.cit. pp.452-459.

[31] Manchester Faces and Places Volume 4 No. 6. March 1893 pp85-87 cited in Lees 1994 op.cit. p.301

Lyceum between 1838 and 1860, although it must be said that the first half of its existence was notably more successful than the second.

Women were able to take advantage of the Lyceum's facilities and mixed with male students at lectures and on social occasions. However, they entered by separate entrances and were segregated from the men when in class. In addition to reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography, women were also offered lessons in sewing and knitting.

The Ancoats Lyceum also provided, through a mutual improvement society, a forum for debate and discussion, for the presentation of papers and the delivery of lectures and its coffee room, reading room and well-stocked library were well used, whilst its most popular facility was its newsroom which offered some 47 newspapers.[32]

An opening series of ten lectures on 'Physiology' was attended by some six hundred people, described by the Manchester Guardian as being ".. of mixed character ... gentlemen and ladies, tradespeople and shopkeepers, supporters of the Lyceum, and .. a goodly number of workmen, their wives and especially young operatives, apparently mechanics."[33]

The first President of the Lyceum, and remaining so for more than two decades, was William Fairbairn, an autodidact whose father had been a landworker and mother a wheel and loom spinner. Fairbairn had personally experienced extreme poverty and hard physical labour, as a stone carrier, a collier and a mill-wright and had also suffered periods of unemployment when living in London. Despite such hardships his determination to educate himself had borne fruit. Early in the 1830s he had entered into an engineering partnership with James Lillee in Great Ancoats Street. It was no doubt these experiences which led him to believe that in order to improve their lot in life working people must be willing to take charge of their own route to self-improvement.[34] At the first Annual General Meeting of the Lyceum he quoted Lord Brougham thus:

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[32] Hanley 1981 op.cit. p. 386

[33] ibid p.385

[34] For details of Fairbairn, see Fairbairn W. The Life of Sir William Fairbairn, Bart. edited and completed by William Pole. A Reprint with an introduction by A.E.Musson (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints, 1970). First published in 1877 by Longmans Green and Company.

"For the attainment of this inestimable advantage, the people themselves must be the great agents in accomplishing the work of their own instruction".[35]

In expecting working people to take responsibility for their own destiny, however, Fairbairn also recognised the responsibility of those who were able to offer encouragement and stimulation. (He was also active in a scheme for teaching young men "the application of science to mechanical and manufacturing art".[36]) Fairbairn worshipped at Cross Street Unitarian Chapel under the ministry of William Gaskell[37] who was one of several leading Unitarians who also gave of their time and energy to the Lyceum. John Perkins, Master of the Lancasterian School, in Marshall Street, was the Lyceum's Secretary in 1839 and taught elementary classes, the success of which was such that the assistance of pupil teachers was heavily relied upon.

A wide range of topics was offered for study at the Lyceum, from phrenology, philosophical considerations, chemistry, geology and mining, to literature[38] and the commitment of local educationists to the provision of adult education and the realisation of the demand for it were eloquently articulated at a tea party which was held to celebrate the Lyceum's first anniversary in 1839 when James Heywood[39] spoke of the need to provide lifelong education for working people and stressed that

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[35] Barton W. 1977 op.cit. p.107

[36] ibid p. 110

[37] Gaskell's dedication to adult education was clearly expressed in his other secular activities as part-time lecturer at Owens College and at Manchester New College and in his chairmanship of the Portico Library Committee.

[38] Hanley 1981 op.cit. p. 396

[39] James Heywood was a member of a firm of Manchester bankers and was actively involved in numerous philanthropic and educational activities in the city. He was a founder member in 1833 of the Manchester Statistical Society which, in the 1830s, undertook a series of notable social and educational investigations. With J.P. Kay (later Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the educationist) he was a founder member of the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society, which visited those who applied for charitable assistance in the district and encouraged people, where possible, to exercise thrift and invest in savings schemes. Heywood was also a founder member, in 1838, of the Geological Society in the city. See Kidd A.J. and Roberts K.W. (eds) City, class and culture: Studies of cultural production and social policy in Victorian Manchester (Manchester: University Press 1985) pp.107-111

education was a national, rather than sectarian, concern. Joseph Brotherton followed Heywood's speech by extolling the socially and politically reforming benefits of educating the working classes [40]and Dr. Birkbeck described the object of the Lyceum as being to "quench a thirst"[41] for education. These two perspectives would appear to encapsulate the motives of the middle-class providers of adult education for the working classes.

Within the first year of its existence the Lyceum boasted 735 members. However, several circumstances combined to lead to the closure of the Lyceum at the beginning of the 1860s after a total operation of some twenty-two years. The demoralising effect of lives which suffered from the desperation of mass unemployment where even modest class fees could not be found, to periods of full employment which demanded, of mainly undernourished men, long and arduous working hours, was a significant factor, as was the growing desire of the working-classes, once they became literate, to determine their own educational routes to self-improvement. The establishment of the People's Institute in Heyrod Street in 1846 was also a contributory factor. The loss through the death in 1859[42] of John Aston Nicholls,[43] whose gratuitous services as lecturer and director, at the early age of twenty-one and secretaryship from 1845, had spearheaded the organisation, brought the final demise of the Lyceum.

The Literary and Education Society

Just prior to Engels', study of conditions in Manchester, which took place between the years of 1844 and 1845, the demand for education in the Ancoats area was evident in the response to the establishment in 1843 of the Literary and Educational Society. For a subscription of one shilling and sixpence, the Society invited men above the age of sixteen years to classes in English Language and Literature; English Grammar and Composition; Advanced Shorthand; Elementary Shorthand and Book-keeping; and women of more than sixteen years of age to English Literature and English Reading

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[40] Hanley op.cit. p.392/3

[41] ibid p.394 from The Manchester Guardian 19th February 1840.

[42] Lees 1994 op.cit. pp286/7

[43] For further reference to the work of John Aston Nicholls see Hopton M.J. Nicholls Hospital School Manchester 1850-1950 (unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester 1976)

classes which were held on Friday evenings. Classes began at 5p.m. and at 8p.m. members met for lectures, the reading of essays, debate, critical readings, music and drama. Lending library facilities were also available. By 1889 the Society's membership had peaked at 250 attendees and the organisation continued to function until the end of the century.[44]

Ancoats Working Man's College

The Ancoats Working Man's College, which evolved from a meeting in St.Andrew's schoolroom in January 1857 (as did the initiative for a free public library at around the same time) offered elementary and 'upper' levels of education for working men, with the possible opportunity for progression to 'advanced' level. With an initial enrolment of three hundred and eighty-two students aged between fifteen and forty years, and despite some difficulty in securing the services of a sufficient number of teachers, elementary classes drew the highest attendances of around one hundred students and lessons in phonetics were taken advantage of by those who had not previously developed reading skills; classes were also run in mathematics, Latin and drawing, which Lees' work shows drew average attendances of eighteen, ten and twenty-four respectively, in addition to a gymnastic class which recruited forty-five members. In the following academic year numbers had fallen to one hundred and fifty-four overall and the elementary class, as had also previously been the case at the Lyceum, was the most heavily subscribed, with algebra recording an average attendance of eight, Euclid nine, Latin five, German four, French seven, English grammar and composition eighteen, mechanical drawing eleven and free hand drawing attracting eight students. From the fairly scant evidence which is available it would appear that the Ancoats College is unlikely to have continued in operation for much more than three academic years, possibly to some extent because of the demands on working men of the return to full employment,[45] and there appears to be no evidence of the College's having made any provision for, or having admitted, female students.[46]

The meeting at St.Andrew's had also been instrumental in establishing a Free Public Library in Ancoats in the same year. With the formation of the Working Man's

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[44] Hanley M. 1981 op.cit. p.379/380

[45] Lees 1994 op.cit. p.293/4

[46] See Purvis J. Hard Lessons: The Lives and Education of Working-class Women in Nineteenth-century England (Oxford: Polity Press 1989) p.176

College and with the closure of the Lyceum some three or four years later,[47] the abundant use of the newsroom, particularly among young men, in the Free Public Library which had been established in Ancoats in 1857, was such that a reading room specifically designated for the use of juveniles, was opened in 1878, bearing further testimony to the demand for informal educational provision in the Manchester area, with the years of the cotton famine in Manchester seeing a further increase in the use of the library.

The Ancoats Recreation Movement (1876)

The response of the working people and the commitment of middle-class philanthropists and social reformers in the Ancoats area was discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis in respect of the success of the Ancoats Recreation Movement which was established in 1876 and it is also clear that those who were to go on to be University Extension Lecturers, from 1886,[48] were by that time very familiar with the educational needs and responses of the local working population. From the first Sunday lecture, advertised as a science lecture given by Professor Roscoe[49] on the 1st October 1882 on the subject of coal pit explosions, the Ancoats Brotherhood syllabuses advertised lectures by Professor Wilkins (Classical Literature)[50], Professor

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[47] The Ancoats Lyceum probably closed in 1860 or 1861, robbed of much of its impetus by the untimely death in 1859 at the age of 35 of its leading worker and supporter J.A.Nicholls. The Slater's Street and Trade Directory for 1861 refers to the institution, but the following ones of 1863 and 1865 make no reference to it.

[48] Many of these lecturers also made significant contributions to education for adults in Manchester through other initiatives. For brief details of their appointments at Owens College see Charlton H.B. Portrait of a University 1851-1951 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1951) Appendix 7pp.172-178.

[49] Charles Rowley's autobiographical account Fifty Years of Work Without Wages (London: Hodder and Stoughton n.d.) p. 199, however, recalls Roscoe as delivering the first Sunday lecture organised by the Ancoats Recreation Movement "in the Autumn of 1881" on the subject of 'John Dalton'. The work of Roscoe will be referred to later in this chapter but see also Waller R.D. 'Henry Roscoe and Adult Education' in Rewley House Papers Vol.3 No. 10 1961-1962 pp.11-37; and Thompson D. 'Henry Enfield Roscoe: A Contribution to Nineteenth Century Scientific and Technical Education' in The Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education Vol.17 No.38 Autumn 1965 pp.224-225.

[50] A.S. Wilkins was Professor of Latin at Owens College from 1869-1903. He also served for several years as a lecturer for the Victoria University Extension Committee, and was a firm supporter of higher education for women. See Manchester Faces and

Hopkinson (Law)[51], Professor Munro (Political Economy)[52], T. Wilkinson ('Pictures at Present Shown in this Room')[53], and Boyd Dawkins (Geology)[54] and those from

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Places Vol. 15 No.10 October 1904 pp.302-304.

[51] Alfred Hopkinson became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester and in that capacity chaired the Manchester University Joint Committee which was established by the university in collaboration with the Manchester branch of the WEA and several workers' organisations in 1909 "to arrange tutorial classes in Manchester and other towns ..... and also pioneer lectures and extension courses". See Kelly T. Outside the Walls : Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1950) pp.51-52.

[52] J.E.C. Munro was actively connected with the Working Men's Club movement in Manchester. In addition to lecturing for the Victoria University Extension Movement, he also lectured for the Manchester Working Men's Clubs Association from its inception in 1877 and became one of its vice-presidents in 1901. See Manchester Faces and Places, Volume 15, Number 10, October 1904, pp.297-301.

[53] T.R. Wilkinson was a member of several of the city's leading educational and philanthropic institutions, and was a president of the Manchester Statistical Society, treasurer of the Portico Library, and a member of the committees of the Education Aid Society and of the Manchester Atheneum. See Rose M.E. 'Culture, Philanthropy and the Manchester Middle Classes' in Kidd A.J. and Roberts K.W. (eds) City, class and culture: Studies of social policy and cultural production in Victorian Manchester (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p.113.

[54] An Oxford graduate in Classics and Natural Science in 1861, William Boyd Dawkins became assistant in H.M. Geological Survey of Great Britain in 1862 and Curator of the Manchester Museum and Lecturer in Geology at Owens College in the academic year of 1869/70. After four years he was appointed Professor of Geology and Palaeontology and remained at Owens until 1908. Dawkins became President of the Manchester Geological Society in 1874, and played an important part in the foundation of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society in 1885. Kargon views the teaching of natural history at Owens as bringing the "Biggest changes at Owens .... [following the appointment of] ... Boyd Dawkins as lecturer in geology." (Kargon R. Science in Victorian Manchester: Enterprise and Expertise (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1977) p.194) Over a period of twenty years, Boyd Dawkins established Owens College's Natural History Museum as one of the leading museums in the country and as Curator offered free lectures about the museum and its contents during week-day evenings and Saturday afternoons. He also spoke at Mechanics Institutes in the North of England and became an active President of the Manchester Geological Society in 1874. In addition he served on the Senate of the Owens College and the General Board of Studies of the Victoria University and was actively connected with the Manchester Working Men's Clubs Association, lecturing for the movement from 1877 and becoming one of its Vice-presidents in 1901.(See Lees 1994 op.cit. p.397) Dawkins supported local adult education initiatives outside of the

1884 to 1886 continue to show lectures offered by other Owens College extension lecturers such as Professor Schuster (Physics and Applied Maths)[55], Mackinder (Geography)[56], Hartog (Zoology and Botany)[57], Belloc (History) and Milnes Marshall (Natural History)[58]. Indeed, Professor Marshall had given many of his Sunday

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college by sitting on the Recreative Evening Classes Committee (See Recreative Evening Classes Committee Addresses Manchester: John Heywood 1890) and lecturing at several Sunday afternoon meetings of the Ancoats Recreation Movement. Dawkins also served on a Commission appointed to inquire into education in Ireland.

[55] Arthur Schuster was appointed Professor of Applied Mathematics in 1881 and subsequently Professor of Physics in 1888, and was instrumental in the creation of a "large, active teaching and research department working on many fronts and meeting public needs". He designed a new laboratory at the Victoria University (Owens College, Manchester) which was opened in 1900. See the article by Leitch D. 'Physics: Three in a row', in Field C. and Pickstone J. (eds.) A Centre of Intelligence: The Development of Science, Technology and Medicine in Manchester and its University (Manchester: The John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1992), p.24. After the reconstitution of the University as the Victoria University of Manchester, Schuster became its first Dean of Science.

[56] Halford Mackinder later became Principal of the Extension College at Reading (1892-1905) and later Professor of Geography at London University and subsequently Director of the London School of Economics. See Kelly (1992), op.cit., pp.230-231.

[57] Philip Hartog was Secretary of the Victoria University Extension Committee from 1895-1903 and was perhaps the most active contributor to the work of Manchester Ruskin Hall, a short-lived residential college for working men which was connected with the Manchester University settlement in Ancoats. This venture collapsed in 1903, partly as a result of Hartog's removal to London on being appointed in that year to the post of Academic Registrar at the University of London. For an account of the work of Manchester Ruskin Hall and Hartog's work there, see Lees, op.cit., pp.342-355 and Hartog M. P.J. Hartog: A Memoir (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1949), pp.33-34.

[58] It has not been possible to find evidence of the university extension work of Hilaire Belloc beyond brief reference to his teaching in Bolton and Bury in 1886 (University Extension Journal Vol II No.10 October 1896 p.10). Kelly appears to have had the same research difficulty with this lecturer and he, too, only makes reference to him in passing. (See Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.28 and Kelly 1992 op.cit. p.231)

Arthur Milnes Marshall was appointed Professor of Zoology at Owens College in 1879; gave the first course of extension lectures for the Victoria University in 1886 at Withington; became the first secretary of the Local Lectures Committee in 1887/1888 (which changed its name to the University Extension Committee in 1891), a post which he retained until his death in 1893. The importance of work in university extension in Manchester is discussed in chapter three of this thesis. See also Kelly

afternoons to lecture for the Ancoats Recreation Movement from 1884 until his tragic and premature death in 1893[59], and clearly would have continued to have been an abiding supporter of adult education within the community of Manchester had he survived.

The value of the work of the lecturers may be summed up in the letter of William Mellor, a foreman bookbinder and member of the Ancoats Brotherhood. In a letter to Charles Rowley, Mr Mellor says that, although he had had no elementary education, the teaching of the University Extension lecturers "quickened in many of us an interest in Economics, in History, in Science and Literature, that has been of abiding interest and usefulness in all our after-lives".[60] Such extant letters are often the only source available which can give historians any indication of the response of students to the education provided as no records were apparently kept, if such ever existed, of any kind of student evaluation.

The Manchester (Ancoats) Art Museum (1877)

With similar objectives to Rowley's, art promoters in Manchester had also long been seeking to improve the quality of life of local people. The Royal Manchester Institution had originated in 1823 and from the mid-1840s had attempted to attract the interest of working class people. Its local exhibitions had proved to be popular. Harrison asserts that "Mancunian interest in the arts reached a peak with the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857. To its promoters it was a classic embodiment of the ideal of art in the service of morality, education and industry."[61] That working class people could be tempted away from coarse and corrupt pastimes by the lure of fine art

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(1950), op.cit., pp. 9-12.

[59] Ancoats Recreation Movement Syllabuses 1882- 1886. In addition, for the Ancoats Recreation Movement, see Rushton, op.cit; Hanley op.cit., pp439-451; Charles Rowley Fifty Years of Work without Wages (London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d., but probably 1911 or 1912), pp.195-226; and Kay A. 'The Ancoats Recreation Movement' in The Manchester Region History Review Volume 7 1993 pp.45-54.

[60] Rowley op.cit. pp 222/224.

[61] Harrison M. Social reform in late Victorian and Edwardian Manchester with special reference to T.C.Horsfall (unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester 1987) p.170

was a clearly a widely held belief and a meeting, attended by local industrialists, the Mayor of Manchester, the Bishop of Manchester and Principal Greenwood of Owens College, was held in Manchester Town Hall on March 5th 1860, to call for a Free Art Gallery and Museum. Unfortunately the scheme had not taken root when the effects of the Manchester Cotton Famine took their economic toll and the plan was abandoned.[62]

However, the demand for uplifting recreation remained and in a city which harboured squalid, ugly, slums which appeared to breed ugly temperaments, Thomas Horsfall, much influenced by Ruskin and the PreRaphaelites, developed a belief in the restorative effects of art upon society, that by being in contact with beauty human nature would itself become more refined. An Art Museum Committee was formed in December 1877 and among the Museum's supporters were Professors Hopkinson, Milnes Marshall and Ward of Owens College and from the art world's alumni, John Ruskin and William Morris.[63] Nonetheless, it was not until 1886 that the Art Museum found "new and much more commodious quarters in Ancoats Old Hall", according to a report in the Manchester Guardian of 6th October 1886, which went on to point out that:

> "In fixing their home among the smoke and squalor of Ancoats (the old mansion house stands at the corner of Every Street) the Committee are only carrying out the spirit of their programme. They want to teach art to 'the common people' and to give them some idea how the ordinary things of life can be made beautiful".[64]

In his attempt to so "teach art", Horsfall acknowledged the "large share of work" done by local benefactors in providing and displaying etchings, drawings, antiques and works of art. Harrison's work records that alongside these exhibits were arranged so as to be self-explanatory, (and were further explained in the museum's handbook) items of affordable and tasteful furniture and furnishings. These were exhibited in 'model rooms' and it was hoped that local men might copy the simple carpentry of the pieces exhibited, to which end wood carving and drawing classes were offered. Music, popular lectures and entertainments were also made available free of charge on weekday evenings and Sunday afternoons. By 1887 some two thousand people were

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[62] ibid p.171

[63] ibid. pp178-184

[64] Manchester Guardian 6th October 1886

visiting the museum each week, with two to three hundred local people regularly enjoying the music, singing, reading and recitations of Wednesday evening entertainment.[65]

OWENS COLLEGE, MANCHESTER,(1851)

The rapid expansion of the population in Manchester during the first half of the nineteenth century (from 76,788 in 1801 to 316,213 in 1851[66]) reflected the city's rapid development as a commercial and industrial centre. Alongside these developments came a demand for institutions which catered to meet the needs of the emerging professional classes who were comparatively wealthy and influential within the community.[67] Whilst an examination of Manchester's learned societies such as the Literary and Philosophical Society (1781),[68] the Royal Institution (1823),[69] the

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[65] Manchester Guardian 26th March 1887 cited in Harrison op.cit. p.191. See also Horsfall's pamphlet A description of the work of the Manchester Art Museum, Ancoats Hall, Great Ancoats Street (Manchester: 1895) for the aims and origins of the Art Museum.

[66] Kidd A. Manchester (Keele: Ryburn Publishing, Keele University Press 1993), p.22

[67] Probably the most perceptive analysis of the development of Manchester, and particularly the contribution made by its growing middle class in the 1830s and 1840s is still that of Asa Briggs in Victorian Cities (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1968) pp.88-138. Martin Hewitt's more recent study of mid-nineteenth century Manchester The emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester 1832-67 (Aldershot: Scolar Press 1996) examines the period rather more from the perspective of the working classes. Cultural developments in the city are discussed in Kidd A. and Roberts K.W. (eds.) City, class and culture: Studies of social policy and cultural production in Victorian Manchester (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).

[68] See Makepeace C. Science and Technology in Manchester: two hundred years of the Lit. and Phil. (Manchester: Manchester Literary and Philosophical Publications 1984); and Barnes C.L. 'The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society' in Brindley W.H. (ed.) The Soul of Manchester (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1929) pp.139-151.

[69] See Cleveland S.D. The Origin of the Royal Manchester Institution: its history from its origin until 1882 when the building and contents of the Institution were presented to the Manchester Corporation and became the City Art Gallery (Manchester, 1931); and Bud R.F. 'The Royal Manchester Institution' in Cardwell D.S.L. (ed.) Artisan to Graduate: Essays to Commemorate the Foundation of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, now the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1974) pp.119-133.

Manchester Statistical Society (1833),[70] the Atheneum (1835),[71] the Manchester Medical Society (1836)[72] and the Geological Society (1838)[73] does not come within the scope of this thesis, the inception of such institutions showed a need for a more advanced education to become available for the offspring of the professional middle classes, as well as the skilled artisans. One of the outcomes of the civic pressure which sought to have Manchester's status as arguably the most important city in England in the 1840s was the founding of Owens College in 1851 under the terms of the will of John Owens, a Mancunian merchant who had died five years earlier.[74]

Sir Edward Thorpe was of the opinion that John Owens' only reason for leaving a legacy (which had first been refused by his friend George Faulkner) for the foundation of a non-sectarian college was "..bitterness against a system which imposed subscription to articles and creeds on a young man before he could be admitted to the

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[70] See Ashton T.S. Economic and Social Investigations in Manchester 1833-1933 (London: King and Son, 1934); and Cullen M.J. The Statistical Movement in Early Victorian Britain: the Foundations of Empirical Social Research (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press Ltd. 1975).

[71] See The Manchester Athenaeum: Commemorative Notice of its Origin, Progress, and present purposes of the Institution (Manchester 1903); and the account given of the institution's early years in Hudson J.W. The History of Adult Education (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans 1851) pp.110-124. Hudson was at that time the Honorary Secretary of the Athenaeum.

[72] See Brockbank E.M. A centenary history of the Manchester Medical Society, with biographical notes of the first president, secretary and hon. librarian (Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes 1934).

[73] For a short description of the work and activities of the Geological Society, see Kargon R.H. Science in Victorian Manchester: Enterprise and Expertise (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1977) pp.24-27.

[74] For the early history of Owens College, Manchester, see in particular Thompson J. The Owens College, its Foundation and Growth (Manchester: J.E.Cornish 1886); Fiddes E. Chapters in the History of Owens College (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937); Jones D.R. The Origins of Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool (London: Routledge, 1988); and Chaloner W.H. The Movement for the extension of Owens College; Manchester 1863-1973 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1973). For the life of John Owens, see Clapp B.W. John Owens, Manchester Merchant (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965).

ancient Universities"[75] and, certainly, Owens stipulated in his legatine document that the object of his bequest was:

> "... for providing or aiding the means of instructing and improving young persons of the male sex (and being of an age not less than fourteen years) in such branches of learning and science as are usually taught in the English Universities, but subject, nevertheless, to the two following fundamental and immutable rules and conditions, that the students, professors, teachers, and others connected with the said institution, shall not be required to make any declaration as to, or submit to any test of, their religious opinions, and that nothing shall be introduced in the matter, or mode of education or instruction in reference to any religious or theological subject which shall be reasonably offensive to the conscience of any student, or of his relations, guardians, or friends. [76]

The work of Owens College which began on 12th March 1851[77] included, by 1853, evening classes in Latin and Mathematics, taught by Professor Greenwood in two series of fifteen lectures, which were aimed mainly at schoolmasters and, indeed, twenty-eight schoolmasters attended the first session's lectures and eighteen attended the second series. During 1853/4 an evening department was established to cater for the needs of young businessmen and others, forty-one students attended Professor Williamson's class of natural history and twenty the history class, which was instituted during the session by Professor Christie.[78] In the following year Professor Christie also taught half courses in political economy to three students and jurisprudence to seven students, the schoolmaster's class drew twenty-three students and the other classes forty-six. In the academic year of 1856/7 a very healthy increase to thirty-three schoolmasters and eighty-eight other students was recorded. By this time the

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[75] Thorpe Sir E. The Right Hon. Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe PC DCL FRS: A Biographical Sketch (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1916) p.28.

[76] Hartog P.J. The Owens College, Manchester: (Founded 1851) A Brief History of the College and Description of its Various Departments. (Manchester J.E.Cornish 1900) p.3.

[77] Manchester Guardian 12th March 1901

[78] Owens College Annual Reports 1853/5

curriculum had expanded further and the attendance at evening classes was split as follows;[79]

Schoolmasters' classes:	Classics	32
	Mathematics	17
English Literature		58
History		6
Jurisprudence		9
Natural History		18

In the session of 1857/8 the English Literature class did not run because of Professor Scott's ill-health, so numbers were reduced accordingly.[80] The schoolmasters' classes were then merged into the general evening classes and evening students were offered the same kind of systematic study which the day students enjoyed. In 1858/9 student numbers increased to one hundred and seven, but the increase was not maintained and in the following session, despite the fact that English language, logic, chemistry and

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[79] Owens College Annual Report 1857

[80] Professor Scott resigned the Principalship in 1857 because of his ill-health and was succeeded by Professor Greenwood. See Lees C. and Robertson A. 'John Owens College: AJ Scott and the Struggle Against Prodigious Antagonistic Forces' in the Bulletin of John Rylands University Library Manchester Vol.78 No.1 Spring 1996. Written in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death in 1846 of John Owens, Lees' and Robertson's examination of the foundation of the college offers a reappraisal of the conventional view of the first decade of the life of Owens College. Within a national and local context, this paper discusses the role of the college's first principal, AJ Scott, with the stated purpose of addressing ambiguities created by existing studies. The assertion of the writers that Scott was "a shrewd analyst of the educational situation whose diagnosis coincided closely with that of his colleagues and who recognised the special circumstances of the first university college in an industrial city", is borne out in the evidence presented in the paper and offers an important insight into the manner in which the college was firmly established within the community and quickly accepted as a significant landmark in the history of adult education at a national level. The reasons for the survival of the college are shown to lie in the contemporary relevance of the management and ethos of the college in its founding years, and the fact that the often prevalent tensions among intellectual, industrial and commercial interests referred to earlier in this present thesis, were well balanced by Scott and, therefore, no obstruction to his work. Greenwood's influence on college policy and administration before and during his time as principal is also made clear as is the vital contribution of Roscoe and Frankland.

French had been added to the studies available, numbers reduced to seventy-seven. The reduction was thought to have been attributable to the fact that membership of an affiliated college of the university was no longer a prerequisite for acceptance on to an Arts degree course.[81]

However, there was clearly a very positive response to evening class provision from the young men of Manchester. By 1860 numbers had risen again with one hundred and two students attending the evening classes, of whom ten were also day students.[82] Philip Hartog emphasises the social value of the evening classes which were run at Owens College, opining that:

> "Through these classes the College kept in touch on the one hand with men in business, on the other with working men: the contact with influential citizens of both classes was of the greatest possible benefit alike to the College and to the community."[83]

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[81] Thompson 1886 op.cit. pp 222/224

[82] Owens College Annual Report 1861

[83] Hartog P.J. The Owens College Manchester (Founded 1851) (Manchester: J.E. Cornish 1900 p.5) Hartog would appear to have been well placed to comment upon the work of Owens College as he was among the many lecturers at the College who were committed to the philosophy of Extension work and the role which Manchester played in its evolution. Hartog demonstrated much dedication to popular lectures, pupil-teacher courses, and the work at the Manchester University Settlement at Ancoats. Born in 1864 to parents who "had no capital and very little ... business ability" (Philip Hartog - a Memoir by his Wife Mabel Hartog (London: Constable & Co.Ltd. 1949 p.4) Hartog was well educated, thanks to the generosity first of Baroness de Rothschild and, later, his sister and brother-in-law. Completing his first BSc at the early age of eighteen years, under the tutelage of such friends of the Extension Movement as Professor Milnes Marshall, at Manchester's Victoria University in 1882, before going on to gain a degree of Licencie-es-Sciences from the Sorbonne; an honours degree in science from London University in 1885 and a Fellowship in Chemical Physics at Owens in 1889 after conducting research under the supervision of Professor Berthelot at the College de France and in Heildelberg under Professor Bunsen; Hartog was eminently qualified to inspire his students through his passion for his own specialist subject and learning in general. Hartog's teaching at Manchester lasted from 1889 until 1903 and involved teaching tutorial classes; running third-year undergraduate courses; practical courses for teachers and headteachers during the summer months; teaching in the Department for Women and giving extension lectures to audiences of "several hundred working men", (ibid. p.23) in addition to his teaching in Ancoats and at Manchester Ruskin Hall, as referred to earlier in this work.

From a start which McKechnie portrays as being rather inauspicious, with students of dubious ability, limited resources and poor accommodation,[84] the College began to enjoy a high standard of success in London University and Cambridge University examinations and experienced growth as it merged with the Manchester Working Men's College at the close of the 1860/61 session. A significant part of that success was obtained by those working students who were limited to studying on a part-time basis.

As Lees and Robertson point out in their recent publication, Community Access to Owens College, Manchester : A Neglected Aspect of University History, Thompson's study of the evening department at the university does not go beyond the 1860/61 session and Fiddes and Charlton "only noted its existence". In view of this deficiency, Lees' and Robertson's work examines the early studentship of the Owens College, in the process of exploring " ... the attitude to non degree course access of the first of the university colleges ..." [85] and, in so doing, offers fresh insight into the composition, aims and achievements and the growth and decline of the evening classes which followed the merger with the Working Man's College.

The fact that a committee, chaired by Samuel Fletcher and formed to "devise a 'general character and plan' for the college", had elicited opinions drawn from the experience of other colleges regarding the distinctive needs of students of different ages and backgrounds, illustrates the sensitivity of the trustees to the socio-economic needs of potential students. Lees' and Robertson's research found that "The committee report was strongly influenced by the Scottish experience in which social class was not a determinant of access...". Accordingly, it would have been unrealistic, in an industrial and commercial environment such as Manchester's to attempt to honour the spirit of Owens' intentions in meeting the educational needs of the young men of the locality, without offering study plans which would take into account the need of many among

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[84] McKechnie H. (ed) Manchester in 1915 : being the handbook for the Eighty-fifth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held in Manchester September seven to ten, 1915 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1962 pp38 - 41). Originally published in 1915 by Manchester University Press and Longmans, Green and Company.

[85] Lees C. and Robertson A. 'Community Access to Owens College, Manchester : a Neglected Aspect of University History' Vol.80 Spring 1998 Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. pp.125-152

them to be in full-time employment from a relatively early age. It was decided, therefore, to offer a flexible programme which would be taught at 'senior' and 'junior' levels, thus permitting the advance to degree level where appropriate. 'Occasional' students were also to be allowed to access 'particular portions' of courses particularly appropriate to their occupational needs and "by discriminating between 'class' and 'public' lectures, still wider admission would be possible".[86]

The work offers substantial evidence of the significant contribution which the first professors of Owens College, which fostered a culture which embraced the facilitation of evening study, made to the provision of education within the Mancunian community and pays tribute to the fact that Principal Scott, "despite indifferent health", taught on the first evening courses and Principal Greenwood continued that tradition for thirty-six years during a time of "hugely increased professional responsibilities".[87] Scott and Greenwood provide, in their inspired and committed leadership, examples of the manner in which the effect of such values can be seen to permeate the organisation they led. Lees' and Robertson's study describes the "... remarkably open college organisation ..." in which in the academic year of 1861/2, as students transferred from the Working Man's College, 235 were registered in Owens College evening classes.[88]

When numbers of evening students fell from 313 in 1864-5 to 281 in 1865-6, Principal Greenwood attributed the fall "... in some measure ... to the considerable increase of fees made two years ago ..." but added that "It is, however, a more probable, as well as a more welcome, conclusion, that the decrease is rather caused by the sudden return of mercantile prosperity to this district, and the consequent increased demand on the time and the energies of those by whom chiefly these classes are filled."[89] The fall, however, did not continue and the session of 1868-9 saw 473 evening students attending Owens and 889 in 1873-4.[90]

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[86] ibid p.127

[87] ibid p.129

[88] ibid pp.127/134

[89] Report of Owens College prize-giving ceremony of 24th April 1866. Manchester Guardian 25th April 1866. JRUL Archives UA/10/1

[90] John Rylands University of Manchester Library Archives UA/10/1 manuscript record p.72

Nonetheless, Lees' and Robertson's paper does not ascribe to the merger alone "... the continuing increase to the remarkable total of over 900 students at the end of the 1870s ...", but suggests that ".. lowered fees and the extensive range of courses are probably explanation enough" and points out the significance of the changing status of evening classes as indicated by the decision to hold separate day and evening formal staff meetings. Of the one hundred and three evening students who matriculated in the period up to 1886, sixty-seven passed and of the sixty evening students who entered for part one of the B.A., thirty were successful and twenty evening candidates graduated after success in part two, of whom fifteen were awarded arts degrees and five science degrees.[91]

The social and commercial needs of the local community were well represented in the subjects offered in the evening class department as modern languages were introduced to the curriculum and the range and level of mathematical subjects was developed ".. often with special arrangements to enable students with little background to be brought up to the appropriate standard"[92] and physics and engineering being introduced in the 1870s. Professor Roscoe's chemistry department also offered evening classes and between 1873 and 1883 some 1,530 men attended the classes. The particular scientific needs of the local community were largely determined by the manufacturing industry of the town and the meeting of those needs can be seen, for example, in the delivery of a course in 1868 to sixty-one evening students in response to the Manchester Chemists and Druggists' Association request that courses be provided to meet the demands of the new pharmacy legislation. Lees' and Robertson's work also demonstrates the facility which the evening classes at Owens College offered to men of modest background to access the educational 'ladder' from elementary school to higher education and professional success.[93]

Certainly, prior to the University's formal undertaking of extension work in 1886, the numbers and success of evening class students, along with the Principal's and staff's experience of less formal teaching venues, offered proof enough of the demand for extra-mural provision. In the Principal's report on the evening classes for the session 1885/6 the total number of evening students was given as five hundred and forty-one.

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[91] Lees and Robertson 1998 op.cit. p.134

[92] ibid pp.139/140

[93] ibid pp.144/145

Classes were taught at a variety of levels and offered the following wide range of subjects: Greek, Greek New Testament, Latin, English Language, English Literature, English History, Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry, Mechanics, Physics, Astronomy, Engineering, Geometrical & Mechanical Drawing, Philosophy, etc., English Law, Political Economy, Chemistry Lectures, Chemical Laboratory, Practical Zoology, Animal Physiology, Practical Botany, Geology, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Freehand Drawing and Harmony.

These classes were available to men only until 1891/2 just as, in general at a national level, such educational opportunities for women on a par with those provided for men were few and far between, but where opportunities were presented within the wider community of Manchester it can be seen that Owens College lecturers were at the forefront of women's education.

MANCHESTER WORKING MAN'S COLLEGE (1858)

The Management Committee of the Manchester Working Man's College, which began to operate in the Mechanics' Institute in January 1858, included among its membership R.C. Christie, W.Gaskell, A. Ransome, H.E.Roscoe, A.J.Scott and A. Sandeman of the Owens College staff, with Principal J.G. Greenwood acting as Honorary Secretary. All teachers and lecturers offered their services gratuitously and fees were to be " .... fixed at the lowest point at which they [would] meet the current expenses". In proposing to establish a college, the committee reported that:

> "Although various efforts have been made of late years to improve and extend the means of education, no adequate provision has yet been found for the adult education of the working classes ... when the working man leaves school his education ordinarily ceases, and he has little opportunity of afterwards carrying it on for himself. .... the necessity of a higher education for the working man is felt, both by those who desire the material prosperity of the country, and by those who desire the elevation of the moral and intellectual character of the working classes." [94]

The report goes on to point out that although "Mechanics' Institutes were designed to meet this acknowledged want .... [they] have been felt to fall short of their object." The Committee, therefore, proposed " ... to establish a College, offering to Working Men education ... as wide in range as our numbers will allow..." Despite the comment

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[94] Undated item appearing as the first cutting in a Scrapbook of The Working Man's College 1858-1862 compiled by J.H. Nodal pp1 - 4. To be found in Manchester Central Reference Library

on the failure of the Mechanics' Institutes to achieve their educational aim, the report goes on to affirm that the two bodies "... stand in the relation not of rivals, but of most friendly allies, ..."

A scheme of studies had been decided upon for the first term, which was to commence on Monday January 11th 1858 and run until Wednesday March 31st 1858. It was to offer:

Arithmetic and Algebra - Mr.Sandeman
Principles of Mechanics - Mr. Newth
English Language & Literature - Mr.Gaskell
Geometry - Dr.Guthrie
English History - Mr.Christie
Chemistry - Dr.Smith
Common Law - Mr.Cottingham
Political Economy - Mr.Neild
Latin - Mr.Greenwood
Human Physiology - Mr.A. Ransome
Political Philosophy - Mr.Scott
Physical Geography - Dr.Roscoe
Bible-Class - Mr.Greenwood[95]

It was hoped that the list of subjects might in due course be extended and it was stipulated that students must be sixteen years of age, must be able to read and write, and must know the first four rules of arithmetic. Each student would pay a permanent entrance fee of two shillings and sixpence and each ten week course of one hour per week cost two shillings, but admission to the Bible-Class would be free to all college members, as would admission to the introductory lectures of the first week.[96]

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[95] As Lees also notes in his doctoral thesis (Lees 1994 op.cit. p.162) these lecturers were either employed by or actively involved with Owens College. They all gave of their services to the Working Man's College without charge, with the exception of Smith who lectured at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution and had taught previously at Manchester New College; Newth, who was on the staff of the Mechanics' Institution and the Lancashire Independent College at Whalley Range; and Cottingham and Neild.

[96] Nodal op.cit. p5

Concluding his inaugural speech, A.J.Scott, who had a reputation for extending access to education before coming to Manchester, and as first principal of Owens College, expressed the view that "A greater diffusion of education would influence our social condition" and pointed out that while it had been proposed to give the electoral franchise on the ground of education, it was given to men of property on the premise that property ownership "supposes a certain amount of education". Scott then went on to assert that it was reasonable to answer that ".... when you can ascertain that there is an equal or superior amount of education, why not then confer the franchise?".[97]

At a "public meeting introductory to the session of 1858-9" Professor Scott referred to the sneering response of some people to the use of the title "college" for the institution. It was, he said, the truest definition because "...there was a principle involved in the idea of a university or college; and it was the training of the mind to those habits which shall be afterwards available in the application of earnest thought to whatever subject the man shall desire to prosecute."[98]

It is clear from such evidence that the people who gave of their time and talents to the education of the working classes were often actively dedicated to social, political and educational reform and it can be seen from the response of working people to the educational opportunities offered that such reform was welcomed by those for whom it was intended.

As the second term commenced on the 14th April, Professor Greenwood addressed a general meeting of the council and students and announced that in the previous ten-week session two hundred and forty-five students had passed the preliminary examination, of whom two hundred and thirty had entered one or more of the classes. It is interesting to note the student composition of those classes:[99]

Arithmetic and algebra	98
English Literature	95
Latin	62
Chemistry	58

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[97] The Inaugural Address of the Manchester Working Man's College, delivered at the Mechanics' Institution, January, 1858. ibid p.5

[98] Thompson 1886 op.cit. p. 235

[99] ibid p234

Geometry	39
Mechanics	38
English History	37
Physical geography	31
Political philosophy	24
Physiology	20
Political economy	9
Common Law	8

The classification by trade of the students, which Thompson believed to be similar to that of the Working Men's College in London, was:[100]

Operatives	80
Clerks and bookkeepers	60
Warehousemen and salesmen	52
Shopkeepers and shop assistants	20
Miscellaneous employments	30

It was, then, members of the artisan class who made up the main studentship of the College, rather than the less well represented working class members who were the original target group.

In the three terms from January to December, 1858, 231 students attended in the first term, 195 in the second and 163 in the third.[101] As Lees points out, free places were in that first year offered to members of the Mechanics' Institution in recognition of the Institution's provision of two rooms, their lighting and heating,[102] and this might well have affected the subsequent enrolment numbers once the concession was withdrawn.

According to the extant second report of the College, during the Session 1859 - 1860 133 students attended in the first term, 89 in the second and 94 in the third.[103] In the

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[100] ibid p.235

[101] Inaugural Address Nodal Scrapbook op.cit. p.21.

[102] Lees 1994 op.cit. p. 161

[103] Second Report of the Working Man's College, Manchester, 1860 p.3. To be found in the Manchester Central Reference Library.

third term of the academic year of 1859/60 the number of students classed as 'operatives' had fallen to 26, while 54 were classed as 'clerks/warehousemen, etc.'; 8 as 'shopkeepers and assistants'; 4 as 'teachers and librarians'; and two under the heading of 'miscellaneous'.[104]

It can be no coincidence that the demise of the Ancoats Working Man's College also fell about that time, as did that of the Lyceum after having enjoyed considerable success among the preceding generation of working people and questions regarding the reasons behind this are more easily raised than answered. Consideration might be given in this respect to the idea that working-class people were possibly, if not always consciously, beginning to feel a need for more demand-led adult education and that the seeds of resistance to middle-class, philanthropically provided, educational opportunities such as were to develop more explicitly towards the end of the century, were beginning to produce shoots. It could well be that with increased employment opportunities working people were becoming more concerned with improving their standing in their places of employment and maybe, with early improvements in lifestyle, working-class leanings were tending towards either more recreational pastimes or more vocationally linked and a more formal style of educational provision.

Nonetheless, the compiler of the report which was read at the General Meeting of the Council and Students at the Manchester Working Man's College which was held on Friday, July 6th 1860, felt that "..this large defection from our ranks was not so much due to want of appreciation of the studies of the College, as to the widely-spreading impulse of the rifle volunteer movement ..." and "...the temporary discontinuance of the Logic Class. The Council unfortunately failed to obtain a successor to Mr.Scott, and ten students withdrew their names." Notwithstanding that, nearly one-third of the first year's intake of students had continued into the second year and the problem of accommodation was becoming of concern.[105]

At the first annual meeting, which was held in January 1859, Oliver Heywood commented that the chief difficulty at Ancoats was to maintain the number of teachers requisite to teaching the steadily increasing numbers of students and, with particular

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[104] ibid p.5

[105] ibid pp 4-8

reference to the Manchester College, paid tribute to the valuable assistance rendered by the professors at Owens College.[106]

On the 25th April 1861, Principal JG Greenwood, explained to his colleagues at Owens College the difficulty which he and other members of his staff who "..long had a share in the conduct of ... Manchester Working Man's College .." had experienced in finding suitable accommodation at moderate cost and in acquiring the services of suitably qualified teachers. Their desire to bring continuing education " ... within the reach of men of very moderate means .." inspired them to take the courageous step of proposing that the two establishments unite their purpose and resources to provide evening classes and Greenwood suggested the establishment of an endowment fund to cater for the extra expenses which would be incurred.[107] The proposal was favourably received by the Working Man's College Council and by the Owens College Trustees and the result was that the session of 1861/2 saw a more than one hundred per cent increase in the number of students attending evening classes at Owens College as some 88 day and 235 part-time students were enrolled, again for such varied subjects as: English language and literature; classics; maths; natural philosophy; history and political economy; chemistry; natural history; French and German. By 1863 this number had increased to 110 day and 312 part-time students, and in 1868 evening class students outnumbered day students by 470 to 210, respectively.[108]

Lees' and Robertson's study of the early students at Owens College raises the matter of the financial and academic difficulties which such an imbalance between the size of the evening and day cohorts created. Evening students, by definition, had other matters to attend to in life and social and economic fluctuations had direct bearing on the prioritising of their time and energy. In addition, it was felt by those managing the college that part-time study facilitated neither the disciplines nor the fraternity, which collegiate experience would foster. Furthermore, in 1862/3 and 1863/4, respectively,

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[106] Thompson J The Owens College its Foundation and Growth and its connection with the Victoria University Manchester. (Manchester: Cornish1886) p.235

[107] ibid pp224/226

[108] 'Principal's Report to the Trustees' as cited in Lees C. and Robertson A.B. 'Early Students and the 'University of the Busy': The Quay Street Years of Owens College 1851-1870' Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester Vol.79 No.1 Spring 1997. (The authors add a footnote to their figures to point out that data from that source do not always tally with figures in other documents though the disparity is small.)

80% and 78%, of all day students were under eighteen years of age; for the same two sessions, the comparative percentages of evening students under 18 were 48% and 36%. Of the evening students during this period, only 18% were over 21, and few of them would have had much "...experience of educational or work-place discipline in either the behavioural or academic sense". Despite such handicaps, however, examination results were to support the view that the " ... part-time and somewhat older students were more highly motivated and possibly more able than the day students who were not taking a degree". [109]It is known that clerks, operatives, shopmen and teachers ranked amongst the students who transferred to Owens from the Working Man's College in 1861 and in 1869 an article in the English Independent described Owens evening students as including " ... men of good position, engaged in banks, warehouses or factories, or even partners themselves in large establishments".[110] From amongst those part-time students was to come Charles Herford who matriculated in 1869, achieved a First Class B.A. in 1875, went on to Cambridge University and returned to Manchester as Professor of English Literature at the University in 1901, and Horace Lamb (later Sir Horace Lamb) also studied briefly in Owens evening classes,[111] as did James Scotson, the outstanding head of the later Manchester higher grade elementary school in Whitworth Street.

Members of Owens College staff who went on to teach alongside Greenwood, Scott, Roscoe, Ransome, Gaskell, Sandeman and Christie, in the newly combined Working Man's College and Owens College evening classes were: WA Walker, RM Pankhurst, Thomas Watson, the Reverend H. Cottam, Professor Clifton, Professor Williamson, Monsieur Poidevin and Mr T Theodores.[112]

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[109] ibid pp. 164/86

[110] cited in Lees and Robertson ibid p.168

[111] ibid. p. 188

[112] Thompson J. 1886 op.cit. pp232/235. Richard Pankhurst was a Manchester lawyer who had graduated as an Associate of Owens College in 1859. He later became the husband of the famous suffragette, Emmeline Pankhurst, and was responsible for drafting the first women's suffrage bill which was rejected by the House of Commons in 1870. See Sandra Stanley Holton's essay 'Women and the Vote' in Purvis J. (ed.) Women's History: Britain 1850-1945. An introduction. (London: UCL Press Ltd., 1995), pp280, 281 and 285. R.B. Clifton was appointed as Professor of Natural Philosophy at Owens College in 1860 and taught mathematics and physics. W.C.Williamson was Professor of Botany when the College opened in 1851. Poidevin lectured at the College in French language and literature and Theodores in German language and literature. Theodores was subsequently appointed as Professor of

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HENRY ENFIELD ROSCOE TO ADULT EDUCATION

Professor Roscoe's involvement with the Working Man's College was one of the ways in which he demonstrated his commitment to the extension of university teaching. His enthusiasm for taking higher education to the working people of the country can also be seen in his commitment to popular lectures.[113]

Despite Roscoe's secure and well respected work at Owens College, he demonstrated his enthusiasm for taking higher education to the working people of the country through his willingness to travel extensively for that purpose. In order to deliver popular lectures and remain faithful to his commitments at Owens, Roscoe was quite prepared to forego rest and recreation. In his autobiographical memoirs, Roscoe cites an example of teaching at Owens College in the morning, packing much cumbersome, and sometimes delicate, equipment, before taking the train to arrive in Birmingham by 3p.m. in order to spend three to four hours preparing for a lecture to be delivered between 8pm and 9pm, after which he would " .. pack [his] traps ..", catch the midnight mail train, arrive home at 3a.m. and be back on his feet in the lecture theatre at Owens College at 9a.m. the next day. "But with all this .." he recalls " ... I enjoyed lecturing very much."[114]

Many educationists in the North West shared Roscoe's commitment to the idea of extending university education beyond the ancient universities and the capital. In March 1868 Roscoe and Greenwood headed a deputation of more than fifty men,

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Hebrew (1860) and of Oriental Languages (1866-1879). See Thompson op.cit. Appendix 2 pp.626-629 and Charlton H.B. Portrait of a University 1851-1951 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951) Appendix 7 pp.172-178.

[113] For Roscoe's contribution to adult education, see Waller R.D. 'Henry Roscoe and Adult Education' in Rewley House Papers, Oxford University delegacy for Extra-mural Studies, Volume 3, Number 10, 1961-2, pp.11-38. For an assessment of his work in scientific and technical education, see Thompson D. 'Henry Enfield Roscoe: A Contribution to Nineteenth Century Scientific and Technical Education' in The Vocational Aspect of Education, Volume 17, Number 38, Autumn 1965, pp.220-226; and Kargon R.H. op.cit., pp174-182 and 212-221.

[114] Roscoe H.E. Life and Expeiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe DCL LLD FRS (London: Macmillan 1906) p. 168/9

including Jacob Bright and several other Members of Parliament, the Mayors of Manchester, Stockport, Bolton, Warrington and Wigan, which met with Disraeli and his Chancellor to put the strong case for government support in the building of a University in Manchester but their efforts came to nothing. The following day, The Manchester Guardian reported that "Mr. Disraeli assured the deputation that their application should receive not only candid but very particular attention from the Government. At the same time he expressed confidence that, whether Government aid were given or not, the generosity of the public of Lancashire would not allow the interests of the College to suffer."[115]

A further deputation to Prime Minister Gladstone " ... for the purpose of presenting the claims of Owens College for Government assistance" met with the same resistance. Mr.Gladstone also had "...great hopes that the munificence of Lancashire men would raise all that was required apart from a Government grant." However, he did undertake to mention the matter to the Cabinet and take the opinion of his colleagues upon it. Manchester had a college, not a university, and therefore did not warrant the kind of financial support which Glasgow had previously received; to which response Mr.Ashworth promptly replied "Make Manchester one." [116] Local efforts in that direction were already underway. Thanks to the many subscribers to the Owens College extension fund, the expanding Owens College had taken premises in Peter Street in 1868 and then moved to Oxford Road in 1873, when expanding further to include the School of Medicine.

In a determined effort to offer the best possible standards to Owens' students, Greenwood and Roscoe visited the science departments of universities and science schools in ten German cities[117] in order to evaluate the work which was going on at Owens in the interests of what today would be referred to as 'best practice'. The worldwide renown of the science department at Owens would suggest that the

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[115] Manchester Guardian 25th March 1868. JRUL Archives UA/10/1 p.113

[116] Manchester Guardian (probably) 23rd February 1869. JRUL Archives UA/10/1 p.132

[117] Roscoe and Greenwood's Report to the Extension Committee of an Inspection of the Universities and Science Schools of Germany dated December 1886 (Manchester Central Reference Library Archives) lists Bonn, Gottingen, Hanover, Berlin, Leipzig, Freiberg, Heidelberg, Carlsruhe, Munich and Zurich as the towns visited.

dedication and talent of staff overcame any funding problems and successfully met the needs of and nurtured the talents of its students.

However, the point, in 1857, at which Roscoe joined Owens as Chair of Chemistry, was probably the weakest in its history and its rise to an establishment of excellence owed much to his dedication and expertise. In his autobiography, Roscoe says that "Public opinion in Manchester at that time did not appreciate the value of higher education and it was not understood that such an education was absolutely essential for an industrial career. ..... after thirty years of work ... there were, I believe, few engaged in that district in any large way of business in which chemistry plays a part who did not show their appreciation of the value of scientific education by sending their sons or their managers to learn chemistry at Owens College".[118] Roscoe goes on to point out that during his thirty years of work at Owens he saw an increase in chemistry class numbers from some fifteen to twenty when he first took up his post to "...something like two hundred".[119] Indeed, he regarded the "... encouragement and development of the teaching of Physical Science .." as the lifeline which prevented Owens College from sinking " .... down to the level of a school (as many advocated), or die out altogether, ..." Nonetheless, he points out that his stipend at the beginning of his employment by Owens College was half that of other Chairs, a clear reflection of the "... feeling entertained by the Governing Body as to the relative importance of this subject and those of Classics and Mathematics."[120]

Roscoe saw the one of the chief functions of a school of chemistry as being to train teachers and "... its highest aim is to guide students in the methods of original scientific investigation ...." He names T.H. Sims, William Dancer, William Marshall Watts, Arthur McDougall and T.E. Thorpe as being " ... associated with original experimental investigations which were published from our laboratory in the 'fifties and early 'sixties" and states that "We had a goodly list of twenty-two Dalton scholars, most of whom have made or are making for themselves, distinguished careers, either as teachers and investigators or as industrial chemists ..."[121]

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[118] Roscoe 1906 op.cit. p.103

[119] ibid p.108

[120] Roscoe H.E. Record of Work Done in the Chemical Department of Owens College 1857-1887. (London:Macmillan & Co. 1887) p.2.(to be found in Manchester Central Reference Library Archives)

[121] Roscoe 1906 op.cit. pp251/2

His own skills as a teacher lay in the personal interest which he took in each individual student, an approach which he said was "... the true secret of success; it is absolutely essential that he [the Professor] should know and take an interest in the work of every man in his laboratory, whether beginning or finishing the course. The Professor who merely condescends to walk through his laboratory once a day, but who does not give his time to showing each man in his turn how to manipulate, how to overcome some difficulty, or where he has made a mistake, but leaves all this to be done by the Demonstrator, is unfit for his office, and will assuredly not build up a school. ... it is by the peripatetic teaching of the professor and his demonstrators that the student benefits most."[122]

Roscoe's life was spent in the advocacy of scientific and technical education for adults and the alliance of such learning with the needs of both personal and social development and those of industry. The success of this dedication can be seen in his substantial contribution to the 1882 report of the Samuelson Commission on Technical Instruction and the formulation of the 1902 Education Act. His valuable contribution to the world of education was acknowledged by his contemporaries first in his knighthood and, later, in his election to the Privy Council.

Although Roscoe's academic expertise lay in the field of the sciences, he was also very sensitive to the aesthetic value of an appreciation of the Arts and the human need of recreation. His perception of human nature and his life-experience of living in a northern working-class city also gave him great insight into the intellectual potential of the labouring classes. Allied to his desire to break down social and cultural barriers, these intellectual and personal qualities facilitated and sustained the continuous and determined hard work through which he brought knowledge and an increased sense of self-worth to thousands of working people.

His academic skills and his determination, however, could not alone have drawn the huge audiences who were prepared to brave the elements to hear his popular science lectures. Without his personable, or even charismatic, nature, his lack of academic snobbery or verbosity, and the warmth of his concern and admiration for the labouring classes, his science lectures could not have been the overriding success they were. His refusal to allow scientific or cultural knowledge to be used as tools of social division

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[122] Roscoe 1887 op.cit. p.5

and his opening of such knowledge to the less privileged of society, although neither unique nor innovative, did, because of his idiosyncratic delivery, make a unique and invigorating mark on adult education in Manchester.

It was following Roscoe's delivery of an opening lecture of a series of popular lectures in Glasgow in 1878 that Lord Kelvin, (later Sir William Thomson) asked Roscoe why Owens College had not become a University and after considering the reasons why the time had not, hitherto, been right for such steps to be taken, Roscoe returned home and consulted Dr.Ward, Owens College Professor of History, who agreed to support him in his appeal to Principal Greenwood to take the matter further. "I had much to do with the creation of the Victoria University of Manchester", he wrote in his memoir.[123]

Roscoe's enjoyment and enthusiasm were obviously infectious; in 1879 his lecture to the Glasgow Science Lectures Association on 'Chemical Action of Light' was so well received as to be the instigation of similar lectures in Scotland and when the Society of Chemical Industry was formed in 1880, in order to forge links between the U.K. and America, Roscoe became its first President.

In the face of serious opposition from many within the existing ancient universities, who contended that only a lowering of academic standards could result from the establishment of provincial universities, Roscoe and his like-minded colleagues persisted in their determination, confident that "...thousands among us had sons who were well qualified for and desirous of receiving university training: but who could not afford to go to Oxford or Cambridge. Moreover, there is a great deal in *genius loci.*"[124] From 1880 when the Victoria University of Manchester received its charter to become a federal university with the three constituent colleges, of Owens, University College Liverpool and Yorkshire College, Leeds, Roscoe observes that it " ... proved to be an undoubted success; the high character of its degrees was acknowledged by all and its growth and prestige were remarkable."[125]

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[123] Roscoe 1906 op.cit. p. 175

[124] ibid. p.178/9

[125] ibid p.180

The combination of Roscoe's high intellectual ability, excellent teaching skills, and great social awareness was reflected not only in his work at the College, but also in his leadership within the community. He was Liberal MP for South Manchester from 1885 to 1895, before going on to become an examiner, Senate member and then Vice-Chancellor of London University, though Thorpe notes that Roscoe resisted persistent offers from St.Bartholemew's Hospital and Oxford University because he felt that his work at Owens, which included a substantial amount of extension work, offered him greater scope and greater personal fulfilment;[126] fulfilment which can be easily understood when one considers the estimate that some two thousand men, many of whom became renowned for their own scientific investigations, passed through the tutelage of Professor Roscoe in Manchester.[127]

The contribution of Owens College staff to the work of less formal adult education provision within the Manchester community will be demonstrated throughout this thesis. One such professor who was instrumental in bringing continuing and higher education to the working people of Manchester was Professor Boyd Dawkins who offered his support to the Manchester District Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institution Union Limited, formerly the Working Men's Club Association, which was founded in 1877 and as the work of K.T.S. Dockray shows, recruited the gratuitous services of lecturers, readers and reciters, with expenses met by subscriptions solicited from local employers and shopkeepers.[128]

Richard Price considers such middle class philanthropists to have been motivated purely by fear and by a wish to control social development by imposing a " ... 'safe' and alien ideology and value system upon the working classes" in order to protect their own interest.[129] He asserts that:

> "It was ... a very clear attempt to intrude upon working class society and culture and impose the accepted value system of respectable society; and in this

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[126] Thorpe 1916 op.cit. p.97/8

[127] Roscoe 1887 op.cit. p. 108

[128] Dockray K.T.S. (compiled) The Manchester and District Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institution Union, Limited 1877-1927 (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Ltd 1927) pp11-13

[129] Price R.N. 'The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology' in Victorian Studies Vol.15. No.2 December 1971 p117

> respect it was a clear consequence of the fear ... in which the masses were held by the middle and upper classes. For it was no accident that aristocrats, industrialists, clergymen were all jointly involved in propagating the movement and in trying to impose its ideology upon the working class".[130]

In so asserting, Price appears not to notice that the people he accuses of colluding in this piece of social engineering were, in fact, the small percentage of the population who were in a position to value educational advantage and who had the wherewithal to help those less advantaged. Price, whose work is fairly representative of a genre of sociological, or Marxist, historical writing, also omits to include in his list the middle class educationists who were in the same fortunate position and gave unstintingly of their time and efforts to help enrich the lives of the working classes.

Certainly, those who supported the Working Men's Clubs Union wished to offer mental improvement and stimulation in recreational settings outside of the usual gathering places for workmen, such as the public houses, as Price illustrates by quoting from Reverend Henry Solly's letter to F.D. Maurice,[131] but whether the intention was as self-centred as Price maintains is open to question. It is difficult to prove, for instance, that there were no higher motives involved when the idea was supported by Professor Dawkins in 1878, in proposing "... to the Council of [the] Association, that the Geological and Natural History Museum at Owens College should be made a meeting place for the higher order of artizans in Workmen's Clubs, as he [believed] this museum might be made of great use in the spread of culture".[132]

Similar support from Owens College was evident in 1885 when Professor Munro, in his role of Chairman of the Council, introduced " ... an extended lecture scheme for the clubs which was inaugurated with a lecture given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer ... at Owens College ... to three hundred delegates from Clubs, Trades Unions and Co-Operative Societies ...." Again, those from Owens College who are cited as offering their support as lecturers include Professors Dawkins and Flux.[133]

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[130] ibid. p. 147

[131] ibid p.121

[132] Working Men's Clubs Association Report 1877/78 p.13

[133] Dockray 1927 op.cit. p.24
Professor Flux (1867 - 1942) joined the staff of Owens College in 1893 as Cobden Lecturer in Political Economy and gained his Professorial title in 1898. The interest which Professor Flux showed in continuing adult education by being Secretary to the

Professors Roscoe and Schuster, Munro, Adamson, Hopkinson and Milnes-Marshall, H.Marshall Ward, Dr. J. Leech, the Reverend J.P. Whitney and A.S. Wilkins also appear in the in the 1885/6 list of lecturers in the Association's Annual Report for that session.

In 1886 Recreative Evening Classes were organised in co-operation with the Manchester Trades Council, again with the active support of Professor Munro, and were held in schools, courtesy of the Salford School Board, according to the Association's annual report of 1886/7, which also shows that Professors Roscoe and Schuster added their support in the form of annual subscriptions.[134] The eleventh annual report (1887/88) of the Association lists Professors Munro, Dawkins and Schuster as still teaching at the Recreative Evening Classes, along with J.E.Pythian,[135] and adds a footnote to point out that "Many of the lecturers have, in addition to the lectures above-named, given their services at other places".[136] More than ten years later, the names of Flux and Dawkins continue to appear in the Club's list of lecturers.[137]

That the clubs were undoubtedly successful is clear from Richard Price's conclusion,[138] although it is regrettable that his acknowledgement of that success is couched in negative terms and does not pay tribute to the good will of the lecturers

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Lancashire and Cheshire University Extension Society and actively supporting the National Home Reading Union was also reflected also in the University Extension Lectures which he delivered in the North of England. An Ancoats Recreation Movement Syllabus also shows him as a Sunday afternoon lecturer in 1896/7 and Lees' work (1994 op.cit. p.345) includes reference to Flux delivering lectures at the CWS offices in Balloon Street, Manchester, and at the Ancoats Settlement. He was knighted in 1934.

[134] Working Men's Clubs Association Annual Report 1886/87 p.21 and list of subscribers.

[135] Pythian's involvement in adult education was clearly transmitted to his daughter who was to become, as Mabel Tylecote, an adult educator of the twentieth century.

[136] Working Men's Clubs Association Annual Report 1887/88

[137] ibid Annual Report 1898/99

[138] Price R.N. 1971 op.cit. p.147

involved in the delivery of adult education through the clubs, provision which was to continue under the self-determining, working class, organisation which evolved once the movement was well established and its members in a position to organise themselves, thanks to the original efforts and patronage of the middle class founders. As the authors of the 1919 Report point out: "Adult education will clearly thrive only under the conditions which allow of the fullest self-determination on the part of the students ...",[139] but in a time when state provision was sparse, working people needed to be provided with and invited and encouraged to partake of education through the benefaction of those who could afford to do so, before they were in a position to become self-determining.

The founding of a Working Man's College in St.Andrew's Church at Ancoats in 1857, and the founding of Manchester and then Salford Working Man's Colleges in 1858, reflect the manner in which working people in Manchester and its districts responded to educational opportunities and the involvement of Owens College staff in teaching initiatives within those communities.

Educational activities for the poor and unemployed in Manchester, 1862-1863

The winter of 1862/3 saw acute distress and privation in Manchester as thousands who relied for their employment on supplies of raw cotton from America became unemployed as such imports were disrupted by the effects of the American Civil War. Clearly, the fact of thousands of hungry, angry and idle people posed a severe threat to public order and decisions were made to use funds, which were made available both by public subscription and through the auspices of the Board of Guardians via the legislation of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, to create some form of edifying occupation for the unemployed of the working classes.

John Watts[140] reports that during an interview between the Poor Law Guardians and a deputation of operatives an " ... intelligent member of the deputation ... excited some thought at the board ..." by suggesting the provision of educational opportunity for the unemployed workers and "... being anxious to treat as kindly as possible these

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139 Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.168

140 John Watts was a leading advocate of parliamentary and educational reform. He prepared reports on educational questions for the Manchester Statistical Society and the National (Lancashire) Public Schools Association and was a member of the Manhood Suffrage Association.

victims of a social convulsion, the guardians concluded to try the effect of mental improvement instead of depressing physical labour ..".[141] The outcome of this, it would appear, was the establishment of elementary classes for youths and men throughout the cotton district in replacement of the previous system of offering oakum picking and stone breaking, both of which were poorly paid and demoralising. According to Watts' account, some 48,000 men, often including three generations of families, attended day elementary classes as a prerequisite to securing relief payments during the winter of 1862/3.[142]

Recreative evening classes, primarily aimed at men but also drawing small numbers of women, were also offered to assuage the demoralising and dangerous effects of the cotton famine. The Council for the Cotton Relief Fund financed the classes which were held in elementary schools and redundant cotton mills. Sewing classes were run for girls and women and one such, held in Holland Street Evening School (which had originally been opened as a ragged school) was to continue to offer tuition in "sewing, knitting and cutting-out ..."[143] "for several years", certainly until 1870 when it was oversubscribed to the extent of " ... more than 200 girls"[144] being turned away.

Indeed, in respect of the effectiveness of the sewing schools in particular, there was an expectation of much social benefit. Watts quotes Infant Mortality Rates in the North West of England as being among the highest in the country with the "more healthy English districts" averaging 4%, the East of London 10.149% and Manchester and Liverpool 11.725% and 13.198%, respectively, with the rate among children of clergy at a little over 3% and the children of peers a little over 2%, and expresses the hope:

> "... that the lessons of domestic cleanliness of thrift and ingenuity lately taught in the sewing schools may realize, as one of the indirect blessings of the cotton famine, a saving of infant life, resulting from improved sewing and cooking,

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141 Watts J The Facts of the Cotton Famine (Manchester: A. Ireland & Co. 1866) p.201

142 See also Entwistle G. Dr. John Watts (1818-1887) and his work for the education and welfare of the working-class in Manchester (unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester 1981) particularly chapters 8 and 9.

143 Preliminary Report 2.12.1872. Public Records Office cited in Hanley 1981 op.cit. p.383

144 Hanley 1981 loc. cit

from a higher moral tone, and from the increased means left at command for other comforts."[145]

In December 1862 the Manchester Guardian carried an advertisement inviting people to forthcoming events in the form of an instrumental and vocal concert to be led by Charles Halle and some members of the Manchester Liedertafel, tonic sol-fa choirs and the following lectures:[146]

'Chemistry of a Candle' - H.E. Roscoe
'A Few Words on Chemistry' - F.C. Calvert[147]
'Air and Water, the Great Purifiers' - Arthur Ransome
'A Tour in Switzerland' illustrated with magic lantern - Professor Greenwood
'Pompeii Past and Present' - Rev. H. Cottam
'Readings of Dickens, Hood and other great authors' - Dr. Morgan
'Heat' - Professor Clifton

Roscoe's colleagues from Owens College whose names appear alongside his in the advertisement, Reverend Cottam, who taught Maths in evening classes; Arthur Ransome, a hygiene and public health lecturer who became a long-standing member of Owens; Professor Clifton, who taught Natural Philosophy at the College until 1866 and the College Principal, Professor Greenwood, clearly shared in his belief of the educability of the working classes and demonstrated their commitment to the continuing education of adults by supporting such community ventures such as these and others with which their names are linked and referred to throughout this thesis.

Roscoe felt that the behaviour of the mill hands:

> "... in the most trying circumstances was in the highest degree creditable to them, yet there was some danger of a depression of spirits occurring which might lead to serious results if the attention of the unemployed was not turned in some new direction" and he recalled that from November 1862 to February 1863 more than one hundred recreation evenings were held in disused mills and

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[145] Watts 1866 op.cit. p.51

[146] Manchester Guardian 27th December 1862

[147] Frederick Crace Calvert was Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Manchester Institution from 1846 to 1870. See Cardwell (ed.) op.cit., pp.128-130.

other large rooms and a variety of entertainment was offered to more than four thousand people each week".[148]

The evening lectures were designed to offer entertainment alongside education and included musical offerings (sometimes led by men with such abiding reputations as that of Charles Halle) as well as scientific and geographical lectures. Audiences at the hundred 'recreative evenings' which were held during the four months of the winter of 1862/3 often comprised some four thousand people[149] and it was the success of these evenings, along with "the appreciation of science .." which he felt was shown "...when the subject was treated properly", which led Roscoe to offer a further series of lectures - at a cost of a penny admission fee, or four lectures for threepence. His first penny lecture was held in a large hall in Chorlton on Medlock, " ... a poor part of Manchester ...", and such was the response that such lectures were held throughout the autumn and winter of 1866/7.[150] During the winter of 1867 similar classes were held at a charge of two shillings and sixpence for thirteen lectures in a three-month block and set the pattern for the following eleven consecutive winters. Running costs were partly defrayed by printed copies of the lectures which Henry Pitman produced and sold "... all over the world."[151] for a penny each.

The social benefits of these activities were very much part of what Roscoe saw as the product of enriching the minds of the working classes as much as the benefit to the individual and he was supported in this belief by many of the leading social reformers of the day. As referred to earlier in this work, an holistic approach was common among social and educational reformers and it is no surprise, therefore, that Roscoe's work was actively supported by such men as the Owenite Dr. John Watts, Unitarian Minister William Gaskell, and other committed educationists who were to respond to the popularity of the lectures by offering similar support to the founding of the Manchester Working Man's College referred to earlier in this thesis, which was ultimately to be incorporated into the evening classes at Owens College.

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[148] Roscoe 1906 op.cit. p. 124

[149] Waller R.D. 'Henry Roscoe and Adult Education' in Rewley House Papers Vol.III No.X 1961/2 Ed.HP Smith p.13

[150] Roscoe 1906 op.cit. p.126

[151] ibid p.127

Despite the week-day demands of his work at Owens College and his dedication to popular lectures and evening classes, Charles Rowley remembers Sir Henry also delivering the first Sunday lecture organised by the Ancoats Recreation Movement in the Autumn of 1881 in the New Islington Hall.[152] On the first of October 1882 Roscoe gave a lecture there on 'Coal Pit Explosions' and on the eleventh of November 1885 repeated his 'John Dalton' lecture to Sunday afternoon audiences and, likewise, further lectures in February 1887 and January 1888. [153]

Roscoe's enthusiasm for taking science to the working people was abundantly rewarded as he noted in a preface to the records of the first series of Science Lectures for the People in 1866:[154]

> "....Upwards of four thousand persons have attended the thirteen Lectures delivered during the past winter. The class of persons present was chiefly that for whom the Lectures were designed, and the marked attention and interest invariably shown by the audiences showed how keenly they appreciated the value of the information imparted by the Lectures. The subjects of the courses were as follows:
>
> 1. Four Lectures on Elementary Chemistry. By Prof. Roscoe FRS
> 2. Four Lectures on Elementary Zoology. By Dr. T Alcock.
> 3. One Lecture on Coal. By Professor W. Stanley Jevons.[155]
> 4. Four Lectures on Elementary Physiology. By Dr. J.E. Morgan.
>
> The entrance charge of one penny per Lecture defrayed but a very small part of the heavy expenses of advertising, &c. The remainder has been kindly borne by several gentlemen interested in the scheme. The thanks of the Lecturers are especially due to Mr.Pitman for his very accurate reports of their words.
>
> H.E. Roscoe."

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[152] Rowley op.cit. p.199

[153] Ancoats Recreation Movement Syllabuses 1882-1888.

[154] Roscoe - Science Lectures for the People 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 9th 10th Series published by John Heywood in Manchester 1888.

[155] W.S. Jevons succeeded A.J. Scott as Professor of Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy at Owens College from 1866 to 1876. See also Schabas M. 'The "Worldly Philosophy" of William Stanley Jevons' in Victorian Studies Vol. 28 No. 1 Autumn 1994 pp.129-148.

The extant printed accounts of Roscoe's Science Lectures for the People of 1866/7 and 1870/71 1871/2 - 1873/4 and 1877-1879 demonstrate the commitment of this Owens College lecturer to the dissemination of knowledge within the local community.

LECTURES FOR THE PEOPLE

Newspaper reports of 1886 on 'Lectures for the People', elsewhere in the Manchester area, show that a social and political consciousness was being catered for through popular lectures on such subjects as 'The Making of Greater Britain', and scientific enquiry being met with lectures, for instance, on 'Electrical Energy and its Uses' which was offered by the Gilchrist Trust.[156] Among the Trust's lectures of 1891 was a series on 'Water', which could be attended for as little cost as a penny, with a 'few reserved seats' costing a shilling.[157] In the early 1890s the Botanical Society in Middleton often arranged lectures,[158] such as one on 'The Extinct Plants of an Ancient World', at the Ring O' Bells public house.[159]

Such sustained commitment to adult education provision and the manner in which it was continuously taken advantage of reflect the groundswell of enthusiasm for adult education in Manchester in both full-time and part-time provision, and bear excellent testimony to the demand for and the justification of the founding of just such an establishment as Owens College in 1851.

NON-DENOMINATIONAL ADULT SCHOOLS

Brief reference was made at the beginning of this chapter to the existence in the first half of the nineteenth century of Adult Schools in Manchester. From the mid 1840s the non-denominational Adult Schools began to develop nationally where previously they had been scattered rather thinly. These Adult Schools, which enjoyed a period of revival during the first decade of the twentieth century, catered for working women, as

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156 Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser 12th February 1886.

157 Middleton Guardian, Prestwich Advertiser and North Manchester Chronicle 28th February 1891.

158 See the Middleton Albion 1889 to 1893

159 See the Middleton Albion 17th October 1891.

well as men and 'juniors' and expanded their teaching into social as well as religious education. Martin's work refers to an Adult School having existed "for some time"[160] in Manchester by 1824 in connection with the Congregational Chapel in Grosvenor Street and Kelly discusses the manner in which the Adult School which was formed in Manchester in 1860 received considerable support from Owens College staff.[161]

By 1906 there were some 1,200 Adult Schools in England teaching almost 83,000 men and women.[162] Nonetheless, evidence shows that substantially fewer women than men, in the period under discussion here, were able to take advantage of the education so offered. The 1851 census records that in the 1,545 adult evening schools which were open in England in that year, 27,829 students were male and 11,954 were female.[163] Traditionally, any education which was available to females, whether children or adults, was focused on their expected domestic roles.[164]

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Purvis' consideration of women's education in England portrays the provision of education for working class women as a tool in the process of social control. Of the

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[160] Martin G. Currie The Adult School Movement: Its Origin and Development (London: National Adult School Union 1924) pp.54/55

[161] Kelly op.cit. 1950 p.8. Similarly, Owens College staff had been well represented on The General Committee of the Education-Aid Society, referred to earlier in this thesis, which included in its membership Professors Christie, Williamson, Theodores and Greenwood of Owens College, along with their colleagues C.H. Herford and Arthur Ransome.(See Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society Reports 1855 - 72 op.cit. 1st Report) p. 3

[162] Sadler M.E. Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere: Their Place in the Educational system of an Industrial and Commercial State (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1908 2nd edition) p.19

[163] Purvis J. A History of Women's Education in England (Milton Keynes: Open University Press 1991) p53

[164] For an assessment of the work of the Adult School movement in Manchester to 1914 see Lees C. 1994 op.cit., pp.240-284. For the situation in Yorkshire for the same period see Harrison J.F.C. Learning and Living 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp.301-311. The national context of the movement is dealt with in some detail in Isichei E. Victorian Quakers (London: Oxford University Press, 1990)

provision at the College for Working Women, for instance, she opines that "..the emphasis upon enrichment in personal life was not an enrichment for self development - as for the male students - but an enrichment for the benefit of others"[165] and it can be seen that preparing working class women to be good wives, housewives, mothers and domestic employees, was very much the concern of many middle-class providers of education for working-class women. To what extent this was a deliberate attempt at social control, or merely a contextual response to that period of our social evolution is a debatable point. When domestic duties and child-rearing were so necessarily time consuming in working-class families that they demanded the almost undivided attention of one adult and it was also necessary for working-class men to work for sixty or more hours each week, it might not have been as unreasonable as it could seem from an early twenty-first century point of view, for the domestic and wage-earning responsibilities to be divided in the way in which they were. Moreover, the establishment by middle class women of Salford Women's College demonstrates the self-direction which women of that social class were able to achieve.

In Manchester, The Jubilee School for Girls was founded through a private bequest in 1810, to commemorate the jubilee of King George III and was established in New Bridge Street, Strangeways. The object of the institution was "..to promote the moral and religious education of the female children of poor persons - especially destitute orphans; to provide them with clothing and board while in the Institution, and to instruct them in such manner as will lay a foundation for their becoming useful household servants."[166] The girls were taught sewing, marking, knitting, washing, ironing and all kinds of household work and were instructed in accordance with the doctrines and principles of the Church of England. Charity schools and some factory schools offered lessons for working-class boys and girls and ragged schools would take children too unsociable or too poor to be accepted in other schools.

In another Manchester school, the Charter Street Ragged School, one of its own former pupils, Mr Thomas Johnson, as teacher and superintendent over a period of some thirty years was said to have spent "All his spare evenings and leisure time" in the interests of the children and was among a "little band of men and women [who] were the first[167] in the field with a Working Girls' Home, an institute founded to

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165 Purvis 1991 op.cit. p. 49.

166 Julibee Schools Annual Report 1856

167 Manchester Faces and Places August 1900 Vol. ll No.9 p.124 states that the

provide cheap, suitable, accommodation for girls struggling to keep themselves on a half-dozen or so of shillings a week".[168] Safely housed, for one shilling and threepence per week, the working girls would have been in a better position to take advantage of such adult education as was available to them locally.

Sunday schools offered continuing education for working-class women, as well as for men, through segregated classes, with the central aim being to cultivate an ability to read and understand scripture and to interpret it into a personal moral code. For girls and women, though, emphasis was placed on the development of sewing and other domestic skills. At Bennett Street, for example, Hassall notes that for women and girls " ... the emphasis remained on the provision of useful classes ..."[169]

The Anglican church offered education to men and women through the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church and the smaller, Dissenting, organisation, the British and Foreign School Society (previously the Lancasterian Society of Mill, Wakefield and Place) offered similar opportunities. From 1812 these organisations had been preparing their teachers in training departments attached to the schools and so offered a more professional educational opportunity than many other voluntary agencies. From 1833 they also received state support and supervision. Both organisations offered lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic and also, for women, those practical skills which would benefit them both in the home and in domestic employment. It was, however, the very long and laborious domestic responsibilities, which kept a great many working class women away from such educational and recreative classes.

During the eighteen-forties there were numerous ventures, which often included outreach to women and children, into independent working-class education, largely inspired by the principles of Chartism or Owenite philosophy but, as well as being limited by the restricting pressures of domestic responsibilities, it was also difficult in the social climate of the nineteenth century to organise classes for adults of both sexes. Interests and social and domestic roles were perceived as being different across the

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ll No.9 p.124 states that the foundation stone to this home was laid in 1866 by the Earl of Shaftesbury.

[168] ibid. September 1899 Vol.10 No. 12 p.238

[169] See Hassall 1986 op.cit. p.374

classes as the protocol of the day frowned upon the social mixing of men and women in public.

Nonetheless, women were admitted to lectures and to the library at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute from the academic year of 1837/8 at a fee which was first set at the comparatively high figure of five shillings per quarter and then reduced to four shillings. In 1845 'Higher Day Classes for females' were instituted, the Directors of the Institution having demonstrated an awareness, notwithstanding the acknowledged " .. importance of the role of women within the family .. " that they had a right to "enjoy a similar education with males".[170] English Reading, Grammar, Arithmetic, and Writing; Plain and Fancy Needlework; Cutting-out and Making-up of Dresses, &c; French Language and Literature; Biography and Criticism of English Literature; Landscape, Flower, and Figure Drawing; Music (Instruction on the Piano Forte) first class; Music; Department of Modelling and Casting (Flowers, Fruit, &c); Natural Philosophy and Chemistry were offered in 1846 in order to make available such 'similar' education to the daughters of the lower-middle classes.[171]

Purvis points out that although Manchester's was not a typical Mechanics' Institute, it "... does offer a case study of the way the social class background of middle-class women could be the most important factor shaping the female curriculum" and she draws attention to the " ... two different strands of middle-class female education - afternoon classes for adult women and day classes for young women".[172] The likelihood is that better off working class women and lower middle-class women would attend in the afternoon. At three shillings per quarter the classes only ever drew small numbers; thirty in 1866 and thirty-eight in 1870.[173] They were priced beyond the means of most working class women and were held at hours which they would almost certainly not be available to attend.

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[170] Tylecote in Cardwell (ed) 1974 op.cit. p. 75

[171] Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution 1846 cited in Purvis J.1989 op.cit. pp 134-135

[172] ibid p.134

[173] Manchester Mechanics' Institute Annual Report 1868 p.11; Annual Report 1871 p.11 cited in Purvis 1989 op.cit.p134

The recovery of missed opportunity and such cultural 'improvement', as would befit potential wives of the middle classes, seem to have been the aims of the providers. Some afternoon students were able to take advantage of the day classes of the younger women which Purvis claims were the "really interesting provision for middle-class women" but, nonetheless, aimed at preparing them for the genteel life of middle class married women, or, should they fail to secure themselves a husband, for the role of governess.[174] In 1851, 162 of the 253 students were fourteen years old and younger.[175] In the 1860s women at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution became eligible to vote within the managerial organisation of the institute.[176]

The Lyceums, as founded in Manchester in 1838 and discussed earlier in this chapter, also admitted women to their classes which, in 1839 were reported as including in their number "... girls and women from the factories." For the working class girls and women this could well have been the first and possibly the only opportunity they had to develop their literacy skills.[177] However, females were admitted " to all the privileges of the institution excepting the reading rooms".[178]

There was entertainment to be enjoyed by women at the lyceums and a wide range of lectures was offered. In 1840 a leading feminist, Emma Martin, described by Purvis as "one of a small group of female lecturers within the Owenite movement who in the

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[174] In the mid-nineteenth century, employment as a governess was one of the few acceptable occupations open to women, particularly unmarried ones, from the middle classes. See Hughes K. The Victorian Governess (London: Hambledon Press, 1993); Thomson P. The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal, 1837-1873 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1873); Broughton T. and Symes R. (eds.) The Governess: an anthology (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd. 1997); Renton A. Tyrant or Victim? A History of the British Governess (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1991); and Peterson M.J. 'The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society' in Vicinus M. (ed.) Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1972) pp.3-19.

[175] Purvis 1989 op.cit. p.134/6

[176] ibid p.124

[177] Report of Provisional Directors of Ancoats Lyceum January 1839 p.16 cited in Hanley 1981 op.cit. p.404

[178] Duppa B.F. A Manual for Mechanics' Institutions (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans 1839) p.143 cited in Purvis 1989 op.cit. p.117

later 1830s and early 1840s spoke on the rights of women in education, marriage and divorce"[179] and who had rejected the tenets of Christianity and become a freethinker, delivered lectures in Ancoats on 'Education and Capabilities of Women' and 'Female Education'; a rare opportunity one would imagine for a largely working class female audience to "hear a feminist message",[180] which must surely have been a far cry from the ethos behind the domestically based subjects they were offered in the classroom. This seems to speak well of the democracy of the organisation, with the exception, as noted in the previous paragraph, of a failure to allow women to use the reading rooms in the institution, and at least offers a sign that some male minds were beginning to open to the subject of women's emancipation.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, demand for higher education increased amongst the growing ranks of the second generation of the entrepreneurial classes who wished to emulate the upper classes in cultural terms. As the Schools Enquiry Commission reported, "culture [had] not kept pace with wealth"..[181] and Manchester's large *nouveau riche* population must have been a good case in point. In Manchester as throughout England, the middle class desire for education created a corresponding increase in the demand for governesses which, in turn, highlighted the paucity of educational opportunity for middle-class women.

The Home and Colonial Infant School Society, founded in London in 1836 in response to the increase in governess roles, was one of the most successful trainers of teachers and State supervision of voluntary societies. From 1839 it instigated the development of a network of training colleges which offered courses varying in length from three months to three years. However, the need for better and more consistent teaching qualifications was becoming increasingly obvious and the Taunton Report published in 1868 of the Schools Inquiry Commission Inquiry, referred to in the previous chapter of this work, was to result in an improved standard of secondary education for women from 1869, thereby beginning a more positive learning and teaching cycle of better educated, and therefore more able, teachers.

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[179] Purvis 1989 op.cit. p.153

[180] loc.cit.

[181] Fiddes E. in Tylecote M. The Education of Women at Manchester University 1883-1933 (Manchester: University of Manchester 1941) p.2.

Despite the improved opportunities which later became available to women, however, a prevalent fear which often precluded them from taking the same educational advantage as men was that of the possibility of men becoming culturally subordinated to women, or, at least, losing their traditional role as protectors of the 'weaker' sex. Whilst it is clear that Greenwood, the Principal of Owens College from 1857 to 1889, had his own fears about the cultural implications of co-education, it is also evident that he supported the move to offer higher educational opportunities to women.[182] Greenwood was a member of the Managing Committee of the Manchester Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women from its early days.[183]

Greenwood's colleagues from Owens College, Professors Dawkins, Jevons, Ransome and Roscoe and the Reverend Cottam, and Reverend William Herford, were also members of the Association for Promoting the Education of Women. Reverend Herford[184] gave lectures free of charge to the classes for ladies which were held by the Association at the Governesses' Institution, on the principles and method of teaching.[185] Other lectures given by Owens College staff were on the subject of 'Harmony' by Mr. J.F.Bridge (lecturer in Harmony and Musical Composition at Owens) and in Mathematics by Mr. Bentley (who taught Classics at Owens College).

The Association, which was affiliated to Josephine Butler's North of England Council, is said by Sarah Barnes to have begun to bring pressure upon Owens College to admit women from between 1867 and 1869, being supported in its aim by ".. a number of professors and trustees of the college, as well as other prominent Manchester citizens and their wives ...",[186] including James Bryce one of the authors of the Taunton

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[182] See Robertson A.B. 'Manchester, Owens College and the Higher Education of Women: "A large hole for the cat and a small one for the kitten" ' in the Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester Vol.77 No.1. Spring 1995.

[183] Edith Wilson informed Hartog, in a letter dated 16th November, no year given, that the first report of the Manchester Association for Promoting the Education of Women was "dated November 1870". JRUL Hartog archives.

[184] See Herford's remarks in Political Tracts (Manchester Central Reference Library archives) on the subject of women's education, cited in chapter one of this work.

[185] Manchester Association for Promoting the Education of Women Annual Report December 1873 p.4. Manchester Central Reference Library.

[186] Barnes S.V. 'Crossing the Invisible Line: establishing co-education at the University of Manchester and Northwestern University' in History of Education 1994 Vol.23 No.1. p.39

Commission Report, and a former law professor at Manchester's Owens College. Bryce had reported specifically on the situation in Manchester and was in a good position so to do as he had taught Jurisprudence and Law at the College since 1855 and continued to do so until 1875.[187]

Despite such creditable support for the idea, Principal Greenwood rejected the Association's appeals for co-education at Owens, not only because what he saw as a necessary physical segregation in class would be costly, but also because he objected to mixed education on the grounds of:

> "... a deeply-seated difference of mental organisation between the sexes ... arising out of that undeniable inferiority of women to men in physical strength and toughness which unfits them for the strain which men can easily bear."[188]

Notwithstanding that view, that Professor Greenwood was supportive of initiatives to offer higher education to women can be seen from the example of his presence at the fifth meeting of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. Held in Leeds on the 24th June 1870, the meeting heard Professor Greenwood tell of Owens College's success, in achieving the necessary legislative approval for the admission of women to the college and his acknowledgement of the efforts of Jacob Bright MP in this respect. It was to be more than thirteen years, however, before that possibility became a reality, but when it did Professor Greenwood was among the first to teach the female students.[189] It should be noted, however, that in practice Greenwood had been somewhat lukewarm about the admission of women to classes at Owens College. Whilst he did not oppose the notion, the evidence suggests that he did little to promote it in his capacity as, and his position of influence as, the Principal of Owens College. In Fiddes' introduction to Mabel Tylecote's The Education of Women at Manchester University 1833-1933, in

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[187] Owens College Calendars 1855-1875

[188] The Manchester Guardian 20th January 1976 University of Manchester Archives cited in Barnes 1994 op.cit. p.41

[189] Minutes of the fifth meeting of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women held in Leeds on 24.6.70. (The same meeting was also told of Professor Ward's lecturing "lately" to a mixed audience of some one hundred and twenty male and one hundred and twenty female students in Liverpool College.)

which he provides a quite lengthy account of the admission of women to full university status, Greenwood's name does not appear at all in the narrative, albeit that few individuals are mentioned by name. Nonetheless, given Greenwood's status within the College and his presence on initiatives supporting the higher education of women, one might have expected him to have taken a more active stance. He was, however, cautious by temperament and it was not until the relative success of the venture of the Manchester and Salford College for Women (founded in 1877) had been established that the step of admitting women to the College was taken in 1883, even though the legislative mechanism which enabled this to happen had been in place since 1871.[190]

The Owens College Calendar of 1884 lists the first lecturers of the Department for Women as:

Principal J.G. Greenwood LLD (Greek and Latin)
Professor A.S. Wilkins MA LLD (Greek, Latin and Comparative Philology)
EB England MA (Greek and Latin)
Sidney G Owen BA (Greek and Latin)
Professor A.W. Ward Litt.D LLD (History and English Literature)
J.P. Whitney MA (History)
Professor T.N. Toller MA (English Language)
Henri Lallemand B.es.Sc. (French)
Herman Hager PhD (German)
R.F. Gwyther MA (Mathematics)
Fred. T. Swanwick MA (Mathematics)
Professor R Adamson MA LLD (Logic and Philosophy)

The Department of Women's Assistant Secretary and Tutor was Miss Edith C. Wilson.[191]

In October 1886 an advertisement in the Manchester Guardian invited "ladies above 16" to apply to Miss Wilson, at 223 Brunswick Street, to attend afternoon lectures in:

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[190] For a national perspective on the admission of women to institutions of higher education, see the opening chapter of Dyhouse C. No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939 (London: UCL Press 1995)

[191] Owens College Calendar 1884/5 p.26 (Manchester: JE Cornish and T Sowler; London: Macmillan London 1884)

Greek Testament Criticism
The English Drama before Shakespeare
European History
Roman History
Lessing and His Contemporaries
French Literature

Classes were also offered in Greek, Latin, German, French, Mathematics, English History and English Language.[192]

Principal Greenwood was clearly of the same mind as those of the College's Court of Governors who, although supportive of the principle of higher education for women, were "..not prepared to sanction the principle of mixed education, believing that this would be at once opposed to the true educational interests of students of either sex, and out of harmony with the sentiments and usages of society".[193]

Thus lacking the will of those in power at Owens College to accommodate female students, and with the active support of members both of staff and the Council of the College, the Manchester and Salford Women's College was established in Brunswick Street in the academic year of 1877/8[194]. Prior to this innovation local women had been scarcely able to access any higher education apart from the slim opportunities offered by the Royal Institution, the Athenaeum and the Mechanics' Institute, perhaps because of a lack of sufficient preliminary secondary education as well as a very limited provision.

Thirty-eight women enrolled in the first year, one hundred and one in the 1881/2 session and seventy-nine in 1882/3, but, rather than enrolling for a full course, most women elected for single classes. Barnes[195] suggests that this was probably due to

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192 Manchester Guardian Thursday 21.10.1886.

193 Minutes of Proceedings of the Court of Governors 10th April 1877 p.6 The Owens College Manchester (University of Manchester Archives) cited in Barnes 1994 op.cit. p.43

194 Reports of the exact opening date vary, but an extant letter from Edith C. Wilson to Philip Hartog (dated 16th November, no year given) says that "The first report of the Manchester and Salford college for Women, 223 Brunswick Street, is dated June 1878: the first session began, therefore, in 1877". JRUL Hartog archives.

195 Reports of the Manchester and Salford College for Women 1878-83 uncatalogued

there being a 'dual market' for higher education and an increasing importance placed on university degrees. London University offered full degree courses to women and the Oxbridge colleges were admitting women to exams. Those women who could afford to do so, prior to the creation of the Victoria University of Manchester, and the establishment of the Department for Women in 1883, were able to acquire the education they desired elsewhere. Those Manchester women who could not afford to leave home to study would probably not have been able to afford to enrol for a full course and many others who were financially better off might well have been content to attend on a more casual basis purely in order to satisfy intellectual or social needs.

Among those committee members who drafted the operational scheme of the College, along with Greenwood, were the Reverend William Gaskell and Professors Wilkins and Ward. Ward was to succeed Greenwood as Owens College Principal in 1889 and his principalship was later to be reported as having been " ... marked by the all but complete success of a movement [to admit women to higher education] which from the first had enjoyed his sympathy and support". [196]

The aim of the college's founders was to " ... test the desire of women for education of a University type and the professors and lecturers of Owens College were encouraged to teach in it".[197] The Women's College reported in 1883 that its objective had been to provide for "... girls who have left school and are able and willing to give ... the greater portion of their time to a course of continuous study." Subjects which women were initially invited to study at the college were Greek, Latin French, German, Arithmetic and Algebra, Elements of Geometry, English Language and Elements of Science Language and English History.[198]

The apparent ambiguity of Owens College's stance in discouraging the admission of women, yet encouraging its staff to teach them off site is somewhat dispelled and Greenwood's personal position made clearer when one considers the hopes he

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University of Manchester Archives cited in Barnes 1994 op.cit. p43

[196] Manchester Guardian Wednesday 12th March 1902. Jubilee article outlining the history of Owens College and sub-headed 'The Admission of Women'.

[197] loc.cit.

[198] Manchester & Salford Women's College Draft Scheme. Manchester Central Reference Library n.d.

expressed on his own and the College Authorities' behalf when women were finally admitted to Owens College in 1883: " that ... [the] new department might provide such culture for the women of this community as yet should be compatible with all that was best and noblest in the social training of moral discipline of home life. In order to do this they must avoid all rash mechanical attempts to conform the education of women to that of men".[199]

Greenwood had not changed his views; he still felt that men and women should not share classrooms and that their separate roles in life should be reflected and contained within separate educational facilities. It should be noted that such views were widely held at this time and Greenwood had consulted Harvard University in Boston, U.S.A., where male and female students were segregated. However, the cost of duplicating classes and the stipulation of the Victoria University that candidates for degrees should be taught within a constituent college meant that, given the quantity and quality of female students, their ultimate admission to Owens was inevitable. Nonetheless, male and female students of Owens College were largely taught in separate buildings until 1897.[200]

An important question when considering the comparatively small number of full-time students at Manchester and Salford Women's College is that of the paucity of secondary education available to women which left them unprepared for higher education and which had been highlighted in the Taunton Commission Report. Women from working class families had little educational opportunity beyond elementary level and women in middle-class families were educated in such subjects as would merely befit the respectable wives which they were expected to become. English language and composition, drawing, possibly French, music and sewing and religious instruction were likely to be the only subjects deemed necessary for girls.[201] Coventry Patmore's poetic and romanticised portrayal of women as the moral guardians of families and family life, which was published between 1854 and 1863, sold in large numbers, embracing and perpetuating a philosophy which placed men and women in two very

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199 Transcript of speech given in the Manchester Guardian 9th October 1883 (University of Manchester Archives) cited in Barnes 1994 op.cit. p. 45

200 Barnes ibid p.47

201 As late in the century as 8th September 1893 a Ladies' Day School in Altrincham was advertising in the Alderley and Wilmslow Advertiser for pupil-teachers able to offer lessons in 'music, painting, etc.'

separate spheres of familial and societal structures and limited the role of the latter to the purely domestic whilst at the same time keeping them economically dependent upon men. The only 'respectable' function of middle-class women, outside of the family unit, was that of voluntary charitable work. However, the fluctuating fortunes of middle-class men meant that many fathers died without being able to leave adequate financial provision for their daughters. The rise in bankruptcies in such circles also encouraged the migration of younger men who sought the more favourable conditions of the New World and, among those who remained in Britain, many spent a substantial amount of years in their young adult life travelling to take care of their business interests in other parts of the British Empire. In addition, mortality rates among male infants was higher than that among females. The combination of these factors meant that there were fewer men per head of population than women and very often the unmarried daughters of men whose businesses had failed remained unmarried and found themselves living in impecunious circumstances, whilst at the same time idle, lacking in mental stimulation and prevented by convention from providing the remedy to their own maladies.

Anne Jemima Clough, born in Liverpool in 1820, was the daughter of one such middle-class businessman and her frustrated attempts during her father's lifetime to achieve an education and income of her own and to help educate the poverty stricken children such as those she voluntarily helped during the mid 1830s at the Welsh National School in Liverpool, typify the experiences of many young women of her day. Her desire to offer her services as a day governess was resisted by her family as to do so would have been perceived as an admission of financial difficulties and failure to secure a husband and would also have resulted in a certain loss of respectable status for her family. She did, however, open a small school in 1842 and taught a small number of pupils until 1846. During that time her father died and in 1849 Miss Clough attended the Borough Road School and the Home and Colonial Institute in London where she underwent teacher training. Mary Gallant's paper Against the Odds: Anne Jemima Clough and women's education in England, gives an excellent and succinct biographical account of Anne Clough's accomplishments in promoting the education of women, working "... within the established gendered social structure ..."[202] and her ultimate principalship of Newnham College after Henry Sidgwick, impressed by the teaching methods in her school in Ambleside (which she had financed with a loan

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[202] Gallant M. P. 'Against the odds: Anne Jemima Clough and women's education in England' History of Education 1997, vol.26 no.2. pp145-164.

from Harriet Martineau's 'building fund'[203]) persuaded her to take charge in 1871 of what was originally a boarding house for women attending lectures in Cambridge. The house developed into Newnham Hall in 1873 and was formally incorporated by Cambridge University as Newnham College in 1880. Miss Clough was its Principal until her death in 1892.[204]

Following the death of her mother in 1860 and her brother in 1861, Miss Clough had removed to Combe Hurst, near Kingston-Upon-Thames and had there met, among other advocates of women's education, Frances Buss, Emily Davies and Josephine Butler. On her return to Liverpool in 1866 she helped found the Liverpool Schoolmistreses' Association and received support from Josephine and her husband George, who was Principal of the Liverpool College, when, as secretary of the Ladies' Educational Society of Liverpool, she formulated a plan of lectures for women.[205] It was through the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, of which Mrs Josephine Butler was President,[206] that James Stuart, a Cambridge Fellow and peripatetic lecturer, was invited to deliver such lectures in Liverpool, as well as in Sheffield, Leeds and Manchester. Because the middle-class population and, therefore, the demand for higher education of women, was increasing rapidly in the North of England, the Council was extremely active in organising

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[203] ibid p.151

[204] See also Williams P. 'Pioneer Women Students at Cambridge, 1869-81' in Hunt F. (ed.) Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp.171-191, which also refers to Emily Davies's work in the founding of Girton College. Her contribution is assessed in a rather uncritical biography by Bennett D: Emily Davies and the Liberation of Women (London: Andre Deutsch, 1990). The experience of women at Cambridge University is examined in McWilliams-Tullberg R. Women at Cambridge: A Men's University, Though of a Mixed Type (London: Gollancz, 1975).

[205] Gallant 1997 op.cit. p.153

[206] In addition to her work for women's access to higher education, Josephine Butler campaigned for women's rights. She was particularly concerned abut the degrading treatment of prostitutes through the Contagious Diseases Act of 1864 and fought a long and ultimately successful struggle to have the Act repealed in 1886. A further by-product of her campaign resulted in the age of consent being raised from twelve to sixteen. See Ellis R. Who's Who in Victorian Britain (London: Shepheard-Walwyn, 1997), pp.409-411

peripatetic lectures and Kelly's work acknowledges the support of Owens College staff in this respect.[207]

The work of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, and the influence of Miss Clough in particular, is ably documented in the work of Sheila C. Lemoine, in which the author suggests that "Miss Clough's suggested methods of reform ... can be seen to be the 'seed bed' from which the later University Extension movement began."[208] This opinion would appear to be supported by women students themselves as an unascribed article in the Owens College Department for Women's magazine, Iris, dated 1892, paying posthumous tribute to Miss Clough, refers to the increase in the number of girls "... doing advanced work in good schools ..." and that it had become "... a matter of course to see the names of women in the honours lists of all the English Universities except Durham." The writer goes on to laud the achievements of the pioneers of women's education and says that it is "... Miss Clough's example ... that has taught us how the loftiest aims may be combined with the greatest patience ... for those who are struggling upwards to a nobler life."[209] (Those aims were to be met at Durham, too, as the first four women students matriculated in 1896.[210])

Ms Lemoine's work demonstrates the manner in which the teaching methods used by Anne Clough and James Stuart and the Council's calls for the examination of adult women paved the way for the University Extension Movement, which inherited the "weaknesses of the North of England Council as well as its strengths" .[211] No doubt these weaknesses initially included the misguided targeting of those who would turn out in large numbers to attend popular lectures and paying insufficient attention to, having underestimated, the demand for serious study. Nonetheless, the provision of

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[207] Kelly T. 1950 op.cit. chapter 1.

[208] Abstract page: The North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. Lemoine S. C. The North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women 1867 to 1875/6. (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester 1968).

[209] Iris February 1892 pp 15/16.

[210] Durham University Calendar 1995-6 Vol.I. p.98.

[211] Lemoine 1968 op.cit. p.387

higher education for women was inextricably linked with the growth of the university extension movement.

The North of England Council was established in the autumn of 1867 with the object of uniting " .. the Educational Associations in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield and Newcastle .... into a Society for promoting improvements in the education of women." The Council initially devoted its attention to " 1. The institution of Lectures on literary, historical, and scientific subjects. 2. the promotion of Examinations for Women ... while at the same time ... endeavouring to improve the training of teachers ... The first object ..." it was reported " .. has been so far successfully attained. In October and November 1867, Mr. James Stuart .... delivered courses of lectures on astronomy in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Sheffield, to more than 500 students."[212]

James Stuart had been born in the county of Fife in 1843 and remained in Scotland until, after graduating from St.Andrew's, he won a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1862, going on to become a Fellow of the College in 1866. The significance of Stuart's work in the field of university extension, from his initial involvement in the instigation of peripatetic professorial lectures in England in 1867 until his retirement from the University Extension Syndicate in 1887, cannot be over-stated.[213]

In his autobiography Stuart recalls, with evident delight, the occasion on which he delivered a lecture about meteors to workmen at Crewe in November 1867, coincidentally on the night following a meteoric shower; the good fortune of which

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[212] Prospectus and Rules of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women London 1868. p.5.

[213] It is interesting to note that, despite what is a commonly-held historical view of Stuart's vital role in the introduction of peripatetic and University Extension teaching, when Professor Sir Richard Jebb, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, delivered a lecture to students at the Summer Meeting of August 1900 on the subject of 'The University Extension Movement', whilst lauding Cambridge's inauguration of the Movement in 1873, he makes no mention whatsoever of James Stuart. In addition, Professor Jebb describes the lecture and class system which Stuart established, again without any reference to its origin. These would appear to be very odd omissions. 'The University Extension Movement' Sir Richard Jebb in Education in the Nineteenth Century Roberts R.D.(ed) Cambridge University Press 1901. Chapter X pp.193-200.

timing drew an excited audience of some fifteen hundred people and encouraged him and them to take part in a six-part series of lectures, subsequently published as Six Lectures to the Working Men of Crewe and as A Chapter of Science for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[214]

Invitations from the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women and the Equitable Pioneers Co-operative Society in Rochdale were readily accepted by Stuart and it was from leaving diagrams hanging from one of these weekly lectures to another that Stuart learned the value of building a half-hour question time into his lecture plans.[215]

Stuart's 1867 courses for the Council marked a significant milestone in the evolution of University Extension. Kelly describes "One of the most valuable features of Extension work... " as being "the attention paid to the needs of women", substantiating his view with the comments of a pupil-teacher quoted in the Manchester Guardian of 11th October 1876:

> " I experienced for the first time the gain that accrues from the contact with lecturers of first-rate ability and vision. We P.T.s had never previously had such a privilege, and the encouragement we received .... was of the utmost value in our self-development....I feel that the extra-mural lectures were a turning-point in my life".[216]

Stuart's enthusiasm for egalitarian education can be seen in his support of Josephine Butler's work in promoting opportunities for the higher education of women. Extant reports of the meetings of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, of which Mrs Butler was President, show that he at least attended the second meeting of the Council which was held on the 15th April, 1868 and the sixth meeting, which was held on the 23rd June, 1871[217] and supported a memorial on their behalf with another of his own to Cambridge University in 1868,

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[214] Stuart J. Reminiscences (London: Printed for private circulation at the Chiswick Press 1911) p. 163/4.

[215] ibid. p.166

[216] Kelly 1992 op.cit. p227

[217] Reports of the meetings of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women from 1.11.1867 to 25.6.1874. University of Manchester John Ryland's Library Archives.

gaining along the way the supporting signatures of F.D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, amongst others.[218] Similarly, when, in November 1871, four memorials from the North of England Council, the Crewe Mechanics Institute, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society, and the Mayor and other inhabitants of Leeds, were presented to the Vice-Chancellor and Council of Cambridge University requesting the University to take in hand the kind of lecturing work which Stuart had begun, Stuart wrote an accompanying letter to the resident members of the Senate detailing his experiences and ".. enforce[ing] thereby the prayer of the memorialists".[219] These appeals were instrumental in bringing about the ultimate involvement of the university in extension work.

Stuart also lectured for the Council and for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Equitable Pioneers Co-operative Society of Rochdale, drawing science lecture audiences in excess of six hundred students per week[220] in Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield and Manchester with his eight-lecture courses, primarily aimed at women likely to undertake teacher training.

In 1868, following the success of Stuart in the North of England in the previous year, Mr Charles Pearson, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, gave lectures to students in Manchester and Liverpool, on early English history, and Mr Hales, formerly Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, addressed lecture audiences in Leeds, Sheffield and Bradford on early English literature, also for the North of England Council.

The unquestionable success of James Stuart in the peripatetic delivery of lectures, in the North West of England had proved very significant and, in the light of this, experimental extension courses took place in 1873 in Leicester, Nottingham and Derby, although the only award available through these courses initially was certification of course completion and examination and the necessary private study.

The popular lectures of James Stuart were well attended not only by working-class men, but also by middle-class women wishing to raise their standard of education in order to enter teacher training. However, it was necessary to overcome the significant

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[218] Stuart 1911 op.cit. p.181

[219] ibid. p 170

[220] Kelly 1992 op.cit.p220

organisational challenge posed by the contemporary disapproval which arose when men and women were allowed to take part in classes which involved open discussion. The fear was that any social intercourse between men and women who had not been formally introduced could lead to immoral behaviour. Stuart met this challenge by organising his sessions for the Council so that he delivered a lecture and then received written questions from the class.[221]

Stuart also took the lecture style which he developed for The North of England Council to Cambridge in support of the work of those, such as Anne Clough, Emily Davies, Frances Buss,[222] and Mr and Mrs Henry Sidgwick, who campaigned there for the educational rights of women. It is the Sidgwicks of whom Stuart said "the education of women in Cambridge owes everything"[223] and to whom the later foundation of Newnham and Girton Colleges may by largely attributed. A professor and former don at Cambridge, Sidgwick played a significant part in the University's acceding to requests for women to be admitted to the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations.[224]

However, Anne Clough and Henry Sidgwick were not happy with the notion of women being offered the same, rapidly becoming less relevant, classical curricula as men. In the face of strong opposition from Emily Davies, the founder of Girton College, who sought directly equal educational opportunities and who had originally

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[221] Stuart 1911op.cit. p. 162

[222] Frances Buss (1827-1894) and her mother founded in 1850 the North London Collegiate School for girls from the middle classes and supported Emily Davies's campaign in the 1860s to have the local examinations of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge opened to girls as well as boys. Together with Dorothea Beale, the Head of Cheltenham Ladies' College, Buss played a leading role in the establishing of the Association of Head Mistresses in 1874. Buss was its first President, an office she held until her death. For the contribution of Frances Buss (and Dorothea Beale) to education, see Kamm J. How Different from Us (London: Bodley Head, 1958); Dyhouse C. essay 'Miss Buss and Miss Beale: Gender and Authority in the History of Education' in Hunt F.(ed.) (1987), op.cit., pp.22-38; and Purvis J. (1991), op.cit., pp.77-80, 82-85 and 87-88.

[223] Stuart 1911 op.cit. p.179

[224] Gallant 1997 op.cit. p.155

helped to open the door to local exams for women, Sidgwick successfully petitioned Cambridge to remove Greek and Latin from the women's higher examination.[225]

It is also interesting to note that those who had examined the BA at the ancient universities felt that its standard was too low to be of value to women teachers. A letter from George Butler, who was an Oxford Examiner, conveyed to the North of England Council his opinion of its "...low standard of intellectual training and literary culture ..." He felt that "It would ... be a grave mistake to found a new system of examinations for women, many of whom would become governesses, on so low a standard of attainment."[226] The Reverend Mark Pattison, Rector of Oxford's Lincoln College, held very much the same view, saying that "... we are thoroughly ashamed of our pass degree ourselves, and would be gladly rid of it if we could".[227] Similarly, the Reverend T.G. Bonney, MA, Fellow of St.John's College, Cambridge, and a member of its Senate, wrote to the Council in 1868 to dissuade them from requesting the Cambridge examinations of the day for their women students on the grounds that "... an University degree has come to be a mark, not so much of a certain amount of knowledge as of having undergone certain social associations and experiences, having lived three years or more in a College, and associated with men who, it is presumed, are gentlemen".[228] The opportunity, then, for national standards of education to be raised through the extension of university teaching, can be seen to have been ripe, especially as the exam which was first adopted in 1869 for women was extended in 1874 ".. to men at their own request ... The Higher Local Examination".[229]

British society still strongly embraced a philosophy of differing, if complementary, roles for men and women and there were also ideological differences when such establishments as the Mechanics' Institutes and Sheffield's People's College offered co-educational opportunities and when the London Working Women's College (which had been established in 1864 by Elizabeth Malleson and supported by such staunch

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[225] ibid pp155/6

[226] Report of the second meeting of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women 15.4.1868. p.2

[227] ibid p.4

[228] ibid. p.3

[229] Report of the 9th meeting of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women 24.6.1874.

feminists as George Eliot, Harriet Martineau and JS Mill) began to admit men to its classes. One exemplary response to this came from Frances Martin who established the College for Working Women in 1874 and provided a syllabus which revolved mainly around domestic and caring skills.[230]

The Taunton Commission Inquiry reported in 1868 on the weakness of secondary education and the narrowness of school curriculum which it discovered during its investigation and drew attention to the negative cycle of inadequate teaching available to the middle-classes, in particular to middle-class girls. It was important, therefore, that teachers' own standards of education should be raised in order to close the gap between the poor education of the working classes and the higher education of the privileged classes. University extension provided an excellent forum for such opportunities and was seen by many within the movement as the only method by which class barriers could be removed entirely from the world of education.

In this respect the influence of University Extension was to be two-fold in as much as the extension lectures facilitated the rise in educational standards of pupil-teachers and, through them, as the legislation of 1870, 1880 and 1891 opened the elementary school doors to more working-class children, succeeding generations were able to enjoy the benefit of being taught by professionally trained teachers. In this way the ancient universities retained some control over the quality of education in England and Wales from primary to university level. In 1886 Cambridge University established a training College for Women, following the eight-year success of its Teachers' Training Syndicate which had taught and examined teachers and trainee teachers.[231]

Teachers had been attending Newnham, often for only one or two terms, since 1871 and Gallant's research shows that Anne Clough's invitation to elementary schoolmistresses to spend part of their summer holiday at Newnham in the summer of 1887 was "In anticipation of the Extension programme begun by Oxford and Cambridge in 1888".[232]

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[230] Purvis 1991 op.cit. p.48

[231] Gallant 1997 op.cit. p161

[232] loc. cit.

Notwithstanding the comments of George Butler and Mark Pattison, the maintenance of quality and the fear of jeopardising it were concerns which were expressed by those fearful of extending university education beyond the universities' walls. In order to maintain high academic standards and the traditional ethos of university teaching it was essential that those who taught adult part-time students held such standards and values themselves and it will be seen from the evidence in chapters three and four of this work that such was indeed the case. Clearly, the benefits of " ... social association and experience ..." which are luxuries afforded to full-time, residential, students would not be available to part-time students, but summer schools which were successfully introduced in 1888 did allow part-time students a brief opportunity to experience life within university walls and J.A.R. Marriott recalls that these summer school audiences "consisted predominantly of women ... but not by any means exclusively."[233]

The debate in respect of the effect on educational needs of the industrial and, *ergo*, social, economic and political changes which took place within the nineteenth century was also reflected in the concerns of those involved in the early consideration of the possibility of extending university education and it can be seen from the types of courses offered by the early established centres that those matters were addressed, and needs well met, at a local level. Agricultural, scientific and technical subjects were offered alongside those of the humanities and arts. In this way, also, vocational and non-vocational education was made available to working class men and middle-class women alike and many among the pioneers of university extension must have rejoiced at the opportunity so presented for class divisions to be overcome.

As with the education of women teachers, the plethora of adult education organisations had failed to meet these needs at a higher education level, but it must be said that, in the light of the paucity of the elementary and secondary provision which had previously been available, such organisations had provided invaluable informal educational opportunities. Without the long-standing provision by such organisations the demand which was originally perceived as coming from the working classes and the extent of their educability might not have been recognised. As it was, when social, political and economic factors combined to raise the question of the educational potential of the masses traditional adult education experience had much of a positive nature to add to the debate.

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[233] Marriott J.A.R. Memories of Four Score Years (London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son Ltd. 1946) p.116

Given the various educational initiatives described in this chapter, the question of why the University Extension movement established itself in Manchester in the mid 1880s needs to be considered. Several points will be touched on briefly here, some of which will be examined more fully in the next chapter. In the concluding section of this chapter, some general considerations about the experience of the movement nationally will be explored together with some observations on the educational background in England in the 1870s and 1880s. The focus will then shift to observe the situation in Manchester in the mid 1880s.

In his study of the university extension lecture movement from 1873 to 1907, Norman Jepson notes that its origin "was a part of the wider educational movements which, during the last half of the nineteenth century, reflected the growing recognition of the deficiencies existing in all forms of education".[234] More specifically he shows the movement's beginnings and development as arising from attempts to reform and extend the provision of higher education, to improve the standards and provision of secondary education and "through its response to the training needs of teachers, to influence the development of primary education".[235]

Linked to these general aims are the more precise objectives of identifying the elements of the population the originators of the movement had envisaged that it would attract. Jepson indicates that there were three groups of people for whom the founders considered the movement would be especially suitable, although it was hoped that it would appeal to all sections of the community: artisans, ladies and young men from the middle classes.

That there were deficiencies in the various forms of education in England in the 1860s and 1870s had been clearly established by the several Royal Commissions appointed during these years to examine and report upon the nature, extent and quality of educational provision. Despite the fact that the state had become involved in education in Britain in 1833 through the giving of an annual grant to the (Anglican) National Schools' Society and the (Nonconformist) British and Foreign Schools' Society, there was no decisive step taken by the state into the area of education until 1870 with the passing, that year, of the Elementary Education Act. Essentially, the

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[234] Jepson 1973 op.cit. p.92

[235] ibid. pp 99-100

aim of the Act was to supplement the provision of existing voluntary schools by schools established through locally elected School Boards in areas in which the voluntary schools were not able to offer sufficient places. The voluntary schools continued to receive grants from the state; the schools created by the School Boards enjoyed government funding and were also financed from the local rates. A further Act of 1876 placed a responsibility on parents to ensure that their offspring received instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and the Act of 1880 made school attendance compulsory for children between the ages of five and ten.

The weaknesses of the provision of secondary education revealed in the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission (The Taunton Report), published in 1868, have been commented upon earlier in this chapter. The Report of the royal Commission on Technical Instruction (The Samuelson Report[236]), published from 1882 to 1884 identified commercial concerns in that the English educational system needed to offer a type of instruction which would provide the skills which would enable the country to compete successfully in world markets against foreign competition. It further noted the somewhat piecemeal development of technical education in England, which compared unfavourably with the educational standards achieved by other European countries, especially Germany. Whilst the report recorded and favourably commented upon examples of good practice in England, it recommended:

> "the establishment, in suitable localities, of schools or departments of schools, in which the study of natural science, drawing, mathematics,and modern languages shall take the place of Latin and Greek; [and] that local authorities be empowered, if they think fit, to establish, maintain, and contribute to the establishment and maintenance of secondary and technical (including agricultural) schools and colleges."[237]

The means of pursuing these developments was through the passing of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and of financing them through the money raised from the tax on spirits through the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890. Whilst these

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[236] Bernhard Samuelson (1820-1905) was an engineer and ironmaster and a Liberal M.P. in 1859 and from 1865 to 1895. He was especially interested in European technical education. See the biographical footnote in Maclure J.S. Educational Documents, England and Wales: 1816 to the present day (London: Methuen and Co.Ltd. 1973 3rd edition), p.121.

[237] The Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1882-1884) cited in Maclure ibid. pp121-122.

improvements in primary and secondary education were overdue, the University Extension movement was developing alongside them and the rising standards of educational provision meant less need for agencies of adult education to concentrate in the 1880s on elementary education, so that they could give more attention to the teaching of subjects which would supplement such education.

One way in which standards in elementary and secondary education might be raised was through improvements in the training of teachers. In 1840 Dr. James Phillips Kay (later Kay-Shuttleworth), Secretary to the committee of the Privy Council on Education, had established a training school for teachers at Battersea, which received a grant from the committee. During the next few years training schools and colleges were set up by voluntary societies (primarily Anglican, Nonconformist and Roman Catholic) and approved by the committee.

Essentially, two routes were established and sanctioned for the training of teachers. The first, from 1846, was a scheme developed and implemented by the Privy Council: an apprenticeship of five years for pupil-teachers of not less than thirteen years of age. This minimum age was increased to fourteen by the Education Act of 1870. After 1875 there was increasing interest in the possibilities of developing pupil teacher centres, which would provide more systematic instruction than was received in elementary schools and offer training in educational theory, in addition to practice. Such centres were set up in 1881.[238]

The second pathway (1856) was via a training college course of two years. Students leaving at the end of the first year were regarded as 'uncertificated' teachers. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts [The Cross Report] of 1888 included training colleges within its purview and recommended that a third year of training at residential training (in preference to day training) colleges be implemented if or when this became feasible. Whilst the commission did not generally support the idea of high entry qualification for teachers, they did want more "women of superior social position and general culture".[239]

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[238] Morrish I. Education Since 1800 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1970) pp.130-133.

[239] Maclure 1973 op.cit. p.129. The chairman to the Commission which reported in 1888 was Richard Cross (1833-1914), a progressive and reforming Home Secretary in Benjamin Disraeli's second Conservative administration of 1874-1880.

Through the parts played by the Ladies Educational Associations,[240] groups such as the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women and the women's movement more generally, in supporting and helping to establish the University Extension Lecture movement,[241] it is hardly surprising that one of its intended (and main) sources of recruitment was from amongst women of the middle classes. Whilst the needs which the University Extension movement was endeavouring to meet will be discussed in some detail in the next chapter of this thesis, it is appropriate to make some brief observations here.

Among the women attracted early to the University Extension lectures were trainee teachers. Research by Widdowson, cited by Jane McDermid, has shown that in the mid-nineteenth century elementary school teaching had been regarded primarily as a working class occupation, but during the 1860s and 1870s, especially at the teacher training colleges, increasing numbers of girls and women from the lower middle classes were taking places which had previously been occupied by their working class counterparts.[242] It was hoped and envisaged that the more systematic study which the University Extension movement encouraged and promoted would help somewhat to supplement the knowledge of these teachers in various subjects taught as part of the curriculum.

Moving from more general considerations to focus on the situation in Manchester, it is not easy to identify the reason the University Extension movement developed there in the mid 1880s. Certainly, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the increasing pressure for the admittance of women to institutions of higher education played a significant part. To some extent this had been assisted by the passing of legislation in 1871 which opened the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to all suitably qualified applicants and not merely those who were Anglicans. In addition, it was agreed that recruitment

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240 The importance of the Ladies' Educational Associations has tended to be understated. See Dyhouse C. 1995 op.cit., pp.13-17.

241 For a carefully analytical discussion of the contribution and importance of the women's movement in the establishing of the University Extension Lecture movement, see Jepson 1973 op.cit. pp.31-45

242 See McDermid J. 'Women and Education' in Purvis J. Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945. An introduction (London: UCL Press Ltd. 1995) pp.115-116. For a fuller evaluation of this point, see Widdowson F. Going up into the next class: women and elementary teacher training, 1840-1914 (London: Women's Research and Resources Centre Publications 1980).

to posts in the Civil Service should in future be by examination, rather than through personal recommendation or connection. Thus, there began to emerge a system of meritocracy which benefited the most able amongst both men and women.

This situation, together with the development of the typewriter, opened up considerable opportunities for the employment of women in commercial centres such as Manchester. Interestingly, at a time in the 1880s when increasing emphasis was being placed on the gaining of appropriate qualifications, demand for the educational classes in commercial subjects for men at the Manchester YMCA[243] and at the Manchester Athanaeum fell significantly.[244] To some degree this was due to the Manchester School Board from 1887 placing greater emphasis on the teaching of commercial subjects.[245] The attendances at the evening classes operated by the Manchester School Board had declined from 1,932 in 1880 to 1,011 in 1886. This was attributable partly to a reduction in the demand, following the Education Act of 1870, for classes in elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. Given the seriousness of the position, the Manchester School Board completely reorganised its system of evening class provision in 1887 and 1888 and widened considerably the scope of the classes for both sexes.[246]

Much of the educational work for adolescents in Manchester undertaken by Lads' and Girls' Clubs and other related organisations was arranged from 1886 in conjunction with the Manchester and Salford Practical and Recreative Evening Classes Committee[247] which quickly established strong connections with the Manchester Working Men's Club Association which organised similar programmes for adults. These agencies were usually to be found among the working class districts of the city, and the fact that concentrating resources in one of the poorest districts such as

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[243] See Anderson G. Victorian Clerks (Manchester): Manchester University Press 1976) pp.74-82; and Lees C. Mind, Body, Spirit: A History of the Manchester YMCA (London: The National Council of YMCAs 1996) p.43

[244] Lees, 1994, op.cit., p.151.

[245] ibid. p.378

[246] loc.cit.

[247] For an account of the work of the Recreative Evening Classes Committee for Manchester and Salford see Lees 1994 op.cit. pp.306-309.

Ancoats brought such good results was an encouragement to organisations which were dominated by the middle classes in addition to those operated by mainly working class membership. Occasionally, these spheres of activity would overlap, where a distinctly working class group such as the Manchester Mill and Working Girls' Society in Ancoats was affiliated to a middle class institution such as the Manchester Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) which concerned itself mainly with young women who were employed in commercial offices in Manchester.[248]

High unemployment nationally between 1884 and 1887 meant that certain professions, such as male clerks, suffered greatly. Ironically, this provided increasing opportunities for women as clerical assistants and secretaries, although usually at a wage lower than a male doing a similar job would have expected to receive.[249]

So far, in what is a complex situation, the evidence of the likely conditions which would produce the emergence of the University Extension movement in Manchester might appear far from overwhelming. However, what Kelly, in his excellent study of the education of adults in Britain, describes as the "most remarkable anticipation of University Extension"[250] is seen through several of the activities of Owens College and its staff, strongly led by its professoriate. He cites as specific examples much of the evidence which has been referred to in some detail earlier in this chapter: the evening classes at Owens College; the participation by staff from Owens in the Manchester Working Man's College (1858-1861); the recreative evening lectures, pioneered by the Professor of Chemistry at Owens College, Henry Roscoe, and other colleagues, for the poor and unemployed in Manchester in 1862-3 as a result of the

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[248] Lees 1994, ibid. pp.309-310. See also Goodman J. 'Leisure for Girls: Girls' Clubs in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester' in the History of Education Society Bulletin, Number 60 Autumn 1997 pp.4-13.

[249] See in particular the chapter by Zimmeck M. 'Jobs for the girls: the expansion of clerical work for women, 1850-1914' in John A. (ed.) Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1914 (Oxford: Blackwell 1986); Anderson G. (ed.) The White-Blouse Revolution (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1988); Martindale H. Women Servants of the State, 1870-1938: A History of Women in the Civil Service (London: Allen and Unwin, 1938); and Jordan E. 'The Lady Clerks at the Prudential: The Beginning of Vertical Segregation by Sex in Clerical Work in Nineteenth Century Britain' in Gender and History, Volume 8 Number 1 April 1996 pp.65-81.

[250] Kelly T. A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992 third edition) p.218.

hardship caused to Manchester's cotton industry by the American Civil War; the Science Lectures for the People, given by Roscoe and his colleagues throughout the 1870s.[251] To this list can be added the importance which staff at Owens College placed on the importance of the institution's being of practical use and assistance to its community; their support of the Manchester and Salford Women's College (1877-1883); and the pioneering work done in the working class districts of the city, especially Ancoats. Thus, by the 1880s there had been established in Manchester a tradition of initiatives, clearly illustrated in this chapter, for the provision of adult continuing and higher education, aimed primarily at working class men, but also often taken advantage of by middle class women, which had generally been well received. This tradition had evolved within the Mancunian community strongly by the time university status was conferred in 1880 on the institution which had begun its existence as Owens College.

In the following chapter of this thesis the development of the University Extension movement in Manchester will be examined in detail. The contribution of members of the staff at Owens College, as educationally concerned individuals, will be assessed in their support of this and other local initiatives aimed at the working classes and at women from the middle classes. It can be seen that the formal Extension work of the University which commenced in 1886 developed substantially as a logical progression from the traditions of educational work within the community of Manchester begun in the formative years of Owens College.

On the basis of the evidence examined in this chapter it would appear that by 1886 there was established in Manchester a tradition of initiatives for the provision of adult continuing and higher education, aimed at working class men and often also taken advantage of by middle class women, which had been well received. This tradition evolved within the Mancunian community itself long before the conferring of university status on the institution which began as Owens College. The work had flourished during the formative years of the College when its main concerns lay with its own survival and growth and the strong presence of the Oxford Extension Centres delayed further its need to consider the question of extra-mural education.

It has been shown, and will be further demonstrated in the next chapter of this thesis, that Owens College staff, as educationally concerned individuals, supported the various local initiatives aimed at the working classes, and later, by demand, at middle-

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251 loc.cit.

class women, and it can be seen that the formal Extension work of the University developed as a logical progression from what had in that manner gone before within the community.

CHAPTER THREE

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN MANCHESTER FROM 1886 TO 1903

The concluding section of the preceding chapter touched on the educational background in England during the 1870s and 1880s, against which the University Extension Movement came into being. The early history of the movement has been thoroughly chronicled elsewhere[1] and needs only a brief contextual reference at this point. As has been noted in the opening chapter of this thesis, the term 'University Extension' varied in its meaning as the nineteenth century progressed. Kelly indicated that in the 1840s it had meant "primarily the extension of facilities for full-time university education", whereas by the 1880s it had acquired a rather more specific connotation: "the creation of facilities for part-time university education for students unable to attend a university course".[2] The original impetus for this movement came from James Stuart, who had commented earlier in that year, to his mother, on the greater opportunities which existed for obtaining a university education in Scotland than in England. He had thought that it would be a good idea to try to " establish a sort of peripatetic university the professors of which would circulate among the big towns, and thus give a wider opportunity for receiving such teaching".[3] The following year, as has been described in the second chapter of this thesis, Stuart was invited by the recently formed North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of

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[1] Stuart J. Reminiscences (London: printed for private circulation at the Chiswick Press 1911) pp.152-177; Draper W.H. University Extension: A Survey of Fifty Years 1873-1923 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1923); Welch E. The Peripatetic University: Cambridge Local Lectures 1873-1973 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1973); Marriott S. Extramural Empires: Service and Self-Interest in English University Adult Education 1873-1973 (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham 1984); Jepson N.A. The Beginnings of English University Adult Education: Policy and Problems. A Critical Study of the early Oxford and Cambridge University Extension Lecture Movements between 1873 and 1907 with special reference to Yorkshire (London: Michael Joseph 1973)

[2] Kelly T. Outside the Walls: Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1950) pp 3/4.

[3] Stuart 1911 op.cit. p.58

Women to give a course of lectures at several towns and cities in the North West of England. He prepared for distribution an outline of the lectures, together with a series of questions to be answered. The latter could be answered in writing and sent to him, but his was not a compulsory requirement. This format proved successful with these and some working-class audiences over the next two years, and this approach was to prove to be the basis of the method adopted by many of the early university extension lecturers. By 1873 Stuart, then employed by Cambridge University, had obtained sufficiently widespread support to persuade the university to provide this type of peripatetic teaching. A Local Lectures Syndicate was appointed to investigate how such a scheme might be organised most appropriately and to proceed with the necessary arrangements. Accordingly, the first courses, aimed primarily at the working classes, took place at Derby, Leicester and Nottingham in 1873.[4] Their success encouraged London and Oxford to set up similar schemes in 1876 and 1878 respectively. These initiatives are referred to more fully later in this chapter.

The present chapter of this thesis examines the national background to the university extension movement, referring as appropriate to the initiatives from Cambridge, Oxford and London, and subsequently to Manchester. From an introductory commentary on the providers of university extension lectures, the chapter goes on to explore the broad aims of the University Extension Movement in England; the intended audiences; the organisation of the lectures; the lectures; the types of course provided; the employment of lecturers and ancillary staff; the relationships among the main providers of university extension lectures; and an evaluation of the university extension lecture movement to 1903. In each instance, having considered the movement in its national context, the local perspective (Manchester) will be examined.

It needs to be observed here that the extant primary source documentation on the early history of the University Extension Movement in Manchester is rather uneven. The years from 1886 to 1891-2 are well covered, but the available material becomes more intermittent for the years after 1892. It is perhaps not surprising, given this situation, that much more attention has been paid by researchers to the more plentifully documented records of the movement in Cambridge, London and Oxford. Kelly's relatively short work, written in 1950, is really the only study which examines in any detail the university extension work at Manchester and some of the material he used at that time does not appear to have survived.[5]

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[4] For a detailed account see Welch 1973 op.cit. pp 25-48.

[5] There has been research undertaken on the university extra-mural work of the other

Following the implementation of the 1870 Education Act, the need for adult literacy and basic education classes slowly declined nationally and over the next twenty years the organisations which had met the earlier need either closed or channelled their energies into other directions. Among the most significant and abiding of these was the University Extension Movement. As indicated towards the end of the previous chapter, the growth of the movement, running as it did almost parallel to the national provision of elementary education, can be seen then not to have burgeoned in isolation but to have developed from within a changing cultural need and to have consolidated the existing willingness of providers and recipients alike to respond to formalised provision. University Extension was, in fact, a very significant manifestation of an existing need rather than an innovative movement which created an hitherto non-existent demand.

The popular lectures of the social and recreational organisations had provided some intellectual stimulation but had not usually provided systematic study. Neither, with the exception of some Mechanics' Institutes and Atheneums, was there any evident provision for the further education of middle-class women who were, during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, beginning to gain some measure of social and economic independence. University Extension was to fill those gaps in educational provision.

University Extension teaching through the auspices of the University of Cambridge, the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and the University of Oxford, was well established by the mid-1880s. In the session of 1879-80, for example, the number of Extension courses in England was 97 and the aggregate number of Extension students was in the region of 7,000. By 1889-90 those figures were 377 and in excess of 42,000, respectively.[6] It should be noted that the expansion

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two constituent colleges of the Victoria University which in 1903 became the universities of Liverpool and Leeds. The theme is explored briefly in Kelly T. For Advancement of Learning: The University of Liverpool 1881-1981 (Liverpool:Liverpool University Press 1981) pp.119-122 and the post-1945 extra-mural work in Leeds is covered in a series of contributions in Taylor R. (ed) Beyond the Walls: Fifty years of adult and continuing education at the University of Leeds 1946-1996 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in Adult Continuing Education, The University of Leeds 1996).

[6] Marriott 1984 op.cit. p26.

was not consistent during the mid 1870s and the following decade. Stuart Marriott observes that the impetus of the University Extension Movement had slowed considerably by 1880, experienced a slump over the next few years, and revived in the mid 1880s, at least in the case of Cambridge, through a greater attention to the creation of closer links between the University and the various local organising centres.[7] Unlike Marriott, Edwin Welch, writing earlier, did not attribute Oxford's lack of development of connections with extension centres in these early years to economic depression but rather, until the appointment of Arthur Acland as organising secretary in 1878,[8] to the lack of anyone "who was prepared to devote considerable time and energy to its organisation".[9]

The providers of university extension lectures

The trial courses which Cambridge had agreed to being organised in Nottingham, Derby and Leicester in 1873 met with such success that they became the foundation stones of university extension teaching, boasting such respected lecturers as Stanton, Harding and Birks,[10] later to be followed by W. Moore Ede, T.J. Lawrence, Robert Roberts and R.G. Moulton.[11] Following the example of Cambridge, London (in

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[7] loc. cit.

[8] Arthur Acland (1847-1926) was only able to devote part of his time to the establishing of local centres connected with Oxford because of his other duties at Oxford as Treasurer to Somerville College and Steward of Christ Church. In 1885 he entered Parliament as a Liberal M.P. and was succeeded by Michael Sadler. (Sadler was to have a similar effect on the development of the university extension movement at Oxford as James Stuart had had at Cambridge.) Prior to becoming M.P. for Rotherham, Acland was a don at Keble and Christ Church.

From 1892 to 1895, Acland served as Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education. He served as Chair of the President of the Board of Education's Consultative Committee from 1907 to 1916, which in 1911 produced a report on examinations in secondary schools and recommended "the setting up of a representative Examinations Council in which the Board of Education could join with the local education authorities and the university examining bodies to exercise control over all external examinations to lay down conditions". See Maclure J.S. Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day (London: Methuen and Co.Ltd. 1973 third edition) pp.163-164.

[9] See Welch E. 'Oxford and university extension' in Studies in Adult Education Vol.10 No.1 1978 p.41

[10] Stanton, Harding and Birks were all of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[11] More Ede lectured on political economy and was organising lecturer in the

1876), Oxford (in 1878), Durham and the Victoria University of Manchester (in 1886), extended their teaching and began to offer it outside of traditional university buildings and lecturing hours. By 1875/6 Cambridge was running a hundred courses throughout England and by 1893/4 there were some sixty-thousand students on extension courses throughout the country, in addition to those attending courses run by local colleges.[12]

The Cambridge syndicate was very active in establishing extension centres in the Midlands and in the North of England in particular; in Leeds, Liverpool and Sheffield, for example, and in Manchester through Owens College. In co-operation with Durham University the syndicate pioneered political economy courses in five centres in Northumberland and Durham in 1880 and had established twenty-nine, mainly working-class, extension centres by 1895. [13]

In 1895 the Cambridge Syndicate revised its regulations in order to provide two separate departments with two different aims. The first was to provide "systematic University Extension, including only full courses of twelve lectures, with a final examination and certificates" with the aim of supplying "systematic and continuous teaching in the various subjects studied at the Universities". (In addition to attending the lectures and sitting the final examination, students were expected undertake private study and submit written essays.) The *raison d'etre* of the second department was to provide "pioneer lectures and short courses consisting as a rule of not more than six lectures, and only recognised for certificate purposes when two courses in successive

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Midlands. See Welch 1973 op.cit. p.54. Richard G. Moulton (1849-1924) was one of the greatest Cambridge extension lecturers who, early in his career, lectured on literature, mainly in the Midlands and the North of England. He was also one of the leading figures in the development of university extension at Cambridge, and was invited in 1891 to go to the United States of America to assist with the development of the extension movement there. He remained in the U.S.A. until his retirement in 1919, returning to live in England for the remaining years of his life. See the assessment of Moulton's work and career by Styler W.E. in Thomas J.E. and Elsey B. (eds) International Biography of Adult Education (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 1985), pp.438-441. For R.D. Roberts, see later in this section of this chapter.

[12] Marriott S. A Backstairs to a Degree (Leeds: Leeds Studies in Adult and Continuing Education University of Leeds 1981) pp 221-223

[13] Harrison J.F.C. Learning and Living 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1961) p.236

Terms are linked in educational sequence", in order to "awaken and stimulate a general intellectual interest in large audiences not yet prepared to undertake continuous study".[14] Such a consideration had perhaps been influential in a decision taken in Manchester at a meeting there of the Extension Lectures Committee on 15th February 1894 to initiate Pioneer Lectures " ... with a view to making the Victoria movement better known and of opening up new centres ..."[15]

In the Autumn of 1876, just three years after Cambridge initiated trial courses, The London Society for the Extension of University Teaching offered its first Extension Lectures, initially targeting the working-class population. Burrows' history of the Society shows that, as a voluntary body, it had been registered under the Companies Act in January 1876 and is thought to have been the brainchild of a group of "noblemen and gentlemen" who met together at the Royal Institution in May 1875 to discuss "the best mode of extending to London the benefits of the Cambridge University Extension Scheme".[16] From this first meeting an executive committee had been established and the support of such emminent people as the Lord Mayor of London and Prince Leopold, the Queen's youngest son, was elicited. A Council, consisting of twenty-two members from the world of education and from the aristocracy, was elected at its first general meeting in 1876. The Rt. Hon.G.J. Goschen was the Society's first President and remained in office until 1885.

Despite the original objections of Oxford University, a joint board of representatives from the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford and London was appointed in 1878 to advise in general upon and oversee academic matters and was also responsible for the nomination of lecturers and the appointment of examiners. J.A.R. Marriott refers to this entry of Oxford into the Extension Movement as taking place somewhat "tardily and half-heartedly"[17] and Stuart Marriott points out that Oxford had originally rejected the idea of a joint board, in 1876.[18] It could well be that the friendship

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[14] The University Extension Journal Vol.I No. 1 (October 1895) p.2

[15] University Extension Lectures Committee Minutes Vol. I. Item 6

[16] Burrows J. University Adult Education in London: A Century of Achievement 1876-1976 University of London 1976 p.2

[17] Marriott J.A.R. Memories of Four Score Years (London: Blackie and Son Ltd 1946) p.91

[18] Marriott S 1981 op.cit. pp35/36

between Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol, and James Stuart, who was introduced by Jowett to those who were in favour of reform at Oxford, had been instrumental in bringing about Oxford's revised decision. It was no doubt the trust which those concerned had in the level of his commitment and the excellence of his liaison skills which resulted in Stuart's becoming Chairman of the Joint Board.

Ernest Myers, the Board's first Secretary, worked without payment for three years and then for a further four years at a salary which began in 1881 at £250 per annum, after which Robert Roberts took over the Secretaryship, at a point which "coincided with a rapid growth in the society's affairs".[19] Roberts subsequently returned to Cambridge for a period between 1894 and 1902 when the work of the Society was given over to the Board to Promote the Extension of University Teaching of the newly constituted, teaching, University of London. Roberts then held the post of Registrar until his death in 1911.

Manchester

Given the part which the staff of the Victoria University had played in the extension of educational opportunities to Manchester citizens in the years since the inception of Owens College, Manchester, in 1851 (as outlined in the second chapter of this work), it is not surprising that the University Extension Movement established itself in the city in the mid 1880s. Several considerations contributed to this. As noted earlier in this chapter, a more systematic organisation linking local centres to the providing universities had begun to strengthen the development of the University Extension Movement from Oxford and Cambridge. Locally, strong connections of the Victoria University with its community built up over thirty years made it a natural provider of courses to the public. The success of the 'Science Lectures for the People', arranged by H.E. Roscoe and other staff from Owens College throughout the 1870s, had strengthened this link. Perhaps equally unsurprisingly, given Jepson's observation that the originators of the movement envisaged that it would be especially suitable for ladies, artisans and young men of the middle classes,[20] the initial interest in developing the university extension movement in Manchester came from the middle-class district of Withington, a suburb to the south of the city and approximately four miles from the university.

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[19] Burrows 1976 op.cit. pp.2/4

[20] Jepson 1973 op.cit. p.100

As will be seen later in this chapter, relationships between the providers of University Extension lectures were on occasion somewhat strained. Whilst both Oxford and Cambridge had connections with centres which offered courses of extension lectures in the North West of England, Oxford's were more numerous and that university, especially after the appointment of Michael Sadler in 1885 as secretary to the Oxford Extension office, continued actively to advertise courses in areas which might have been regarded as coming within the Victoria University's sphere of influence. At a Victoria University meeting held on the 3rd December 1885 it was noted that Ancoats and Withington were "very near to Owens" and that it was "surely better that we should have them than that Oxford should".[21] An extant letter dated the 16th December, 1885, reports the outcome of a meeting held in Withington Town Hall on Friday the 11th: "That it is desirable that there be formed a Withington Committee for the Promotion of University Teaching in the district; and that application be made to Victoria University to provide such Lectures as may be required, commencing with a course of eight lectures in the Withington Town Hall after Xmas". Permission was sought by Withington's Honorary Secretary, Alfred King, to use the title 'Victoria University Extension Lectures. Withington Centre', but Marshall,[22] as Secretary of

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[21] Details taken from manuscript records Extension Lectures 1885/6

[22] Professor Arthur Milnes Marshall began what was to become a most distinguished career by gaining a BA from London University at the age of eighteen and going on to become Senior in the Natural Science Tripos at Cambridge University four years later; thereafter being appointed by Cambridge to their table at the new zoological station at Naples and then returning to teach alongside Francis Balfour at St.John's College from the summer of 1875. (See Gamble F.W. Dictionary of National Biography From Earliest Times to 1900 Supplement Vol. XXII ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee Oxford University Press 1917. p1014.) In 1879 Marshall joined the staff of Owens College, at the age of twenty-seven, as Professor of Zoology. The scrapbook records of Marshall's life at the University show a young man whose obvious appetite for academic, social and sporting activities portray a *joie de vivre* which he brought to every aspect of his life. The number of social invitations alone which survive in his scrapbook give a picture of a popular and active man who had a zest for life and a love of people which was reciprocated. One extant letter from a former student expresses gratitude for support in an RSA application and for the help given to him by Marshall "...since I first entered your class at Owens .." (Extant letter from a former student bearing an indecipherable signature and dated 8.12.91. Sent from Melbourne). Marshall was President of the LaCrosse Club; Vice-President of Owens College Union Biological Society; President of the Football Club; President of the Cricket Club; Treasurer and Chairman of the Athletic Club Union, for which he headed the fundraising activities for the provision of a new pavilion; a member of the Medical Students' Debating Society and the Museums Association, and a member of

the Victoria University's Local Lectures Committee, replied that "... prior to the adoption of a complete scheme this Committee could not sanction the use of the term, 'University Extension' in reference to such courses: They would suggest an alternative - 'Victoria University Local Lectures'." Consent was given, subject to Owens College Council's approval, for Marshall to adjust his teaching timetable in order to deliver the suggested course on Natural History.[23]

In a draft scheme printed in March 1886 the object of the Victoria University local lecture scheme was given as being " .. to provide the means of systematic instruction in the several branches of Science and Literature for those who are unable to take advantage of the Day or evening Classes in the Colleges of this University". Arrangements had been made to establish courses of lectures and classes " in districts or towns within reasonable distance of Manchester or Liverpool ..." and the University was prepared to receive applications and give any necessary advice concerning methods of organisation. Local committees were to be appointed, either those already in existence within Mechanics' Institutes, Working Men's Clubs, or the like, or specifically formed for the purpose of organising local lectures, with Secretaries who would correspond with the University. These local committees would guarantee to meet the charges of the University and be the source of communication between the centres and the University. Courses would run either before or after Christmas, between the 1st of October and the 1st of April and would " ... as a rule consist of from eight to ten lectures, of about an hour's duration, delivered in successive weeks ..."[24] Classes were to be held before or after each lecture to allow for discussion; a recommended reading list was to be included in the syllabus and written answers would be invited in response to previously prepared questions. Written exams were to be held at the end of each course and Local Lectures Certificates awarded where

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the Literary and Debating Society, the opening lecture of which he delivered on the subject of 'The Matterhorn' on the 5th October 1893. It was very soon after this lecture, on the 31st December, that Milnes Marshall met his death, at the age of forty-one, in a walking accident which robbed the university of a much admired member who had won the abiding affection of staff and students alike and brought his indomitable energy to everything with which he was involved, including University Extension.

[23] Extension Lectures Reports and Records 1885-1889 I Letters between King and Marshall December1895.

[24] Victoria University Local Lectures Draft Scheme prepared by the committee of the General Board of Studies. p.2.

appropriate. Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology and Physiography, Geography, Engineering, Political Economy, Literature, History, Language, Logic, Psychology (with special reference to education), History of Philosophy, and Music, were the subjects which the Board first offered as a suggested, but not definitive, recommendation. A fee of twenty-five guineas was to be charged for courses held in Manchester or Liverpool and additional costs would be imposed if travelling expenses had to be incurred outside of those areas. [25]

Reporting, on 24th April, 1886, on the success of the Lent Term, Honorary Secretary, Alfred King[26], recorded that the lectures had attracted an audience of more than two hundred people each night and the papers which had been submitted, although not numerous, "were reported on very favourably by the Lecturer". From the start, therefore, it can be seen that not only the enthusiasm, but also the educational potential of those who had not previously had the benefit of continuing education, was worthy of the effort which was being spent by those educationists who had an interest in social reform and were prepared to use their own skills to facilitate its generation. One such lecturer was Professor Milnes Marshall to whom King and the Withington Committee felt that they "... [could] not be too grateful, not only for the ability and interest of his Lectures, but also for the zeal and enthusiasm with which he entered into the spirit of their undertaking".[27] It was the commitment behind and the resulting success of Owens College's Professor Milnes Marshall's pilot course at Withington in February 1886, referred to in chapter two of this thesis, which enabled Extension work to become formalised as part of the Victoria University's extra-mural activity, rather than simply as a medium for the ancient universities.

In July 1886 provisional arrangements based on the draft scheme were printed, pending the preparation of a detailed scheme and by July 1888 the Board of Studies

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[25] ibid *passim*

[26] For details of the membership of the general and executive committees at Withington, see the programme of lectures for the Lent Term 1886 in Extension Lectures: Reports and Records I 1885-1889.

[27] Victoria University Local Lectures, Withington. Report of Lent Term 1886. The Sunday lectures for Ancoats Recreation Movement, Monday evening Popular Lectures, and Extension Lectures which Milnes Marshall delivered were just part of the effort which he put into the matter of taking higher education outside of the University in addition to his full time teaching post, his Secretaryship to the Extension Committee and his myriad other sporting and social commitments.

had accepted the draft recommendations and the formal Regulations concerning Local Lectures showed Professor Marshall as the Victoria University's Local Lectures Secretary.[28]

The first Local Committee at Withington was chaired by C.E. Schwann. Schwann, who lived in Didsbury and was soon to become a Liberal M.P. for North Manchester, was keenly interested in educational matters. He had assisted in 1881 with the transition of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution to a technical school. The Local Committee's Treasurer was Peter Dunn and its Executive Committee was made up of six women and five men and comprised a general committee of ninety-four members, both male and female. It is of no surprise that among the ladies on the Executive Committee were Miss E.F.King and Mrs C.E. Schwann and among the general committee were several family names, such as the Ashtons. In the case of the Ashtons the general committee boasted Thomas Ashton, J.P., his wife and two daughters. Such instances among prominent Manchester families were common. That the courses of lecturers at Withington would be directed largely towards a middle-class audience was likely from the outset. Withington's situation in south Manchester, a few miles from the university and from the city centre, made it a convenient location for the professional classes of the population. This is reflected to a significant extent in the composition of the numerous and rather unwieldy general committee, among whom were several distinguished and influential members of staff from the Victoria University:

Professor Joseph Greenwood (Principal of Owens College [29]1857-1889 and Vice-chancellor of the Victoria University from 1880-1887);

Professor Adolphus W. Ward (Principal of Owens College 1889-1897; Vice-chancellor of the Victoria University 1887-1891 and 1895-1897);

Arthur Milnes Marshall (Professor of Zoology at Owens College from 1879-

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[28] It is interesting to note that Marshall had chaired the meeting of October 12th 1893 which was the last meeting before his death on 31st December that year but that at the meeting of 18th January 1894 which was the first meeting following his death and which was chaired by Professor Dixon, and at which Professor Tout was admitted as Reporter, no mention was made in the minutes of the loss.

[29] Owens College became the first constituent college of the newly established Victoria University in 1880. University College, Liverpool, was admitted in 1884 and Yorkshire College, Leeds, in 1887.

1893);

J.E.C. Munro (Professor of Political Economy at Owens College 1882-1890 and of Law 1882-1892);

Robert Adamson (Professor of Political Economy at Owens College 1876-1882 and of Philosophy 1876-1893).[30]

Philanthropists and those with business interests in the district were also well represented on the committee, and included Henry Simon (who owned the Simon Engineering Works) and John Beith who was an active worker for the Manchester Young Men's Christian Association, chairing its Board of Management from 1877 to 1896.[31]

In the Michaelmas Term of 1886 Marshall's Natural History course was also offered at the New Islington Hall, Ancoats, and exams were held on the 28th December. Students had paid one shilling for the course or threepence for each single lecture. The average attendance had been one hundred and eight in lectures and eighty in classes. Six students submitted papers and eight were examined. Following the success of this initiative, subsequent courses were held during the next three years at Withington, Ancoats, and Chorlton-cum-Hardy.

By the end of the 1888/9 session, twenty courses of lectures had been provided by Victoria University Extension lecturers: six at Withington, four at Ancoats, two at Chorlton-cum-Hardy, two at Openshaw, two at Warrington, and one each at Moston (Manchester), Bolton, Oldham and Colne.[32] The venue used for the lectures in Ancoats, a working-class district of North Manchester, was the New Islington Hall at which the programme of activities of the Ancoats Recreation Movement was also held. Ancoats had been traditionally supplied with lecturers by the Oxford delegacy, but

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30 Charlton H.B. Portrait of a University 1851-1951 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1951), Appendix VII pp.172-182.

31 Lees C. Mind, Body, Spirit: A History of the Manchester Y.M.C.A. (London: The National Council of YMCAs 1996) p.27. For details of the life and work of Henry Simon see Simon B. In Search of a Grandfather: Henry Simon of Manchester 1835-1899 (Privately printed Pendene Press 1997)

32 Report of the Committee of the General Board of Studies appointed to make arrangements in connection with Courses of Local Lectures delivered under the authority of the [Victoria] University (1889) in Extension Lectures and Reports and Records III 1889-1892.

gradually during the 1890s more of this work was taken over by the Victoria University, with the exception of one or two very popular lecturers employed by the Oxford delegacy, such as G.W. Hudson Shaw (whose work will be discussed later in this chapter).[33] The sessions at Chorlton-cum-Hardy in 1886-1887 on historical and political geography were directly attributable to the success of Milnes Marshall's lectures in nearby Withington.[34] Among the members of the organising committee was T.M.Crowhurst, who taught, in a voluntary capacity, classes in drawing at the Manchester Y.M.C.A.[35]

Whilst the organising mechanism of the University Extension lecture programmes will be discussed more fully in a later part of this chapter, it would be appropriate to make brief reference to it at this point. Following the success of Milnes Marshall's lectures at Withington, by 1888 the Victoria University's General Board of Studies approved the organisation of extension courses under the auspices of the Local Lectures Committee which, interestingly, happened to have Marshall as its Secretary. In 1891 its name was changed to the University Extension Committee and included staff from each of the three constituent colleges of the Victoria University, with the activity being administered from Manchester.[36] Local Committees, working in the districts in which the courses of lectures were to be held, made all the local arrangements and contacted the University Extension Committee in Manchester to appoint suitable lecturers to present the courses. Whilst local committees were frequently specially formed to administer courses in their districts, it sometimes happened that the committee of an existing situation in the area, such as the Ancoats Recreation Movement and the Manchester and District branch of the working Men's Club and Institute Union, would take responsibility for arranging those courses.[37] By 1891 as the work developed, the arrangements for Victoria University Extension lectures were under the control of a

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[33] See also Royden M. A Three-Fold Cord (London: Gollancz 1947)

[34] Victoria University Local Lectures, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, session 1886-1887 in Extension Lectures Reports I op.cit.

[35] Lees 1996 op.cit. p.47

[36] Kelly 1950 op.cit. pp.11/12

[37] See Lees C. The development of adult education in Manchester from c.1830s to 1914 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester 1994) pp.396-398

Standing Committee (still entitled the University Extension Committee and with Milnes Marshall as its secretary) of the University's General Board of Studies.[38]

As extension activity expanded rapidly in the North West to include centres in Manchester, Huyton, Warrington, Ormskirk and Macclesfield, among thirty-five centres by 1891, an Association for the Extension of University Teaching was formed. Lees has indicated the main functions of the Association as being "the promotion of the extension of university teaching in Lancashire and Cheshire; to help centres organise courses more efficiently and reduce costs; to identify working-class centres which needed financial help; [and] to apply to local and county councils and other bodies to obtain grants for the university extension work of the centres within the Association".[39] Each of the Victoria, Oxford and Cambridge universities had two nominated representatives who attended meetings of the Association. The centres comprising the membership of the Association might have strong connections with any of the three different providers of courses of lectures. Among the Vice-presidents of the Association were Henry Roscoe, Adolphus Ward, Arthur Milnes Marshall, Charles Rowley (one of the leading figures in the Ancoats Recreation Movement),[40] William Mather[41] and A.J. Balfour (later leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister from 1902-1905).

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[38] The Victoria University Extension Lectures: Memoranda for the use of Local Committees and others engaged in the Organisation of University Extension Teaching (Manchester 1891) in Extension Lectures Reports and Records III 1889-1892.

[39] Lees 1994 op.cit. p.405

[40] Rowley (1839-1933) did not underestimate the part he played in the formation and development of the Ancoats Recreation Movement. See his Fifty Years of Work without Wages (London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d. but probably 1911). See also Rushton J.I. Charles Rowley and the Ancoats Recreation Movement (unpublished M.Ed. thesis University of Manchester 1959) A short but useful more recent study is Kay A. 'Charles Rowley and the Ancoats Recreation Movement 1876-1914' in the Manchester Region History Review Vol.7 1993 pp.45-54.

[41] William Mather was actively involved in numerous philanthropic and educational activities in Manchester and Salford. A partner in the Mather and Platt Iron Works, he established a mutual improvement society there for the firm's apprentices in 1866 and was responsible for founding in 1873 the Salford Iron Works Science and Technical School (which remained in existence until 1905) "for the purpose of enabling the apprentices ... to study technical subjects allied to their trade". See Sadler M.E. Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere: Their Place in the Educational System of an Industrial and Commercial State (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1908, second edition) pp.282/283. He served for twelve years from 1870 as a

In 1892, as Extension Committee Secretary, Marshall was able to record that the most marked and most gratifying feature of the 1891/2 session was "... the extraordinary increase in the number of the centres and the widening of the area from which the audiences are drawn."[42] From the first single course at Withington in 1886 the work had initially grown slowly and in 1890/91 there had been eleven courses but in 1891/2 there had been ninety-seven courses. Marshall attributed this increase to:

> "1. Up to the present session this work was almost entirely conducted from Owens College and by members of O.C. staff. This year the sister colleges have thrown themselves actively into the work. 2. County Councils have in consequence of funds placed in their hands been enabled to make special provision for the teaching of Technical Sciences: and here as in other parts of the country have found the University Extension systems the most satisfactory means so far as the teaching of the principles underlying Technical Science are concerned."[43]

In addition to being well respected as Extension Committee Secretary, Marshall was also one of the most enthusiastic and popular lecturers. To both roles he brought vitally energizing enthusiasm, to the extent that the Annual Conference of the University Extension Movement, in recording Marshall's sudden death in 1893 moved the following resolution:

> "That this meeting desires to record its sense of the serious loss sustained by the University Extension movement throughout the country by the death of Professor A. Milnes Marshall, to whose unique gifts, energy, and constant service this district (Lancashire and Cheshire) is specially indebted during many years of successful work in connection with the movement. This meeting

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member of the Salford School Board; was a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction which surveyed training in science in Europe; was on the Court and Council of Owens College; and served at various times over a twenty year period from the mid 1880s as Liberal M.P. for Salford, Gorton and Rossendale respectively. See the article by Reynolds J.K. 'Education and Social Activities' in Mather L. (ed). The Right Honourable Sir William Mather (1838-1920) (London: Richard Cobden-Sanderson 1926) pp.89-135.

[42] Report of Work of Session 1891-2 in Extension Lectures Reports and Records III 1889-1892

[43] loc.cit.

and will render all support to the efforts made to complete the arrangements."[44]

Needless to say, the resolution was adopted and Professor Tout, Marshall's successor as Secretary, read the sessional report which referred to "... the terrible calamity which had robbed the Victoria University of him who was at once the founder, the organiser, and the most popular lecturer of [the University's] system of local lectures".[45] F.W. Gamble, Marshall's Demonstrator and Assistant Lecturer, also said that " As a teacher Marshall excelled" and that as Secretary of the Extension Movement he "... gained for it the success which invariably attended any organising work that he undertook."[46]

With Tout as Secretary, the Committee continued to function as before until, in 1897, it was resolved that the Committee be replaced by a "Committee of the Council to which the Board of Studies should be invited to nominate a certain proportion of members" and in June of the following year the Vice-Chancellor, the Principals of Colleges, Mr. Donner, Mr. Neild, Professor Schuster and Professor Tout were appointed members of the University Extension Committee with the Board of Studies being represented on the Committee by Professors Boyce, Delepine,[47] Gonner, Grant, Miele, Raleigh, Trevelyan and Mr Bamford and Mr Elton.[48]

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[44] Undated newspaper cutting in Local Lectures Minutes Book Vol. I reporting on conference held 3rd March 1894.

[45] For the manuscript draft of the original report see University Extension Lecture Reports and Records II 1886-1902.

[46] Gamble op.cit. pp 1014/1015

[47] Appointed lecturer in General Pathology and Morbid Anatomy in 1891/2, and going on to become Professor of Pathology, Sheridan Delepine had a particular interest in public health matters and led bacteriological investigations which aided the fight against the most common fatal diseases of his day, diphtheria, typhoid and tuberculosis. On Sunday 21st November 1898 Professor Delepine addressed the Ancoats Recreation Movement's gathering on the subject of 'Microbes and Their Work' (Ancoats Recreation Movement Syllabus 1898) and in the Summer Term of 1899 conducted a series of six lectures for post-graduates at Chester Royal Infirmary on the subject of Clinical Bacteriology (University Extension Journal December 1897 Vol. IV p.128) Kelly refers to this lecture series as "...probably for this period unique, [as an] experiment in vocational work ..." and points out that, although the course had no immediate successor, the idea was one which, in later years, became "...very fruitful in extra-mural work." (Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.26)

[48] Victoria University Extension Committee Minutes of meeting held on 13th October

Aims of the movement

It was the strong desire among many nineteenth-century educationists to develop in students an ability to exercise their own reasoning powers, rather than simply have knowledge passed on to them. Samuel Barnett[49], the founder of the University Settlement Movement, described the university teacher as one whose own education continued throughout life and who was able, therefore, to "stimulate curiosity" in his students and thereby allow each student to be "helped to get out of the groove in which he is placed by his relation to his country, his class, or his creed" [50]

In its memorandum of 1894, to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, the Oxford Delegacy had suggested that the university extension movement might be "a useful means of supplementing the otherwise important provision for Secondary Education" and stated unambiguously that this connection with secondary education was a subsidiary, but significant, part of its work. However, the memorandum showed clearly that the main aim of the movement was seen as being to "provide higher

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1898. Oliver Elton (1861-1945) was educated at Marlborough and Corpus Christi, Oxford, gaining a first class degree in literature. From 1890 to 1900 he taught at Owens College, before going on to become King Alfred Professor at Liverpool. His works include the translation of the first nine books of Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus (1894); The Augustan Ages (1899); A Survey of English Literation 1780-1830 (two volumes 1912) 1830-1880 (two volumes 1920) 1730-1780 (two volumes 1928); (Dictionary of National Biography op.cit. p.929)

[49] Samuel Barnett (1844-1913) was a priest in Whitechapel, one of the poorest districts in the East End of London, at St.Jude's from 1873 to 1893. His work amongst the poor there led to his being approached by some Oxford undergraduates seeking avice as to how they might be of use in helping in the district. In November 1883 Barnett presented a paper at Oxford on 'Settlement of University men in Great Towns' and many of the ideas expressed therein were used in the founding of the residential Toynbee Hall in the following year. The settlement aimed at meeting the educational and social needs of the neighbourhood, as well as the spiritual ones. Barnett remained as warden at Toynbee Hall for twelve years. For Barnett's work and career, see Barnett H.(his wife) Canon Barnett, his Life, Work and Friends (London: John Murray 1918); Pimlott J.A.R. Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress 1884-1934 (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 1935); and Briggs A. and McCartney A. Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1984)

[50] Jepson 1973 op.cit. p.218.

teaching for adult students who cannot themselves reside at a University."[51] In the report of the commission, published in 1895, potential extension students were described as being people unable to afford to take three or four years away from employment and often being "... late learners and marked rather by strength of character than by brilliant ability" who "deserve consideration and encouragement". Perhaps the Commissioners at that early stage of extension were not as clear about the difference between educational ability and educational opportunity as their successors might have been. They did, however, recommend that "students of exceptional promise ... should be drafted by scholarships to the University itself" and that university education should be decentralised and placed "within the reach of busy people".[52] The 'busy people' referred to were, in the main, of course, working men.

In examining the progress of the Extension movement in Yorkshire, Harrison's work highlights the commitment of the Co-operative Societies to the education of working people and discusses the particular success of the Hebden Bridge Centre. This centre was organised by the Fustian Manufacturing Co-operative Society, which counted amongst its strongest supporters the successful industrialist Robert Halstead[53] who had first-hand experience of being a working-class adult learner and Extension student and whose portentous speech pointing out the middle-class imbalance of Extension attendance and urging the formulation of "a special movement .... special organisation ....special objects of propaganda; and ... properly equipped staff to carry out its purpose"[54] [to serve the working-classes] was to herald the advent of the Workers'

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[51] Memorandum (Oxford) in 1894 to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education cited in Jepson ibid.p.111

[52] University Extension Journal December 1895 Vol. I. p.38

[53] Robert Halstead (1858-1930), born near Todmorden, was an autodidact and a lifelong supporter of co-operation. He attended courses and extension lectures there and at Hebden Bridge, organised by the Oxford Delegacy in the 1880s. In the 1890s he became actively involved in the Co-operative Productive Federation and in 1900 moved to Leicester as its full-time secretary. His experiences of lecturing to co-operative gatherings underlined for him the value of adult education, and he favoured the linking of several providing agencies of adult education to bring university education to the working classes. His ideas were influential in the development which led to the founding of the Workers' Educational Association. See the short biography by Jennings of Halstead in Thomas J.E. and Elsey B. (eds) International Biography of Adult Education (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education University of Nottingham 1985) pp.233-235

[54] Kelly T. A History of Adult Education in Great Britain from the Middle Ages to

Educational Association (the first college of which Association opened in Chorley in 1911[55]).

In Manchester, with a population of working men and men of business, it became clear that such people were not able to cease earning their livings by leaving home in order to learn and, therefore, education must be brought to them. Memoranda for the use of Local Extension Committees, published by the Victoria University in 1891, gave the objects and purpose of the movement as being:

> " ... to give to those whose occupations do not admit of residence in a University town, or of attendance on the regular College or University curricula, opportunity of attending systematic courses of instruction, by lecturers of high University standing, in the various branches of literature, art and science. The purpose is in fact "to bring the University to the people when the people cannot come to the University" ".[56]

- which would appear to be the often expressed intention[57], and indeed achievement, of the movement and its supporters. Similarly, Jepson ascribes to RG Moulton the definition of the root idea of university extension as being the provision of "University Education for the Whole Nation organised on a basis of Itinerant Teachers".[58]

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, there was a long established tradition of adult education provision in Manchester prior to the formal establishment of University Extension in the town. Indeed, it was that well established local tradition which identified the need and demonstrated the demand for such continuing education. As early as during the initial planning by those first inspired to organise University

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the Twentieth Century (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992 third edition)p.238

[55] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.56

[56] 'The Victoria University Extension Lectures Memoranda for the use of Local Committees and of others engaged in the Organisation of University Extension Teaching (Manchester) 1891' p.5. In Lecture Reports and Records II 1886-1902.

[57] University Extension Journal of 1895 (Vol.I No. I p.38), for example, had referred to the aim of decentralising University education and placing it "within the reach of busy people".

[58] Jepson 1973 op.cit. p. 215.

Extension in Manchester, the benefit of the local community and the fortunes of the University were clearly recognised as being interwoven. Manuscript notes from University Extension Reports of 1885 include the admonition that the University "Shall do wisely to associate ourselves with one of [the] most characteristic developments of University activity .... [and] benefit [the] University by obtaining wider recognition, enlarging sphere of action .... will find employment for graduates: will benefit district making us a really Northern University: and will, I believe aid prosperity of College by directing attention of the people to this opportunity for education ... ..."[59]

That links with the local community had been an important feature of the ethos and work of Owens since its inception, was referred to in 1903 when Adolphus Ward pointed out at the first session of the newly created University of Manchester (which had followed the division of the federated Victoria University into the separate universities of Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds) that the founding lecturers had "... aspired to be the first University College constituted in a great national centre of industry and life to be in integral connection with the community in which we were placed, and to be able to co-operate with it, and it be able to co-operate with us, in everything in our power and in the power of the community".[60] The achievement of and the ongoing commitment to those aims was celebrated in October 1903 at a " ... ceremonial gathering in the Whitworth Hall to mark the consummation of the ideals that were before those who took part in the movement which led to the founding of the University", as the first session was opened. Reported by the Manchester Guardian under the heading 'The City and Higher Education - A Broad Communal Aim', the speech of Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Alfred Hopkinson, referred to the original founders' ideals of independence and being "integrally associated with the community" as going "hand in hand", the founders having recognised "that it was with the district that their closest ties would be".[61] This connection with the district had become widely recognised, as can be judged from the comments in a review of Joseph Thompson's commemorative work on Owens College, in which it was said that "... it [Owens College] differs from ... [University College and King's College, London] in its

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[59] Manuscript records Extension Lectures Reports and Records I 1885-1889.

[60] Manchester Guardian Wednesday October 7th 1903 article: 'The City and Higher Education - A Broad Communal Aim'.

[61] loc.cit.

close relation to the communal life of the city in which it is established".[62] In such an industrialised location 'close relation' would necessarily involve the provision of higher education for working men and women and it will be demonstrated that such grass roots demand was well matched by the enthusiasm of University staff in meeting it.

Historical evidence shows that university extension protagonists in Manchester remained keen to support local adult education initiatives in a very practical way. During the 1880s and 1890s local authority provision in Manchester, as elsewhere, increased significantly, whilst voluntary bodies continued to provide adult education in the city during the period in which its University Extension was becoming established and was developing. From the mid to late 1880s, for example, the adult education and commercial classes of the local YMCAs flourished and, as Sadler's work demonstrates, the work of the Catholic Evening Schools in Manchester, particularly in the poorest districts, such as Ancoats, gained momentum after coming under the jurisdiction of the Manchester School Board in 1892.[63] Similarly, the Manchester and Salford Recreative Evening Classes, which had been established in 1886, continued to be popular and, as was discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, the Bennett Street Sunday School has been shown to have continued to undertake much advanced work with its adult pupils. A surviving copy of a University of Manchester Extension Committee leaflet demonstrates the University's intention to support the progress of Sunday School organisations and expresses a wish "... to serve in every way within its power, and in co-operation with other organisations, the educational interest of the important centres in the midst of which it is placed".[64]

The intended recipients of university extension lecture activity

Prior to the social mobilisation of working class people to the middle-classes, via a route of entrepreneurial success, further and higher education was primarily the domain of the upper and professional classes and little thought had been given to the possibility of offering education outside of those spheres. Thus, the actual educability of the previously uneducated masses was not considered, further than to see that they were uneducated and mistakenly assume, as a consequence, that they were ineducable.

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[62] Review in the Daily Chronicle 29th November 1900.

[63] Sadler 1907 op.cit. p1908

[64] Undated leaflet of the University Extension Committee

Although an occasional autodidact would achieve educational success and social progress, as discussed briefly in an earlier chapter, such people were considered the exception to the rule, rather than raising questions amongst educators in general as to the potential of the lower orders and even the 'great unwashed'. In describing a Lyceum tea party, Horace Heartwell, a contributor to the North of England Magazine of 1841, observed that "We had too long been pelting the unwashed with mud and then calling out 'filthy animals'. They are possessed of higher feeling than we give them credit for and want but the opportunity of bringing them out".[65] With the advent of industrial and commercial development the first generation of middle class businessmen who had risen from the ranks of the working-classes began to raise an awareness of the ability of working men to transcend the restrictions of their social origins and that awareness grew among both the providers and the potential working-class recipients.

Co-operative Societies in the North of England were also very keen supporters of working-class education and in the North-East collieries would often subsidise miners' study. Trades Unions, at this relatively early stage of their evolution, were keen to support the educationally active Co-operative movement, but did not envisage their *raison d'etre* as including educational provision and had no formal mechanism within their constitution which would allow them to give financial support directly to adult education initiatives.[66]

Dr HD Harper, the Reverend Samuel Barnett, founder of Toynbee Hall and Arnold Toynbee himself, who despite his early death achieved much for the promotion of extension work, were all Oxford men to whom the development of the higher education of the population beyond Oxford and Cambridge is greatly indebted. Barnett's establishment of the first University Settlement was driven by the same commitment to the improvement of living conditions for the working classes as his

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[65] North of England magazine 1841/2 p.355 cited in Barton 1977 op.cit. p.293

[66] See Kelly 1992 op.cit. pp 137, 208 and *passim.*
The trades union movement in the early twentieth century left education to the Workers' Educational Association and to the more left-wing Independent Working Class Education (IWCE) which had neither the popularity nor the client base of the universities and the WEA. For an assessment of the trade union movement's contribution to education see McIlroy J. 'Independent Working Class Education and Trade Union Education and Training' in Fieldhouse R. and Associates A History of Modern British Adult Education (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education 1996) pp.264-289

contribution to the work of University Extension. Indeed, the success of the adult education which took place at Toynbee Hall inspired the opening of the students' hostels, Wadham House in 1887 and Balliol House in 1890 and the offering of extension courses. The historian, JR Green was a great enthusiast of the extension work of the Settlements. Picht's study, Toynbee Hall and the Settlement Movement, outlines the progression towards a change in nature of university education and examines the relation between the Settlement and University Extension.

In Manchester the foundation of the University Settlement at Ancoats in 1895 owed much to the efforts of Adolphus Ward, erstwhile Principal of Owens College. Before leaving Manchester to take up his post as Master of Peterhouse, Ward urged the city and its college to continue to support the Settlement and asserted that " ... Our University College by associating itself with the foundation of the Settlement and bearing a share in its labours has, at the same time, taken part in the protest, which its existence implies, against the isolation of indifference".[67]

The Settlement also benefited from the work of Owens lecturers Samuel Alexander,[68] TF Tout (The Settlement Chairman and successor to Marshall as Extension Committee Secretary, following Marshall's death), Ramsay Muir, Hartog (a former student of Marshall who went on to teach at Owens), Boyd Dawkins, Dixon[69] and

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[67] Owens College Union Magazine No. 64 November 1900 p.9 JRUL Hartog archives.

[68] Appointed Professor of Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy at Owens College in 1893, Professor Alexander came to England from Australia to enter Balliol College, Oxford, in 1878, as a classical scholar, gaining a First Class in both Classical and Mathematical Moderations and a First Class in the Final School of *Literae Humaniores,* and being elected to a fellowship at Lincoln College in 1882, which he held until he took up his appointment at Owens College. Professor Alexander taught Philosophy for more than twenty years from 1893 at the federal and then the independent Victoria University of Manchester.

[69] Professor Dixon is also recorded as having contributed to a series of Popular Lectures given at the Bennett Street Sunday School in 1895. See Hanley 1981 op.cit. p.80. Samuel Alexander was Professor of Philosophy at Owens College and, later, the Victoria University of Manchester, from 1893-1924. Thomas Frederick Tout was Professor of History there from 1890-1925 and was first (1894/5) secretary of and subsequently chaired (1895-1920) the University Extension Committee. Ramsay Muir became a student at University College, Liverpool, in 1889, and had joined the staff as a lecturer in Modern History in 1902, becoming a professor there in 1906. Because of a quarrel between Muir and his former tutor at Liverpool, Professor John Mackay, the former resigned and moved to Manchester in 1914, where he had a chair in

H.P.Turner[70], and Kelly's work records the association between the University Extension Committee and the Manchester University Settlement at Ancoats, pointing out that "three successive Settlement Wardens - E.T. Campagnac (1896-98) who was later to become Professor of Education at Liverpool University,[71] Sidney McDougall (1898-1900) and Guy Kendall (1900-01) became Extension Lecturers.[72] Kelly also discusses the co-operation between Owens College, The Manchester Technical Instruction Committee, the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Educational Committees in establishing Manchester Ruskin Hall in 1899, in order

> "to provide a home for a limited number of working-class students, and to arrange, in conjunction with the Settlement, University evening classes for working-men which would be available to the residents and would also be open to any others who cared to attend."[73]

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modern history for the following seven years. See Kelly op.cit. 1981 pp.94/5 and 153. Philip Hartog, following his graduation from Owens College, had studied at Heidelberg and Paris, returning to Manchester as an assistant lecturer in chemistry in 1891, and becoming a lecturer in 1898. He was extremely interested in university extension work, and suceeded Tout as secretary of the University Extension Committee at Manchester in 1895, an office he retained until 1903. In addition, he was arguably the main inspiration behind Manchester Ruskin Hall, a short-lived venture from 1899 to 1903, a residential college for working men, established along similar lines to that at Ruskin Hall (later Ruskin College), Oxford. In 1903 Hartog moved to London University as academic regisgtrar. See Kelly op.cit. 1950 pp.19/20; and for an account of Hartog's career see Hartog M. P.J. Hartog: A Memoir (London: Constable and Co.1949). Boyd Dawkins was Professor of Geology at Owens from 1874-1908.

[70] H.Pilkington Turner (1868-1950) was the first joint-secretary (with A.Woodroofe Fletcher) of the University Settlement at Ancoats in 1895. He encouraged the collaboration of the work between the WEA and the universities. He was active in several social and philanthropic movements in Manchester, including the YMCA an the Manchester and Salford Blind Aid Society and he introduced the provision of educational facilities for prisoners at the city's gaol. See Waller R.D. (ed) Harold Pilkington Turner: Memories of his Work and Personality (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1953)

[71] Ernest Campagnac was appointed lecturer in Political Science and Literature at Owens College in 1897. His considerable contribution to University Extension can be seen in the number of lectures and the consistency with which he delivered them in the five years following his appointment

[72] Kelly 1950 op.cit. pp35 - 37. (Kendall left Manchester in 1902 for a career in teaching. See his autobiography A Headmaster Remembers London: Gollancz 1933)

[73] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.35

Ruskin Hall, however, did not succeed beyond what appears to be a two or three year period at the most, but in relation to the education of working men, Kelly asserts, "it undoubtedly sowed a valuable seed";[74] a seed which was possibly more fruitfully transplanted later in the WEA. It could well be that the residential nature of the venture was inappropriate for the culture and lifestyle of Manchester's working men.

Moreover, despite being aimed primarily at working men, extended education proved to have great appeal within the middle-classes, especially among women. As referred to in the previous chapter, educational opportunities for women had been few in Manchester, outside of those offered by the Royal Institution, the Athenaeum and the Mechanics' Institute, prior to the establishment of the Manchester High School for Girls in 1874 and the Manchester and Salford Women's College in 1877. These latter two organisations, however, had confirmed the demand for and benefit of continuing education for women and Extension lectures may be seen as a natural progression in the evolution of women's education in Manchester.

That the divisions between the male and female students were both socially and gender based is interesting and must have given the Extension lecturers a curious task in devising a teaching method and manner to suit the combined group. It is interesting to note, in respect of the social difference, that adult educators during the period under review were, not surprisingly for that time, particularly class conscious, often with good intent. The terms of admission of the Victoria University's Extension Lectures clearly state that:

> "With a middle class audience a determined effort should always be made to render the course self supporting. A fee of 5s. for a course of eight lectures, and 1s. for admission to a single lecture are the charges most usually made. ... ... For working men's audiences 1s. for the course, and 2d for a single admission are the usual charges, and it is seldom desirable to ask more. In such cases the admission fees cannot, except in rare instances, cover the expenses, and funds must be obtained either by subscription from the employers of labour or in other ways."[75]

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[74] ibid p.37. For a more detailed assessment of Manchester Ruskin Hall, see Lees 1994 op.cit. pp342-355. For the early history of Ruskin Hall, Oxford, see Simon B. Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart 1965) pp.311-326

[75] Memoranda for the use of Local Committees 1891.p.9. in University Extension Records and Reports II 1886-1902

In some instances where charges were not made for admission to working men's audiences a voluntary contribution of " ... between 1d and 2d a head per lecture was obtained". The Extension Lectures Committee also pointed out that it was not unusual to have two scales of payment, with reservations being made for some higher cost seats, but it referred to doubts having been expressed " .. as to the desirability of so dividing the audience".[76]

The 1891 Victoria University Extension Lectures balance sheet showed income and expenditure under the three headings of Middle Class Audience; Middle Class Audience (special expenses for experiment illustration); and Working Men's Audience. The receipts from those three types of audience were £57.1s.6d., £52.2s.6d. and £15.1s.4d., respectively. Subscriptions and donations totalling £24.3s.0d., however, along with lower costs for hall hire and a smaller bill for printing and stationery, reduced working class audience expenditure and brought the final balances, including sale of syllabuses, to £59.14s.9d., £55.1s.0d. and £41.16s.10d., respectively. [77]

Lees' research reveals that in Manchester and district courses ran at a cost to middle-class students of five shillings per session, whereas for working men and women, for whom subsidy was often also available from charitable or philanthropic quarters, for one shilling or even less and that coverage of the entire cost was not unheard of by virtue of the middle-class, afternoon sessions often also subsidising the cost of the working-class students' evening sessions.[78] This charitable giving, however, was not always welcomed in an era when paternalism was gradually coming to be regarded as condescension. In addition, as Harrison points out,[79] the practice of benefaction was not always successful anyway. In Yorkshire, for example, where of twenty-five centres only one-quarter to one-fifth of Extension students belonged to the working classes, the cost of duplicating lectures became prohibitive.

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[76] ibid p.10

[77] ibid p.14.

[78] Lees 1994 op.cit. p.404

[79] Harrison 1961 op.cit. pp 237/8

Distinctions clearly were made between anticipated, or targeted, audience groups, and even between geographical areas, where matters of fees were concerned. Cambridge's evening extension lectures at Altrincham Literary Institute in Cheshire were charged in January 1896 at two shillings and sixpence for a five lecture course and one shilling for individual lectures, whereas the same lecturer, D.H.S.Cranage[80], speaking on the same subject of Gothic Architecture at Market Drayton, in Shropshire, on Saturday afternoons in February of the same year, attracted a course fee of ten shillings and single lecture fee of two shillings and sixpence. At the Market Drayton venue "teachers in elementary schools and persons in receipt of weekly wages" could attend the course for a concessionary fee of two shillings and sixpence.[81] Such concessions were frequently made for different groups of people. The Reverend J.B. Bailey's six lecture course, for the Oxford Delegacy, on 'Shakespeare' was offered in 1898 at three shillings and sixpence, but at the reduced price of two shillings and sixpence for students under twenty-one years of age and "persons engaged in tuition",[82] as was, in 1899, A.M.Fison's six lecture course on 'The Electric Current'.[83] Similarly, in 1901, the Reverend Hudson Shaw's 'Rome in the Middle Ages' six lecture course cost five shillings, but only three shillings and sixpence for "schools and teachers" and two shillings and sixpence for "persons receiving weekly wages".[84]

That audiences varied in their social composition across the country is clear from the memoirs of Oxford lecturer, historian J.A.R. Marriott, who recalled extension audiences which consisted

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[80] D.H.S. Cranage (1866-1957) graduated in 1890 from Cambridge University and from 1891 until 1902 was employed as an extension lecturer by the Local Lectures Syndicate at Cambridge, at which time he succeeded R.D.Roberts as Secretary to the Syndicate, in which post he dealt tactfully with J.A.R. Marriott, his rather sensitive counterpart at the Oxford Delegacy. Essentially a pragmatist, he was more sympathetic to the development of the WEA than either Roberts or Marriott. He retired as Secretary to the Cambridge Local Lectures Syndicate in 1928 to take up an appointment as Dean of Norwich. For an account of Cranage's life and work see his autobiography Not only a Dean (London: The Faith Press 1952). For his career in the university extension movement see pp.44-61 and pp78-158.

[81] Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian January 25th 1896 and February 12th 1896.

[82] Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian September 17th 1898.

[83] Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian January 7th 1899.

[84] Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian 14th September 1901.

" .. mainly of middle-class folk in a decorous cathedral city such as Hereford, Wells or Salisbury ... ... ladies who came in to the county or market town in carriages and motors for an afternoon lecture. Anon there would be a large sprinkling of artisans or novices, in such centres as Oldham, Rochdale, Barnsley or Rotherham". [85]

In Manchester the University Extension Committee expected winter evening audiences also to " ... consist largely or even mainly of ladies."[86] It is hardly surprising that such classes attracted large numbers of women, when one considers the largely domestic nature of subjects previously accessible to female students and their exclusion from the regular evening classes of the university. The predominance of domestically related topics available to women, as discussed in the previous chapter, was to continue well into the twentieth century and certainly may be seen in the women's classes which were funded through the Technical Instruction Committees of the 1890s. The Borough of Middleton's Technical Instruction Committee, for instance, in 1891 advertised classes in 'cutting out and fitting of dresses, sewing, etc.' as being 'Important to Ladies'[87] and in 1893 Cheshire County Council offered classes in cookery, laundering work and dressmaking to women over eighteen years of age.[88] Women who sought intellectual stimulation appear not to have been widely considered by organised providers prior to the establishment of university extension when their need made itself obvious. Mackinder and Sadler and R.D.Roberts commented in 1891 on what was clearly a common contemporary complaint that whilst such ladies were in abundance at extension lectures such was not the case in relation to young men[89] and Harrison quotes B.T. Hall of the C.I.U. as observing in 1905 that

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[85]Marriott J.A.R. Memories of Four Score Years (London: Blackie and Son Ltd.1946) p.97

[86] Memoranda for the use of Local Committees 1891.p.11. in University Extension Records and Reports II 1886-1902

[87] The Middleton Albion 17th October 1891.

[88] Advertisement in the Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser 17th February 1893. By 1903, however, Cheshire County Council was advertising cookery and dressmaking in a general, rather than gender specific, list of classes which included music, building, French, commercial correspondence and handwriting. See the Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser of 25th September 1903.

[89] Mackinder H.J. and Sadler M.E. University Extension, Past, Present and Future (3rd edition 1891) p.97: Roberts R.D. Eighteen Years of University Extension (1891) pp13-14 cited in Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.13

"Workmen are not so easily turned from their old habits as idealists sometimes are".[90] In view of the earlier experience of establishments such as the Lyceum and the Manchester Working Man's College, as mentioned in chapter two of this thesis, Extension providers might more reasonably have expected artisans, rather than unskilled labourers, to attend lectures and classes.

Unskilled workers, however, as also demonstrated in the previous chapter, had been drawn in many thousands during the cotton famine to the popular lectures which were organised for them and so were clearly enthusiastic about continuing education, given the time and opportunity. However, the advantage offered by the provision of elementary education, through the 1870 Education Act, which facilitated progress through secondary education and thence to Extension study, would have taken at least one generation to manifest itself, during which time the middle-class ladies who attended in such number would have provided a well established niche market. The question arises, therefore, as to whether, when they were academically prepared for Extension study, working men were simply discouraged from attending lectures because they found themselves in what must have been for them the most unusual and possibly uncomfortable position of being in the company of a large number of middle-class women. Where there were few middle-class ladies in a particular geographical area, the working men of that community attended in significant number. Extant Victoria University records describe Extension audiences as being " ... mainly drawn from the middle classes, but in some cases consisting entirely of working men".[91] This latter point was particularly true of the audiences at Ancoats and Openshaw[92] where densely populated working class areas had long-held traditions of organisations and institutes for the edification and recreation of working men, as discussed in the preceding chapters of this work.

In London, Extension students were mainly middle-class, with audiences containing " ... a fair sprinkling of clerks and elementary school-teachers". Although the Society " ... was at great pains to recruit working-class students", succeeding in 1886, at least, in

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[90] Harrison M. Social Reform in late Victorian and Edwardian Manchester with special reference to T.C. Horsfall (unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester 1987) p.244

[91] Memoranda for the use of Local Committees 1891 p.4

[92] See Kelly 1950 op.cit. p13

enrolling "men engaged in ship building, boiler makers, coppers, sawyers and dock labourers", a poor basic education and the dire need to work long hours hindered any educational initiative in working-class Londoners as it did such people in other parts of Britain, and London's attempt to recruit from that social sector, and the poor response, would appear to be typical of the national picture. Also, the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching largely failed in its attempts to gain charitable or local authority funded financial support for working-class students. There were charitable exceptions in the City Parochial Charities, the Gilchrist and the Mitchell Trust, but the first grant from the London City Council, of £50 for each of nine sessional courses, was not made until 1906. Compounding the social imbalance, as has been noted from evidence relating to Manchester, the value of sessional certificates, available from 1885, in respect of exemptions towards the Queen's Scholarship examination was a great attraction to pupil-teachers, thereby boosting the middle-class intake further.[93]

Jepson notes that significant numbers of elementary school teachers and pupil-teachers attended lectures organised by both Oxford and Cambridge authorities, and that the appeal of those courses for them was mainly vocational. From the point of view of the providers, there seems to have been little debate about the desirability of having young people under the age of eighteen (pupil-teachers) attending university extension lectures. C.W.Kimmins, secretary to the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, felt that pupil-teachers could certainly benefit from such courses, but expressed concern that some of the students at the various pupil-teacher centres were not up to the standard required of university extension students.[94] Successive governments from the 1870s, and over the next thirty years, also remained somewhat ambivalent about the use and standard of university extension courses as a route to obtaining concessions and exemptions for prior learning from the Queen's Scholarship Examination, a staging post along the way to becoming a certificated teacher. Whilst these possibilities were debated at some length, it was not until 1892 that significant progress was made towards permission for university extension courses to count towards the Queen's Scholarship Examination. This principle was embodied in the Revised Code of 1893, and both Oxford and Cambridge's organising syndicates amended their systems of examinations to allow pupil-teachers to take advantage of the altered regulations of the Education Department. Not surprisingly, there was a

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[93] Burrows 1976 op.cit. pp.18-30

[94] See Jepson 1973 op.cit. pp113-119

definite incentive for extension organisers to provide courses for pupil-teachers, as the Victoria University did from 1893, but government concern over the standards of such courses in comparison with those arranged by the Education Department, and resentment by the university providers at being monitored by government appointees, meant that the relationship between the government body and the various university bodies was generally an uneasy one. By 1904, the government was prepared to discontinue this particular partnership on the grounds that the standards of university extension courses were not of a sufficiently high standard to be appropriate as preparation in the training of teachers.

The Education Act of 1902 indicated the beginning of the end of university extension provision for pupil-teachers. Under the terms of the Act it was evident that the intention was to phase out pupil-teacher centres and to use the new system of secondary schooling as a means of providing some of the more basic education for intending teachers. The matter was brought to a head in 1904 as a result of a disagreement over standards between a Board of Education inspector and a university examiner at a pupil-teacher centre at Hanley, which came within the Oxford Delegacy's area of influence. An immediate effect was that similar courses at Manchester came under serious scrutiny from government officials, and there was internal pressure from within the universities involved to discontinue pupil-teacher provision. In 1906 Cambridge, Oxford, London, Manchester and Liverpool, ceased offering such courses and the work of their joint committee was concluded.[95] Unlike Jepson and Kelly, Marriott is rather dismissive (albeit on the basis of ample evidence which his research unearthed) of the usefulness of university extension courses as provision for pupil-teachers:

> "These students were not adults: they were (in our eyes at least) mere children, and they attended extension lectures not as a part of a professional training but in order to acquire a smattering of liberal, secondary education and that under the cloud of government examination regulations".[96]

So far, this section has examined the relative success experienced by the university extension movement in attracting clientele from amongst working-class men, women

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[95]A detailed and thorough analysis of the university extension programme for pupil-teachers is provided by Stuart Marriott's excellent article, 'The University Extension Movement and the Education of Teachers' in History of Education Vol.10. No.3. September 1981 pp.163-177

[96] ibid p.175

from the middle classes, and pupil-teachers. One further category remains to be considered here: young men from the middle classes. The response from this element of the population disappointed the providers, and the reasons for such a situation were not easy to discern. R.D.Roberts, in his report to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education in 1895, attributed it to a lack of a systematic curriculum of study, although the increase in the number of agencies providing similar educational opportunities in the 1880s and 1890s (including state provision) might be another contributory consideration. One correspondent, in a letter to the University Extension Journal, was perhaps nearer the truth of the matter in observing that "the chief reason for this non-attendance of men appears to me to be apathy, not only to university extension work, but to everything which does not offer an immediate material return."[97] This problem would be a difficult one to solve satisfactorily.

Organisation of the lectures

Stuart Marriott's study of the organisation of extramural employment in England provides a very interesting perspective of the national structure and organisation of extension lecturing. Describing a relationship "triangle" between the central authorities, the voluntary local bodies and the peripatetic lecturing staff, Marriott evinces the theory that although the universities exercised total control over the quality of work, the approval of lecturers and syllabuses and the conducting of examinations, they were obliged, by virtue of the free administration which the local committees provided, to allow choice from a long list of topics , and therefore compromised to some extent. He also expounds a view that because this unpaid administration was the sole function of the local committee, such committees were rendered "a voluntarist sham".[98] Nonetheless, the central authorities' dependence on such free administration must have given the committees a certain amount of power.

The organising of university extension lectures was basically a twofold process. Manchester's arrangements were similar in many respects to those of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At Owens College the organisation of the lectures was controlled by a Standing Committee of the Victoria University's General Board of Studies. The comparable bodies at Oxford and Cambridge were the Oxford University

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[97] University Extension Journal, July 1902, cited in Jepson 1973 op.cit. p.123

[98] Marriott S. University Extension Lecturers: The Organisation of Extramural Employment in England 1873-1914. Educational Administration and History Monograph No.15. Museum of the History of Education University of Leeds 1985. pp.76/77

Extension Delegacy and the (Cambridge) Local Lectures Syndicate. In London, the function was undertaken by the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching. The function of these organising bodies was, in general terms, to recruit and appoint suitably qualified and experienced lecturers in the various subjects requested, and to oversee the conducting of examinations.[99] Because both Oxford's and Cambridge's network of university extension lecture provision was far more extensive than that of the Victoria University, an extra layer of administration was incorporated in the form of local lecture secretaries. The secretaries were employed by the universities concerned and would take responsibility for negotiating with the Local Lecture Committees for the assignment of lecturers. These local committees, staffed by volunteers, were formed for the purpose of arranging courses of university extension lectures in particular localities and had to be in place before a university would make plans for the delivery of a course in that district. The local committees would take responsibility for all local arrangements, including the selection and hiring of a suitable venue, the advertising and printing and the guaranteeing of payment of any charges incurred by the university. Any local expenses incurred had to be guaranteed by the local committees before courses were offered.[100] These committees had each to have a secretary who would act in liaison with the committee and the university.[101] A more substantial account of how this system of organisation operated for the extension lectures offered by the Victoria University is provided at this point.

The Standing Committee of the General Board of Studies of the Victoria University which controlled the arrangements for the Extension Lectures from 1891 included among its membership the Principals of the Yorkshire College and University College, Liverpool, and two members of each of their staff. The full membership of the General Board of Studies comprised:

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[99] 'The Victoria University: University Extension Lectures. Memoranda for the use of Local Committees and of others engaged in the organisation of University Extension Teaching' (Manchester 1891) p.6 in Extension Lectures Reports and Records III 1889-1892.

[100] ibid. pp.6/7

[101] The Victoria University: Regulations for University Extension Lecturers and List of Lecturers with titles of their courses for the session 1891-2 (Manchester 1891) p.1 in Extension Lectures, Reports and Records III 1889-1892.

The Vice-Chancellor (Professor Rendall, Principal of University College)
Professor Wilkins, Chairman of the General Board of Studies
Professor Dixon, Deputy Chairman of the General Board of Studies
Professor Ward, Principal of Owens College
Professor Bodington, Principal of the Yorkshire College
Professor Boyd Dawkins, Owens College
Professor Carey, University College
Professor MacCunn, University College
Professor Milnes Marshall, Owens College
Professor Miall, Yorkshire College
Professor Ransome, Yorkshire College

The University was to be "... responsible for the appointment of properly qualified and experienced lecturers in the several subjects, and for the conduct of examinations ... ", but was to leave

> "... all details of local organisation and management to the Local Committees ... specially formed for the purpose or the existing committee of any organised institution or club, such as Free Libraries, Literary or Scientific Institutes, Public or Private Schools, Technical Schools, Co-operative Societies, Working Men's Clubs, &c."[102]

Such Local Committees were to be responsible for local arrangements and for determining the conditions and terms of admission to courses and were also obligated to guarantee the payment of University charges of 20gns for six lecture courses; 25gns for eight lecture courses and 30gns for ten lecture courses. In addition, centres were also responsible for the travelling expenses of lecturers and expenses incurred in illustrating the lectures, along with costs of hall hire, advertising and printing.[103] The self-supporting nature of the courses was emphasised by the University, the Committees being advised to this end to ensure the "undoubted success" of the first course by choosing an attractive subject to be taught by a popular lecturer. The University was to be the final arbiter of lecture choices, however, when applications, submitted in the Lent Term for courses to be run in the Michaelmas term and offering suggestions in order of local preference, were considered. The University was

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[102] Memoranda for the Use of Local Committees 1891 op.cit. p.5

[103] ibid p.13

"obliged to reserve to itself a discretion in making the final arrangements in each case".[104]

The importance of specially formed committees being "thoroughly representative" was also stressed by the University and it was suggested that:

> "Members of the Town Council and of the School Board, the clergy and ministers of various denominations, and the heads of colleges and schools and other educational bodies should all be asked to join."[105]

The vital role of the Local Secretary was described as being of "utmost moment" in consideration of the success of courses depending on "his organising power and tact". (It was also pointed out that "Ladies have rendered great service, both as members of Committees and as Local Secretaries".)[106] The extent of a Secretary's "organising power and tact" would undoubtedly be very significant in determining the level of success of courses during the early years of Extension work in particular. With no established traditions of success and no laurels to rest upon, local interest would need to be engendered through the enthusiasm and energy of the Local Secretary. With no precedents set, the goodwill, contribution, and support of the local community might well have depended to a great extent upon the time, effort and creativity which a Secretary could bring to a local centre. Local knowledge, too, would have been vital in consideration of course selection, venues, and the identification of appropriate target audiences, all matters which would affect the success or otherwise of the centre.

It was suggested by the Victoria University's Extension Lectures Committee that lecture audiences should be attracted by means of circulars and by the placing of notices in local newspapers, but although there are to be found in the University's Archives many extant copies of printed notices advertising local lectures, newspaper advertisements of Extension Lectures are not so easily accessible.

Searches of extant copies of the Manchester Guardian , possibly the most widely circulated Manchester newspaper, fail to reveal any advertising of the Victoria Committee's Extension Lectures during the period under review in this current

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[104] ibid p.7

[105] ibid p.6

[106] loc. cit.

chapter. Publishing costs with the Manchester Guardian might well have been prohibitive for the Local Lectures Committees which had rather delicately balanced budgets. It is also likely that there existed freely distributed advertising gazeteers which might have been used but the proliferation of handbills and notices suggests that such was the main method of advertising the Victoria University's local lectures.

Nonetheless, there is some extant material to indicate that the suggestion of 1891 was acted upon in relation to regional newspapers which probably had smaller, more localised, circulation. A course of six University Extension Lectures to be given by Oliver Elton from the 27th January 1892 in the Alderley Edge High School, on 'Some Prose Writers from Bacon to Carlyle', was advertised in the Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser[107] whilst Milnes Marshall's course on 'Natural History' was advertised in the Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian on 31st December 1892 under the distinct heading of 'University Extension Lectures - Victoria'. Also advertised under the heading of Victoria University Extension Lectures, in the Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian, was Wicksteed's twelve lecture course on 'Dante', which ran in September 1903.

Early in the life of local lectures an occasional notice was also to have been found in the 'Diary' column of the Manchester City News. In November and December of 1886 the column advertised lectures to be delivered at the New Islington Hall, by Professor Milnes Marshall, but no titles were given[108]. In the following year the same newspaper carried an advertisement for a series of eight Victoria University Local Lectures to be given by Professor Munro, at Withington Town Hall, on 'The English Constitution'. That series was also listed in the 'Diary' for the forthcoming week, but appeared there described simply as "a lecture".[109] The 'Diary' column of the newspaper seems to have been discontinued after November 1887, so perhaps a valuable source of possibly free, public service, advertising ended there.

Other advertisements in the Manchester City News during the winter term of 1887/8 were for a single lecture to be given on 'The Sun' by Sir Henry E Roscoe MP, with tickets costing sixpence and no organising body mentioned; two Gilchrist lectures to

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107 Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser and East and Mid-Cheshire Gazette January 22nd 1892.

108 Manchester City News Saturday November 13th

109 Manchester City News 8th October 1887

be held in the Co-Operative Hall, Blackley, on 'The Life of the Earth' (Professor Miall of Yorkshire College) and 'The Heart and Its Work in Circulation of the Blood' (Dr Andrew Wilson), to be held on 3rd February and 2nd March, respectively.[110]

In October 1886 the Manchester Guardian advertised what might have been either a series of popular lectures, or an Oxford Delegacy short trial course. The advertisement referred to three lectures on 'Irish History 1603-1800' by W.H. Shaw to be delivered in the New Islington Hall, Ancoats, beginning on Monday 11th October 1886.[111] As no organising body was referred to in the advertisement, Reverend Shaw could well have been lecturing under the auspices of the Oxford Delegacy, or was equally likely to have been giving his services voluntarily to the Ancoats Recreation Movement. Certainly the advertisement did appear in a column dedicated to recreational activity, but then that is also where advertisements for Owens College classes appeared from time to time between 1886 and 1903 and not under the column heading of 'Education'.

J.A.R. Marriott's afternoon lectures on 'The Rise and Progress of the English Colonies' were advertised in the Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian[112] and F.T. Boas' six lecture course on 'King Lear' at Warrington Training College in 1892 was advertised under the heading 'Oxford University Extension Lectures'.[113] Likewise, E.L.S. Horsburgh's six lecture course on 'Epochs from the History of our Country' was advertised under the heading 'University Extension Lectures Oxford'.[114] Similarly acclaimed by the Oxford delegacy were the Reverend J.G. Bailey's six fortnightly lectures in Sale on 'Elizabethan Writers' on 8th October 1892. Other courses which have been identified as being advertised in the Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian between 1887 and 1903 were in the main advertised under Oxford's name, with the exceptions of a Cambridge advertisement for Cranage's five lecture course on 'The History of Gothic Architecture' which appeared on the 25th January 1896 and an

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110 Manchester City News 25th February 1888

111 Manchester Guardian 6.10.1886

112 Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian January 15th 1887.

113 Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian Saturday 6th February 1892

114 Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian 10th September 1892

advertisement on 30th September 1899 for a six lecture course by J. Headlam of King's College, on 'Characteristics of the Nineteenth Century'.

The Oxford Delegacy certainly advertised extension lectures in other publications of the regional press. The Ashton-Under-Lyne Reporter on 23rd and 30th December 1893 carried advertisements for Reverend W Hudson Shaw's afternoon lectures on 'The Age of Elizabeth', to be held in the Town Hall, and on 3rd January 1903 was advertising Dr Percy Withers' 'Shakespeare' series to be delivered in the Co-Operative Hall, Ashton-Under-Lyne. The Delegacy also used The Sale and Stretford Guardian to advertise University Extension Lectures to be held in Altrincham. In 1889, the year of the earliest available surviving copies of that newspaper, H.J. Mackinder's courses on 'Physiography or Chapters before Geography' and 'The History and Geography of International Politics' were advertised in February and December, respectively,[115] and Hudson Shaw's 'Florentine History' course was advertised throughout October and November.[116]

It is interesting to note that of those advertisements found, a high percentage are for lectures by the Reverend Hudson Shaw, such as The Manchester City News advertisement of a University Extension Lecture to be given by him at the New Islington Hall on the 10th September 1886.[117] The Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian advertised those to be held by Shaw at Altrincham Literary Institute in 1891and 1892, simply described as 'University Extension Lectures'.[118] In October 1892 University Extension Lectures by the Reverend W Hudson Shaw on Venice were advertised in the Manchester City News, but the available copy of the newsprint is not sufficiently legible to ascertain what length of course this might have been and The Stockport Advertiser and Guardian of 23rd and 30th December 1893 advertised those of his lectures which were to be held at Ashton-Under-Lyne in January 1894· Further

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115 Sale & Stretford Guardian February 23rd 1889 and Saturday 21st 1889.

116 Sale & Stretford Guardian February 23rd 1889, September 14th, September 21st, September 28th, 12th & 26th October, 9th November, 1889.

117 Manchester City News September 4th 1886

118 Altrincham and Bowdon Guardian 7th, 10th, 16th, 30th January 1891; 4th, 11th, 15th April 1891; 5th, 19th, 26th September 1891; 3rd, 10th, 17th, 24th, 31st October 1891, 7th 13th, 20th, 27th November 1891; 5th December 1891 23rd January 1892. This newspaper also carried an advertisement for Shaw's Popular Lecture 'Savonarola' which was held at Sale in February 1892.

advertisements for Reverend Shaw's work appeared in the Manchester City News during the winter term of 1887/8, listed as a series of six Oxford University Extension Lectures on 'English Social Reformers', by the Reverend W Hudson Shaw, to be held in the Chorlton Road Congregational Sunday School at Brooks Bar, at a cost of 2/6d for the course.[119]

There appears to be a general agreement among historians as to the importance of the contribution of Hudson Shaw, to the work of University Extension. Kelly writes that:

> "By common acclaim the greatest of the Extension lecturers, in their power to interest and stimulate a popular audience, were GW Hudson Shaw of Oxford and RG Moulton of Cambridge. Of Hudson Shaw, an historian, Mansbridge wrote in 1948 that his name 'still rings in the cities of the north and midlands'. A Church of England parson, he was enlisted by Sadler in 1886, and during the next twenty-six years delivered courses in about 150 different centres. Sadler said of him that he had been 'for more than twenty years ... one of the great moving forces for good in English life'. .... [the] opening week in the Autumn Term of 1889 took him, to Rhyl, Chester, Manchester, Nantwich (afternoon and evening), Runcorn, and Altrincham; and when he returned home at the week-end he had his parish work to do. At Oldham he lectured for nine successive years, with an average weekly attendance of 650 and a final attendance in 1895 of over 1,000. ..... his syllabuses were 'masterpieces of research and in themselves works of art'. [120]

When a University Extension Centre was opened at Littleborough, Lancashire, in January 1902, the opening course on Heroes of the Nations was delivered by Hudson Shaw and attracted approximately five hundred attendees out of a local population of between eleven and twelve thousand people. Of the five hundred people who attended the course "A fair number wrote papers and attended the examination". Such was the professional standard of the course that, departing from previous practice, the Oxford

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[119] This course would have been part of the flourishing programme of educational recreational activities run at that time by the Chorlton Road Congregational Church for its adherents and other members of the local community. Such educational opportunities for adults existed and developed alongside, and clearly from this example, in conjunction with, university extension, which is hardly surprising when one considers the adult education tradition which was demonstrated in chapter two of this work to have been established for many years in the Manchester area.

[120] Kelly op. cit. 1992 p. 231

Delegacy approved official recognition of Hudson Shaw's English Social Reformers lecture course as a syllabus in Advanced History, which meant that, under the new Board of Education Regulations, grants would be available of up to five shillings per twenty-four hours of attendance.[121]

In the same article, it was mentioned that between the lectures the class would be conducted by Mr Charles Owen " ... a very successful student for many years at the Oldham Centre ..." who had " ... been recognised by the Board of Education as a properly qualified teacher". Interestingly, an article by Mr Owen had appeared in the November 1899 edition of the University Extension Journal, entitled 'Impressions of the Summer Meeting', in which the writer had expressed his own delight " ... as a working-man student ...", and the delight of his fellow working-men students, at the charms of the " ...venerable centre of intellectual life ..." which was Oxford, and had seen " .... no ground for supposing that any class-difference can be discerned" among the students at the Summer Meeting. Nonetheless, the pleasure of being at the Meeting, for the working man or woman, did lie to a considerable extent in " ... the greatest contrast to their ordinary life", to have experienced "for a time an existence so ideal in its conditions and pursuits" and to have left " ... the forge, or the loom, the grimy workshop and the unlovely town, for a fortnight's intercourse with what is beautiful and elevating, to feel by actual experience the joys of a more refined existence, is a notable advantage."[122]

Four years prior to that report by the "working-man student", Mr Charles Owen, was published this report in the November 1895 issue of the same journal:

> "Among the Balliol freshmen is one whose career at Oxford will be watched with sympathetic interest by all well-wishers to the cause of University Extension. Mr Joseph Owen has been for some years past a regular member of Mr.Hudson Shaw's class at Oldham. He has in successive examinations done work of exceptional excellence, and now, thanks in part to the generosity of Balliol College, and in part to that of Mr.Shaw's private friends, he has been brought into regular residence at Oxford as the first University Extension scholar. It is not, of course, by any means the first time that students have been stimulated by attendance at Extension lectures to seek a regular degree at the University itself. But it is, as far as we know, the first instance of a man being elected to an exhibition at a great College solely on the strength of his

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121 University Extension Journal October 1902 p.9

122 University Extension Journal November 1899 pp21/22

work as a University Extension student. Balliol, Mr.Owen, and Mr Hudson Shaw are alike to be congratulated on this interesting experiment."[123]

In an article two months later, it was reported that "by the end of his first term" Mr Owen had "distanced all competitors". "He has come and he has conquered", commented the article in full support and admiration of this "former factory hand".[124] Whether Mr Charles Owen and Mr Joseph Owen are one and the same student, or simply share a surname and success through the University Extension Centre at Oldham, is not clear from the Journal's articles, but the success of Mr Hudson Shaw's teaching at that centre is well reflected in the enthusiasm and achievement of this particular student, or these particular students.

Reverend Shaw's work in Manchester is recorded in the Ancoats Recreation Movement's syllabuses as running from 1887 to 1908 where he is shown as having given much support to Extension teaching, including contributing to their Sunday afternoon lecture series. In January and February of 1909 he gave a series of six lectures on Italian Cities in what was acclaimed as " ... the generous gift of an Old Friend in commemoration of his twenty one years' affectionate interest and personal service in what he many years ago described as 'The University of Ancoats'."[125]

The most effective medium by which to advertise lectures was considered by the Victoria University's Extension Lectures Committee to be through the personal contact of Committee members themselves. Memoranda for the Use of Local Committees advised the active and systematic canvassing by " ... each member of the Committee undertaking to call upon a certain number of residents in the neighbourhood." and added that "To ensure continued success a vigorous personal canvas should be carried out each year".[126] Audiences were expected to be in the region of two hundred and very likely to consist largely of ladies, therefore, local committees were advised to give consideration to matters of public transport facilities when selecting a venue, particularly in view of the fact that courses were offered during the winter months.

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[123] University Extension Journal November 1895 pp18/19

[124] University Extension Journal January 1896 p.51

[125] Ancoats Recreation Movement syllabus 1908/9

[126] Memoranda for the Use of Local Committees 1891 p.7

Local centres were charged £24.12s.0d. for six lectures and £42.12s.0d. for twelve lectures in 1889, which was not an insignificant sum for any centre to find, and for some of the smaller ones, a prohibitive one[127] and Stuart Marriott maintains[128] that because local centres were obliged to meet their financial commitment to the Universities, they were at the hub of a tension between offering 'serious' study and providing popular lectures which would attract students who attended for single lectures, "...the 'entertainment' side of university extension", rather than committing themselves in advance for a complete lecture series. In Manchester there appeared to be no danger of 'serious' study coming under threat from "the 'entertainment' side of extension". As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, most students had traditionally enrolled for complete programmes. Certainly, J.A.R. Marriott's autobiographical work includes reference to audiences the nucleus of which "would be supplied by the local 'Lit. and Phil.' Society, as at Heaton Chapel [in Stockport] ... a fine audience of 400-500 people, but with very few 'students'."[129] Sadler, however, told the 1894 University Extension Conference that "The long and the short courses were not in opposition, but complementary of each other." This end was the more readily reached as the movement was under the wing of the universities.[130] Sadler's view certainly seems to have been echoed in Manchester where records show that at a meeting of Victoria University lecturers and secretaries at the Annual Extension Movement Conference of 1893 it had been announced that two changes were to be introduced and that: "The two changes tend in different directions, one having in view increased educational efficacy and the other the further popularisation of the movement; but there is not necessarily any inconsistency between them."[131] With the agreement of the Oxford, Cambridge and London Extension authorities, the Victoria University had " ...determined in future to grant certificates only on courses of at least ten lectures" and, if desired, uncertificated examinations would be held at the

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[127] Jepson 1954/5 op.cit. p.29

[128] Marriott S. 1985 op.cit. pp78/79

[129] Marriot J.A.R. 1946 op.cit. p.98

[130] The Times June 23rd 1894.

[131] Undated newspaper report of the Conference held on 3rd March 1893. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I. Jan. 15th 1891 to March 14th 1895 (N.B. although the minute book is so labelled its contents include material up to and including the minutes of a meeting held on December 6th 1900.)

conclusion of shorter courses. Each lecturer would make it clear to external examiners "... the lines on which his teaching had proceeded and on which he wished the candidates to be examined", in order to avoid the need to teach ".... for examination rather than with higher aims;" The change was expected to encourage students to undertake longer courses and, " ... with uniformity being secured between the four Universities engaged in the work, the public [would] have some idea of the value to be attached to an Extension certificate". The second change, following on the success at Leeds, was to introduce short pioneer courses, or even single lectures and, again, there was an awareness that "Care [would] of course need to be taken to prevent the list of University Extension lecturers from being 'exploited' for evening entertainments of a refined character but of infinitesimal educational value" and it was noted that " ... the University Secretary may be trusted to exercise a wise discretion, and only to grant applications where there is at least the probability that the stimulus of a popular lecture or two may lead to something more serious" because " ... it must be remembered that stimulus is only valuable if it really stimulates to something - to systematic reading and study;" for which continuity of teaching is vital. [132]

Stuart had set a precedent of the highest standard, his peripatetic lectures paving the way for the more formal university extension. This standard was ably maintained by men such as Roberts and Moulton. It was Stuart's course format (which he had adopted for the North of England Council for the Promotion of the Higher Education of Women lectures) of the lecture followed by discussion (though questions from women had to be offered in written form) and the submission of written work, following a set syllabus, which established the pattern adopted by extension lecturers.

The printing of a formal syllabus proved very useful in ensuring that political or religious bias was not allowed to deflect a course from its academic aim, but it is likely that a number of negative influences combined to render the extension lecture discussion less valuable than it may otherwise have been. The tiredness of peripatetic lecturers and of students who had completed a hard day's work before arriving for study; the contemporary unacceptability of intercommunication between members of the opposite sex; the very large audiences which were necessitated in order to meet costs and were neither conducive to balanced participation nor physical comfort in the often inappropriate venues available, all contributed to reducing the effectiveness of post-lecture discussion.

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[132] ibid.

The decision to offer classes after lectures and invite class papers and the undertaking of examination on an optional basis clearly worked and in 1895 Moulton was able to report that:

> "The combination of these two kinds of people is found to be for the advantage of both: the presence of students raises the educational character of the Lectures, and the association of students with a popular Audience gives to the teaching an impressiveness that mere class-teaching could never attain."[133]

In 1888 the ancient universities introduced further measures to support Extension students. Under the headline 'A New Departure in University Extension', the Manchester Guardian's University Correspondent reported from Oxford on the 28th November 1888 on "... a scheme for the encouragement and guidance of study at home, by way of supplement to the arrangements made for the establishment of lectures and teaching in large towns". The Oxford and Cambridge Delegacies launched the two-pronged scheme simultaneously, introducing Reading Circles and Students' Associations. The idea was to provide "a stimulus and an assistance" to isolated students who had no access to extension centres and to provide preparation for and continuation of lecture courses. About forty circles had been, or were in the process of being formed, " ... on a vast variety of subjects ..." Each circle was to have " ... a properly qualified leader ... " who would be responsible for reading lists, study skills advice, essays and so on. Very much, in fact, the 1888 equivalent of today's 'distance learning' tutor. Registration fee, syllabus and six communications with the leader cost a total of ten shillings, with reductions in the cost of sets of tickets and further communication with the leader would incur an extra charge of one shilling and threepence per contact. The circles were federated into the Oxford University Extension Home Reading Union. The Students' Associations, which were already established in many towns, met to read essays or discuss topics of study. Local secretaries, for the general purposes of the Oxford Extension Movement, were already in place in " nearly a hundred different towns north and south". Manchester and district was " ... especially well represented on the list, Mr.Rowley appearing for Ancoats, Mr. J.R. Baines for Chorlton Road, Mr. C.E. Hecht for Didsbury, and Rev. S. Farrington and Mr. W. Owen for Upper Brook-street. Altrincham, Cheadle,

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[133] Moulton R.G. University Extension Movement 1885 p.7 cited in Kelly 1992 op.cit. p.233

Chester, Crewe, Nantwich, Oldham, Rochdale, all figure on the list, which no doubt is capable of still further expansion."[134]

In 1891 there was formed The Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching. Established at a meeting held on the 16th April, where "Alderman Joseph Thompson presided, the resolution forming the Association was moved by Mr. C. Rowley, seconded by Mr. T. C. Abbott, and supported by Professor Marshall, Mr. Sadler, and the Rev. W. Hudson Shaw".[135] Because Oxford and Cambridge extension lecture organisations, as well as the Victoria University, had connections with local lecture centres in Lancashire and Cheshire, each of the three universities had two nominated representatives who attended meetings of the Association. Professor Roscoe and Dr.Ward were among the seven Vice-Presidents and Professor Milnes Marshall was on the Executive Committee, along with Charles Rowley who was also Secretary to the Ancoats Extension Centre. Thirty-five centres joined the Association during its first year of existence.

The purpose of the Association, as that of those already formed in the South East, South West and North East of England, was concerned neither with finance nor administration, but should "have power to hold and administer funds" for the purposes of achieving its aims:[136]

a. To promote the extension of University Teaching in the Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire.

b. To give delegates from the centres opportunities of meeting both one another and representatives of the Universities, at fixed times.

c. To preserve and strengthen existing centres, and to create new ones, especially in the small districts.

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[134] Manchester Guardian November 28th 1888 - cutting in Extension Records I 1885-1889.

[135] First Annual Report of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching 1891-2 . Manchester May 1892.

[136] Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching. Rules in Extension Lectures Reports and Records III 1889-1892

d. to help the associated centres to organise courses in combination and in systematic sequence, thus increasing their educational value while diminishing their expense.

e. To combine in applying to the County Councils and other public bodies for grants in aid. Also to further the interests of working-class centres, and of other bodies of students who deserve aid.

The formal proposal which was distributed to those invited to the inaugural meeting carried the signatures of the Secretaries of the Cambridge and Oxford Extension Syndicates, G.F. Browne and M.E. Sadler, respectively, and of Milnes Marshall, the Secretary of the Victoria Committee.[137]

Lectures

As has been indicated in the previous section of this chapter, local lecture committees, in order to ensure that they met their financial obligations, frequently had to supplement courses of lectures which provided a structure for systematic study with more popular lectures of one, or no more than two, sessions which catered for more general tastes and not only for the serious, focused student. This particular tension was not a new one for providers of education for adults in the final third of the nineteenth century. For example, the Royal Manchester Institution (R.M.I.), whose members were drawn primarily from the wealthier middle classes, had from its beginnings in 1823 offered courses of four to six lectures on subjects such as chemistry, physiology, music, history of art, geology, literature and astronomy. Up to 1871 those were available only to members of the R.M.I. and their families. Because of a decline in popularity, the lectures were opened to the public in 1871, and the character of the lectures changed to 'popular' single, and occasionally courses of two, lectures in subjects such as literature and art. These lectures continued on an infrequent basis until 1889 at the R.M.I.[138]

Marshall's series of eight natural history lectures in Withington Town Hall during the Lent Term of 1886, had drawn two hundred and fifty five attendees, of whom only

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[137] Formal Proposal of Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching in Extension Lectures Reports and Records III 1889-1892

[138] See Lees 1994 op.cit. pp.134-136

nineteen bought tickets for single lectures, the remainder attending for the full course. This transpired to create a financially healthy situation. One hundred and twenty-six people had bought course tickets at seven shillings and sixpence per person and one hundred and ten family tickets had been sold at the special price of six shillings for a family of three or more. the further nineteen people who purchased single lecture tickets paid two shillings each. Four pounds and eight pence had also been raised by the sale of syllabuses and the Treasurer and guarantors were as pleased with the healthy financial status of the undertaking at the end of this first experiment in local lectures, as all involved were with the overall success of the venture.[139]

By the Michaelmas term of the same year a clear pattern of a predominant sale of course tickets over single lecture tickets had emerged within the Manchester area:[140]

Centre	**Title of Course**	**No.of Lectures**	**Lecturer**	**Course Tickets**	**Single Tickets**
Ancoats	Natural History (I)	8	Prof. Marshall	180	-
Bolton	English History & Literature Under the Georges	10	Rev.Whitney	98	34
Withington	English Poetry and its relation to Classical Literature	8	Prof. Wilkins	171	13
Chorlton -cum-Hardy	Historical and Political Geography	10	Alfred Hughes	201	12

[139] Details taken from manuscript records Extension Lectures 1885/6

[140] Details taken from manuscript records Extension Lectures Reports & Records I 1885-1889

In the Lent Term of 1887 one hundred and sixty-four course tickets were sold for the second part of Professor Marshall's Natural History Course, with only twenty-seven single lecture tickets being purchased.[141]

In the Michaelmas Term at Withington sixty-three tickets at seven shillings and sixpence were sold; forty-three 'family' tickets at six shillings per person were sold and just twelve shillings was raised from the two-shilling per person single tickets for Professor Munro's lectures on 'The English Constitution'. Again in the Lent Term of 1888 ninety-five course tickets were sold at seven shillings and sixpence each; fifty-one at six shillings and thirty-two single lecture tickets were sold for Professor Dawkins' 'Geology and Evolution' lectures.[142]

The pattern of higher course ticket sales was repeated in 1889 at Eccles and Withington, but outstanding exceptions in the records of these early years are Dr.Bailey's eight-lecture course on 'Chemistry of Common Things' which sold one hundred and seventy-three course tickets in 1889 and two hundred and nine single lecture tickets at the Openshaw Centre and Professor Marshall's 'Natural History' course at Kersal which sold three hundred and forty-nine single tickets against three hundred and fifteen course tickets in 1891.[143]

Although the original intention in the minds of the promoters of extension teaching might well have been the provision of university education outside of Oxford and Cambridge, it was part-time provision, which eventually also included academic credits and access to degrees, which enjoyed great success by virtue of becoming available mainly to working men and to middle-class women. Short courses and introductory 'pioneer' courses were intended not simply to provide intellectual recreation, but to stimulate an appetite for learning and encourage progression to long-term study. The six-lecture courses which Oxford introduced in 1885 proved to be very popular and did, indeed, encourage further study, facilitated also from 1892 by access to the books of a travelling library. At a meeting on the 15th December 1892 of the University Extension Committee of the Victoria University's General Board of Studies, regulations concerning travelling libraries in connection with the Victoria

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[141] ibid

[142] Printed Treasurer's Report 1887/8.

[143] University Extension Lectures. List of Courses 1886-91. Certificates Awarded 1886-96.

University's extension lecture courses were approved. The lecturers for these courses selected appropriate books which could be borrowed by students, and Local Committees organising the courses could apply to the registrar of the University for the use of a library for which they paid £1.0s.0d. together with any transport expenses. The travelling library of books had to be returned to the University within a fortnight of the end of the course.[144]

In 1895/6, in what Kelly[145] describes as a "one of the peak years" for Victoria University 7,596 students attended twenty-two terminal courses which were open to the general public, ten pupil-teacher courses, fifty technical courses of a mainly agricultural or mining nature in Yorkshire, and nineteen pioneer courses. Any fears which might have been harboured by those who suspected that the extension of university teaching would invite a lowering of standards must surely have been allayed by the excellent results achieved by a small but significant percentage of extension students.

The first University Extension Journal of October 1895 referred to a "recently published" Report on the Distribution of Grants for Agricultural Education in Great Britain, which pointed out the importance of "the technical training of teachers engaged in elementary schools who are capable of giving instruction to lads in evening schools and classes". The article went on to outline the work, from 1891, of the Cambridge Syndicate in co-operation with the Norfolk County Council in providing a course of Extension lectures on Saturdays at Norwich, King's Lynn and Elmham. The first year's courses were offered as lectures followed by practical experiments and subsequent, more advanced, courses were supplemented by a summer school of three weeks duration in the University's laboratories. In 1892 Norfolk County Council sponsored thirty teachers to attend the courses. Completion of the course and success in the examination qualified the teachers to teach in the evening classes for which the County Council supplied grants.[146]

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[144] See minutes of the meeting of the University Extension Committee of the Victoria University General Board of Studies, 15th December 1892 in Local Lectures Minutes Vol.1. 15th January 1891 to 14th March 1895

[145] Kelly 1950 op.cit. pp31/2

[146] University Extension Journal Vol.I No.I p.2

As Jepson points out, there was very little philosophy included in the extension courses, but perhaps the reason for this lay in the fact that few students brought more than a very basic prior learning experience to their extension studies. Whether for that reason alone, or not, there was also relatively little demand amongst the paying clientele for philosophical studies. Nonetheless, the Oxford and Cambridge centres did place great emphasis on the teaching of other Humanities and Arts subjects which would develop reasoning and perception skills and the evaluation of evidence. In 1890/1, for example, with just three courses in Philosophy, of the 454 other courses arranged by Oxford, Cambridge and London, 159 were in History and Political Economy, 104 in Literature, Art and Architecture, and 191 in Natural Science.[147]

Science, as Stuart liked to emphasise, is not merely "detailing of facts ..... true teaching is to hold the lantern that [the student] may at each turn choose the right road for himself." Certainly, the evidence produced by Jepson's thorough and interestingly presented study, is that scientific reasoning was seen as an excellent process of ratiocination, with Oxford and Cambridge insisting on extension students undertaking at least one session "...in the Fundamental Principles of Evidence and Reasoning" as offered in the study of Natural Science and, with similar purpose, in some other subject such as Law, in order to enable them to deal with generalisations and the weighing of evidence.[148]

The Victoria University Extension Courses offered students a wide variety of subject choice. While to some extent this was influenced by the extension tutors available to offer courses of lectures and also governed by previous experience of the relative popularity of particular subjects, there was a policy to cater for a range of interests. During the academic year of 1899/1900, A.J. Sargent delivered a series of eight lectures on 'England and Europe from the outbreak of the French Revolution to the Battle of Waterloo', while Professor Weiss[149] offered ten lectures on 'The Structure

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[147] Kelly 1992 op.cit. p224

[148] Jepson 1973 op.cit. pp222/3

[149] Frederick Ernest Weiss was an extremely influential figure in Owens College, and later the Victoria University of Manchester, who keenly supported the idea of university extension lectures. He was Professor of Botany from 1892 to 1930, during which time he was Vice-Chancellor from1913 to 1915. See Charlton H.B. Portrait of a University 1851-1951 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1951) Appendix II p.141 and Appendix VII p.177. Weiss was also a member of the first Manchester University (Tutorial Classes) Joint Committee in 1909, which comprised seven representatives from the Victoria University of Manchester and an equal number from

and Life of Plants as Adapted to their Surroundings'. The latter course was run on a Saturday morning as it was primarily aimed at teachers, as was F.W. Gamble's 'The Habits and Structure of Animals'.

Examples of the variety of Popular Lectures, such as those which were held on Monday evenings from 1892 - 1899, were 'Shakspere' (Oliver Elton); 'Egyptian Hieroglyphics' (F. Llewelyn Griffith); 'Manchester Under Lords of the Manor' (James Tait); and three free lectures on 'Commercial Crises' by Professor Flux and evening classes also offered Commercial Law, for the Higher Commercial Education Scheme, Political Science, Mathematics, Physics, and various European languages.[150]

The collection of memorabilia contained within the scrapbooks of Professor Marshall includes the syllabus for "A series of Popular Lectures, open to the Public without fee ... during the Winter Session 1893-3." The lectures were to be held within Owens College and included, from Owens College staff, Principal Ward, Sir Henry Roscoe, Professor Reynolds, Professor Gardiner, Professor Marshall, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Reverend Hicks, and Professor Wilkins, as lecturers for the session. Similarly, the Saturday morning Museum Lectures for the same session were to be delivered by Owens College Professors Marshall, Dawkins Weiss and Dr Burghardt.[151]

Science and Political Economy lectures and courses were well attended by working-class audiences and it is to the credit of such working people that their tenacity and determination towards educational self-improvement overcame any physical discomfort which this entailed when, having completed a long day's labour, they would have to endure the harsh elements of British weather, often walking several miles, to attend lectures in crowded halls during Winter and Spring sessions. The fact that they were prepared to attend sessions under such circumstances indicates the value which the audience, which often included a proportion of skilled artisans, placed upon them in the districts in and around Manchester. Hartog's annual report of 1894/5 includes

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workers' organisations. See Kelly 1950 op.cit.. p.51

150 Hartog P.J. The Owens College Manchester (Founded 1851) (Manchester: J.E.Cornish 1900) p.90

151 Professor A.Milnes Marshall's scrapbook 1892-3. John Rylands University of Manchester Library Archives.

reference to members of the lecture audience at Tarporley "coming from distances varying from 3 to 17 miles to hear lectures on literature".[152]

In reply to a questionnaire[153] from the Extension department of New York University, relating to the year ending 30th June 1901, the Victoria University indicated that it had awarded 592 certificates, of which 558 were sessional certificates awarded for not less than twenty-four lectures, the remainder being ordinary certificates which related to courses of between ten and twenty-four lectures. One hundred and forty-three certificates were awarded with distinction. The breakdown of these courses was shown as:

	Courses	**Lectures**
History	9	132
Political Science	1	6
Literature	5	42
Architecture	2	12
Geography	1	24
Botany	1	10
Medicine	1	6
Agriculture	53	207

Agriculture (single lectures) 33

Obstacles which presented themselves in the peripatetic teaching of science subjects revolved mainly around the difficulty of transporting and setting up the laboratory equipment upon which the conducting of experiments depended and, to a lesser extent,

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[152] Typed copy of original annual report 1894-5 in University Extension Lecture Records II 1886-1902 p.6

[153] To be found in University Extension Lectures Reports and Records II 1886-1902

the problems created by large audiences in unsuitable halls, rather than in tiered lecture theatres. The poor standard of mathematical knowledge which students often brought to their scientific studies was also a handicap which lecturers had to overcome in the foundation of their work. Nonetheless, astronomy, physics, biology, botany and physiology formed the base of the successful science lectures offered by the Oxford and Cambridge extension centres.

The wide variety of topics on offer to the Victoria University's extension students can also be seen from the extant records, of which the following years are fairly typical:

Centre	**Topic**	**Lecturer**
Lent Term 1889		
Ancoats	Elementary Physiology	Prof. Marshall
Withington	The Chemistry of Fire	Prof. Dixon
Warrington	The Tertiary Period	Prof. Dawkins
Colne	The Tudor Period	Prof. Ransome
Michaelmas Term 1889		
Eccles	Natural History	Prof. Marshall
Friends' Institute	Ancient Geography and Geological History of Britain	Prof. Dawkins
Moston	Great American Writers	Prof.W.A. Raleigh
Openshaw	Chemistry of Common Things	Dr. Bailey
Withington	Greek Life and Art	Canon Hicks
Chapel Allerton	The History and Present Condition of India and the Colonies	Prof. Ransome

Lent Term 1890

Withington	Animal Physiology	Prof. Marshall
Blackburn	Deep Sea Expeditions	W.E. Hoyle

Michaelmas Term 1890

Withington	Three Centuries of English Music	Dr. C.J. Hall
Heaton Chapel	Deep Sea Investigation and its Results	W.E. Hoyle
Southport	The Challenger Expedition, and Life in the Deep Sea	W.E. Hoyle
Blackburn	The Crusades	Prof. Tout
Chorlton Road	The Ancient Geography and Geological History of Britain	Prof. Dawkins
Eccles	Natural History (II)	Prof. Marshall
Kersal	Natural History (I)	Prof. Marshal
Newcastle-Under-Lyme	Natural History	Dr.C.H. Hurst
Wilmslow	The Challenger Expedition and Life in the Deep Sea	W.E. Hoyle
Blackburn	Electricity and its Uses	W.Haldane Gee
Chapel Allerton, Leeds	Animal Development	Prof. L.C. Miall

Michaelmas Term 1891

Rochdale	Greek Life and Art	Canon Hicks
Wilmslow	Natural History (I)	Prof. Marshall
Lytham	Natural History (II)	Prof. Marshall
Bootle	Strength, etc., of Materials	Prof.Hele-Shaw
Bootle	Farm and Garden	Harvey Gibson
Rochdale	The English Constitution	Prof. Munro
Heaton Chapel	Three Centuries of English Music	Dr.C.J.Hall
Todmorden	Contrivance in Nature	Prof. Miall
Bacup	Electricity	W.H. Gee
Macclesfield	'Challenger' Expedition	W.E. Hoyle
Ormskirk	Outlines of Darwinian Evolution	Prof. Herdman
Birkenhead	Astronomy	Prof. Carey
Denby Dale	Weaving and Designing	Prof.Beaumont

Revenue at the Heaton Chapel extension centre must have suffered during the Michaelmas Term of 1890 as five hundred course tickets for W.E. Hoyle's 'Deep Sea Investigation' lectures were given free of charge to members of the Literary Society and it is also of interest to note the variation in fee levels for Extension Lectures. Those held at the Mechanics' Institute in Openshaw, under the administration of the Openshaw Science Lectures Committee, were considerably less than the Withington charges quoted above. For the course of eight lectures, the Openshaw centre charged

one shilling and for single admissions, just twopence.[154] At Ancoats during the 1886/87 session the fee for Professor Marshall's History course was one shilling and single admission cost threepence. At Bolton in the same year the Reverend Whitney's English History and Literature course ran at a cost to students of ten shillings and sixpence for the course and one shilling and sixpence for a single admission. Teachers, however, could buy course tickets at the reduced price of five shillings. At Chorlton-cum-Hardy the course tickets for Alfred Hughes' lectures on Historical and Political Geography during the same session a 'single season ticket' cost seven shillings and sixpence, but was reduced to five shillings for each person where three or more people within one family bought tickets. Single entry tickets were priced at two shillings. The centre charged the same rates in the following year for Professor Marshall's Natural History course and likewise Withington charged the same course and single lecture fees for Professor Munro's course on 'The English Constitution', but raised the family ticket to six shillings, as did the Withington centre for Professor Dawkins' 'Geology & Evolution' lecture course.[155]

The recorded growth in student membership, from 236 students in 1885/6 to 7,796 in 1895/6[156] demonstrated the success of the first decade of extension teaching at the Victoria University and the mutual enthusiasm of lecturers and students alike. In some respects this was not surprising as the university had from its earliest years, as shown in the previous chapter of this thesis, a culture of such provision. Manchester was clearly well endowed with adult continuing education opportunities in the latter part of the nineteenth century, at a variety of ability, or interest, levels and this continued into that part of the twentieth century which is under discussion in this thesis.

Despite the fact that many academics were somewhat wary of the later nineteenth-century pre-occupation with matters of science and technology, the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891, which empowered the expansion of technical education via local authority intervention, and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act 1890 which brought additional revenue to local authorities, (often known as the whisky tax because of its compensation to local authorities where redundant

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[154] Undated poster, probably of 1887, in Extension Lectures Reports & Records I 1885-1889 op.cit.

[155] Extension Lectures Reports and Records I. 1885-1889

[156] Kelly 1950 op.cit. Appendix II pp102/103

public houses were closed) meant that County[157] and Borough Councils had finance at their disposal for this type of education and some technical courses were, in fact, organised by University Extension authorities. However, this initiative of university extension lecture providers with scientific and technical education was short-lived; by the mid 1890s the local authorities had ceased to give funding to them for these types of course.[158]

On January 15th 1891 the Victoria Extension Committee decided that letters should be written to the County Councils of Lancashire, Yorkshire (West Riding), Cheshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire:

> "directing their attention to the existence and aims of the University Courses of Local Lectures and expressing the willingness of the Committee to co-operate with the Councils should they decide to give assistance to University Extension work from the funds allotted under the Local Taxation Act 1890: and the Vice Chancellor, and the Principal of Owens College, and the Principal of the Yorkshire College were requested to take such steps as they should think fit to bring the matter before the Councils of Liverpool Manchester, Salford and Leeds".[159]

In February 1891 the Vice-Chancellor, Adolphus W. Ward, told a Conference of Local Secretaries that the University " ... had already [confirmed] to the County Council their willingness to co-operate in any scheme for extending the University courses to centres requiring technical instruction, should the County Council decide to give grants in aid of such courses". The conference decided that all centres should apply to their County Councils and "set aside a certain sum from the funds at their disposal to be used in establishing and assisting University Extension Courses". Although all centres were to make application, it was decided that special stress should be laid on "the urgent needs of the working class centres, and of the smaller districts,

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[157] Clear evidence of Cheshire County Council's Technical Instruction Committee's activity can be found in advertisements in the Alderley and Wilmslow Advertiser of the time and Middleton's Technical Instruction Committee classes were advertised in the Middleton Albion.

[158] See Fieldhouse R. and Associates A History of Modern British Adult Education (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education 1996) p.43

[159] Item 4. Victoria University Extension Committee Minutes January 15th 1891.

which, while anxious to avail themselves of the benefits of the movement, are unable to meet the expenses of such courses without assistance".[160]

The first annual report of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching shows that Lancashire County Council granted £1,000 "out of the County Technical Instruction Fund, for the purpose of aiding University Extension lectures" and Manchester City Council contributed £100 towards extension courses, but Salford Council and Cheshire County Council declined the requests for financial support.[161] The grants were awarded for purposes of technical instruction as defined by the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, Section 8, as: "instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employments".[162] Outside of the Extension field, Cheshire County Council, under those defining principles, offered technical instruction in agriculture,[163] dairy scholarships for people involved in dairy work and poultry keeping[164] and ran classes on building and commercial correspondence.[165] Knutsford Technical Instruction Committee offered lecture courses on 'Sick Nursing',[166] and as the records of the Middleton Technical School show, the classes which they provided under the auspices of the Technical Instruction Act thrived from 1891 until well into the following century.[167] Kelly[168] lists subjects belonging to the worlds of textiles, the coal tar industry, cotton, linen and bleaching, as being offered

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[160] Minutes of Conference of Local Secretaries held in Owens College on Saturday February 7th 1891.

[161] First Annual Report of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching 1891-2. Manchester May 1892 p.6.

[162] First Annual Report of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching 1891-2. Manchester May 1892 p.11.

[163] Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser November 11th 1892

[164] Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser February 6th 1903.

[165] Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser September 25th 1903.

[166] Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser February 27th 1903

[167] Middleton Technical School records 1891-1937 are held in Middleton Public Library.

[168] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p16

on Extension Committee courses, with the Yorkshire Ridings meeting all approved costs in 1891/2. Nonetheless, as Jepson's work shows, a wide interpretation of the Technical Instruction Act allowed subjects such as Commercial History, Commercial Geography and Economics to be taught and this was taken advantage of in a small number of cases.[169]

Non-vocational lecture subjects were also very much in demand and in 1896 Professor Tout proposed that " ... popular lectures given in Colleges of the University should be under certain conditions recognised as Extension Courses". The proposal was considered by the Extension Committee and at the next meeting, on 5th March, it was adopted in the following form:

> "1. The University may recognise as University Extension Lectures courses of popular lectures given by Professors of the University, or the Colleges of the University, and by University Extension Lecturers on the Committee's list, or Lecturers of the University and under the control of their respective Senates. Such courses being accepted as University Extension Courses, shall be approved as such by the University Extension Committee. Examinations will be held and certificates given, provided that the existing regulations relating to number and character of lectures, syllabus, class, classwork and final examination are complied with.
>
> 2. The Colleges shall determine the stipends of the lecturers giving such courses; and shall pay to the University the sum of 10/6[d] in addition to the ordinary examiner's fee for each course on which an examination is held."[170]

On 17th February 1903 approval of the Report recommending the creation of an independent university in Manchester, with Owens College as the first constituent college, was printed in The Times[171] and marked the beginning of an exciting era for the new university and its extra-mural work. The 1902 Education Act had given local authorities the power to grant financial aid not only to technical education as previously, but to any form of education which it saw fit to support. This, of course, delighted those who had been concerned about the imbalance between the amount of

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169 Jepson 1973 op.cit. p226

170 Victoria University Extension Lectures Committee Minutes of meeting held on 5th March 1896. Local Lectures Vol.I.

171 University Extension Journal March 1903 p.82

Technical subjects and Arts subjects offered through extra-mural teaching. In April 1903 Robert Roberts,[172] who the previous year had resigned as secretary of the Local Lectures Syndicate at Cambridge to return to the Universityof London as Registrar of the new Extension Board there, was quoted as directing "those interested in University Extension" to the fact that:

> "The restrictions imposed by the Technical Instruction Act will be swept away, and the authorities will be able, if they wish, to make grants in aid of University Extension work in the departments of History and Literature, and not merely in technical and scientific subjects ... "[173]

The following month, Roberts expanded on this theme in an article entitled Scheme of Study in the Humanities:

> "The Senate of the University of London has adopted on the recommendation of the University Extension Board a scheme of study for a new and advanced Certificate. The object is to give special encouragement to the study of History, with Literature and Art, or shortly "The Humanities". .... the central idea is a broad study of History in its largest aspects (treated not merely from the political point of view, but also from the economic, industrial, and social points of view) with Literature and Art, so as to present a comprehensive view of the life of the people and of the forces moulding nations and communities;"[174]

Popular lectures were still held in high regard throughout the following decade, to the extent that, in May 1905, it was decided by the Withington University Extension Lectures Committee that during the following Autumn Term "a course of popular science lectures [be held] in Ladybarn with a nominal entrance price, using up the balance in hand" and it was resolved that "a sum not exceeding £15 be voted towards a course of popular lectures in this neighbourhood during the coming winter".[175]

In contrast to the popular lectures and the usual style and purpose of Extension Lectures, in December 1897 the University's Extension Committee also approved a

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172 See Thomas and Elsey (eds) 1985 op.cit. p.518

173 University Extension Journal April 1903 p.99

174 University Extension Journal May 1903 p.115

175 Minutes of Withington University Extension Lectures Committee 10th May 1905.

scheme for offering formal post-graduate courses in medical science " on subjects in which recent advances of an important character had been made, e.g. bacteriology". The opinions of local medical associations were sought in March 1898 when the Secretary prepared a list of courses in consultation with Professors Boyce, Trevelyan and Delepine.[176]

The Victoria University's pupil-teachers' courses which constituted "an important new departure" in the year of 1893/4, began with a course of 24 lectures by Professor Raleigh "to an audience of about 250 pupil teachers at University College, Liverpool ... organised by the joint efforts of the Liverpool School Board, and the Edge Hill and Mount Pleasant Training College for Teachers". The Committee's hope that "this most interesting and successful experiment may soon be made a precedent for similar courses in other towns like Manchester, Salford and Leeds, where also the number of pupil-teachers is very large"[177] was soon to be met. Any enrichment to the training of pupil-teachers at this time was welcomed because, as noted earlier in this chapter, the pupil-teacher system was under severe attack because of government concern over the standards of courses offered through centres linked to university extension providers.

The Extension Committee, at a meeting held on the 3rd October, 1895, empowered its Secretary to "draw up in conjunction with the other three University Secretaries, a memorial petitioning for a grant to the University to be used chiefly in aid of pupil teacher and artisan courses".[178] However, when the four Secretaries met on October 10th it was decided " ... that the petition for a Government grant should not be sent in officially from the four University Authorities, but that an effort should be made to obtain as many signatures as possible for an unofficial petition, although the following day a draft memorial to the Education Department "relating to P.T. [Pupil-Teacher] courses and drawn up in concert with the other three University Secretaries"[179] was then considered and approved.

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[176] Item 3. Victoria University Extension Lectures Committee Minutes of meeting held on 9th December 1897 and Item 1. of meeting held on 17th March 1898. Local Lectures Vol.I.

[177] Victoria University Extension Committee Report on Session 1893-4 - manuscript draft inserted at p.6. University Extension Reports and Records II 1886-1902

[178] Item 2. University Extension Lectures Committee Minutes 3rd October 1895.

[179] University Extension Committee Minutes October 11th 1895.

More than one hundred and fifty signatures were obtained for the petition, including those of a substantial number of peers and bishops, many MPs, civic leaders, academics, headteachers, educationists and clergymen, petitioning for "a sum of £6,000 a year ... for the promotion and more thorough development of the system of higher education commonly known as University Extension."[180] £1,000 of that sum, if granted, would go to each of the four central authorities and a further £1,000 each to the University Extension Colleges of Reading and Exeter. In support of their case, the petitioners explained that:

> "We desire to point out that the technical instruction organised by the Science and Art Department and by the County Councils does not meet the whole educational need of the country. It is of real importance that, with a view to the training of good citizens, courses of teaching should be provided in historical, literary, economic and other non-technical subjects. In the University Extension system the machinery exists for the provision of such teaching, but owing to lack of funds it is neither so wide-spread nor so effective as it ought to be. The need for a comprehensive system of education for those above school age is becoming every year more urgent, and every improvement in secondary education renders more imperative the creation of a national system of higher education giving facilities to those engaged in the ordinary occupations of life for definite and systematic study."[181]

The fear of an imbalance in disciplines in extension teaching was also expressed by Sir John Gorst[182] in his speech, alluded to in chapter one of this work, to the London Society in November 1895:

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[180] Printed copy of Petition for an Annual Grant by Parliament in aid of University Extension Teaching inscribed "Presented on December 9 - 1895" preserved in University Extension Lecture and Records II 1886-1902

[181] loc. cit.

[182] Sir John Gorst (1835-1916) was largely responsible for the creation of a 'party machine', a network of local Associations, which played a significant part in a Conservative government being returned under Disraeli's premiership in 1874. He was an important figure in education. His friendship with Samuel Barnett encouraged his interest in the University Settlement Movement in the 1890s. As Conservative Minister of Education in Salisbury's administration (1895-1902), Gorst in 1897 chaired a government committee which examined how the Science and Art Department distributed its grants. In 1899 this department, together with the existing Education Department and Charity Commission, combined to form a department headed by the Board of Education. See Simon B Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart 1965) pp.79-80 and 192-193.

" ... though all of us are most anxious that the scientific education of the country should be fully developed, it would be a great mistake if that development were to take place at the expense of the literary side of education. A proper liberal education is fairly balanced on all sides and no system which extends one branch of education at the expense of others can be productive of anything in the long run but mischief."[183]

In reply to the petition, a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, dated the 10th December, assured Sir John Mowbray M.P., who had presented the petition, that it would be very carefully considered, but pointed out that the writer feared " ... that such grants (which if once begun have an obvious tendency to increase) may carry with them some ultimate danger to the freedom from Government interference ..."[184]

In May 1896 the Cambridge Syndicate suggested that a deputation should be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in support of the petition, but Marriott, who was the Oxford Secretary at that time, "decided that the moment was not opportune for such action"[185] and no action appears to have been taken at that point. [186] Nor was the hoped for grant forthcoming, pupil teacher courses, like technical courses, were largely financed by local authorities until the 1902 Education Act provided for the application of grants from central government.

Pupil-teachers who successfully completed approved extension courses were admitted for entrance to the Queen's Scholarship Exam for teacher training. The Victoria University's Extension Committee resolved on 15th November 1894 that:

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[183] The Times 22nd November 1895.

[184] Extant copy letter in Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

[185] Minutes of Meeting of Victoria University Extension Committee Meeting held on 21st May 1896. Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

[186] Such liaison and mutual agreement seems to have determined any action taken by the Victoria University Extension Authority. For example, when on 20th February 1896 the Committee directed its Secretary to "use all possible efforts .... to persuade the Education Department to modify its regulations as regards P.T.[Pupil-Teacher] courses" such effort was to be made "in conjunction with the other three U.E. [University Extension] Secretaries". Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

"Sessional University Certificates are awarded on a continuous course of study (which must not extend over more than two years), including not less than 24 lectures and classes, of which the candidate must have attended not less than twenty. These certificates meet the requirements of the Education Department with respect to pupil teachers. [Day School Code (1894) Schedule V p.88]. Note Marks will also be given to candidates who shall present University Extension Certificates awarded by .-- the Victoria University -- provided that the Certificates shall have been awarded (after examination) During the year preceding the Queen's Scholarship Examination on a course of study including not less than 24 lectures and classes of which the candidates must have attended not less than 20."[187]

In October 1895 the Extension Committee at Manchester found it necessary to pass a resolution that:

"... the Secretary be empowered to draw up in conjunction with the Oxford, Cambridge, and London Secretaries, a memorial to the Education Department on the subject of P.T.courses: the memorial to answer petitions for the discontinuance of these courses and to put forward as strongly as possible reasons for their being maintained in the code."[188]

In 1896 a selection of 'Extracts from letters received from various Educational Authorities who have had experience of the effect of University Extension Lectures upon Pupil-Teachers' was sent to the Education Department in order to demonstrate the "high value" which such authorities placed on pupil-teacher courses. Extracts of letters from W.A. Raleigh (Professor of English Literature, University College, Liverpool), T.F. Tout (Professor of History, Owens College), A. W. Flux (Lecturer in Political Economy and Geography, Owens College), O. Elton (Lecturer in English Literature, Owens College, and Examiner for the Oxford Delegacy) and C.H. Herford (Professor English Literature, Examiner for the Victoria University Extension Committee), who had first hand experience of teaching or examining pupil-teachers' courses were included. Oliver Elton, who taught the English Literature course, 'Milton and his Age', at Manchester in 1894/5, was in the throes of delivering another to approximately one hundred pupil-teachers in Manchester, and had examined Raleigh's Liverpool course, wrote of the results of his experience thus:

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[187] Item no.2 Extension Lectures Committee Minutes 15th November 1894. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

[188] Item 1. Extension Lectures Committee Minutes 3rd October 1895. Local Lectures Minutes. Vol. I.

" ... I am sure of the good that can be done by a literary course of this kind when delivered with some sense of the ignorant but enquiring nature of the audience. ... Many of them in the course of a year acquire a reasonable and even remarkable power of clear expression."[189]

The courses were not discontinued at that point and in 1896/7, 263 candidates for the Queen's Scholarship held Victoria certificates, of which 194 were designated first-class.[190]

When in 1898 the Manchester and Salford School Boards complained that the examination marks awarded on Extension courses for pupil-teachers that year were "on a lower scale than that adopted by the Education Department at the Queen's Scholarship Examination"[191] the matter was investigated by Professor Tout and Philip Hartog in consultation with H.M. Chief Inspector for the North West Division. Hartog presented their findings to the Extension Committee on November 17th where "after a long discussion it was decided that there were no grounds for raising the marks".[192]

The courses continued to run with considerable success, to the extent that pupil-teachers in rural areas objected to the advantage gained by their colleagues who had access to extension centres. A letter from Philip Hartog to the Manchester Guardian in 1898 drew attention to comments in this regard contained in a "departmental report" on University Extension:

"The evidence given by various witnesses .... shows clearly that attendance at such lectures is so great a benefit to pupil teachers as to make it desirable to encourage in every way possible the arrangement of courses of University Extension lectures by school boards and other bodies responsible for the education of pupil teachers. ... ... it was objected that the assigning of marks

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189 'Extracts from letters received from various Educational Authorities who have had experience of the effect of University Extension lectures upon Pupil-Teachers' in University Extension Lecture Reports and Records II 1886-1902

190 Manchester Guardian n.d. probably April 1898 - extant cutting in Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

191 Victoria University Extension Committee Minutes of meeting October 13th 1898. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

192 Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

for University Extension certificates in the Queen's Scholarship examination places the country pupil teacher at a disadvantage as compared with the town candidate, as in the case of the former it is practically impossible to organise courses of University Extension lectures."[193]

The practice was discontinued in 1905.

The report of the session 1895/6 shows that 376 sessional certificates were awarded in connection with pupil-teacher courses delivered at Liverpool, Manchester, Oldham, Salford and Stockport[194] and the 1901/2 report shows the following increase in numbers of students of pupil teacher courses who presented themselves for examination under the auspices of the Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Oldham and Salford School Boards and at Mount Pleasant Training College, Liverpool:[195]

1896-7	1897-8	1898-9	1899-1900	1900-01	1901-02
278	379	377	589	681	742

The Report also noted that:

> "The Committee has continued to work in harmony with the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, the Cambridge University Extension Syndicate, and the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching. A Joint Committee has been formed for the consideration of matters relating to Pupil Teacher Courses".[196]

In an article entitled 'The Pupil-Teachers and the Universities' in the University Extension Journal of November 1895,[197] Professor Elton outlined the subject areas

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[193] Manchester Guardian n.d. probably April 1898 - extant cutting in Local Lecture Minutes Vol.I.

[194] University Extension Committee Report on the Session 1895-6. Extension Lectures Reports and Records IV 1891-1902

[195] University Extension Committee Report on the Session 1901-02. Extension Lectures Reports and Records IV 1891-1902.

[196] University Extension Committee Report on the Session 1901-02. Extension Lectures Reports and Records IV 1891-1902

[197] University Extension Journal November 1895 reproduced in University Extension Reports and Records II 1886-1902

from which pupil-teachers could choose to study as an additional option in order to enter for the Queen's Scholarship examination:

> i) A period of English literature, with special reference to the work of a standard author.
>
> ii) A special aspect of British History, e.g. the history of Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the colonies, or India, or some period of the economic History of England.
>
> iii) A special aspect of Geography, e.g. the history of Discovery.
>
> iv) The elements of English Architecture, with special reference to ancient buildings visited by the candidate.
>
> v) Geology.
>
> vi) Astronomy.
>
> vii) Meteorology.

In July 1897, however, Hartog was able to advise that the regulations were able to:

> " ... offer considerably greater advantages to teachers than the regulation in the code for 1896. ... the Examination on Extension Courses is no longer treated as an 'optional subject', but is regarded as alternative to the Queen's Scholarship Examination in certain compulsory subjects. Thus, ... teachers are able to dispose entirely of one of these subjects at latest in June, i.e. six months before the Queen's Scholarship Examination. The maximum number of marks attainable at the University Extension Examination is 125, as compared with 100 attainable at the Queen's Scholarship Examination."[198]

Owens lecturers who were recommended as lecturers for Pupil Teacher Courses in February 1895 were professors Dawkins, Ransome, Raleigh and Tout and messrs. Elton, Herbertson and Kendall, along with professors Carey and Jenks from the Extension lecturers list.[199]

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[198] Letter preserved in University Extension Lectures Reports and Records II 1886-1902

[199] Item 3. Extension Lectures Committee Minutes 14th February 1895. Local Lectures Minutes. Vol.I.

The types of courses provided

The University of Manchester Extension Committee, in an undated leaflet which was probably printed between 1903 and 1906,[200] declared that: "Important developments in Sunday School organisation and method have taken place of late, and have led to an increased demand for courses of Extension Lectures to Sunday School Teachers. In order to supply this need the University Extension Committee has recently made an increase in the Lecturing Staff." Fees for the courses were charged on a reduced scale applicable to courses for teachers and University Extension Certificates and Certificates given by the Sunday School Unions and Associations were available. The Faculty of Theology also offered its University Certificate for Biblical Knowledge to those candidates successful in its examinations. Pioneered by H. Thisleton Mark, alongside whom Professor Findlay and Peter Sandiford taught,[201] the courses, were to go on to become the mainstay of Victoria University extension teaching in Lancashire and Cheshire.[202]

The four types of courses on offer at the end of the University's federal history were pioneer courses of not more than four lectures; short courses consisting of from six to eight lectures; long courses of from ten to twenty-four lectures and pupil teacher courses. Travelling libraries were still in use and courses were offered in History, Literature and Scientific and Technical Subjects, along with advanced courses and pioneer lectures in Medicine and the allied sciences, "intended for audiences of professional medical men".[203]

The final course under the auspices of the Withington University Extension Committee, held in the Michaelmas Term of 1906, was a course of six lectures by J.A. Dale, MA, on Robert Browning and the final item in their minute book of 1903-1907 is a notice of a meeting to be held on Wednesday 10th April [1907] to consider the following agenda:

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200 Undated University Extension Committee leaflet - date estimated by the University staff membership of Professor Findlay and Peter Sandiford.

201 ibid

202 Annual Report 1910-1911 cited in Kelly 1950 op.cit. p44.

203 General Regulations and Lecture List 1902 p.39.

Report of Browning lectures
Treasurer's statement
Resignation of Treasurer
Resignation of Honorary Secretary
Consideration of next course

Beneath the notice is pencilled: "Nobody called in answer to above invitation. All books and papers etc. therefore sent to Mr. Waterlow, Secretary of Victoria University Extension" and signed by the Secretary on the date of the planned meeting.

Demonstrations and slides were, in spite of logistical difficulties, an important feature of science lectures and questions, which students had the option of answering in writing in the ensuing week before the next lecture, would be posed at the end of the session. University certificated exams were also an option available to students and from 1892 the eight-lecture courses offered a combined coursework and examination certificate.

In addition to local lectures, an opportunity to continue to study during the summer and to reside within the cities, and sometimes within the walls of the ancient seats of learning, at least for one month each year, was offered by the system of Summer Meetings. Adopted in 1888 and first organised by W.A.S. Hewins, an economist on the staff of the Oxford Delegacy, the scheme was taken from the example of the successful American Chautauqua summer schools. Students who had attended local lecture courses were eligible to attend and small scholarships or bursaries were made available through essay competitions, or fees provided through fund-raising by local centres. J.A.R. Marriott recalled an average attendance of some 1,200 students "drawn literally from all classes", housed within the city, or one of the colleges in the case of men and one or more of the halls of residence in the case of women.[204] Marriott also recalled that:

> "The charges for board and residence were very moderate, and the privilege of living for a while the life of an undergraduate or undergraduette was highly appreciated. There was also a good deal of modest hospitality offered to the students by residents: garden parties were given by individuals, as well as by the Delegacy, ..."[205]

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[204] Marriott JAR 1946 op.cit. p.107

[205] ibid pp108/9

Eminent politicians and peers of the realm would be invited to speak at the meetings.

Summer schools were taken advantage of by the few students who both excelled in their work and were able to attend, with assistance provided by virtue of such incentives as Cambridge scholarships for miners, for example, and the free tickets which were offered to working men students. The August, 1890, week-long summer meeting was advertised on the Oxford University Extension Lectures programme as providing such free tickets "... on conditions to be announced later." For those who were able to pay, the cost of railway fare and one week's board and lodgings in one of the Colleges was " ... about £2.5s" and tickets for the "Summer Meeting, Lectures, etc., £1 each."[206]

By 1895 the University Extension Journal was reporting that although the summer meeting at Oxford had been less well attended that year than in the previous year, that situation was more desirable than the "gigantic proportions" of the 1892 meeting. The Journal attributed the main reason in the fall in numbers to "the gradual disappearance of the 'fringe' [with] summer meetings ... becoming more business-like, more orderly, more adapted to the serious student ..."[207]

The London Extension Authority ventured into the Summer School concept by offering a course on Town Planning at the Hampstead Garden Suburb Institute, first in 1912, and then again in 1913 and 1914.[208]

The employment of university extension lecturers and ancillary staff

R.G. Moulton's enthusiasm for extension teaching was evident in the lively and well-received delivery of his literature lectures, from the early days of extension until his move to Chicago in 1894, going on to become acclaimed as one of the most popular literature lecturers of his age and to present academic papers on the theory of

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206 Oxford University Extension Lectures Programme 1889/90.

207 University Extension Journal Vol.I No.I October 1895 p.2.

208 Burrows 1976 op.cit. p.33 (In mentioning this innovation, Burrows also refers to the interest generated in the subject by the 1909 Town Planning Act and the "emergence of the garden city movement".)

university extension and mutual co-operation. Moulton had studied at Cambridge under a post-graduate scholarship, and had gained his first degree at London University, financing himself through part-time work as an usher in a private school. By virtue of this his world view was not as narrow, nor his academic perspective as entrenched, as many of his Cambridge contemporaries and it was much easier for him to recognise the need and the potential of extension lectures than it might have been for others from more affluent backgrounds.

Robert Roberts, a Cambridge colleague of Moulton, had also gained a wider view of life by the time the two men met at Cambridge, having been brought up in Wales and then received his education via the Liverpool Institution and University College, London, where he acquired a doctorate. (Roberts was the first Welshman to gain a Doctorate in Science, but, according to Welch, the award was "ignored" by Cambridge.[209]) Welch, in his study of the Cambridge Extra Mural Board, describes Roberts as "After James Stuart...probably the most important figure in the extension movement"[210] and certainly the man responsible for establishing the first joint universities organisation, the Joint Committee for University Extension, in 1903.[211]

Reflected in an article published by the University Extension Journal of November 1903, is Roberts' commitment to the education of artisans, as he demonstrated the eagerness of working men for education, despite the hindrances of poverty and long working hours, whilst giving an account of the success from the autumn of 1879 of lectures at five colliery villages in Northumberland and the ".. disastrous strike of 1887 [which] broke up the organisation" .[212]

Stuart Marriott also presents Moulton and Roberts as sharing an ideology which embraced social and political equality and favoured democracy in place of the prevalent nineteenth-century paternalism. The route they considered most expedient to such a system was through education. Each man had witnessed at first hand the

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[209] Welch 1973 op.cit. p.78

[210] ibid p102

[211] ibid p.101 (Welch also points out here that it was this body and not the 1910 Central Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes as suggested in Kelly 1992 op.cit. p.253, which was the first joint universities organisation)

[212] University Extension Journal November 1903 p.19

advantages to be gained from educational privilege and wished to remove the barrier of exclusivity which prevented many from sharing the academic experience they had enjoyed. It was the ideas of Moulton and Roberts which, according to Marriott, the London Society adopted as their policy in 1888.[213]

Roberts' work for adult education was to continue throughout his life. He was appointed University Extension Assistant Secretary (Cambridge) in 1881 and then Secretary in 1894, a post which he held until his appointment as London Secretary in 1902, which he then retained until the end of his life. JFC Harrison attributes the boost which University Extension enjoyed in the 1880's to three main factors, one of which he identifies as Roberts' "..intensive work".[214]

Unfortunately Roberts' Secretaryship at Cambridge followed that of the Reverend GF Browne whose term in office Welch illustrates as having seen a decided halt to the momentum created by Stuart and a reduction in Cambridge Extension Centres from thirty in 1875/6 to seventeen in 1878[215] at which point the Local Examinations and Local Lectures Syndicates were merged. By dint of hard work and dedication, Roberts managed to bring the number of centres back to thirty by 1882 and continued the work of the extension movement through his administration, the introduction of pioneer lectures and short courses, and the editing of the joint University Extension Journal which was established in 1895.

Possibly the ideas of men such as Stuart, Roberts and Moulton appeared to be too radical for many Oxbridge men to accept when they were first mooted, but the evidence of their success was eventually irrefutable. Radical such ideas may have seemed, but the democratic philosophy of extension teaching was sufficiently in evidence at Cambridge for the trades unions to have been represented alongside academics on the Local Lectures Syndicate which was appointed in 1873.

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[213] Marriott S. A Backstairs to a Degree (Leeds: Leeds Studies in Adult and Continuing Education 1981) p.15.

[214] Harrison 1961 op.cit. p243 (N.B. The other two factors which Harrison cites are the entry of Oxford into the field in full strength after 1885 and the work with County Councils under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889.)

[215] Welch 1973 op.cit. p.81

As with the other three extension authorities, the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching appears to have recruited lecturers through personal contact, and trial lectures were *de rigueur*. Burrows' research found London's records to be "sparse", but he does note that H.G. Wells was not accepted on the grounds that there was no suitable vacancy. Burrows also notes that in the last decade of the century there were a few applications from female lecturers. Only after some heated debate in November 1894, on the subject of employing women, was Miss Helen Denby allowed to deliver a course of lectures on the 'Principles of Social Development', although Mrs Millicent Fawcett, later to be known as a leading suffragist, had given two courses, in Canonbury and Marylebone, on the 'Problems of Poverty'.[216]

Another notable lecturer for the London Authority between 1887 and 1916[217] was Philip Henry Wicksteed, who taught on the subjects of Economics and Dante. Herford's biography of the man who was for many years the Unitarian Minister at Dukinfield, Cheshire, describes Extension teaching as Wicksteed's staple work outside of his ministry from 1887 until 1918, during which period he worked for each of the four Extension Authorities at various times. Whilst Burrows pays tribute to Wicksteed's stamina and cites the year of 1896/7 as a prime example of the extent of his taxing schedule, Herford records Wicksteed as having significantly contributed to the Extension Movement by also delivering lectures in Liverpool, Rochdale, Bolton, Yorkshire, the Midlands, the South East and South West of England, London and in Manchester in the academic years of 1895/6 1896/7 1903/04 1904/5 and 1912/13; the 1903/04 lecture being listed under Manchester University Extension and entitled 'Poems of Revolt and Reconciliation'.[218] The Ancoats Brotherhood's programme for 1903/04 also records a series of six Victoria University Extension Lectures by that title being delivered by Philip Wicksteed between the 7th October and 9th December 1904[219] and the minutes of the Withington University Extension Committee of 9th February 1903 record Wicksteed as having delivered six evening lectures in the Autumn term of 1902 on 'Dante', at the Presbyterian Church, Victoria Road.

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216 Burrows 1976 op.cit. pp13-17.

217 ibid. p.14

218 Herford CH Litt.D. FBA Philip Henry Wicksteed: His Life and His Work (London: JM Dent & Sons 1931) p.89

219 Ancoats Recreation Movement Syllabus 1904/05.

From 1885[220] to 1895 Michael Sadler, as full-time Secretary of the Oxford Extension Lectures Committee, which later became the 'Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching Beyond the Limits of the University',[221] became one of the main the driving-forces which the movement needed, first to begin to gain momentum and then to consolidate that effort into the long-term maintenance of quality, and geographically widespread, educational provision. By 1889 more than thirty, mainly part-time, lecturers had been appointed, including one woman.[222] Initially, recruitment came via the personal contacts of Sadler and his Committee and Jepson maintains that Sadler sought in his recruits the qualities which Sadler himself possessed, namely, " ... the academic integrity of a scholar, the appeal and authority of a public speaker, and the sincerity and enthusiasm of a missionary".[223]

During the Michaelmas Term of 1895 the Oxford Delegacy appointed as extension lecturers: Messrs. Wells (Fellow and tutor of Wadham College - Historian), Garstang (fellow and lecturer of Lincoln College - Biologist), DeSelincourt (School of English Literature -established 1895), Sidebotham (Scholar of Balliol - Ancient Historian) and Hilaire Belloc (Scholar of Balliol - Modern Historian).[224]

Quality of teaching was subsequently ensured by the engagement of lecturing staff of the highest calibre who were obliged to demonstrate their lecturing skills to the approval of their seniors before being appointed to extension work. Although many of these lecturers then went on to accept permanent, full-time, posts within universities,

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220 Sadler resigned as Extension Secretary in order to take up an appointment as Director of Special Inquiries and Reports in connection with the Education Department, (See University Extension Journal January 1896 p.55) having made a significant contribution to the Inquiry of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1894/5. Sadler later came to the University of Manchester as Professor of Education (1903-1911) before going on to become Vice Chancellor of Leeds University from 1911-23 and the Master of University College, Oxford, 1923-4.

221 Marriott JAR 1946 op.cit. p.103

222 JepsonN.A. 'Staffing Problems during the early years of the Oxford University Extension Movement' in Smith H.P.(ed) Rewley House Papers Vol.III No.III 1954/5 p21.

223 ibid. p.22

224 University Extension Journal January 1886 p.51.

those committed to the philosophy of extension teaching continued to work within the system to bring about the ultimate recognition of the value of this work.

J.A.R. Marriott, who succeeded Sadler as Oxford Delegacy's Secretary in 1895, and continued in post until 1920, recalled attending the trial lectures in Oxford of aspirant Extension Lecturers, as "an important part of my duties" and commented that "Not a few candidates were rejected; some were accepted with acclamation".[225] Similarly, extant evidence shows that in Manchester, as throughout the Extension network, before being appointed those applying to be included on the lecturers' list were called upon to demonstrate their lecturing skills before appointed staff members.[226]

The Manchester University Extension Committee appointed a staff of lecturers who can be seen in retrospect to have played a considerable part in the success of University Extension in Manchester, including Professor Milnes Marshall, Dr G.H. Bailey, Professor Boyd Dawkins, Professor H.B. Dixon, Sir Walter Raleigh, Professor Cyril Ransome and Professor A.S. Wilkins. During the first three winters twenty courses were run and by 1892 some forty-eight general courses and fifty-five technical subject courses were being run, alongside lectures in pupil teacher centres.[227] During the academic year of 1893/4 the Victoria Committee were "glad to welcome several ladies" as lecturers and reported that:

> "...a Spring course of lectures on Botany was arranged to be given by one of the new lady lecturers at Selby in Yorkshire. This is the first course given by a lady lecturer under this movement. The staff now includes 4 ladies and 22 gentlemen who offer courses on literary and historical subjects and 1 lady and 46 gentlemen who offer courses on scientific and technical subjects. The great majority of these are members of the teaching staff of the three colleges of the University, so that the intimate connection between collegiate teaching and local lecturers' work, which is the peculiar feature of our movement, has been well kept up."[228]

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[225] Marriott J.A.R. 1946 op.cit. p.104

[226] For example see the Minutes of the Victoria University Extension Committee meeting of 14th June 1900 and *passim* Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

[227] Draper W.H. University Extension 1873-1923 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1923) pp140 - 141

[228] p.4 of manuscript draft of the 1893/4 annual report in University Extension Lecture Reports and Records II 1886-1902

Not only were academic standards high in the Extension Movement, but the level of personal commitment expected of lecturers was unequivocal. A circular sent to local centres in August 1889 included the comment that " ... the life of an earnest university extension lecturer must always be one of self denial and devotion ...".[229] Given that expectation, and the financial insecurity which came from extension teaching not being a recognised part of university work, and its lecturers therefore not part of permanent university staff, it is hardly surprising that of the seventeen extension lecturers of 1888/9 only five appear to still have been extension lecturers in 1898/99.[230] Jepson's work offers an assessment of " ... the quality of those who took part in the work ..." by examining a " ... fairly representative group .." of lecturers who conducted courses in Yorkshire between 1885 and 1903, the majority of whom had been educated in grammar schools and gone on to achieve high academic honours, but few of whom held " ... positions of academic responsibility on a university or university college staff" at the time of their appointment as extension lecturers, although a significant number went on to do so, or to achieve high public office. Jepson makes particular reference also to the extension involvement of Hilaire Belloc (Balliol College Oxford), C.G.Lang (later Archbishop of Canterbury); F.E. Smith (later Lord Birkenhead) and H.L. Smith (Chief Economic Adviser to the Government 1919-1927)[231]

Alongside the financial insecurity of those who relied on extension teaching as a livelihood, Jepson ascribes the difficulties experienced in recruiting and retaining extension lecturers to the nature of the work and shows that Oxford's introduction " ... of the shorter and cheaper six lecture course, which constituted on average about three-quarters of the total volume of work"[232], and the need to offer a variety of subjects in order to attract a wide cross-section of students, meant that lecturers experienced little continuity in respect of locality and, therefore, student groups. Only

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229 Association for Retaining the Services of experienced Lecturers. Circular, August 29th, 1889 cited in Jepson N.A. 'Staffing Problems during the early years of the Oxford University Extension Movement' in Smith H.P.(ed) Rewley House Papers Vol.III No.III. 1954/5 p.29

230 ibid p.32.

231 ibid p.22/23

232 ibid p.26

two centres in the Yorkshire area appear to have retained the same lecturer for more than two successive years.[233] The logistical problems which this created must have acted as a great deterrent to those lecturers who were not extremely committed to the philosophy of university extension and a rewarding challenge to those who were. During the 1890-91 session alone, for example, Oxford's J.A.R. Marriott visited some fifteen different centres in order to deliver nineteen short courses and four longer courses.[234]

J.A.R. Marriott first undertook extension lecturing after being inspired by the enthusiasm of Michael Sadler, whom he describes as " ... a man destined to exercise a decisive influence on my whole life's work ...".[235] Attracted by the socially equalising concept of university extension, Marriott committed himself to a rigorous schedule. Whilst his teaching duties within the University itself continued (until his entering Parliament in 1917), by compressing his tutorial duties " into Saturdays, Mondays and Tuesday mornings, lecturing 9, 10 and 11a.m. on Saturday", he recalled in his autobiography that he:

> " ... generally got off in time to lecture at some town not too distant from Oxford on the Tuesday evening. I often lectured at two neighbouring towns, or twice in the same town, on Wednesdays and Thursdays, and perhaps on my way home somewhere else on Friday afternoon. That gave me a maximum of twelve lectures a week, but I suppose my average for the six winter months was more nearly nine. ... ... The correction of essays was ... done of necessity in ... railway carriages. Hard, indeed, was the work, but I enjoyed it."[236]

Marriott maintained this level of activity for some eight years and continued his peripatetic teaching for an overall period of thirty years, until the outbreak of war in 1939, by which time he had given " ...some 10,000 lectures in all parts of England except East Anglia and the country covered by the ... London and North-Eastern system, which was the preserve of Cambridge".[237] In addition to this heavy lecture

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[233] ibid p.26

[234] ibid p.27

[235] Marriott J.A.R. Memories of Four Score Years (London: Blackie & Son Ltd. 1946) p.91

[236] ibid p.94/97

[237] ibid p.93.

schedule Marriott, as Secretary to the Oxford Delegacy, often visited the local centres in that capacity, as well as lecturer, and every Easter held district meetings in towns " ... such as Manchester, Bradford, Carlisle, Chester, Gloucester, accessible for the several centres in different localities" in order to update local Secretaries on the national perspective and to hear of "local difficulties in particular".[238]

Hudson Shaw was also prepared to submit himself to a demanding schedule in order to fulfil his extension lecture commitments for the Oxford Delegacy and his enthusiasm for his work was clearly effective in inspiring extension students to reach their academic potential. In 1881 he reported on a course which had run at Prestwich, in Manchester, on 'Florence', which had attracted an average attendance of two hundred and twenty people per lecture, with sixty remaining for the subsequent class and average of seventeen students submitting weekly papers. Shaw commented particularly on the " ... extraordinary advance between the papers of many students sent in at the beginning of the course and those at the end of it".[239] His wife's account of his exhausting life-style includes the observation that although he " ... enjoyed this mad way of living .... he paid for it".[240] Shaw eventually recognised the toll it was taking on his health and reduced his programme. Despite such demands, however, and for the sake of what, in monetary terms, Sadler suggests would have earned a lecturer the then quite respectable sum of £450 a year for seven lectures a week,[241] Shaw's response to the offer of a £1,200 per year living at Morpeth met with the response "Morpeth be blowed.".[242] However, Arthur Acland's suggestion of 1887 that the colleges "might take part in the work by making it possible that some of the Prize Fellows should receive part of their money when engaged in extension work ..."[243] enabled Shaw, in 1890, to receive a fellowship from Balliol college, which he

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[238] ibid p.103

[239] Middleton Guardian, Prestwich Advertiser and North Manchester Chronicle February 21st 1891.

[240] Maude Royden A Threefold Cord 1948 pp43-3 cited in Jepson 1954/5 op.cit. p.27

[241] Jepson 1954/5 op.cit. p29

[242] Telegram: Shaw-Sadler. May 16th, 1890. Cited in Jepson 1954/5 op.cit. pp25-29.

[243] Report on Conference at Oxford, April 20th-21st 1887 cited in Jepson 1954/5 ibid p31

held for nine years. This precedent then allowed Christ Church to appoint H.J. Mackinder to a three year studentship from 1892 in pursuance of their " ... desire to establish a connection between Christ Church and one of the university extension centres".[244] Sadler was keen to ensure that the remuneration of lecturers be improved in order to retain the services of good lecturers and in the early 1890s he instigated a three-tier system of payment for staff lecturers, lecturers, and junior lecturers, through which fees ranged from £4 per lecture to £2.10s.0d.[245]

In addition to the lectures and follow-up classes, there were also a large number of essays, or 'weekly papers' and end of course examinations to be marked. Jepson cites Hudson Shaw's 1895 classes as yielding 189 essays (probably over two weeks) and E.L. Horsburgh's more than 160, "an incredible burden".[246] Although there is no mention of remuneration for the marking of weekly papers and no indication of a tiered system of lectureships, according to surviving minutes of March 1895 the Victoria University Extension Committee recommended to the General Board that the following scale of lecture and exam marking fees should be adopted:

That the Examination fees should be:

	£	s	d
for setting a paper, marking the answers of any number of candidates up to 21 and furnishing a short report thereon:	2	2	0
For every additional answer looked over up to 40: per answer		2	0
For every addition answer looked at over 40: per answer:		1	0
In cases where the same papers set simultaneously to different centres for each report after the first		10	6

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[244] Minutes of Extension Committee, May 26th, 1892, cited in Jepson 1954/5 ibid p.31

[245] ibid p.30

[246] ibid p.28

That a University fee of £1 to be charged to each centre for each course not a pioneer course, except in the case of the Yorkshire College courses held in connexion with the County Councils when a fee of 10/- would be asked for.

That the syllabus provided by the University be provided at cost price.

Lecturers' fees:
Fee for 12 lecture courses £36.15

Repeated courses:
When a lecturer is requested to give the same course in the afternoon or the evening of the same day at adjoining centres, the lecturer's fee for the two courses should be [one and-a-half] times the ordinary fee.

Pupil Teachers Courses:

It was resolved that the lecturer's fee for 24 lectures in one session be continued at 50 guineas (the £1 University fee of course being added).

It was resolved that the fees for correcting papers be at the rate of two guineas a hundred.

Resolved that for Pupil Teacher courses of two courses of 12 lectures given in two successive sessions the lecturer's fee be £31.10.0. per course. (8) Number of papers.

It was resolved that about 8 papers be thought a necessary minimum for a 24 lecture course and about 6 for a 12 lecture course.

Travelling library to be supplied to Pupil Teacher courses at the usual fee - or, if the number of volumes required be very large, at a multiple of the usual fee. (It is probably best that such teachers should be encouraged to buy his own books)".[247]

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[247] Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I. Jan. 15th 1891 to March 14th 1895

The Pupil-teachers' course lecture fee had been £52.10s per 24 lecture session, or £2.3s.9d. per lecture, which included the setting of papers. However, this was queried as being insufficient in a memorandum of 7th March 1895[248] and on the 1st April 1895 The Board of Studies' recommendation of the increased fees was printed in a formal leaflet, with some slight variation. The University fee was set at one guinea per centre for each course not a pioneer course and the Yorkshire exception was set at half a guinea.[249] The total number of courses for the 1895/6 session was 102, of which twenty were pioneer courses, an increase of 14.6% on the preceding session.[250]

Among the people who came to the Victoria University's extension lectures were young people who were still "various scholars of secondary schools", although in 1894 "there [had] been no instance of a course being specially organised to meet the particular requirements of one or more secondary schools". The Committee, however, advised the Royal Commission on Secondary Education that "It would be ... better policy in the majority of cases that such special courses should be organised as most lecturers report that they find considerable difficulty in dealing with a mixed class of very varied ... tasks and requirements."[251]

It is difficult to ascertain from extant records exactly how the professional, although unwritten, contract between lecturers and the extension centres was first established, but it is clear that lecturers were hired rather than employed and had no job security. Peripatetic they had to be if they relied solely upon extension teaching as an income and any loyalty which existed between the hirer and the hired depended upon the size

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[248] Memorandum on Fees charged in Connexion with Extension Lectures 7th March 1895.

[249] 1895 Report from Board of Studies concerning Fees for Lectures and Examinations. However, the fees appear to have been reviewed annually as in 1896 the pupil-teachers' course fee for 24 lectures was increased to fifty guineas, with the proviso that when "the same course is given by a lecturer at two adjoining centres on the afternoon and evening of the same day, the fee payable for the two courses is only one and a half times the ordinary fee for a single course". Regulations and Instructions for Lecturers printed on 17th January 1896.

[250] University Extension Committee Report on the Session 1895-6. Extension Lectures Reports and Records IV 1891-1902

[251] Item 1(a) University Extension Lectures 31st May 1894.

of audience which lecturers drew and their ability to retain that audience. Such a situation could only cause the kind of tensions between serious and popular work which was referred to earlier in this chapter. Stuart Marriott's valuable research also shows that university staff who contributed to extension work were no more secure in that respect than the casual, or part-time, lecturers, citing the Oxford Delegacy's J.A.R. Marriott as one who routinely warned lecturers of their tenuous position and quoting his caution to a lecturer who had been absent through illness that, although his name would be retained pro tem, he " ... ought not to rely upon Extension lecturing as a means of livelihood".[252]

Stuart Marriott also quotes the examples of the very popular Hudson Shaw's being promised ".. the first claim on ... any lecturing work which it may be in .... [the Oxford Delegacy's] power to give"[253] and J.D.McClure's statement some months after that 'guarantee' that:

> "I had looked upon the extension as my life work but now that it has failed me (or rather I see that I am always liable to be pushed aside to admit personal friends of the syndicates) I must look around ... I suppose we all must expect disappointments of this character."[254]

Nonetheless, this system of patronage, Stuart Marriott suggests, "with all the workings of private preference and direct personal obligation suggested by the term" held some advantage for the "young and footloose, or for older men already skilled in what Hilaire Belloc called 'piecing together a livelihood by little special efforts of the brain' " and "was not unacceptable for it had a place in more general social understandings".[255]

The system of hiring was certainly neither formalised nor consistent and the records of the Victoria University's Extension Committee show the difficulty this could cause, for example, in the case of James Clark, a lecturer who had taught for them at the

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252 Oxford University Letter Book, Lummis correspondence, 1906; Minutes, February 1906. Cited in Marriott 1985 op.cit. p.82.

253 Oxford University Minutes January 1888 cited in Marriott 1985 op.cit. p.81

254 Correspondence 6 August 1888, quoted in Ousey K.M. McClure of Mill Hill (1927) p.62. Cited in Marriott 1985 op.cit. p.81

255 Marriott 1985 op.cit. pp85/86.

Yorkshire College. The Principal of the college wrote to the Extension Committee on 29th January 1898 to inform them that Clark had been dismissed from his professorship and was requested to explain his asserted right to " ... the titles of M.A. Edinburgh, and PhD., Tubingen which are placed after your name on the list of Extension Lecturers;" Clark responded to this in a letter of the 1st February saying that;

> "The suggestions that are made in that letter in reference to my degrees have obviously their origin in the fact that my relations with the Yorkshire College are at present the subject of judicial investigation. There is no reasonable doubt that those suggestions are at the instance of the defendants in the action which I have commenced against the Yorkshire College."[256]

What this judicial investigation was concerned with is not clear from extant material, but the minutes of a Victoria University Extension Committee meeting of 21st May 1896 record that more explicit exam regulations should be drawn up and that forms should be issued for registering class attendance following discussion after:

> "The Secretary read correspondence from Mr. Horner, Dr.Clark and Mr. Riley (the Examiner, Lecturer and Local Secretary for the course held at Hessle during the Lent Term) from which it appeared that considerable irregularities had taken place at the Examination. The examination was invalidated; the Secretary was instructed to say that a fresh examination might be held."

Clark refused the request in 1898 to present himself to the Board of Studies, or submit a written explanation regarding his qualifications, asserting that as his " ... conduct and relations with the Yorkshire College will be the subject of judicial investigation .." he did not feel called upon to justify himself except before a court of law, which was what he intended to do; and asking the Committee to defer "..any action until I have had the opportunity of vindicating myself, as I intend to do in the action now pending." The Committee's response to this was to write to Clark informing him that consideration of the question of his position had been adjourned and that in the meantime his name would not appear on any of the prospectuses or notices of the Committee. On October 13th a letter was read to the Committee from Clark's solicitors, Messrs Simpson and Simpson, affirming that their client's position as an Extension Lecturer " ... is still a subsisting one and our client is perfectly ready and

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[256] Extant letter in Local Lectures minutes Vol. I.

willing to carry out his duties as an Extension lecturer." However, the minutes go on to record that:

> " The Vice-Chancellor read a verbatim report of the proceedings at the Leeds Assizes in the case of Clark v The Yorkshire College, which was settled without the withdrawal by the Yorkshire College of the grounds on which the dismissal of Mr.Clark was based. Principal Hopkinson moved and Professor Tout seconded the following resolution which was carried: 'The Committee resolve that Mr. Clark's name should not be placed on any further issues of the lecture list and do not consider that any case is made by Mr.Clark for compensation'."

Clark's solicitors were duly informed of the Committee's resolution and responded by asserting that "The University Extension Committee are not justified in thus summarily dismissing Professor Clark from the position of University Extension Lecturer without proper notice" and warning that they would be held responsible for damages. The Secretary had acknowledged the letter formally and then communicated its contents to the Vice-Chancellor and Principal Hopkinson, himself a noted lawyer, who were of the opinion " ... that no further notice should be taken of the letter." On November 17th 1898, Hartog reported these details to the Committee who " ... decided to leave the letter unanswered ..." and, apart from Hartog's reply to a question at the next meeting on February 2nd, 1899, that " ... no further communication had been received with regard to Professor Clark", no further trace of the matter is to be found in subsequent minutes.[257]

What this rare affair shows is that the extension centre and the Victoria University Extension Committee had no legally binding contractual arrangement with lecturers, or appeals procedures, to which to refer or to offer protection to either or both parties should problems occur in their professional relationship. By treating such cases as Clark's in isolation precedents were never established. Notwithstanding that, however, when the Oxford Lecturers' Council's investigations of 1906-8 resulted in a suggestion that a "quasi-bureaucratic solution", probably in the form of "a 'departmental' organisation of relations between the lecturers and the authority", be developed to solve the problems of extension staffing, Oxford accepted only those proposals which were "capable of being turned into personal agreements negotiated directly with individual members of staff".[258]

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[257] Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

[258] Marriott S.1985 op.cit. p85 citing evidence from Oxford University's file 99, Brown to Chief Secretary, 17 February 1908.

The relationships among the main providers of university extension lectures

University College and King's College, London, were already well established when the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching was formed and matters of competition were of great concern. Additionally, like the Victoria University of Manchester, the Society had the sensitive issue of Oxford's response to perceived territorialism to contend with. Where, once more, Cambridge made a tacit agreement not to encroach on the Society's opportunities to offer Extension teaching within the London area, it can be seen from Stuart Marriott's research[259] that, in spite of a spirit of co-operation in the early days of LSEUT, Oxford became stubbornly defensive in matters of territorialism, as in matters of course length and certification, following Sadler's appointment as Secretary in 1885.

As the Cambridge Syndicate provided lectures at Extension Centres in the mining areas of the North East of England, the Oxford delegacy assumed this responsibility in Lancashire and Yorkshire. However, the insistence of Oxford on its role as a national institution and, therefore, national provider, was later to bring it into conflict with the Victoria University whose geographical area covered Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire.

In March 1890 the Victoria University addressed a memorandum to the Oxford Delegacy in which it pointed out the grounds on which the Charter creating the university and fixing it at Manchester had been granted and acknowledging that "the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have until recently undertaken no education work in Manchester" and that Cambridge had desisted from running courses in Leeds and Liverpool. However, the memorandum pointed out:

> "For the last five or six years ... the University of Oxford has organised and conducted 'University Extension Courses' in Manchester and in its immediate neighbourhood; and it is to this course of action that the Committee desire respectfully to call the attention of the Delegates".[260]

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[259] Marriott S. Extramural Empires: Service and Self-interest in English University Adult Education 1873-1983 (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education University of Nottingham 1984) pp35-45

[260] Memorandum to the Delegates of Local Examinations of the University of Oxford in University Extension Lectures Reports and Records II 1886-1902

The Victoria Committee then went on to outline its own ability to provide suitable lecturers and its willingness to continue to place Oxford University lecturers on its own list and expressed its opinion that "any semblance of direct competition between the Universities would be most undesirable as it would inevitably tend to favour a method of lecturing designed to attract rather than to instruct". The Oxford Delegacy replied that:

> "The Delegates regret that they are not able to agree with the views set forth in this memorandum. They have observed, with great satisfaction, the steady growth of University Extension work in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the part which has been taken in that work by members of the Victoria University. But they think that the exclusion of other bodies from a share in this work would be alike unjustifiable in principle, and injurious to the common objects which the Universities desire to promote."[261]

Oxford's argument lay in the principle of freedom of choice, stressing that "In University Education of all kinds local monopolies and territorial limitations appear to them [the Delegates] inadmissable" and that a "protective policy" would discourage local effort and impede natural growth. The memorandum went on to assert that the work was:

> " ... still, comparatively speaking, in its infancy. Out of millions of the population, only a few thousands attend these lectures. With a few remarkable and encouraging exceptions, the lectures have not yet succeeded in attracting audiences of working men."[262]

That remained the position of the Oxford Delegacy and, as will be seen from the 1903-4 list of Oxford and Cambridge Centres at Appendix VI, Oxford continued to teach wherever there was demand.

Whilst Cambridge was sensitive to Manchester's request to respect each other's work in particular towns, specifically avoiding Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool, it did occasionally offer courses in the Manchester area, for instance the Gothic Architecture course of D.H.S. Cranage which was held in Altrincham in January of 1896 and which

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[261] Memorandum to the Local Lectures Committee of the General Board of Studies of the Victoria University in University Extension Lectures Reports and Records II 1886-1902

[262] ibid

is mentioned elsewhere in this chapter. Nonetheless, during the Michaelmas Term of that year, whilst the University Extension Journal advertised six Oxford Delegacy courses in the Manchester area, it listed none for Cambridge and showed none for the forthcoming Lent Term.[263]

In January 1891, extant manuscript minutes of the Victoria University Local Lectures Committee of 15th January show that:

> 2. "... ... the Vice Chancellor, the Chairman and the Reporter were appointed a Committee with power to make further additions to the list should they think it expedient.

and

> 7. The desirability of adopting the title "University Extension Lectures" in place of "University Local Lectures" was considered; and a general opinion in favour of this change expressed."[264]

Thus, extension work of the Victoria University was thereafter administered primarily from Manchester and in 1902 The Victoria University Extension Lectures Committee comprised:

Chairman: Professor Tout (Owens); Secretary: P.J. Hartog (Owens); The Vice-Chancellor (Principal Hopkinson of Owens); Principal Bodington (Yorkshire College, Leeds); Professor Boyce (University College Liverpool); E.J. Broadfield;[265] Professor Chapman (Owens); Principal Dale (University College Liverpool); Professor Delepine (Owens); E. Donner; Professor Elton (University College Liverpool); Professor Gonner (University College Liverpool); Professor Grant (Yorkshire College

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[263] University Extension Journal Vol.II. No.10 October 1896 p.10 and Vol. II No.12 December 1896 p.47

[264] Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

[265] EJ Broadfield was, from 1878 to 1902, a member of the Manchester School Board and following the abolition of the School Board continued on Manchester City Council's Education Committee until 1908. He was also a member of the University's Court of Governors.

Leeds); Professor Lamb (Chairman of the General Board of Studies, Owens College, Manchester); Professor Miall, (Yorkshire College Leeds); F.W. Moorman (Secretary for the Leeds Centres, Yorkshire College Leeds); J.R.B.Muir (University College Liverpool); Professor Trevelyan (Yorkshire College Leeds); N.Wyld (Secretary for the Liverpool Centres University College Liverpool).[266]

The autonomy of the recently established Victoria University Extension Lectures Committee, was not violated by the institution of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association, as can be seen in its response to the Oxford Delegacy's request that the Committee " ... will take such steps as may seem fit, to secure an alteration of the present arrangements" whereby literary and historical teaching was suffering at the expense of the provisions of the Technical Education Act of 1890. The Committee minutes record that "no resolution was taken on the subject".[267]

Co-operation on the subject of certification, however, was desirable and very much in evidence. On the 15th February 1894, for instance, consideration was given by the Extension Lectures Committee to correspondence which had passed between the Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University and Robert Roberts " ... with regard to differences existing in the Victoria University Extension Certificates and those of the three other U.Extension authorities". After some discussion regulations for the Victoria Certificate Examinations were altered in order to establish " ... a uniform standard for University Extension Certificates".[268] In May of the same year Professor Harvey Gibson, Professor Tout, Mr. Elton, Mr. Sells, Dr.Kohn "and another gentleman to be .... nominated by the Secretary" were appointed to represent the University on a Joint Committee responsible for the standard of certificates.[269] In March, 1895, similar co-operation was evident in the Victoria University's Extension Lectures Committee's decision to " ... accept the recommendation of the Consultative Committee of the 4 Extension authorities as to giving certificates for two courses of 6

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[266] General Regulations and Lecture List 1902

[267] Minutes of Extension Lectures Committee held on Thursday February 15th 1893 in Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

[268] Item 5. Minutes of Extension Lectures Committee meeting held on 15th February 1894. Local Lectures Minutes Vol. I.

[269] Item no. 4 Minutes of University Extension Lectures Committee 10th May 1894.

lectures on the same subject".[270] Likewise, and most explicitly, in January 1896 the Extension Lectures Committee " ...decided that the Secretary should communicate with the other Extension Authorities with a view to instituting the fullest reciprocity possible in the matter of certificates".[271] In December 1895 The Lancashire and Cheshire Association had written to the Victoria Committee informing them that a resolution had been passed in November:

> "That in the opinion of ... the Lancashire and Cheshire and the Yorkshire Association for the Extension of University Teaching, the issue of a common list of lecturers by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Victoria, and a joint Certificate is desirable".[272]

In the matter of honours, too, it is clear that the four Authorities worked in liaison with each other. When, in 1898, James Stuart suggested to the Gilchrist Educational Trust that it might consider awarding its medals "to encourage the advanced work required for the Sessional Certificate in Honours" the offer was extended by the Trustees to each of the Extension Authorities. The Victoria Committee decided that in order to accept the offer it should " ... institute a Sessional Certificate in Honours similar to that awarded by the other University Extension Authorities ..." and that fees for examination of the essays involved should be paid in line with " ... similar work of the other universities".[273]

Co-operation is also evident from the minutes of an Extension Committee meeting held on15th November 1894, when it was recorded that:

> "A letter from Mr. M.E. Sadler [Secretary of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy] was read and it was resolved that the committee would gladly co-

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[270] Item no.1. Minutes of University Extension Lectures Committee 14th March 1895. This Consultative Committee had been established in an attempt to ensure that the university extension lecture courses offered by each of the extension authorities had a reasonable equivalence of standard.

[271] Item 3. Minutes of University Extension Lectures Committee 23rd January 1896.

[272] Item 7. Minutes of University Extension Lectures Committee 12th December 1895.

[273] Item 2. University Extension Lectures Committee Minutes 1st June 1898. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

operate with the Oxford Delegacy in establishing informal conferences of U.E. Authorities and in establishing a common U.E.journal".[274]

The decision to establish a common journal was also reiterated in January 1895 when the committee resolved to:

> " ... agree to the establishment of a joint Extension Lectures Journal, by the Cambridge Oxford & Victoria Universities & the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching ... "[275]

A scheme for such a journal was drawn up by the Consultative Committee of Secretaries in May 1895, accepted by the Extension Lectures Committee and sent to the Council for approval.[276] It was duly approved and the first edition of the University Extension Journal was published in October of the same year. The Journal was to stand for "the unity of the whole Movement and for the freedom of its constituent parts" and its aims and purposes were to:

> " ... record the progress of University Extension in England, not forgetting the sister movements in the Colonies, in America, and on the Continent of Europe. It will invite suggestions for the further development of the work, and will provide means for discussion of any changes which may be proposed in its methods of organisation ... [and] ... seek to unite the efforts and to win the support of all those who are in any way concerned with the furtherance of University Extension work".[277]

The Journal was to prove a valuable source of communication between the four University Extension Authorities and interested parties and its copies survive as a valuable source of reference for present day historians. Kelly, however, asserts that "The Journal had never paid much attention to northern affairs" and sees Manchester's withdrawal from its publication from 1903 as indicative of "Manchester's failure to keep pace with her colleagues in the work."[278] To some extent the reluctance of

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[274] Item 3. University Extension Lectures committee Minutes 15th November 1894. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

[275] Item 14. University Extension Lectures Committee Minutes January 17th 1895. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

[276] Item 3. University Extension Lectures committee Minutes May 9th 1895. Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

[277] University Extension Journal no. 1. October 1895.

[278] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.42

Manchester to work enthusiastically with the other authorities might explain his observation.[279]

Despite the territorial conflict between the Victoria University and Oxford, there was co-operation between them in the areas of pupil-teacher and agricultural teaching. When Oxford asked for the Victoria Committee's views "with regard to the holding of two courses by different authorities in the same town", the Victoria Extension Committee decided not to pass a formal resolution but to:

> " ... leave the Secretary free to act in a spirit of unity with the other authorities and in accordance with the requirements of each special case. The opinion was however expressed that Agricultural and Coal-mining Courses on Pupil Teachers' Courses might without any evil result be established under a second authority, in towns where courses of the usual type were being delivered."[280]

Kelly quotes from Mackinder and Sadler to demonstrate that, earlier, it had been Cambridge who had fifteen courses in Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire in 1885/6 while Oxford had only six in the same region.[281] However, Cambridge had made a courteous withdrawal from the area while Oxford's persistence necessitated the establishment of more formal agreements.

Within Lancashire the territorial issues raised by provision in Liverpool and Manchester may well have been contentious, but in Yorkshire such matters were more easily addressed by the Yorkshire committees as local needs were for more distinctive types of courses, in particular those in relation to agriculture and farm hygiene.

Inevitably, problems also occurred in staff relations within the extension centres, as is seen in the protracted matter of Professor Harvey Gibson's resignation from the post of Secretary to the Liverpool Centres and his seat on the Committee. The first letter from Gibson in this regard was read to a Victoria University Extension Committee meeting held on 23rd January 1896, whereupon it was decided to ask the Professor to reconsider his decision. Following this request Gibson wrote to Hartog:

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[279] See, for example, Marriott S. 'The University Extension Movement and the Education of Teachers 1873-1906' in the History of Education Vol.10. No.3 1981 pp.169-171

[280] Item 5. Victoria University Extension Committee meeting held on December 3rd 1896. Local Lectures Vol.I.

[281] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p9

"I have been persuaded by Rendall to retain the Secretaryship of the Liverpool Centres at all events for another year. So please withdraw my resignation. We have had a little controversial matter waging between [sic] perhaps we can arrange to meet say at my next visit to Owens and get these matters settled."[282]

On the 20th February his resignation was formally withdrawn. There is in those minutes no evidence to identify the "little controversial matter" and to show whether or not it was indeed settled, but Gibson resubmitted his resignation in June that year and it was accepted by the committee without any recorded deliberation or comment .

Relationships could also become fraught from time to time between the extension centres and the extension authorities of the ancient universities. One such strain was caused over the question of the merit of the Yorkshire College's Veterinary Certificate. At a meeting of the University Extension Committee which was held on the 23rd January 1896, "A letter recommending viva voce examinations in Veterinary Science was remitted for consideration to a sub committee constituted of Principal Bodington and the Secretary, with instructions to act in consultation with Lieut.Col.Steel"[283] At the next Extension Committee meeting on the 20th February a decision regarding certification of " ... courses in Veterinary Science was postponed for further consideration of the whole question of giving certificates in that subject" although oral examinations were approved for the Practical Horticulture course.[284] In April 1896 solicitors acting on behalf of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons announced that "... legal proceedings will be taken against the University if the issue of certificates in Veterinary Science be not discontinued".[285] Legal proceedings were not proved to be necessary as compromise was reached in that the words 'Hygiene of Farm Animals' [being] substituted for the words 'Veterinary Science' ... " were found to be an acceptable modification to the certificate.[286]

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282 Extant memorandum dated January 24th 1896 in Local Lectures Minutes Vol.I.

283 Item 8 Victoria University Extension Committee Minutes 23.1.1896.

284 Item 5 Victoria University Extension Committee Minutes 20th February 1896

285 General Board of Studies notice of business 16th April 1896.

286 Letter dated 23rd April 1896 attached to Victoria University Extension Committee Minutes May 21st 1896.

The matter of oral examination, however, took some time to resolve fully and the use of the new title some time to become habit. In January 1898 Hartog received a letter from Bodington stating that:

> "Our Lecturer in Veterinary Science considers examination by means of written papers to be exceedingly unsatisfactory for the class of men with whom he deals in his extension lectures ... "[287]

This method of examination was approved by the Yorkshire College's investigating committee, who were prepared, if necessary, to issue College, rather than University certificates. That, however, did not transpire to be necessary for the Extension Committee of 3rd February approved " ... the institution of oral examinations in the Hygiene of Farm Animals ..." subject to such practice being " ... compatible with the general agreement between the four University Extension authorities". It clearly was compatible as it was agreed on March 17th 1898 that ".. viva voce examinations might be substituted in certain cases for written examinations ... provided that some special difference were made between certificates given on such course and certificates given on written examinations". The words 'Technical Certificate' were agreed upon as being the "special difference" shown on the certificate. Thus the integrity of the universities was upheld and students were rewarded with appropriate certification of their studies.

The University Extension Movement, however, could be said to have been the victim of its own success in as much as its middle-class protagonists, in their enthusiasm to share their educational experience with the labouring classes, had not perceived the need which the labouring classes felt to spearhead their own educational provision. Harrison illustrates this point with the example of failure to attract working men in some of the Yorkshire Centres which had predominantly middle-class University Extension Committees and the success of working-class recruitment in the Northumberland and Durham mining areas where such committees largely comprised artisan members.[288]

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[287] Letter dated 14th January 1898 attached to Victoria University Extension Committee Minutes of February 3rd 1898.

[288] Harrison J.F.C. 1961 op.cit. p239

Just as the Working Men's Club movement in working-class districts of Manchester found, the General Secretary of the Northumberland District Extension Committees in 1884 reported that:

> "It is now an established fact that the working classes will not attend lectures which are entirely managed by members of the higher classes. It is also an established fact that they will attend lectures which are managed by members of their own class"[289]

The move from aristocratic to democratic provision which Picht describes[290] was, then, a natural evolution among a population of students who had benefited from the pioneering efforts of the middle classes to bring education to the working classes, without any reason to know that their rather esoteric offerings would not be appropriate to the more practical needs of their targeted students who, once in a position to be heard, set out to become self-directing. By 1912 the number of extension lectures was beginning to reduce as demand grew for tutorial classes such as those provided by the Workers' Educational Association.

Nonetheless, it can be seen that the University Extension Movement played a part in the provision of adult education which would be accessible and relevant to the working classes and perhaps the successful route to such provision could only, in such a structured and socially conscious society as Britain's, be one which filtered down through the social strata. The foundation and success of the Workers' Educational Association was to be built largely on the academic and awareness-raising achievements of the University Extension Movement with which it had originally intended to co-operate. The WEA was soon to become the most significant, of the many voluntary organisations in Manchester. In the long-term, however, it was, to a large to extent, to fulfil the Movement's original aim of bringing higher education within the reach of those of the labouring classes who had so consistently demonstrated their wish for such provision through their attendance at the evening classes offered by Manchester's many voluntary organisations.

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[289] loc. cit.

[290] Picht W Toynbee Hall and the Settlement Movement (London: G.Bell and Sons Ltd. 1914) p.137 and *passim*

During its lifespan of thirty years, the Extension Movement delivered lecture courses in some one thousand centres, with the peak year of 1891/2 recording an Oxford and Cambridge total of seven hundred and twenty-two courses attended by nearly 47,000 people.[291] By 1894 Cambridge's Extension Secretary, Robert Roberts, was able to assert, to the supporting cheers of the University Extension Congress, that those within the movement "had always deprecated any lowering of the standard of degrees, and they had throughout sought to make the work of the movement as thorough and efficient as possible".[292]

In marking the quarter century of extension work in 1897, Roberts was anticipating that the Local Lectures system had established a place which it was "destined permanently to occupy in the educational machinery of the country".[293] However, working people had hitherto accepted what was on offer and responded well to it, but this first generation of adult students was to be the last to accept without question what was given to them through the patronage of their social 'superiors', as shall be considered more closely in the following chapter. There is a world of difference between the altruism of helping people to achieve what they want to achieve in life and patronising them by giving them what it is felt by their providers to be good for them. In the early days of adult education, however, such demarcation lines had not been in place, largely because democracy was not yet extensively practised and because the providers and recipients of adult education were caught up in the initially positive response to its provision and, in particular, to university extension. By 1903 the cumulative effect of a long standing tradition of adult education provision in Manchester, the positive benefits of universal elementary education and the realisation, through the work of university extension, of working-class educability, brought an awareness of a need for self-determination which the WEA was able to cater for as the number of courses offered by the newly defined University's Extension Committee declined.[294]

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[291] Harrison J.F.C. 1961 op.cit. p243

[292] The Times June 25th 1894.

[293] University Extension Journal Vol.III November 1897 p.21

[294] For further consideration of Manchester's "failure to keep pace with" other extension authorities see Kelly 1950 op.cit. pp42-44

In 1901, asked what were the "principal obstacles to the more rapid spread of instruction by means of university extension methods", Hartog had replied "I do not know that it is correct to speak of any 'obstacle' other than inertia". What had been crossed out was "the refusal of individuals".[295] Diplomacy had clearly got the better of him and he did not expand on the matter. Kelly, however, is quite clear in his belief in Manchester's "failure to keep pace with her colleagues in the work" and links the "severe blow" of Hartog's departure in 1903 with the final decline of traditional university extension work in Manchester,[296] marking what Jepson, in referring to the situation more generally, terms "the end of a distinct phase in the history of the University Extension Movement". [297]

The nature and extent of university extension provision was to alter after 1903 and there are several contributory considerations which have been advanced to explain this circumstance. The Education Act of 1902 created a national system of post-elementary education which was funded from central government and locally.[298] Perhaps of more immediate significance was the inception in 1903 of the Association to Promote the Higher Education of the Working Man, which in 1905 became the more appropriately named and non-gender specific Workers' Educational Association. Whilst the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) built on the traditions of the university extension movement, as will be explained in some detail in the next chapter of this thesis, it aimed more directly to recruit from among the working classes, an aim in which the university extension movement had been largely unsuccessful. Whilst Fieldhouse, for example, is generally critical of the movement, he does point out that part of the early extension work can claim to have "established the tutorial practice which later became the hallmark of the twentieth century tutorial class movement",[299] which resulted from a co-operation between the providers of university extension lectures and working-class organisations. He claims, correctly, that the extension movement did not provide for the whole nation. However, this needs to be set in

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[295] Questionnaire to be found in University Extension Lectures Reports and Records II 1886-1902

[296] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p. 42

[297] Jepson 1973 op.cit. p.333

[298] loc.cit.

[299] Fieldhouse R. and Associates 1996 op.cit. p.41

context; no other voluntary initiative in England during the nineteenth century which made educational provision for adults was any more successful in achieving this intended provision across the several classes of society.

The fact that the Victoria University struggled to maintain its level of extension provision in the early years of the twentieth century is not reflected by any of the other three main providers. At Oxford, Cambridge and London, university extension continued to prosper in the years up to 1910. Kelly cites the peak years for attendance at Oxford as 1907-1908, at Cambridge 1905-1906, and at London 1908-1909.[300] This was partly due to a careful balance of activities between courses for the general public and those from particular groups such as teachers. In other instances, the introduction of new initiatives such as the one launched in 1908 at London which led to the award of a diploma in the humanities after four years' study, with examinations at the end of each year, helped to attract increasing numbers of students.[301]

A similar trend was not discernible at the Victoria University. Whilst Manchester continued after 1903 to co-operate with the older extension providers in the matter of organisation of courses for pupil-teachers, it did not undertake attempted expansion in other areas of its work. In addition, as mentioned previously in this chapter, the departure of Hartog in 1903 and his capable successor as secretary to the University Extension committee, W.G.S. Adams, one year later to take up an appointment at Dublin, were significant losses.[302] There was also the further consideration resulting from the Victoria University in 1903-1904 dividing into the separate universities of Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds. The idea was that the three universities should continue to work in collaboration and issue a joint list of lecturers, charge comparable fees and agree on their respective geographical areas of demarcation. Initially, there was no obvious indication that such a policy had been implemented, but it did happen among the three in due course, with only Oxford and Cambridge retaining their original brief of making provision for lectures in all parts of the country.[303]

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[300] Kelly 1992 op.cit. pp246-247

[301] loc.cit.

[302] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.42

[303] ibid pp.41-42

One area in which the university extension movement generally was successful was in recruiting women, primarily from the middle classes, to its courses. As the section on women's education in the second chapter of this thesis has indicated, the development of the university extension movement nationally in the 1870s and 1880s responded to pressures from the women's movement that women should as of right have access to higher education. The findings of the Final Report in 1919 of the Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee estimated that the proportion of women, "mainly of the more leisured classes", attending the lectures over some thirty to forty years was somewhere between fifty and seventy-five per cent of the total audience.[304]

The Victoria University's experience was substantially in line with that of the other university extension providers concerning the attendance of women at its sessions. This has been attributed partly to the influence of the Ladies' Education Associations and the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women,[305] but, as Alex Robertson has pointed out, groups such as the Association for the Education of Women, with a fairly "narrow spread of membership" of whom "most were familiar names from liberal and philanthropic movements in general" and a rather wider aim of " 'uniting in one society all friends of female education' .... providing lectures and classes .... and supporting any efforts to improve women's education",[306] also would have influence in various initiatives which advanced the cause of women's education. The university extension movement definitely did this, and its work in Manchester was helped by the foundation of the Manchester and Salford College for Women in 1877, almost opposite Owens College which, in 1883, was incorporated as a department of Owens.

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304 Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee Final Report (London H.M.S.O. 1919) p.256

305 Kelly 1992 op.cit. pp.219-221; Lees 1994 op.cit. p.400; Dyhouse C. No distinction in sex? Women in British universities 1870-1939 (London: UCL Press Ltd 1995) p.14. Harrison J.F.C. in Learning and Living 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1961) identifies the Ladies' Educational Association at York in 1872 as taking the initiative in promoting an interest in university extension.

306 Robertson A.B. 'Manchester, Owens College and the Higher Education of Women: "A large hole for the cat and a small one for the kitten" ' in the Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester Vol.77 No.1 Spring 1995 p.214. The complete article can be found on pp201-220.

The statistics cited from Kelly in the Appendices of this thesis[307] show that the traditional form of university extension provision declined in appeal in the years from 1903 to 1907. This was due in part to the separation of the Victoria University's extension activity from that of Liverpool and Leeds during this period and in part through a decline in appeal more generally, even allowing for the work of Ramsay Muir and the Liverpool Extension Society[308] from1899. The advent of the Workers' Educational Association from 1903 also had an effect, although the creation in Manchester in 1909 by the university in collaboration with the WEA and other working-class organisations, of tutorial classes for working men and women was to propel the university extension movement in Manchester and elsewhere into a new phase of activity which will be explored in the next chapter of this thesis.

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[307] Kelly 1950 op.cit. pp102-103 (Appendix II) and pp.104-105 (Appendix III)

[308] ibid p.41

CHAPTER FOUR
THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION AND THE UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES IN MANCHESTER

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the university extension movement in the first decade of the twentieth century entered a new phase through the development in collaboration with the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) and other working-class organisations of university tutorial classes. Against the background of the emergence of initiatives in working-class education in the 1890s and 1900s, the development of the Workers' Educational Association (founded in 1903) is assessed and its co-operation with the main providers of university extension lectures in establishing a system of university tutorial classes designed to cater for working men and women is examined. From the national background, organisation and development of the WEA, the focus then shifts as appropriate to the local situation which is linked with the progress of the Association in Yorkshire and North Staffordshire, the regions in the immediate vicinity of the North-West of England.

The end of the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of the loosening of the landed and middle-classes', monopoly of the control and direction of the social order and perceived wisdom. Philosophers such as T.H. Green of Oxford had opened a debate which began to make people reconsider the role of the state and re-evaluate the traditional acceptance of inequality of opportunity between the classes. Christian Socialism, too, was raising questions concerning the effect of education on the quality of life of individuals and society and the ethical implications of educational exclusivity. In addition, the embryonic growth of the Labour Movement, following the formation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893, began to create an awareness of the division which had earlier opened up between self-help and paternalism. The long standing dominance of laissez-faire capitalism was beginning to be challenged by what was at first a very modest revival of socialism but which was eventually to bring in its wake a demand for social equality, beginning with universal suffrage and education; scientific discoveries were presenting a challenge to the established church and the working classes were no longer content to defer to their social 'superiors'. Nor were they content to emulate them unreasoningly. Working people began to recognise their own particular educational need and, as demonstrated in the preceding chapter of this work, that recognition was articulated in a demand for the specific type of education which university extension had not single-handedly provided. Education provided by trades

unions, on the other hand, was very much concerned with industrial needs and associated political issues.

The resulting polarisation between adult education providers and recipients became a tug-of-war between the classes and was epitomised in the clash between philosophies which struggled for dominance within Ruskin College. The College had been founded as Ruskin Hall in 1899 by three Americans, Walter and Anne Vrooman, enthusiasts of John Ruskin's teaching, and Charles Beard, an Oxford post-graduate student,[1] with the purpose of offering, in a residential college, "a training in subjects which are essential for working class leadership, and which are not a direct avenue to anything beyond".[2] Walter Vrooman, who had no academic experience, was Principal in not much more than name only and in its early days the College was essentially run by its Warden, Denis Hird, who was designated Principal in 1903. In 1907 the establishment changed its name from Ruskin Hall to Ruskin College.[3]

Hird's regime was a very relaxed one with few regulations in respect of course structure or length and examinations. Managed by working class organisations and supported by Trades Unions, the College also sought financial support from prominent members of the Establishment, such as Lord and Lady O'Hagan, the Duke of Argyll and the Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.[4] Academic support came from Oxford University, both in the form of representation on the college council and in the delivery of lectures. The Vice-Principal of the College, H.B. Lees Smith, was himself an Oxford graduate and was to be the College's representative on the WEA Central Executive Committee. As the proportion of socialist students increased within the College and hostility grew to the more right-wing teaching of some of the staff, in particular the teaching of Economics by Lees Smith, from a laissez-faire perspective, socialist reaction among many students became more entrenched, and was compounded by the strength of support readily available from trades unions such

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[1] Jennings B 'Revolting Students - The Ruskin College Dispute 1908-9' in Studies in Adult Education Vol.9 No.1. April 1977 p1.

[2] The Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee Final Report (H.M.S.O. 1919) p.31

[3] Kelly T. A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992 third edition) p.244

[4] Jennings 1977 op.cit. p.4/5

as those of the miners and railwaymen. This was to lead to the students' formation in 1908 of the Plebs League "to bring about a definite and more satisfactory connection between Ruskin College and the Labour Movement" through a more sympathetically socialist curriculum.[5] The Executive Committee of the College ordered an inquiry into the League and asked staff to refrain from contact with it. The report of inquiry was strongly critical of Hird's Marxist/Darwinian stance and he was asked to resign. Hird's challenge in defence of what he saw as independent working-class education resulted in his dismissal and he was replaced by Lees Smith. Politically biased education had caused division as the opposing standpoints of capitalism and Marxism had vied for a voice in the presentation of political, social and economic study. When the students went on strike in resistance to what Edmund and Ruth Frow describe as the "attempts by Oxford University to impose a concept of 'liberal objective standards' on the curriculum at Ruskin College"[6] and in response to the Oxford and Working-Class Education[7] report's recommendation of closer links between the college and Oxford University, the College was closed for two weeks, after which time only those students who would make a signed commitment to the rules of the College were re-admitted. The college also established a new constitution in 1909, through which its governing body included representatives of working-class organisations, such as those of the co-operative movement and trades unions.

One of the results of the strike of students at Ruskin College was that the Plebs League established the Central Labour College in 1909 with Denis Hird as its warden, and later its Principal. Other Labour Colleges were subsequently formed, but these posed no threat to Ruskin College. In 1913 while Ruskin College had 46 students, the Central Labour College had only twelve residential students and two non-residential, female, students.[8] By 1919 some five hundred students, mainly from within the trade union movement, had passed through Ruskin College doors. (It is interesting to note

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[5] Strike Records from Craik W.W. Central Labour College (1964) p.62/3 cited in Jennings 1977 op.cit. p9

[6] Frow E. and R. 'The Spark of Independent Working-Class Education: Lancashire, 1909-1930' in Simon B (ed) The Search for Enlightenment: The Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century (London: Lawrence and Wishart 1990) p.71.

[7] Jennings (1977 op.cit. p.12) points out that the establishment of the Plebs League predated publication of the Report by several weeks.

[8] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.39

that despite Ruskin College being constitutionally open to men and women, it was not until 1919 that any women were admitted.[9])

The events of 1909 at Ruskin College clearly reflect the perceived threat both to working-class student independence and to the middle-classes and the traditionally more moderate governing classes, despite the fact that the report was written by university representatives and representatives of working-class organisations. As pointed out in chapter one of this work, the Oxford report acknowledged the need of a university education for the Trade Union Secretary and Labour member and was explicit in commenting that

> "... it would involve a grave loss both to Oxford and to English political life were the close association which has existed between the University and the world of affairs to be broken or impaired on the accession of new classes to power."[10]

The support given to Ruskin College and then to the Labour Colleges shows the determination of organised labour to educate its successors and both went on to do so, but, despite that, the more mainstream WEA was to be successful, as Jennings demonstrates, "in retaining the loyalty of most of its socialist members".[11]

The early University Extension Lectures had been of a decidedly middle-class hue, but one of the most fruitful and enduring successes of University Extension was the inspiration which it engendered in Albert Mansbridge, the son of a Gloucester carpenter, who, after leaving school at the age of fourteen, attended evening extension classes at London University and went on to meet the need for self-directed working-class education through his founding of the Workers' Educational Association. Described by Kelly as "one of the great prophets of English adult education", Mansbridge, born in 1876, had a board school and grammar school education in

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[9] Fieldhouse R. and Associates A History of Modern British Adult Education (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education 1996) p.241

[10] Oxford and Working-class Education being the report of a Joint Committee of University and working-class representatives of the relation of the University to the higher education of workpeople pp47-8 cited in Harrison J.F.C. Learning and Living 1790-1960: A study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1961) p.267

[11] Jennings 1977 op.cit. p.14

London and was introduced to Toynbee Hall by his mother "an ardent co-operative worker and friend of the Barnetts".[12] His Christian commitment to social reform and his "considerable intellectual abilities" have been acknowledged as having enabled him to recruit the support of "outstanding people in the Church, the Universities, the Labour and Co-Operative movements and ... working people".[13] Certainly the church was well represented within the hierarchy of the WEA, with William Temple as its first President and Charles Gore, (Canon of Westminster when he and Mansbridge first met and later Bishop of Birmingham and Oxford) providing inspiration and valuable support to Mansbridge and the Association. Harrison cites R.H. Tawney, Scott Holland, A.E. Zimmern, Sidney Ball and A.D. Lindsay as examples, along with Temple and Gore, of the "progressive socially-minded Oxford scholars"[14] who supported Mansbridge's attempts at social reform through liberal education. Jennings comments that those reformers "sought at the same time to raise the academic standards of the University and to democratise its entry" and cites the example of Gore using the House of Lords as his platform from which to ask for a royal commission on the ancient universities, although such an inquiry did not take place until after the First World War.[15] Price also includes in his list of Mansbridge's supporters, Canon Barnett, Dr.Cranage, Sir Alfred Hopkinson (a most influential supporter as he was at that time the Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University of Manchester), Sir Alfred Dale, Professor JHB Masterman (later Bishop of Plymouth), Joseph Owen (later to become one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools), A.H. Smith (later Master of Balliol), Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor H.H. Turner and the Reverend Hudson Shaw among the Oxford elite who supported Mansbridge's efforts and refers to support from the Cambridge local lectures syndicate through W.R. Rae and C.E. Wood who acted as working-class representatives on the WEA Executive Committee.[16] Fieldhouse comments that the Oxford reformers saw the WEA as "a safe beneficiary of their liberalism" and supports Jepson and Harrison in the belief that the Christian socialist

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[12] Kelly T A History of Adult Education in Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992) p.248

[13] Jackson T The Early Years of the WEA. WEA London undated leaflet.

[14] Harrison J.F.C. 1961 op.cit. p.264

[15] Jennings B. Albert Mansbridge and English Adult Education (Department of Adult Education University of Hull 1976) p.11-13

[16] Price T.W. The Story of the W.E.A. from 1903 to 1924 (London: The Labour Publishing Company Ltd.1924) p.17

philosophy of F.D. Maurice influenced many of the Oxford supporters of the WEA and that the idea of education being the route to social democracy was also influential in "shaping the development of the WEA.[17]

Being employed by the Co-Operative Wholesale Society, Mansbridge was well placed to observe at first hand both the desire for continuing education and in its provision the need for liaison between the Co-Operative Movement (which was more than willing to offer financial and practical support to its employees in their continuing education, whether this was in vocational or non-vocational subjects) and University Extension. His faith in the potential of working men and women to apply themselves to and benefit from continuing education was proved justified as he taught history and the principles of education to his colleagues, reinforcing in him the determination to provide continuing education which, unlike the University Extension Lectures, would be cost effective and, above all, democratic. Late in 1902 Mansbridge submitted an article on 'Co-operation, Trade Unionism and University Extension' to the University Extension Journal expounding his convictions and vision for adult working class education. The positive response to these articles led him to write two more in similar vein. Such was his conviction that, in 1903 after founding an Association of which just he and his wife were the founding members he, later that year, brought together a group of people, most of whom, according to Jennings,[18] were members of the Christian Economics Society which Mansbridge had founded also, to form "a provisional committee" of "co-operators and trade unionists".[19] He then contacted Philip Hartog in the Spring of 1903, outlining his "... suggestions with regard to an alliance between University Extension on the one hand and Co-operative and Labour organisations on the other".[20] Hartog was empathetic towards Mansbridge's vision

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[17] Fieldhouse 1996 op.cit. p.169 For discussion of F.D. Maurice's contribution to the philosophy of Christian Socialism see Reardon Bernard M.G. Religious Thought in the Victorian Age: A Survey from Coleridge to Gore (London: Longman 1995 second edition) pp.148-156. For its practical expression for the education of adults see Harrison J.F.C. A History of the Working Men's College 1854-1954 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1954)

[18] Jennings B op.cit. 1976 p.8

[19] Mansbridge A An Adventure in Working Class Education p.12 cited in Jennings loc.cit.

[20] Hartog's response to Mansbridge cited in Kelly Outside the Walls: Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1950) p.45

for working-class education and provided practical as well as moral support, having made an early assurance that he would be pleased to join the proposed Association. Mansbridge's formal announcement of the establishment of the Workers' Educational Association was made from the platform of a conference of Trades Union, Co-Operative and University Extension delegates that same year, with a stated aim to:

> ".. promote the higher education of working men primarily by the Extension of University Teaching, also (a) by the assistance of all working-class efforts of a specifically educational character (b) by the development of an efficient School Continuation System[21]

That university teaching should be available to working class people was the entire *raison d'etre* of Mansbridge's Association and its links with working class organisations was vital to its very being. Nonetheless, Mansbridge realistically accepted that the Association would be unable to remain an exclusively working class organisation and also that 'workingclassness' was hard to define. Roy Shaw, some sixty-three years after the establishment of the WEA, in his consideration of Adult Education and the Working Class, advises the Association to follow the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of 'worker' as "one who is employed for a wage, especially in manual or industrial work", supplemented by the WEA's 1948 interpretation of 'workers' as those people who are 'educationally under-privileged'.[22] 'One who is employed for a wage' would, of course, encompass artisans, clerical workers and some teachers. There is no reason to suspect that this was not the same definition as the one which Mansbridge subscribed to, but his concern to limit the number of teachers within the Association to twenty-five per cent of the membership has been well documented.[23] Harrison describes Mansbridge's roots as being ".. in the co-operative movement, not trade unionism" and attributes this reason in part to

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[21] Mansbridge A An Adventure in Working Class Education (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1920) p.20

[22] Shaw R 'Adult Education and the Working Class' in Studies in Adult Education Vol. 2. No.1. April 1970 p.7

[23] Fieldhouse 1996 op.cit. p.167 cites Mansbridge A. University Tutorial Classes (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1913) pp54-55; Mansbridge A.1920 op.cit. p.12; Raybould S.E. The WEA: The Next Phase (London: Workers' Educational Association 1949) pp38-39; Harrison J.F.C. Learning and Living 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1961) pp14-47

the fact that the WEA made "very little impact upon organised labour before the First World War".[24] Mansbridge's low expectations of the unions as providers of adult education was based on their poor history as educators and the militant among their ranks responded by turning "from the WEA to the Marxist Plebs League and Central Labour College".[25] The fact that the liberal education the Association offered "for its own sake and not because it has any direct bearing on [the student's] wage earning capacity", as a 1908 student described[26], was enthusiastically received by those whose full-time education was confined to that provided by compulsory schooling, would appear to indicate that the founders knew and targeted their prospective students with perspicacity.

Democratic from the beginning, the conference accepted the point made by women that 'Workers', rather than 'Working Men', would be a more appropriate term, hence the final naming in 1905 of the Association which had begun life with the title 'An Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men'. District committees were quickly established after the conference and the first branch of the Association was formed in Reading in the Autumn of 1904, with Derby, Rochdale and Ilford following suit in 1905.[27] 1906 saw the foundation of four branches in the South of England, one in the Midlands and three in the North and the first District Branch of the Association in Manchester.[28] The North Eastern District was established on 29th October 1910 and Ivan Corbett records[29] that the Chancellor of Durham University, Dean Kitchin, who had actively supported the movement from its inception, was its first Chairman, and that other academics who were part of that District were Dr.Hadow, the Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle, and Dr. Jevons, the

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[24] Harrison J.F.C. 1961 op.cit. p. 265

[25] ibid p.266

[26] 'Oxford and Working-Class Education Report' 1908 cited in Shaw R 'Adult Education the Working Class' in Studies in Adult Education Vol. 2. No.1. April 1970 p.9

[27] Mansbridge 1920 op.cit. p.17

[28] ibid. p.16

[29] Corbett I. So Noble an Institution: A History of the Workers' Educational Association Northern District 1910-80. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: WEA Northern District 1980) p.6

Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham. Wilson Clayton, who acted as Honorary Secretary to the District for the first few months, and W.R. Rae, Chairman of the Central Education Council of the Co-operative Union, represented the co-operative movement. By 1914 the North Eastern District was running twelve tutorial classes, had fifty affiliated organisations and seventy-two individual members.[30]

The North-Western District which was formed in 1906, was split in 1914 so that Yorkshire became a separate District and the North-Western District then encompassed large parts of Lancashire and some parts of Cheshire and Derbyshire.[31]

The Association was organised on a voluntary basis, financed in the main by voluntary contributions and individual members' subscriptions, and with affiliation fees charged to public bodies and affiliated organisations. Public lectures and the surplus from the sale of literature often added a little to branch funds. District funds were raised in a similar way and through fees from societies affiliated to the District. The National Association depended on annual subscriptions of affiliated bodies and from affiliation fees of Districts, as well as donations from individuals. Both branch and Districts were autonomous and self-supporting. [32]By 1906 the WEA had thirteen branches and by 1914, one hundred and seventy-nine WEA/University tutorial classes, with a total of 3,234 students. At that point it had affiliated some 2,555 societies, including 952 trade unions, trades councils and branches and 388 Co-operative Societies and other organisations, [33] such as the Working Men's Colleges, Ruskin College, The Working Women's Colleges, the National Council of Adult Schools and residential and non-residential settlements.[34]

Local branches were represented at the Central Council of the WEA by their District Council, which in turn was comprised of representatives of the local branches, affiliated societies and individual members. The Association was divided into nine

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[30] ibid p.1

[31] This was later to divide again. Certainly by 1926/7 there was a West Lancashire and Cheshire District. (See The Handbook and Directory of Adult Education 1928-1929 (London: H.F.W. Deane and Sons, The Year Book Press Limited 1929)p.157)

[32] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.217

[33] ibid. p39

[34] WEA Twelfth Annual Report and Statement of Accounts July 1st 1915 p.16

such Districts throughout England, Wales and Scotland. Included among the national organisations which were affiliated to the WEA were " ... a number of Trade Unions, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Union, the Education Committee of the National Adult School Union, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, the YMCA, universities and various other educational bodies".[35] Between 1906 and 1914 the number of affiliated societies increased from 283 to 2,555 and the number of individual members from 2,612 to 11,430.[36]

The first national conference of the WEA was held in 1905 and received one thousand delegates. Such was the immediate success of the WEA that by 1907 the Oxford Conference of Working Class and Educational Organisations approved the formation of an Oxford University and WEA Joint Committee through which to administer tutorial classes. The tutorial class movement is described by JFC Harrison as being that in which "...Mansbridge's ideal of the partnership of labour and learning found its most complete expression."[37]

Constructive criticism of the weaknesses in the University Extension Movement's organisation and selection of lectures was to offer the Oxford conference of 1907 an opportunity to ensure that they were not built in to the WEA system. At the conference, Mactavish, then a Portsmouth shipwright, later General Secretary of the WEA, delivered an impassioned speech denouncing the very middle-classness of University Extension provision. Addressing representatives of some two hundred organisations, he "...cut short a rather formal and donnish discussion..." in a manner which Harold Begbie describes as breathing "...the authentic spirit of democracy..." which foreshadowed "... the new order of things ..."[38] Defying the Victorian acceptance of the 'rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate', as depicted in the popular nineteenth century hymn, and stressing the mutual dependence of one class upon another, he proclaimed:

> "I am not here, therefore, as a suppliant for my class. I decline to sit at the rich man's gate praying for crumbs. I claim for my class

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[35] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.214

[36] ibid p.215

[37] Harrison J.F.C. 1961 op.cit. p.265

[38] Begbie H. Living Water (London: Headley Bros. n.d.) p. 192

> all the best of all that Oxford has to give. I claim it as a right - wrongfully withheld - wrong not only to us but to Oxford. ..... We want from Oxford a new science of national and international economics - a science that will teach us the true relationship between production and consumption .... To Oxford I say: Open wide your doors and take us in; we need you; you need us."[39]

In his biography of Mactavish, Ted Mooney maintains that education, apart from his own, was never a central motivation in his subject's life.[40] Nonetheless, MacTavish had much to say in his Conference speech about the failure of Oxford to meet the educational needs of working people:

> "Oxford has not given us of her best ... one of the reasons, ... why our University Extension lectures have not been successful is due to the fact that the average University lecturer is decidedly middle and upper class in his outlook."[41]

Similarly, readers of Plebs Magazine in 1909 were told that:

> "Oxford cannot rise above the height of its source. It cannot break away from the class to which it belongs. It cannot dispense with the trappings of a slave philosophy from which it draws its principles ...."[42]

The fear of slavery was evident also in 'an artisan's poem' which was reproduced in the same magazine in 1910, and in which the poet warns the working man against being " ... a slave to empty headed fools".[43] Even though considerable time had elapsed since the abolition of the slave trade in 1806 and its eventual formal ratification by Parliament in 1833, the metaphor was clearly still within the public consciousness and some social reformers among the middle-classes were obviously as sensitive to the parallel as were their working-class counterparts. The front cover of the Ancoats Recreation Winter Programme of 1910/11 carried the message:

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[39] ibid. p. 196

[40] Mooney Ted. J.M. Mactavish - The Man and His Ideas. (Liverpool Branch WEA 1979) p.3.

[41] Begbie H. op.cit. pp193-195

[42] Plebs Magazine Vol. I. No.2 March 1909 NCLC Publishing Society

[43] Peachey C.W. 'The Holiday' in Plebs Magazine Vol. II. No.4 May 1910 p.93 NCLC Publishing Society

> "You will do the greatest service to the state if you shall raise, not the roofs of the houses, but the souls of the citizens; for it is better that great souls should dwell in small houses, rather than for mean slaves to lurk in great houses".

Interestingly, Tawney, too, draws a parallel between the injustice of a narrow educational 'ladder' and the release of a percentage of slaves.[44] However, this narrow educational 'ladder' was beginning to broaden by 1910 as state provision for post-school education was beginning to address the need.

The report on Oxford and Working-class Education being the report of a Joint Committee of University and working-class representatives of the relation of the University to the higher education of workpeople, which was published in 1908 recommended that "the working class should have direct access to the university tutorial classes on the lines of those functioning at Rochdale, Longton and elsewhere, that provision should be made [at Ruskin] for students who had completed these courses satisfactorily at each college .... and as non-collegiate students, and that special two-year Diploma courses should be established in Economics and Political Science, for which the students should study".[45] The report also recommended that Oxford should actively support the establishment of tutorial classes and pay half their costs, and that they should be managed by a committee comprised equally of representatives of the University and working-class organisations. In this way local demand would determine the subjects to be studied through its local branch, which was made up of affiliated societies. University tutorial classes were designed to offer intensive periods of study and discussion within affordable costs, as opposed to the sometimes expensive and less intense university extension lecture courses which the WEA initially attempted to support. Through such study, students would be prepared to embark upon what the authors of the Oxford and Working-Class Education Report described as the "broad avenue along which intelligent workmen could proceed to Oxford".[46] Tutorial classes were intended to be a route to university education, not a

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[44] Tawney R.H. in his introduction to Price T.W. The Story of the Workers' Educational Association from 1903 to 1924. (London: Labour Publishing Company Limited 1924) p. 7

[45] Simon B Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart 1965) pp.313-314

[46] 'Oxford and Working-Class Education' Report cited in Bruce M. 'Oxford and

substitute for it. The value of the tutorial class was its size. Previously, extension lectures had attracted large audiences, often of several hundred people, which had made post-lecture discussion difficult, whereas tutorial classes of no more than thirty-two students facilitated more worthwhile post-lecture discussion.

Subjects should be chosen by students and taught by a lecturer appointed through the University Joint Committee. Social studies were the most popular subjects chosen by working students and it is interesting to note the rise in modern history and political science classes, nationally, during the years leading up to the First World War:[47]

	1907/8	**1908/8**	**1909/10**	**1910/11**	**1911/12**	**1912/13**	**1913/14**
Economic History and Economics	2	8	32	59	78	68	74
Political Science	-	-	-	4	3	13	10

The report had also suggested that twenty-four meetings, each of two hours duration should be held in each of the three years of the course and students would be expected to continue reading independently during the summer months when no classes were held. Textbooks, or even in some cases university library facilities, would be made available to tutorial class students, but where that was not possible the supply of books sometimes fell short of demand. Essays were to be submitted in each of the three years and tutorial support would be available to each individual student as required, although in practice within the confines of students' working hours and the peripatetic nature of the lectureships, this was often difficult to arrange.

Cardwell[48] notes that the first tutorial classes of 1909 which were run in connection with the WEA under the Cambridge Syndicate in Leicester, Portsmouth and Wellingborough, were on Economics and English Literature and Fieldhouse observes the manner in which grants from a government eager to welcome a "moderate political

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Working Class Education' Adult Education Vol.25 No.4 Spring 1953 p.275

[47] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.195

[48] Cardwell D.S.L. (ed) Artisan to Graduate (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1974) p.127

influence" which would avoid class conflict and facilitate "social harmony,"[49] enabled the WEA to build upon the most positive and "viable remnants" of University Extension, following its decline from 1914 to the early 1930s.[50] In so doing, the work also studies the partnership between the WEA and the Tutorial Class Movement, considering the role and composition of the Central Joint Advisory Committee; the pervading ideology of the movement; the effect of public funding and the nature and progress of the tutorial classes.[51] By the end of the 1913/14 academic year every university in England and Wales and the University Colleges of Nottingham and Reading, were conducting tutorial classes.[52] In the five academic years between 1909/10 and 1914/15 the number of tutorial classes throughout the country grew from 39 to 152.[53] Tutorial classes were often over-subscribed and many students had to take the shorter courses which the WEA branches organised instead.

Under regulations for evening and technical schools, tutorial class grants were originally based on hours of attendance, but as this was felt to compromise the fundamental educational ideals of the Association, the Central Joint Advisory Committee negotiated special regulations for tutorial classes, subject to the attainment of prescribed educational standards, which allowed a block grant of £30 (raised to £45 during the war) per session per class and a tutor's fee of £60 (minimum), exclusive of travelling expenses.[54] Most tutorial class teachers were appointed on a sessional basis, for one or more classes, even though many taught year upon year. Some taught one class only and some more than one. Where there was a shortfall between grant and expenses the branch would meet the deficit from its own funds, raised largely through class fees and subscriptions, with public lectures and sale of literature being other, peripheral, sources of income.

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[49] Fieldhouse 1996 op.cit. p.169

[50] ibid pp 201/202

[51] ibid pp 202 - 206

[52] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.192/3

[53] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.58 (Scotland's tutorial class movement, however, did not get under way to any serious extent until 1914.)

[54] Price T.W. 1924 op.cit. p.47/8

The WEA collaborated with university joint committees in the promotion, arrangement and organisation of the tutorial classes. By 1913 there were ten such committees, composed of equal numbers of University representatives and workpeople, at Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Durham, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Nottingham and Oxford and at Leeds Sheffield and Reading the WEA had some representation.[55] The Manchester Joint Committee had begun in 1909/10 with nine classes throughout its area and ran sixteen classes in 1913/14 with some three hundred and sixty-six students in attendance.[56]

Across the country the link was close between universities and WEAs, and it was not unusual to find WEA secretaries also providing similar support to joint committees.[57] Kelly's work demonstrates that in Manchester Hartog's support of the WEA was shared by that of Professor Tout and of Sir Alfred Hopkinson, the Vice-Chancellor of the newly constituted Victoria University of Manchester. The University Extension Committee appointed a representative to attend Association meetings and ran courses at WEA branches at concessionary prices, thanks largely to special grants from the University Council.

The Association also organised one-year classes for LEAs which were funded by the LEAs who would often receive a grant from the Board of Education. Board of Education grants were also sometimes available for specific classes which the WEA conducted itself, but no grants were generally made available to the Association directly from the Board.[58] Grants were often also available from the Gilchrist

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55 WEA Tenth Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, July 1st 1913 General Report of the Council p.12

56 Daniels G.W. 'Manchester and the WEA' in The WEA Education Year Book 1918 London 1918 p.303

57 The Final Report of 1919 op.cit. p.215 cites the General Secretary of the Association as one of the honorary secretaries of the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee; the Secretary of the Midland District of the WEA as also being one of the secretaries of the Birmingham University Joint Committee and the Yorkshire District Secretary as joint secretary of the Joint Committees of the Universities of Leeds and Sheffied.

58 Final Report 1919 ibid p.217

Education Trust, which had also formerly aided extension teaching. The total sums obtained during the period 1908 to 1913 were:[59]

	£
From Universities	17,440
From Board of Education	12,000
From Local Education Authorities	6,100
From sundry sources	2,000
	£37,540

At the Annual General Meeting of the Association which was held in 1908 WilliamTemple was President and Chairman; Mansbridge the General Secretary; W.J. Sharkey the Midland Secretary (until October of that year when he was succeeded by T.W. Price); and L.V. Gill and H.O.Meredith were Joint Secretaries. The years to 1914 were to bring the following developments:

1910 North East District formed with J.W. Lee as Secretary
1911 Western District formed with W.R. Straker as Secretary
Welsh District formed with John Thomas as Secretary
1912 London WEA Federation (which in 1913 became the London District) was established with H. Goodman as Secretary
1913 Eastern District formed with G.H. Pateman as Secretary
South Eastern District formed with E.W. Wimble as Secretary
1914 Yorkshire separated from the Manchester based North Western District

By 1914 there were, therefore, district organisations in every part of England, with the exception of the Cornish Peninsula.[60]

The seeds of the North-Western District had been sown in Manchester in 1904 when the Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University, Sir Alfred Hopkinson, had presided over a public meeting in the Whitworth Hall, to discuss demand for the work of the WEA in the area. Support from the University's Extension Committee and lecturers, such as Professors Chapman, Meredith and Tout, who had actively supported extension work, was crucial to the success of the Association in Manchester. The

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59 Final Report 1919 ibid p.197

60 Price T.W. 1924 op.cit. pp.41-43

University Council also provided financial support in order to subsidise courses to WEA branches. In Rochdale, for instance, such courses were offered to Sunday School teachers.[61] Prior to the First World War, social and economic subjects were very popular among WEA students[62] and in 1905/6 a six lecture course on 'Social Problems' by Manchester University's H.O. Meredith drew local audiences of around two hundred people.[63] In January 1908 Meredith's six lecture course on 'Wage Problems' covered the topics of General principles of Wages; Effect of Employment of Women on the general level of Wages; Effect of Competition by Alien Immigrants; Employment and Unemployment; Wages and Combination and Wages Boards and Wages Courts. Michael Sadler delivered an inaugural lecture on the 15th January, entitled 'Education and Unemployment'.[64]

The appointment as Extension Committee Secretary in 1908 of Harold Pilkington Turner, whose dedication to working-class education is well recorded, was of great significance to the success of the WEA in its early years. A collection of tributes to Turner, which was edited by Ross Waller and published in 1953[65], leaves the reader with no doubt as to the popularity, particularly locally, of a man who graduated from the Victoria University of Manchester in 1893 as a Bachelor of Law and went on to complete a BA in 1894, beginning to teach, part-time, at the University from 1904 (continuing until 1938) and completing an MA in 1907.

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[61] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.47

[62] The Final Report of 1919 (p. 217) points out that during the First World War matters of modern history, geography and international politics "became of supreme interest" and that at the cessation of hostilities students' interests turned to political science, economics and history in the consideration of "post-war problems and questions of reconstruction".

[63] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.47

[64] Syllabus dated 8.1.1908 headed: 'Manchester University Extension Lectures - Workers' Educational Association: Manchester Branch'.

[65] Waller RD (ed) Harold Pilkington Turner: Memories of His Work and Personality (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1953) Lees' Mind, Body and Spirit (London: National Council of YMCAs 1996) p.86 also refers to Turner's activity on behalf of the Manchester and Salford Blind Aid Society from 1900 to 1939 and reference is also made in that work to Turner's pioneering of the provision of cultural and educational facilities for prisoners at Strangeways Gaol, Manchester.

Turner appears to have been one of the last and most selfless examples of nineteenth-century liberal-minded philanthropists, whose total commitment to the edification of those less advantaged than themselves led to the acceptance by educationists and politicians of the educability of the working classes. Waller describes him as being a "..universally respected figure in his young and growing University .... one of the most admirable figures in English adult education in the first decades of ... [the twentieth] century."[66] Turner's dedicated and enthusiastic presence at the Victoria University, spanning as it did the period at the end of the nineteenth century, which saw University Extension wane, and the beginning of the next century when the work of the Workers' Educational Association waxed, was vital to the continuity of provision of high quality adult education in Manchester. Turner's concern with adult education had clearly been with him at least as early as his own undergraduate days, as his friend and colleague, Woodroofe Fletcher testifies to his having "..begun to discuss the possibility of a Manchester [Settlement] ... before Dr Ward's address ... [of] October 1894 which dwelt on the social responsibilities of the University."[67] Indeed, contributors to Waller's work from each of the agencies with which Turner had contact, pay tribute to his consistent kindness and altruism, characteristics which clearly played an important part in the healthy liaison between the city's main providers of adult education. Ernest Green, Secretary to the Yorkshire North WEA and, later,

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[66] Waller 1953 op.cit. p. ix

[67] Certainly when Dr Ward came to chair the meeting in 1895 with Canon Barnett and Sir John Gorst at which the decision to establish a Settlement was formally ratified, Turner's obvious commitment to the idea was such that he was elected joint Honorary Secretary of the Settlement Committee, along with Woodroofe Fletcher. This commitment to the work of the Settlement was proven in very practical terms as he led poetry and reading classes, helped with the provision of a Poor Man's Lawyer service and for ten years presided over the Toynbee Debating Society, the achievements of which are lauded by J.J. Mallon in his tribute to the work of Turner (See Waller op.cit.). Discussing the most topical social and political issues of the day, the Society brought together many leading figures of the age such as the Pankhursts, G.K. Chesterton and ".. the great ones ..." of the University and the Manchester Guardian. Mallon describes the Society as " ... a preparatory school for public life from which working men ... passed to wider forums"· However, Turner's involvement at the Settlement was not exclusively with the provision of intellectual stimulus. Mrs Mary Tout (the wife of the Settlement Executive Committee's Chairman, Professor Tout) praises his efforts for having "... worked like a Trojan in helping Miss Crompton to make the Settlement rooms the fair house of her dreams" (ibid p.18) and Waller comments that "He seems to have had some part in everything that went on". (ibid p.11)

General Secretary of the WEA, remembers Turner as "... the kindest and most generous man I ever knew". This of a man who "In his 80th year ..." was still reading the WEA journal, The Highway, and encouraging the work of the Association to which he had made such a valuable contribution.[68]

In terms of his managerial contribution, Professor Tawney speaks of Turner's nurturing of the "feeble plant" which was the WEA prior to 1914, of his doing "more than his fair share of the dull labour committees" and "more than any other single person to establish the cordial relations between it and the University of Manchester which have been among the happiest chapters of its history ..." Likewise, Professor Lester Smith who, "for many years" was the Director of Education in Manchester attested to Turner's ".. inspired service to adult education" [69]and C.F. Hickson, a contemporary Secretary to the Cambridge Extra-Mural Delegacy said that he retained "... the highest regard for the services Turner rendered to the Central Joint Advisory Committee".[70]

Turner's extensive administrative experience can only have stood him in good stead when working with other agencies, such as the Extension Committee, which he served as Secretary from 1908, and in his later appointments to the Board of Education's Adult Education Advisory Committee, in his Directorship of Extra-Mural Studies (from 1926 to 1938), and as Chairman of the North Western District of the WEA, which continued from 1928 until 1943, when he retired at the age of 75.

Turner was present, by invitation, at the Conference of Representatives of Working-class Organisations and Members of the University on the Formation of Tutorial Classes for Working People which was held at the University on Monday 26th April 1909. Also invited were D.J. Shackleton MP, the representative of the Oxford Tutorial Classes Joint Committee; Mansbridge, as WEA Secretary and E.C. Gates, Secretary to the Manchester Branch of the WEA. Those formally recorded as Conference Representatives were:

Mr. E. Booth (representing the Co-operative Union)

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[68] ibid p.46

[69] ibid p.40

[70] ibid p. 42

Mr. L.V. Gill, Mr. Richardson Campbell (representing the National Conference of Friendly Societies)

Mr. W. Mellor (representing the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils)

T. Greenall (representing the Miners' Federation of Lancashire and Cheshire)

The Vice-Chancellor, Professors Alexander, Chapman,[71] Tout and Weiss and Mr.Hickling.

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[71] According to the Dictionary of National Biography from Earliest Times to 1985: (Oxford University Press 1992 Vol. I. p.523/5), Sidney John Chapman was educated at Manchester Grammar School, Owens College and London University, before going on to take parts one and two of the moral sciences tripos at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the academic year of 1897/8. In 1901 he was appointed Stanley Jevons Professor of Political Economy and Commerce at the Victoria University of Manchester, a post which he held until 1918. During his seventy years of life Professor Chapman distinguished himself in the service of the country through his work in Manchester and in his work for H.M. Government. In 1915 he joined the Board of Trade and from 1919 to 1927 was Permanent Secretary, relinquishing that position when he took over the role of Chief Economic Advisor to the Government. Between 1932 and 1939 he served on the Import Duties Advisory Committee and during the years of the Second World War chaired the Arc-Lamp Carbon Pool and was Vice-Chairman of the Central Price Regulation Committee. He was awarded Commander of (the Order of) the British Empire in 1917; the Companion of the Bath in 1919 and Knight Commander of the Bath in 1920. His published works include The Lancashire Cotton Industry (1904); Work and Wages (three volumes 1904 - 1914) and Outlines of Political Economy (1911). Lees in The Development of Adult Education in Manchester from c.1830s to 1914 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester 1994) p.345 footnote 205, refers to Chapman's giving assistance to educational activities at Ancoats and taking a prominent part in the formation of a body of associates who had a voice in the organisation of the Settlement there, before going to lecture in Cardiff in 1899, and points out that upon his return to Manchester, in 1901, Chapman also joined the management committee of Manchester's Ruskin Hall. In March 1899, the University Extension Journal (Vol.IV p.96) issued the following notice:

Appointment of New Lecturer - Mr SYDNEY J. CHAPMAN, M.A. (Lond.), B.A.(Camb.), Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, Jevons Student of the Owens College, Manchester, has been appointed lecturer in Political Economy and Social Science. Mr.Chapman recently obtained the Cobden Essay Prize at the University of Cambridge and the Warburton Prize at Owens College.

In the midst of all his work at Manchester, Professor Chapman also made time to support the Ancoats Recreation Movement by giving Sunday afternoon lectures on The Economist's Ideal on 16th November 1902; Social Outlook on the 11th December 1904 and Justin McCarthy's Modern England on the 31st January 1904. In addition,

Mr. D.J. Shackleton, MP, the representative of the Oxford tutorial Classes Joint Committee; Mr. Albert Mansbridge, the Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association; Mr. Edgar C. Gates, Secretary to the Manchester Branch of the W.E.A; and Mr. H.Pilkington Turner, Secretary of the University Extension Committee, were present by invitation.

Mr. Shackleton " ... spoke of the growth of the movement and of the increasing desire among working men and women for higher education." He said that the universities should be " ... neglecting their opportunities if they failed to respond to those desires" and suggested that a joint committee be constructed "so that it commanded the confidence of the workers themselves ..." and suggested that "... its usefulness would be increased if a member of the University were elected to the Chair". It was resolved that "a Joint Committee consisting in the first instance of fourteen members, seven being representatives of the Workers' Organisations and seven of the University, be constituted to draw up courses of study suitable for Work People"[72] and the Committee approved the formation of " ... Tutorial Classes in Manchester and such other towns as may be determined".[73] Classes of not less than twenty-five students were to run for three years and comprise approximately seventy-two two-hour lessons and students were to produce thirty-six essays. In this way, the tutorial classes would offer what one who is sometimes claimed to be the originator of the tutorial class system as early as 1900, Canon Barnett, had described as "far more thorough and systematic teaching than is possible in a course of lectures"[74]

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he also joined forces with KTS Dockray during the academic year of 1902/3 to support the combined effort of the Art Museum, the Manchester Settlement and Ruskin Hall, in lecturing on the subject of Distribution - with Special Reference to Wages, as can be seen from the Ancoats Recreation Movement Syllabus 1902/3.

[72] From that point onward the Committee worked in co-operation with the University Extension Committee to organise tutorial classes until in 1920 that Committee appointed an External Registrar to oversee the development of extra-mural work and re-modelled itself as an Extra-Mural Committee.

[73] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 26th April 1909

[74] Canon Barnett: His Life, Work and Friends by his wife, vol.1. p.338 cited in the Final Report of 1919 op.cit. p.32. More recent research supports the view of Toynbee Hall as being the venue of the first university tutorial class, arranged by the University of London Extension Board and given on 9th October 1900 by R.E.S. Hart on 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries'. See Lowe R.A. 'Some Forerunners of R.H.Tawney's Longton Tutorial Class' in the History of Education Vol.1. No.1 January 1972 p.43

A meeting between the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Chapman, Edward Fiddes and Professor Tout was held on the 19th July 1909 and the following list of subjects and lecturers was approved:[75]

Economics	Mr Knoop to take 1 class Mr Hallsworth to take 2 or 3 classes
General History and Economic History	Mr Arthur Jones to take 1 class Rev. A.H. Baker Mr. Hertz Professor Pares Mr. Mark Hovell was also mentioned as a possible lecturer
English Literature	The Rev. W.L. Schroeder
Geology	Mr. Hickling

In order to provide for working-class people, and in spite of the considerable expense involved, fees were kept to a practical minimum with the aid of grants from the Board of Education and primary sources show that objectives were clearly aimed at providing education according to local need. Three-year tutorial classes offered higher education with clearly defined objectives and kept the choice of both subjects and tutors in the hands of the students. The Victoria University's 'Prospectus of Pioneer University Extension Lectures, drawn up by a Joint Committee Representing the University and Organisations of Workpeople', clearly describes the origin and purpose of that scheme, designed to provide 'Regular Courses of Instruction for Workpeople', as being to meet "The growing desire on the part of workpeople for closer relationship with Universities.." in order that "... the University may be made of greater service to the workpeople of Manchester and other towns". It states that "The theory is that the workpeople in the classes will be not so much pupils as co-operators with the Tutors".

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[75] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Senate Representatives' Meeting 1909-1936: Minutes of meeting held on 19th July 1909

The Committee acknowledged the depth of commitment of adult working students who had also, in addition to undertaking a three-year course of study, to cope with the implications ".. lack of previous educational opportunities, long hours, irregularity and insecurity of employment, and other features of working-class life ..." and invited intending students, "with the approval of the Joint Committee ..." to "... decide the subject they wish[ed] to study, and the day and time of meeting". The classes would, where conditions allowed "..be open both to men and to women, but if desired, special classes for men or for women only .." would be arranged. Suggested subjects of study were Economics, Political Science, Economic History, Natural History, General History and English Literature.[76] Local organisations were required to pay £40 per session of twenty-four meetings for each class, which would include the correction of essays, and to provide accommodation for the classes. The University undertook to provide the services of tutors and a supply of books for reference. Grants from the Joint Committee for books for the Summer session of 1909 was not to exceed £10 per centre.[77] In February 1910 provision was made for individual fees to be made to tutors of £42 per session for classes in Manchester and Salford and the immediate district, and £48 for each class held at centres which must be reached by train[78]. Grants were available to the Committee from the Board of Education, Educational Trusts and "Local Sources", such as LEAs, Co-operative Societies, Trades Councils, Trade Unions, Friendly Societies.[79] Locally determined fees charged to students were expected to be "quite moderate, probably not more than a

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[76] The Victoria University of Manchester Prospectus of Pioneer University Extension Lectures and Tutorial Classes pp 1-6. n.d.

[77] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Senate Representatives' Meeting 1909-1936: Minutes of meeting held on 19th July 1909.

[78] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Senate Representatives' Meeting 1909-1936: Minutes of meeting held on 25th February 1910. **N. B.** The Final Report of 1919 cites the lowest salary paid in England and Wales at that time as being £60 and the highest £80 per annum per class, with the average fee charged to students approximately 2s.6d. per session. (p.197)

[79] The Educational Branch of Crompton Co-Operative Society Limited allocated a sum of £100 which it had received from Lancashire County Council under the terms of the Technical Instruction Act to the cost of a course of eight Extension Lectures on Chemistry delivered by Philip Hartog of the Victoria University "To the Public of Crompton and District". (Crompton Co-Operative Society Limited leaflet - undated)

shilling to half-a-crown per session". Students were also required to provide their own text books and writing paper.[80]

Rochdale's Saturday afternoon tutorial classes, which began on January 25th 1908, were funded by a grant of £300 from New College to the Oxford University Extension Delegacy and were tutored by RH Tawney; Longton's classes ran on a Friday evening, from the 24th January 1908, and each venue attracted some thirty-eight students who were committed to an initial two-years of study, creating a "wonderful corporate spirit" with their mixture of political and religious viewpoints.[81] Not only was the educational ground fertile at Rochdale and at Longton, but it had been well prepared at both sites by the Oxford University Extension Centres there, in particular through the enthusiastic and inspirational teaching of the Reverend W Hudson Shaw. Similarly, R.H. Tawney, who taught the first tutorial classes at both Longton and Rochdale, has been described as "a devoted teacher of genius who shared the social ideals for which the classes stood".[82] Bernard Jennings notes that Tawney's "first two tutorial classes, at Longton and Rochdale, had a lower proportion of manual workers than the national average, mainly because many of the students had selected themselves through attending a series of university extension courses", having previously pointed out that "nearly two-thirds of the tutorial class students were manual workers ... twenty per cent ... clerks and post office workers ... About nine per cent ... teachers, the only significant middle class group".[83]

The Oxford University extension lectures had inspired students such as Edward Cartwright,[84] who was the Secretary of the tutorial classes at Longton and had formed

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80 The Victoria University of Manchester Pioneer Lectures Prospectus op.cit. p3.

81 Price 1924 op.cit. p.34

82 Smith H.P. 'A Tutorial Class Makes History' in Adult Education: A Quarterly Review Vol.31 No.4 Spring 1959 p.272. Tawney is generally considered to have taught for the WEA the first university tutorial classes at Longton and Rochdale. However, R.A. Lowe's article in the History of Education (1972) op.cit. pp43-57 cites what he considers to be earlier experiments along similar lines in 1900 and 1903 arranged by the University of London Extension Board and concludes that Tawney's reputation as a pioneer might be somewhat overstated.

83 Jennings B 1979 op.cit. p.16

84 Cartwright was also a clerk in Longton County Borough's Education Department. See Scrimgeour C. Fifty Years A-Growing: The History of the North Staffs. District of the Workers' Educational Association. (WEA North Staffordshire 1974) p.4

the Longton Extension Students' Guild, to promote continuing education within the coalfields of the Potteries. Cartwright had a desire "to bring higher education of a humanistic type to those who had hitherto lain outside its range"[85] with a view to enabling working men to have a healthy perspective of their place in society and making a contribution to that society. Through this kind of enthusiasm the Longton branch, in 1911, began to work in co-operation with the chief instructor of mining for North Staffordshire in introducing liberal education, rather than the more traditional technical education, to mine workers in remote parts of North Staffordshire. Having heard from R.H. Tawney, who was the tutorial class tutor at that time, a joint meeting of representatives of the mining villages and the tutorial class resolved at a meeting held on 27th May 1911 that:

> "(a) ... a scheme be formulated for the promotion of higher education in the mining villages in North Staffordshire, and that this meeting be formed into a committee to carry the movement into successful operation; and
>
> (b) That the movement be affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association."[86]

Thus was The North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement formalised and affiliated to the WEA. Classes were held fortnightly to accommodate shift patterns and generally ran for and hour and a half, rather than the usual tutorial class time of two hours, with the final half-hour or so taken up with questions and answers and discussion. The average size of established classes in the District was of twenty students, some seventy per cent of whom were miners, and classes were often formed following single lectures which were given "for educational propaganda purposes"[87] Classes were taught on a voluntary basis by tutorial class students, some university extension students and other interested volunteers. The Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee Final Report of 1919[88] describes eight of the first twelve

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[85] Letter from E.S. Cartwright 4th August 1911 cited in West L. 'The Tawney Legend Re-examined' in Studies in Adult Education Vol.4. No.2 October 1972 p.115

[86] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.296

[87] ibid p.299/300

[88] ibid p.299

teachers in these centres as being students of the Longton Class whose occupations were:

1 miner; 1 colliery weighman
1 potter's engineman
1 potter's decorator
1 railway booking clerk
1 elementary school teacher
1 secretary; 1 municipal clerk

and of whom two were women. Being taught in classes rather than through lectures in the manner of university extension teaching, met the need for open discussion on topics chosen by the class members. Notwithstanding the academic difficulties of working with students who possessed poor literacy skills and the practical difficulties of poor communications in such remote areas prior to 1914, twenty-four centres with a total of three hundred students, were operating in the District by that date.[89] The 1919 Final Report records that standards of teaching were good and preparation was obviously done with serious commitment, despite the long working days of the student-teachers and the work which they had to do towards their own study in the Longton tutorial classes.[90] Two such student-teachers, a potter's thrower and a female elementary school teacher, were selected by their fellow students to apply for three years' full time study at Oxford University.[91] Having completed his study at Balliol College, the former potter's thrower went on to teach Oxford tutorial classes in Staffordshire and Derbyshire and the elementary school teacher went on from St.Hilda's Hall to work in welfare and education within a factory in Birmingham. From

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[89] North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement 3rd Annual Report 1913-14 cited in West L 1972 op.cit. p.116

[90] West 1972 ibid p.114 cites the "perhaps exceptional" example of one student, Will Morris, who found time to lecture to and support members of a miners' class, despite working a total of 1,937.5 hours during the 26 weeks of the tutorial class academic year. Another example cited in the report (p.196) is of a student who gave seventy-seven lectures in one winter "taking complete responsibility for four classes and submitting his notes beforehand to his tutor for correction", but it is unclear whether or not this was in the Potteries.

[91] The 1913/14 Annual Report of the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes (p.7) reported that these students were working well, as was the student from Leicester who had a gone to Cambridge.

ten centres catering for two hundred students in 1911/12 the North Staffordshire District increased its provision to twenty-four centres in 1914, with a total of five hundred and twenty students.

However, Linden West, in an article entitled 'The Tawney Legend Re-examined' proposes that alongside the "increasing improvement of extension work at Longton before 1904", the role of the Social Democratic Federation played a significant part in the success of tutorial classes at Longton and suggests that these factors "have been either underestimated or ignored".[92] Citing Cartwright's groundwork as a major precondition for Tawney's continued success, West goes on to describe the "important role" of the Social Democratic Federation, in "ensuring the establishment of the tutorial class experiment". As well as providing evidence to illustrate the tutorial classes' ability to attract political and union activists, West also challenges the notion that "the Tutorial Class consisted primarily of industrial workers", stating categorically that "This is not true" and offering the following evidence from the first register:

> "Gardener; Student; Railway agent; Plumber; Stationer; Clothier; Housewife; Clerk; elementary school teachers (17); Invoice agents (2); Office worker; Pottery thrower; Accounts clerk; Articled clerk; Pottery decorator; Colliery clerk; Librarian; Miller's agent; Blanket maker; Miner; Backer (collector); Grocer; Clerk in Holy Orders." [93]

In an area where, as Tawney pointed out, "Teachers, elementary and secondary, are often the children of work-people and marry them ..."[94] the Longton social composition cannot be said to have been typical of the social composition of tutorial classes throughout the country.

In Yorkshire, as in Staffordshire and elsewhere, it was the enthusiasm of individuals, initially in this case of Arthur Greenwood, an Economics tutor with Leeds University and George Thompson, a carpenter and Socialist, who went on to become an active supporter of the WEA throughout most of his life, which was a significant factor in the success of the tutorial classes. Harrison attributes the fact that the work there flourished as it did to Thompson's contribution to the WEA in Yorkshire.[95]

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[92] Linden R.W. 1972 op.cit. p.106

[93] ibid p.108/11

[94] ibid p0.109

[95] Harrison JFC 1961 op.cit. p.290

Thompson had been a member of the tutorial class in Halifax in 1909 and was employed as organiser for the Association in Yorkshire in 1913, before going on to become District Secretary from the formation of the District in 1914 to 1923 and again from 1929 to 1945.

The WEA's Leeds branch was established on 20th April 1907 with Mansbridge, a local MP, and the Chairman of the Education Committee, present at the inaugural meeting, and with " ... the Co-operative Society, the Trades Council and various Labour clubs and friendly societies, and several educational associations" represented in the public gathering.[96] In keeping with the aims of the WEA in general, the Leeds branch wished to "arouse among the workers an interest in higher education and to direct their attention to the facilities for studies of interest to workers which may hitherto have been overlooked, and to express the needs of the workers in regard to education".[97] As in Manchester, in Leeds also there had been many forerunners to the WEA, providing a plethora of adult education classes both vocational and recreational. What the WEA was to provide, however, was distinctive in both its non-political and non-vocational nature. Liberal study of a high academic standing was the WEA's hallmark and Harrison has demonstrated that the mix of university, lower middle-class and working-class presence in the Leeds branch from its beginning was central to its overall success in the early years as a co-ordinator of existing educational provision.[98] However, by 1909 the Leeds branch had begun to organise home study circles. In other parts of Yorkshire tutorial classes were running from 1909, but it was not until 1911 that Leeds' students were offered that facility and it was taken up with great enthusiasm by a blend of manual workers, with trades union and political interests, and "housewives, teachers and professional men".[99] In 1912 another tutorial class was established at the Swarthmore Settlement and attracted a similar combination of students as the Leeds class.

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[96] ibid. p.277

[97] Yorkshire Evening News 14th March 1907 cited in Harrison 1961 ibid p.278

[98] Harrison 1961 op.cit. pp280/281

[99] ibid p.284

Throughout the tutorial class movement, nationally, science classes were less in demand than classes in other subjects. The Final Report of 1919[100] notes that, in addition to the students' more natural inclination to study subjects which were more relevant to their daily lives, science teachers of the required calibre were not as easy to find as teachers of Arts and Humanities subjects and an additional problem was posed for science classes in respect of laboratory space and equipment.

Whilst the situation regarding joint tutorial classes was progressing in Manchester as well as in Leeds, the arrangements for them were not without difficulties. When a preliminary report of the work of its classes was considered by the Joint Committee in December 1909, Professor Weiss explained that because of the impossibility of laboratory work for science class students, " ... the three years scheme had been arranged to deal with various branches of Natural History and would cover in the first year botany, and in the second Geology, and probably in the third the evolution of races and man". It was also suggested " ... that Physiology might be taken in the third years course". The WEA's appreciation of the University's provisional class in Literature was also expressed at the meeting.[101]

The University Settlement at Ancoats and the Co-operative Union Headquarters in Manchester hosted economics classes, drawing attendances at each of an average of twenty to twenty-five students.[102] Within the nine tutorial classes held in the Manchester area in the session 1909/10, the occupational composition was:[103]

	men	women
Textile trades	90	23
Clerks, warehousemen, etc.	67	2
Metal trades	33	
Teachers	9	14
Shopkeepers	22	
Managers and Overlookers	13	

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100 Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.194

101 Minutes of the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes 14th December 1909

102 Manchester University Tutorial Classes: First Annual Report 1909-10 cited in Lees 1994 op. cit. p.409

103 Kelly op.cit. 1950 p.54

Cabinet Makers and Joiners	8	
Insurance Agents	8	
Dressmakers and Milliners		5
Printing trade	3	1
Men servants	4	
Commercial travellers	4	
Leather workers	4	
Shoemakers and cloggers	3	
Building trades	2	
Manufacturers	1	
Farmers	1	

In 1911/12 it was given as:[104]

Clerks, Telegraphists, etc.	65
Textile Workers	99
Miners and Quarrymen	4
Teachers	22
Metal Workers	45
Printers	8
Engineers, etc.	3
Shop Assistants	21
Women working at home	7
Carpenters and Joiners	9
Building Trades	7
Tailors and Dressmakers	9
Insurance Agents, etc.	6
Labourers	1
Boot and Shoe Trades and Leather workers	3
Warehousemen	4
Miscellaneous	20

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104 The Third Annual Report of the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes for the Session 1911-12. London 1913 p.14

Throughout the Manchester area in 1911/12 there ran five classes in Economic History; six in Economics; and one each in Natural History, English Literature and Modern History.[105]

Despite the original course requirement of thirty-six essays, by the end of the 1911/12 academic year Manchester University's Joint Committee had resolved that:

> " ... 60 per cent of attendances and the writing of 18 essays during a three years' Course be ordinarily considered the minimum standard of satisfaction for granting certificates to Students, but that doubtful cases may be submitted by the Tutors to the Committee."[106]

It was also felt, after a general conference of the committee, that after completion of the three year tutorial course arrangements should be available to enable students to continue their studies either through continued contact with and advice from members of the University staff; or through the provision of a further three year course, or a special fourth year class; or, "for exceptional students", access to "special facilities" at the University.[107] Tutors had been asked in 1911 to "devote half an hour about once a month to the discussion of essays in class and if possible to arrange for the private discussion of essays with individual students for an hour to an hour and a half about once a month".[108]

Students who distinguished themselves in the optional examinations at the end of a three year course received an endorsed certificate to that effect and those who showed special aptitude were granted special facilities for attending evening or other courses of study convenient for them. In deciding the merit of such students, the Joint Committee [109] took account of:

1. The work done by the students and of their capacity to profit by

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[105] ibid. p.11

[106] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 1st May 1912 Resolution (1)

[107] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 1st May 1912

[108] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 1st March 1911.

[109] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 19th December 1911

more advanced study.

2. The character and earnestness of the student.

3. The likelihood that they will use their education in some public and educational service.

During the academic year of 1911/12 discussions took place, after consideration of methods elsewhere, about the manner in which the University's library facilities could be made available to Tutorial Class students, where appropriate, and on 6th November 1912 library facilities were granted.[110]

1912/13 saw the inauguration of classes for History and Economic History, which attracted an average of more than twenty students each.[111] The English Literature and Medieval History classes which were introduced in 1913/14 drew a slight smaller audience averaging fifteen students. It is interesting to note that four female students were among that number.[112] This reflected the increase in numbers of female students attending tutorial classes nationwide. Nationally, in 1912/13 there were five hundred and fifty female students, compared with two thousand six hundred and twenty-six males students, but when the number of male students had fallen because of conscription and life loss to one thousand six hundred and eighty-one in 1917/18 the number of female students had risen to one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine.[113] In Manchester, after an initial increase following the first year of tutorial classes, the number of tutorial classes held was fairly consistent until the outbreak of war as the following table shows. Numbers of students, as shown beneath the figures for classes, fluctuated, but the general trend was upwards:

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[110] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes of meeting held on 6th November 1912

[111] Manchester University Tutorial Classes: Annual Report 1912/13 cited in Lees 1994 p.409

[112] Manchester University Tutorial Classes: Annual Report 1913/14 cited in Lees 1994 loc.cit.

[113] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.191

1909/10	1910/11	1911/12	1912/13	1913/14
9	13	14	15	17
299	380	348	402	366

1914/15	1915/16	1916/17	1917/18	1918/19
17	13	8	12	11
317	231	146	360	-

By way of comparison, the figures for the other major providers for the organisation of tutorial classes are as follows (it should be noted that Cambridge was not a major provider of these classes);[114]

1909/10	London	5	Oxford 12	Total number of classes in the U.K.	39
1910/11	London	16	Oxford 14	Total number of classes in the U.K.	72
1911/12	London	22	Oxford 17	Total number of classes in the U.K.	102
1912/13	London	26	Oxford 17	Total number of classes in the U.K.	117
1913/14	London	30	Oxford 12	Total number of classes in the U.K.	145
1914/15	London	26	Oxford 16	Total number of classes in the U.K.	155
1915/16	London	21	Oxford 11	Total number of classes in the U.K.	121
1916/17	London	22	Oxford 10	Total number of classes in the U.K.	99
1917/18	London	19	Oxford 11	Total number of classes in the U.K.	121
1918/19	London	24	Oxford 12	Total number of classes in the U.K.	153

Attendance at classes was commendably high, in view of the long, and usually physically demanding, working days of most students and the demands of shift work, and sometimes the different pressures brought to bear by unemployment. In the one hundred and forty-five classes during the academic year of 1913/14 thirty-nine classes recorded attendances of 90% or more:[115]

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[114] ibid. p.192; and for Manchester student numbers the WEA Education Year Book 1918 op.cit. p.303

[115] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.196

90%	and over	39 classes
89-85%	and over	51 classes
84-80%	and over	28 classes
79-75%	and over	9 classes
74-70%	and over	7 classes
under 70%		3 classes
No returns		8 classes

Particular testimony to the success of the early tutorial classes in Manchester is that of a factory worker, identified by Harold Begbie as A Manchester Socialist, who, orphaned at the age of fourteen and trying to raise his five younger siblings on a wage of six shillings per week plus a parish grant of seven shillings and sixpence per week, became "angry with society" in its failure to respond to the obvious plight of poorly paid employees of wealthy capitalists. Having taken himself through a study of Socrates and read the publications of the Rationalist Press Association and the work of Ruskin, this workman went on to attend University Extension Lectures and to become a member of the first tutorial class of the WEA in Manchester. Through these classes he met R.H. Tawney, an encounter which he describes as "the luck of my life",[116] and went on to win a scholarship to the pre-war Germany of 1909, which confirmed in him a belief in the value of democracy and egalitarian education and the danger of the lack of either within society. It was the provision of such educational opportunity for working-class adults and the influence of those, like Tawney, who were committed to it which enabled so many previously ill-educated people to widen their understanding of society in such a way and to demand better and earlier educational provision for the succeeding generations. Nonetheless, in the period under review, those receiving such education comprised only a small proportion of the working classes as a whole, being drawn mainly from either the lower middle classes or from amongst the skilled artisan element among the working classes.

Mansbridge, as the WEA's founder took a personal interest in the activities of Manchester's Joint Committee. He wrote to them in February 1910[117] suggesting the possibility of the recognition of preparatory teachers for provisional classes and met at the end of May, 1911, with Mr Gill[118] and the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and

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[116] Begbie H. op.cit. pp104-113

[117] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 16th February 1910

[118] As no initials are appended to Mr Gill's name it is unclear whether this is L.V.Gill

Professors Burrows, Carpenter and Chapman and Dr. Hickling, who were the Senate's Representatives, to discuss the work of the session then drawing to an end and to make arrangements for the 1911/12 session. The following day the same people met with Messrs Booth, Mellor and Turner and resolved to "make a grant if possible not exceeding £10" towards the expenses of students from the Manchester classes travelling to Oxford for the summer classes. The question of a summer school to be held in Manchester was first raised at that meeting and Professor Chapman was asked to attend the existing summer classes and to make a report on the work.[119] On 14th February 1912 the University of Manchester's Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes approved a report on arrangements for a Summer School to be held in Manchester on the Saturdays of 8th, 15th, and 22nd June.[120] The syllabus for the Summer School was:

Saturday June 8th:
3.30pm Professor Sydney J. Chapman MA, The University, Manchester
'The Theory of Wages'

6.30pm Professor W.M. Geldart M.A., B.C.L., Oxford University
'Trades Unions and the Law'

Saturday June 15th:
3.30pm H.M. Hallsworth Esq., M.A., M.Sc. Lecturer in Economics,
Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne
'The Economic Progress of the last 70 years' (with diagrams)

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of the National Conference of Friendly Societies who had been at the meeting of 26th April 1909 which discussed the formation of tutorial classes, or Mr Conrad Gill who joined the Extension staff as Economics Lecturer in 1911.

[119] Extension students had previously been able to attend the traditional Oxford and Cambridge summer schools, as discussed earlier, and from 1903 summer meetings at the ancient universities had included WEA members. In July 1910, however, Oxford had hosted the first WEA summer school, which had been attended by eighty-nine students. In 1912 Reading University College also held a summer school which attracted only forty students and was discontinued because of financial difficulty, but 1913 saw a successful six week summer school in Bangor, for Liverpool, Manchester and the University College of North Wales, which in 1914 was extended to seven weeks; a two week summer school in Cambridge and a two week school in Durham which was, the following year, extended to four weeks. Price T.W. 1924 op.cit. p.48

[120] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 14th February 1912 Item 4.

6.30pm H.M. Hallsworth Esq.,
'The Minimum Wage Question'

Saturday June 22nd:
3.0pm Professor S.J. Chapman
'Labour Problems'

4.0pm Professor Alexander, M.A., Ll.D., The University, Manchester
'Custom, Right, Democracy'

5.30pm The Tutorial Class students will be entertained to Tea by the Joint Committee, to be followed immediately afterwards by a short address by Professor R.M. Burrows, D.Litt., The University, Manchester.

6.30pm Professor G. Unwin, B.A., The University, Manchester.
'Social Cohesion'

The Vice-Chancellor was expected to preside at the first and last lectures.[121]

The classes offered during 1912/13 were:[122]

4th year	Chadderton	Natural Sciences (special class)
3rd year	Ashton	Economics.
	Bacup	Economics
	Leigh	Economics
2nd year	Salford	Economics
	Burnley	Economics

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121 Syllabus to be found in Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 1st May 1912.

122 Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes of meeting held on 6th November 1912

1st year	Blackburn	Economic History
	Bolton	English Literature
	Chorley	Psychology
	Chorley	Economic History
	Haslingden	Economic History
	Manchester	Economic History
	Manchester	Modern History
	Manchester	Literature
	Oldham	Economic History

In 1913, following the Board of Education's decision to authorise block grants of £30 to the Universities in respect of each tutorial class, on certain conditions, one of which was that such grant should in no case exceed half the fee paid to the tutor, Manchester's Joint Committee raised the tutors' fees to £60 per session.[123]

Classes offered in the 1913/14 academic year were:[124]

1st year	Bacup	Literature
	Farnworth	Economic History
	Macclesfield	Economic History
	Warrington	Economic History
	Blackburn	Psychology
	Littleborough	History
2nd year	Bolton	Literature
	Manchester	Literature
	Blackburn	Economic History
	Chorley	Economic History
	Haslingden	Economic History

[123] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Senate Representatives meeting 21st January 1913.

[124] Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes Minutes 14th November 1913

	Manchester	Economic History
	Oldham	Economic History
	Chorley	Psychology
	Manchester	History
3rd year	Salford	Economic History

Tutorial class students were invited to visit the University on Saturday 14th February 1914 and the following programme was organised:[125]

3.15 to 3.30pm	Reception in Whitworth Hall
3.30 to 4.30pm	Visits to Departments of the University
4.30pm	Tea in the Refectory
5.15 to 6.30pm	Meeting in the Whitworth Hall
6.30 to 7pm	Dramatic Recital by Members of the Chorley branch
7.0 to 8.0pm	W.E.A. Fellowship Meeting

In 1913/14 the subjects taught in WEA tutorial classes in the Manchester District were English Literature, Economics, Psychology, Ethics, Industrial History and History.[126] Students were predominantly skilled workers (42%) and clerical workers (29%); the remainder mainly being made up of shopkeepers, teachers, civil servants and domestic workers.[127] The WEA's Eleventh Annual Report and Statement of Accounts which was published in July 1914 also shows that classes were arranged in Manchester and Salford on Elocution, Education, Greek History, and French.

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[125] Programme contained in Minutes of meeting of Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes held on 21st January 1914.

[126] The Fifth Annual Report of the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes 1913-14 p.13

[127] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.110

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War the number of women attending tutorial classes had been growing steadily. During the 1912/13 session, nationwide, thirty-seven classes for women had been run, including classes on Literature, History, Citizenship, Nature Study, Art, Hygiene and Embroidery. Manchester had held a Shakespeare class which was attended by twenty-five women and which ended with a theatre visit to see Romeo and Juliet. Twenty-nine women had attended the Oxford Summer School, of whom a large number received scholarships from the University Women's Fund, which had also loaned some four hundred books to women's tutorial classes.[128]

Classes for women were sanctioned in June 1914 and Manchester, Oldham and Macclesfield showed particular interest.[129] In December, that year, it was noted that "there had been an increase in the number of women students, and a falling off in the number of men students, due to the war through which 45 students found it necessary to withdraw their applications and 8 to reduce the period of their stay."[130]

The WEA worked in liaison with other organisations for women in providing other classes. In Birmingham the women who attended a study circle on industrial questions were drawn from women's organisations, to whom they intended to relay what they had learned through similar circles in their own organisations. By the end of the 1913/14 academic year the number of female students had reached 20% of the total student number. The Association arranged courses for a variety of women's organisations during that academic year, such as the Women's Co-operative Guilds, Women's Labour League Branches, Railway Women's Guilds, the Taxi-women's Union, Adult Schools, Girls' Clubs, Mothers' Meetings, and "a large number of branches of the YWCA".[131] The Association also lent books to women students and provided scholarships to Oxford, Bangor and Durham Summer Schools.

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[128] General Report of the Council of the WEA July 1st 1913 p.9/10

[129] Minutes of meeting of Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes held on 26th June 1914.

[130] Minutes of meeting of Joint Tutorial Committee held on 2nd December 1914.

[131] The Eleventh Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the WEA July 1st 1914 p.10

The Association was suspected, by some, of being in the pockets of the establishment because it did not refuse grants offered by the Board of Education and the Movement for Independent Working-Class Education was seen by others as a tool of Socialism because of its Labour and Plebs League associations. The rift between the providers of working-class education is particularly lamentable in the light of the determination of the founders of the WEA, like so many of their predecessors, to resolve social and economic differences by means of religiously and politically impartial, liberal, and democratically controlled education.

Attention became focused on political conflict and mutual suspicion caused factionalism and division, but Utilitarians of an earlier age may well have pointed the teachers and learners of early twentieth-century Britain to an awareness of shared interests and common ground. Certainly in Manchester, where education was intrinsically linked to the interests of the community, there was no such eruption of militancy, but rather a more natural and very much slower evolution towards independence.

Kelly makes the point that the WEA led the universities to "view their studies from a new angle", and cites a communication from Bernard Pares, a Russian scholar and an early Extension lecturer himself, which recalled Mansbridge asking "for a whole new set of subjects - the Industrial Revolution, History of Trade Unions, Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship ...". Although Kelly concedes that the universities had already established an interest in social and economic studies prior to this request, he does acknowledge the new dimension which the study of such subjects from a working-class perspective would introduce within what were hitherto middle-class enclaves.[132]

Working-class distrust of University men had prevailed, despite the sympathetic and earnest efforts of academics to serve the educational needs of working people, largely because of a failure to communicate the precise nature of the need, but, in The Story of the Workers' Educational Association, TW Price identifies the 1907 Oxford Conference speech of J.M. MacTavish, as removing this communication barrier when his "impassioned speech .... interpreted the unspoken thoughts of his fellow-working-men, stated with frankness their criticism of the University and put forth their demands upon it."[133]

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[132] Kelly 1950 op.cit. pp.47/48

[133] Price T.W. 1924 op.cit. p37.

Robert Halstead, a self-taught fustian worker who was to become a successful industrialist and co-operator and vociferously supported the Extension Movement, having benefited from its education himself, also warned that working men:

> "... would not always sharpen sickles for those who reap the golden grain."
> The Economic Review July 1895 p.369[134]

Worthy of note is the fact that it was in that year, also, that the North of England Educational Conference, which was held in Sheffield, perceived the term 'educational ladder' as offering too narrow an image of what the Association was concerned with and the term 'educational highway' was adopted.

Price's work describes the activities of the WEA during its first twenty-one years of existence as falling into three periods, the first five years after its inception being a "period of high adventure; the years from 1908 to 1915 being a period of progress of "orderly development on established lines", with the eleven years preceding the First World War as being a "testing time".[135] His study introduces the reader to the agencies and individuals who were instrumental in recognising the need for working-class education and for bringing the WEA into existence. He acknowledges the "devotion and self-sacrifice" of the wives of the leading male protagonists of the WEA and details the Association's links with the University Extension Movement, the Trades Unions and the Co-operators.

Ironically the route to university envisaged by Mansbridge and other socialist educators did not prove to be the most common pathway of WEA students, who more often were content with the acquisition of knowledge gained from their tutorial classes, but, as RH Tawney observed, the WEA valued education "not only as a means of developing individual character and capacity, but as a preparation for the exercise of social rights and responsibilities".[136] This did not necessitate the move

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[134] cited in Jennings B 'Knowledge is Power: A Short History of the Workers' Educational Association 1903-1978' Newland Papers No.1 (Hull: Department of Adult Education University of Hull 1979)

[135] Price 1924 op.cit. p. 11

[136] Tawney R.H. 'The Workers' Educational Association and Adult Education' in Hinden R (ed) The Radical Tradition: Twelve Essays on Politics, Education and Literature (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd n.d.) p.86

from one social class to another and WEA students, by and large, appear to have been content to benefit from further, or higher, education at a personal development level without any ambition to 'graduate' up the social ladder and cast off their working-class status. In this respect, it may be of some relevance that the study of social sciences was at the forefront of early WEA teaching.

Mansbridge felt that the Association developed " ... because it [had] drawn together men and women, not infrequently passionate in their divergencies of experience and belief and [had] constructed for them a university, intangible and widely diffused indeed, wherein they may, unhindered and in fellowship, advance knowledge, increase wisdom, and reveal truth."[137] Clearly, Mansbridge's sense of adventure had permeated the organisation to the extent that Harrison describes it as "overflowing with the enthusiasm of youth." and says that "There was a great joyousness and a sense of participating in a great adventure."[138] Harrison concurs with Mansbridge and adds the interesting point that the enthusiastic young men who were WEA tutors were similarly fulfilled by their role with the Association and did not merely view it as a rung on the ladder to formal university teaching. Indeed, Tawney says of his own WEA teaching experience: "I can never be sufficiently grateful for the lessons learned from the adult students whom I was supposed to teach, but who, in fact, taught me, and I know that many tutors in our Movement would say the same".[139]

The combination of youthful enthusiasm of the younger men and experience of the older generation of men who led the WEA in its formative years, made an important contribution towards its success. William Temple, WEA President (1908 - 1922) and Bishop of Manchester (later Archbishop of Canterbury); R.H.Tawney, Economic Historian of Balliol who had observed working class conditions both in London and Glasgow who taught one of Manchester's first tutorial classes at Ashton in 1910[140] and who did much to establish the first Rochdale tutorial classes; the Reverend W. Hudson Shaw whose teaching, as referred to in the previous chapter, was to inspire working-class adult students throughout the North West of England, including

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[137] Smith H.P. Labour and Learning (Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1956) p.7

[138] Price 1924 op.cit. p. 271

[139] Tawney R.H. in Hinden op.cit. p.91

[140] Minutes of Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes 16th February 1910

Rochdale; and G.D.H.Cole, of the Oxford University Delegacy, dedicated much of their lifelong energy to the work and aims of the WEA as did Albert Mansbridge and James MacTavish. T.W. Price, who was a member of the first tutorial class, later became District Secretary and then the first historian of the WEA, describes Tawney has having precisely the "sympathy with and understanding of the working class mind" which were essential attributes sought in the appointment of academically qualified tutors for the first tutorial classes.[141] His own response to what he described as "fellowship" with his students was that "The friendly smitings of weavers, potters, miners and engineers have taught me much about the problems of political and economic science which cannot easily be learned from books".[142]

The sympathy and understanding which tutors such as Tawney brought to their teaching must have included the realisation that, although working-class students had not been through the secondary education process of acquiring academic knowledge of given subjects, they brought to their studies life experience which they were able to apply to their understanding of the social, political and economic matters which drew their attention and about which they were inspired to learn. Because of their lack of secondary education, tutorial class students would not necessarily be comfortable with the demands of written work as the main method of learning in the way that university students might. The opportunity for verbal reasoning, therefore, was from the first an essential part of the tutorial class system. Some written work was, however, required of the students and many rose ably to the task.

Like such modern analysts as Simon in his Search for Enlightenment, Fieldhouse in A History of Modern British Adult Education and Kelly in Outside the Walls, Mansbridge leaves the reader in no doubt as to the value of the contribution made by such men as Temple, Cole, and Tawney, in the development of the WEA and their clarity of vision which not only identified the possibility of constructive liaison between university teaching and working-class learning, but brought it to a highly successful reality.

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[141] Price T. W. 'The Story of the WEA' : 1924 op.cit. cited (no page no. given) in Shaw R 'Adult Education and the Working Class' in Studies in Adult Education Vol. 2. No.1. April 1970 in pp1-17.

[142] Cited in Jackson T op.cit. (undated WEA leaflet) but unascribed to any other publication

Nonetheless, in paying tribute to the work of the WEA, the extra-mural activities of the University and the work of the Evening Continuation Schools in Manchester, Waller and Legge make the very pertinent point that "The staff of Owens College had ... been long in the field before the official history of University Extension began in Cambridge in 1873". Their work acknowledges the 'close partnership' between Manchester University and the WEA and comments upon the fact that "work with the WEA absorbed the University's extra-mural interest ... and together they developed classes in the liberal studies, at first primarily three-year Tutorial Classes and later one-year Sessional courses."[143]

The liaison which existed between the University Extension Movement and the WEA is demonstrated by Price to have been nurtured in a desire to carry on University Extension "under the conditions most likely to make it of greatest use to working-class students".[144] He goes on to describe the transformation in relations between the Association and Universities following the inception of tutorial classes at Rochdale and Longton, Staffordshire, in January 1908 and considers the early difficulties encountered when introducing Economic History into a curriculum which had previously concentrated on literary subjects and the implications that had for the organisation, delivery and funding of teaching.[145]

In his introduction to Price's work, Tawney, who served for forty-two years on the WEA executive and was its President from 1927 to 1943,[146] attributes the fertility of the ground in which the expansion of the WEA was cultivated to the "revolution in public opinion"[147] which followed the 1902 Education Act and this opinion, along with the proven success of the early years of the WEA brought recognition and approval in the corridors of Westminster Palace. With the Government's recognition and approval of the success of the WEA in 1907 came its committed support in the form of the Board of Education grants referred to earlier in this chapter.

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143 WallerR.D. and Legge C.D. 'Adult Education in the Manchester Area' in Carter C.F. (ed) Manchester and its Region (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1962) pp 228/9

144 Price 1924 op.cit. p. 17

145 ibid. pp29 - 34

146 Jackson T (undated WEA leaflet op.cit.)

147 Price 1924 op.cit. p. 5

By 1914, the year in which this study ends, R.H. Tawney was the Vice-Chairman of a WEA which could rejoice in its eighth annual report of the success of its first national Summer School, organised by the Joint Committees of Belfast, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield and Wales, which had been held in Bangor in 1913, for seven weeks, for the benefit of some one hundred and twenty four students, of whom ninety-eight were men and twenty-six women. Twenty-four were from Manchester.[148] Among the scholarship students at that first summer school in Bangor was Eli Bibby, a Lancashire man who went on to gain a BA in Economics and to be awarded an Honorary M.A. from Manchester University. He was Secretary of the North Western District of the WEA from 1918 to 1945, during which time he was also Joint Secretary of the Joint Committee.[149]

In 1917, at the fifth consecutive Bangor Summer School thirty-four men and thirty-one women were in attendance, drawn mainly from the four Northern Universities. The age range of the students was from twenty-five to forty years, with some ten per cent of each year's membership being between forty and fifty years of age. The occupational composition of students who attended the school during the years 1913 to 1917 was:[150]

	1913	**1914**	**1915**	**1916**	**1917**
Artizans	87	82	59	37	35
Clerks	14	19	22	11	10
Teachers	15	10	18	19	14
Domestics	8	12	15	14	6

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148 Eighth WEA Annual Report and Financial Statement 1914 p.5. (See also Fifth Annual Report of the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes 1913-14 p.6 and Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.201)

149 Waller R.D. Eli Bibby: 'An Appreciation' in Adult Education Vol.40 No.5 January 1968 p.287

150 The WEA Education Year Book 1918 op.cit. p.263

Mansbridge's published account of the origins and growth of the WEA is aptly entitled An Adventure in Working-Class Education as it was for him a lifelong adventure and his account of the WEA from 1903 to 1915 is positive throughout, unstinting in its enthusiasm for the work of the Association and consistent in its admiration of the persistence and determination of its members, facilitators, teachers and learners alike. Mansbridge had enjoyed the benefits of Extension lectures offered by the LSEUT[151] from the early age of fifteen, distinguishing himself in examination, and, being a clerical worker himself, realising the value of Extension Teaching in the search for a more egalitarian society. Harrison acclaims Mansbridge's pioneering work and his inspired motivation, which is acknowledged as being strengthened by the spiritual influence of Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham and later to become Bishop of Oxford, whose statement that "Knowledge will always win over Ignorance"[152] epitomised Mansbridge's conviction that the only route to social and political equality lay in the education of the working-classes. Having placed the founding of the WEA in its historical context, the work goes on to give a very clear account of the establishment of the Association at national and local level and considers the influence of the WEA within a national context, citing local experience in Yorkshire as an example which he says may be "representative if not typical" of the development from the original concept and provision into something which became "... a long way removed from the spirit of the earlier Mansbridgean conferences in Oxford"[153] as its work strove, with considerable success, to meet local cultural and socio-educational needs.

Harrison is quite clear about Mansbridge's intention to promote University Extension among the working-classes, but makes the point that, despite the Extension class experience of some of its activists and tutors, "the new organization had few points of contact with the older one. The WEA represented a revolt as well as a development

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151 Burrows J. University Adult Education in London: A century of Achievement 1876-1976 (London: University of London 1976) p.15 (Burrows, however, is concerned that "less than adequate justice has been given in the histories of the [tutorial class] movement to the contributions both of LSEUT and BPEUT" and describes those contributions, from first supporting two tutorial classes at Toynbee Hall in 1900/1 to the creation of the University Extension and Tutorial Classes Council in 1928. ibid pp33-74)

152 Harrison J.F.C. 1961 op.cit. p266

153 ibid p274/5

and the students attracted to its classes were mostly people with no previous acquaintance with University Extension."[154]

Nonetheless, Mansbridge's primary intention to develop the ratiocination process in working men in order to enable them to act upon their own political instincts and communicate with the articulate governing classes, was asserted through the education they received under the tutelage of the WEA. With the possible exception of the Working Men's Club Movement, adult education providers had previously imposed their own middle-class notions of education on working-class recipients. With the advent of the WEA this was to change. The democratic make-up of the Association meant that a wider spectrum of political opinion was represented in the decision-making process.

The *raison d'etre* of the WEA was not to create a route whereby working men could 'promote' themselves to the upper-classes, but rather, as Mansbridge himself brought together men from the Church, the State and the world of the autodidact, to facilitate the coming together of people from all walks of life, as the Co-operative movement had also done. The provisional committee which Mansbridge brought together, to launch what became the WEA in 1905, comprised Trades Unionists, Co-operators and Extension lecturers[155] and it was this liaison among the cross-section of interested parties which gave the WEA its unique identity and success. The manner in which courses were established and delivered was also key to the continued success of the Association, with class meetings being held in order that subjects may be chosen and tutors approved by the Joint Committee.

Despite the efforts of the WEA founders to remain unbiased in teaching and avoid paternalism, it is notable that not all public figures shared their clarity of vision. The Manchester Guardian of Monday January 16th 1911 reported J.R. Clynes, M.P., when addressing a meeting of the WEA in the Whitworth Hall, at Manchester University, on the previous Saturday, as having suggested that:

> "To the workers it was a pleasant thing to find that men and women who were not of their class were now no longer wishful to keep to themselves in any selfish manner great educational facilities. ... ... He did not want men to be merely mechanics, weavers, or artisans in the ordinary sense; to be merely

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154 ibid p.261

155 ibid p. 264

workmen. He wanted them to be gentlemen in the best sense of that word, and they could not be gentlemen unless they were educated."[156]

However, it was the grass roots demand of the working class movement which provided the springboard of Mansbridge's WEA. Indeed, the authors of the Final Report of 1919 link the expansion of adult education at the beginning of the twentieth century more closely in spirit "to the efforts of the early co-operators and chartists" in an effort to "raise the level, not only of education, but of industrial society and social organization", than to the middle-class led university extension of the eighteen eighties, [157] which attracted mainly middle-class people seeking recreation; suffered poor local organisation high costs unsupported by government grant.

Nonetheless, an unascribed article in The Round Table of 1914[158] attributed the Association's "Astonishingly rapid growth"[159] to its democratic method of organisation, along with " ... the fact that it provided an outlet for forces that had long been gathering underground ...". The anonymous author of the article also posed the apparently rhetorical question, "What can be more vital to a State than the education of its citizens? And what more necessary to it, in the performance of this task of civic training, than a clear conception, founded on the underlying facts of human nature and of the national character, of what education really means and is capable of achieving?"[160] Whatever democratic forces were at work, then, within the WEA, matters of State and 'civic training' were as much to the fore in the mind of that writer as in the mind of the civil servant quoted at the beginning of this present work. What the WEA offered, though, was an opportunity for students to express what they felt they needed and wanted, rather than simply accepting the middle-class teaching which was imposed by the earlier adult education initiatives of University Extension and its

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156 The Manchester Guardian Monday January 16th 1911.

157 Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.31

158 The Round Table: A Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Empire (London: March 1914 Macmillan & Co.) p.265

159 Minutes of the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes 6th June 1910 record that the rapid growth of the WEA meant that classes could not be run in Accrington, Lancaster and Todmorden because it had been impossible to find lecturers. (The University was also suffering "financial strain".)

160 The Round Table: A Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Empire (London: Macmillan & Co. March 1914) p.255

predecessors. By 1914 working class organisations were represented within the Association as follows:[161]

Trade Unions, Trade Councils and Trade Union Branches	953
Co-operative bodies	388
Adult Schools and Brotherhoods	341
Working Men's Clubs and Institutes	175
Educational and Literary Societies	151
Teachers' Associations	65
University bodies	15
Local Education Authorities	16
Various	451

The high number of Adult Schools affiliated to the Association is worthy of particular note, here. As discussed in earlier chapters of this work, the Adult School Movement had flourished during the latter half of the nineteenth century and fallen into decline as the provision of elementary education had taken effect following the 1870 Education Act. However, at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, a regeneration of the Movement, now in a non-denominational form but still with social reform central to its religious purpose, meant that co-operation between it and the WEA would be mutually beneficial. Harrison's work[162] examines the work and aims of the Quaker leadership of the Adult School Movement, and in particular that in Yorkshire. The work demonstrates the manner in which the combined spheres of the Adult Schools and the WEA served to meet the educational needs of adults across the population. Where Adult Schools had a religious and community purpose and met a fairly low intellectual demand, the WEA offered an opportunity of self-improvement to well motivated individuals. The success enjoyed by the WEA in that respect can be seen from the example of tutorial class students undertaking the teaching of preparatory class students.

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161 Final Report 1919 p.215

162 Harrison JFC 1961 op.cit. pp300-312

Lees' work considers the resurgence of the Movement in Manchester during the late 1890s and early 1900s[163] and demonstrate the links between the Adult Schools and the WEA in the district, such as those between the West Gorton Adult School and WEA classes in 1909; the provision by the WEA in 1912 of a tutor from Oxford's Ruskin College for an Adult School study circle; and the affiliation in 1912 of the Manchester Adult School Union with the Manchester branch of the WEA. Through its connection with the Byrom Street School, the WEA was also involved in the formation of classes at the Lancashire College Settlement in Embden Street, Hulme.[164] Lees' study also shows a connection between the Manchester University Settlement and the WEA.[165]

The redefined Adult Schools continued to offer Bible study, as had their forerunners, and they also offered lectures on a wide variety of subjects. In many Schools free discussion took place during what became known as 'the first half-hour'. An increased interest in the study of social conditions and problems and a drive in leadership training were noted in a report of the National Adult School Union in 1914.[166] Despite this, the national membership of Adult Schools rose to 100,000 in 1910 and fell to 80,000 in 1914, from which point its decline continued[167] while the WEA went from strength to strength. Harrison identifies religious teaching as a weakness in the Adult School Movement in " ... an age that witnessed the growing popularization of collectivist and socialist ideas" seeing "something of the flavour of the comfortably-off benefiting their less fortunate brethren"[168] in the Rowntrees of York paternalistic approach to adult education as being another significant contributor to the demise of the Adult School. Certainly the converse of this, with student-led study being of prime importance to it, brought growth to the WEA during the same period. With its specific aims and professional teachers, the WEA clearly had an advantage over the Adult Schools' more general social and Christian aims and well-intentioned volunteers, and prospective students obviously recognised this.

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[163] Lees 1994 op.cit. pp 251- 257

[164] ibid p.263-270

[165] ibid p.355

[166] Cited in the Final Report o1919 op.cit. p.211

[167] Harrison 1961 op.cit. p.308

[168] ibid. pp 309/310

In Manchester the support of the work of the Adult School by academics from the University and, in particular, of Michael Sadler, could only have strengthened the links between the University, the Adult School and the WEA. Sadler's willingness to lecture for the Co-operative Movement would also have provided a further link with the Association.

As the Association grew during the inter-war years, its aim to meet the needs of the people meant that the duration of courses often shortened, the curriculum widened in response to local demand and the status of WEA students changed from the 1924 position wherein most students were WEA members, presumably subscribing to the educational and social reform views of the founders, to the position in 1939 where only 43% of students were WEA members.[169] This shift in membership statistics reflects the success of the WEA in meeting the demand of the community.

Price's 1924 account of the WEA records that, following the early success of the WEA in Britain, Mansbridge and his wife took the Association's story to a gathering of the United Universities of the Commonwealth which was held in Australia in 1913. Associations were subsequently formed in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, Southern Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand and then in Canada and South Africa.[170]

By 1914 there were several partnerships between universities in England and Wales and the Workers' Educational Association and other working-class organisations. As has been seen in this chapter, the WEA had helped, following the report on Oxford and Working Class Education in 1908, significantly to re-direct the focus of the universities towards the provision, via the tutorial classes, of a more focused and systematic form of education. The WEA claimed to be based on working-class involvement and university academic standards and saw itself as essentially a voluntary and democratic organisation which encouraged its adherents to value education for its own sake.[171] Whether or not one agrees with Fieldhouse's observation that the WEA was acceptable to the government because it was "a moderating influence and a form

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[169] ibid. p.274

[170] Price T.W. 1924 op.cit. pp53.

[171] Fieldhouse and Associates (1996) op.cit. pp167-168

of social control"[172], it is undeniable that its connections with the universities helped it to gain respectability and influence, which in turn helped it to attract funding from governmental, local authority and charitable agencies. The discussions which divided Ruskin College in 1908-1909 did have an effect on the WEA, though it is perhaps sometimes overstated. Ruskin College was weakened by a secession of many of its students to the Central Labour College.[173] Both organisations had close links with the Labour Movement and the Central Labour College (founded in 1909) was primarily Marxist in outlook. The split from Ruskin College benefited neither institution. Ruskin College could not afford to lose significant numbers of students; it had twelve students resident in 1899, fifty-six in 1909 and forty-six in 1913. The Central Labour College, which relocated from Oxford to London in a bid to attract more students, had twelve students in residence in 1914 and two non-residential female students. This compared unfavourably with the rapid expansion of students attending tutorial classes: 237 in 1908/9 and 3,234 in 1914.[174]

In Manchester, as has been shown, the situation generally reflected the national situation. Manchester Ruskin Hall, intended as a similar institution to Ruskin College, lasted only four years and closed in 1903. The tutorial class movement, however, generally flourished although numbers were to fall considerably in the first three years of the war. Overall, the position in 1914 was healthy with the strong possibility of further expansion once the war had finished. The situation in the immediate post-war years of the university tutorial classes will be examined briefly as one aspect of the concluding chapter of the thesis.

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[172] ibid. p.203

[173] The background to this split has been covered earlier in this chapter of the thesis; by Simon B. Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart 1965) pp318-326; and by Jennings B. (1977) Studies in Adult Education op.cit. pp1-16.

[174] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.39

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSIONS

The Final Report in 1919 of the Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee provided a comprehensive analysis of the position of adult education in Britain at the end of the First World War. In a suitably balanced critical introductory section, the report indicated developments in adult education since 1800 and offered a useful retrospective survey. Equally significant were the indicators the report signalled for the immediate post-war future of adult education. This thesis has examined university extension provision in Manchester up to 1914 through the development of a system of courses which encouraged systematic study and also through shorter series of 'popular' lectures aimed at a wider audience. With the advent of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in 1903, by 1909 Manchester was offering, in conjunction with the WEA in the district and other working-class organisations, university tutorial classes. These classes comprised a three year course, with each year consisting of twenty-four sessions each of two hours.[1] The number of such classes in Britain had expanded rapidly in the years before 1914, from the two offered by Oxford in 1907/08 to one hundred and forty-five in 1913/14. From amongst the early providers of university extension courses, thirty of these had been offered by London, eighteen by Oxford, seventeen by Manchester, sixteen by Liverpool, ten by Leeds and five by Cambridge. By 1914 tutorial classes were being conducted by every university in England and Wales and by the university colleges at Reading and Nottingham.[2] Most of these classes were offered in conjunction with the WEA and some with other agencies such as Adult Schools. From their inception, the classes were funded from three main sources: the universities, contributing about one-half of the costs; the Board of Education, giving about one-third of the costs; and the Local Education Authorities and charitable trusts making up the bulk of the remainder.[3]

The Report made some far-reaching recommendations regarding the financing and provision of adult education by universities. The most significant of these were:

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[1] Kelly T. A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992 third edition) p.254

[2] Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee Final Report (London: HMSO 1919) p.192

[3] Final Report 1919 ibid. p.197; Kelly (1992) op.cit. p.253

333(a) The provision of a liberal education for adult students should be regarded by universities as a normal and necessary part of their functions.

(c) University expenditure upon extra-mural education should be facilitated by more liberal assistance to universities from public funds, both national and local. [which in practice meant local authorities and the Board of Education].

(f) We recommend that there should be established at each university a department of extra-mural adult education with an academic head. The extra-mural authority should be the Tutorial Classes Joint Committee and the Extension Board or Delegacy meeting in joint session.[4]

Nottingham University College was the first institution to establish an extra-mural department, which was headed by Robert Peers. During the inter-war years other universities followed this example, or at least appointed a director of adult education, so that by 1939 the only university institutions without such provision were Reading, Leeds and Sheffied.[5]

The Universities and the WEA continued to collaborate and develop university tutorial classes, in spite of the serious economic crises of the 1920s and 1930s. Through more generous grants from the Board of Education and, more particularly, by more detailed regulations in 1924 pertaining to adult education, the universities were eligible to receive grants not only for tutorial classes and preparatory classes for them, but also for extension courses. The regulations also established designated Responsible Bodies, which included the universities and other approved associations, the most significant of which was the WEA.[6] By further regulations of 1931 the universities and the WEA could claim grants for short pioneer courses of six lectures or more.[7]

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[4] Final Report 1919 ibid pp.169-170

[5] Fieldhouse R and Associates A History of Modern British Adult Education (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education 1996) p.208

[6] See Marriott S 'Adult Education in England: the history of an administrative convenience' in the Journal of Educational Administration and History Vol.32 No.1. January 2000 pp.23-28. For a discussion of the Adult Education Regulations of 1924, see in particular pp.26-28.

The creation of extra-mural departments meant that the universities employed increasing numbers of full-time staff to undertake the teaching of extra-mural courses. To some extent this represented a shift from the situation in 1914, at which time only twenty-five per cent of lecturers teaching university tutorial classes were employed full-time in that capacity by the relevant universities; thirty-five per cent were full-time tutors who might also do other teaching within the university; and forty per cent were occasional tutors whose main occupation was not university teaching of any kind.[8]

In addition, with the traditional exceptions of Oxford and Cambridge, universities began to develop more consistently their own territorial areas for extra-mural work which invariably meant within an accessible distance of the institutions. This led to continuous friction between the providers where territories overlapped, a theme explored in detail by Stuart Marriott in his Extra-Mural Empires: Service and Self-Interest in English University Adult Education 1873-1983.[9] Whilst the numbers and variety of extra-mural programmes increased in the years after 1918, especially those done in collaboration with the WEA, both Kelly and Fieldhouse note from different perspectives some decline in the participation of working-class students in university tutorial classes during the inter-war years. From consulting the annual reports of the Central Joint Advisory Committee, established in 1909 with representatives from the universities and the WEA to organise and develop university tutorial classes, Kelly estimates that the percentage of working-class student participation in those classes declined from about eighty per cent to about two-thirds.[10] Fieldhouse notes the move of extra-mural departments of universities in their provision away from the "egalitarian social purpose" underpinning the work of the WEA. There was also some deterioration in the closeness of the working relationships between the universities and the WEA during the inter-war years as the developing extra-mural departments sought to assert their positions of increasing strength.[11]

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[7] Kelly (1992) op.cit. p.268

[8] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.123

[9] See also Marriott S 'From university extension to extra-mural studies: conflict and adjustment in English Adult Education 1917-1939' in the History of Education Society Bulletin Vol.30 No.1 January 1998 pp.17-34.

[10] Kelly (1992) op.cit. p.275

[11] Fieldhouse and Associates (1996) op.cit. p.208

The WEA, which had grown so quickly in the decade leading up to the First World War, continued to expand and develop during the inter-war years. By 1918 the number of societies affiliated to the WEA had risen to 2,525, the number of branches to 219 and the number of individual members to17,136.[12] The Final Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction's Education Committee of 1919 records that seventy-one tutors were employed by the WEA that year, of whom eight were women.[13] By 1927, whilst the number of societies affiliated to the WEA had fallen to 2,203, the number of branches had increased to 443 and the number of individual members to 24,827.[14] Whilst by 1927 the traditional three-year tutorial classes organised by the WEA in collaboration with the universities remained its main activity, the increase in the range of courses for which grants could be awarded under the 1924 regulations for adult education meant that there were increasing numbers of classes taken over one year only and of shorter courses taken over one term. The improved standard of education enabled the WEA to reduce, and by 1938 to abandon, its preparatory classes, using them after that date as 'sessional' opportunities to present short courses or to give an insight into the three-year tutorial classes.

Inevitably, in view of conscription and the colossal loss of male life in the First World War, and the social and economic disruption the war caused, only five tutorial classes ran in Manchester in 1916/17 in comparison with the seventeen held in 1914/15. However, the end of the First World War was to bring not only a healthy recovery in student numbers but also a more evenly balanced ratio of male and female students within the classes[15]

By 1917 the North-Western District of the WEA comprised the following Centres:[16]

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[12] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.215

[13] ibid. p.197

[14] The British Institute of Adult Education The Handbook and Directory of Adult Education 1928-29 (London: H.F.W. Deane and Sons The Year Book Press Ltd. 1929) p.64

[15] Joint Committee Reports 1910-1919 cited in Kelly 1950 op.cit. pp 55-68.

[16] The Handbook and Directory of Adult Education 1928-1929 op.cit. p.364

Accrington; Altrincham; Aspatria; Bacup and District; Barrow-in-Furness; Birkenhead; Blackburn; Blackpool; Bolton; Chorley and District; Cleator; Colne; Congleton; Crewe; Darwen; Farnworth and District; Glossop; Haslington; Heywood; Kendal; Lancaster; Leigh; Littleborough; Liverpool; Macclesfield; Manchester, Salford and District; Middleton and District; Nelson; Oldham; Penrith; Pendlebury; Preston and District; Rochdale; St.Helens; Shavington; Southport; Stockport; Wigan; Workington and District.

In Manchester, by the time of the publication of the Reconstruction Committee's Final Report in 1919 Manchester's Joint Committee had the following working-class representation:[17]

Local and National WEA	2
Co-operative Union Societies	2
Trades and Labour Councils	2
National Union of Railwaymen	1

By 1914 it was clear that the demand for tutorial classes in Yorkshire justified the establishment of new classes and the formation of a WEA District. The Yorkshire District ran twenty tutorial classes in its first academic year for a total of five hundred and fifty-seven students, but, being formed at the outset of the First World War, was immediately beset with practical problems which meant that the establishment and growth of new branches could not be encouraged. Nonetheless, by the end of the war the number of classes was seen to have grown to forty with a total of seven hundred and sixty-eight students, with an increased proportion of female students.[18]

During the war period there developed an interest in international relations and it was with this in mind that the Yorkshire District published a supplement to the WEA journal The Highway, which dealt with the " ... historical background of the war and some of the more immediate problems involved".[19] Throughout the years of the First

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[17] Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.199

[18] ibid. p.312/3

[19] ibid. op.cit. p.311

World War the Yorkshire District addressed problems of reconstruction, holding conferences of representative trade unionists, "addressed by WEA tutors and officials" and producing a detailed scheme of study on 'Trade Union Problems and Policy'.[20]

The working adult students' level of commitment to learning has been commented upon at various points throughout this current work and it is interesting to note, also, that many such students also made committed contributions to adult learning opportunities through their involvement with other educational and political organisations. Although no complete record is available of the voluntary work which WEA students undertook, what is described as a "not unrepresentative" sample which was published in the 1918 WEA Yearbook shows that of two classes organised by county boroughs, the following number of students undertook the roles indicated:[21]

Trade Union officials	12
Trades Council officials	2
Officials of political associations	3
Voluntary educational work	8
Friendly Society officials	4
Directors of Co-operative Societies	3
Teachers or officials in Adult Schools or Sunday Schools	8
Local preachers	1

City and Borough Councillors are also shown by the same source to have been much in evidence in tutorial classes and it was not uncommon for students and tutors of WEA classes to become Executive Committee officials.

The political and social benefits of the work of WEA students and tutors were not felt at a local level only. The success of the WEA had an important and fundamental influence on the far-reaching effects of Fisher's Education Act of 1918 in its provision of compulsory education to the age of fourteen and in improving educational opportunity for working-class children and raising the standards of education with which young people entered the 'adult' world of employment and continuing education. The role of Mansbridge and Tawney as members of the Adult Education Committee,

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[20] loc. cit.

[21] The WEA Education Year Book 1918 (London: WEA 1918) p.268

which conducted the investigation for the Ministry of Reconstruction, was also clearly influential in informing the Final Report of 1919 which extolled the value of extra-mural adult education and the vital role which voluntary organisations had played in its provision and which strongly advocated an increase in governmental and financial support of its continuance.

Kelly's study of the liberal education of adults, A History of Adult Education in Britain,[22] when referring to the growth of the WEA, emphasises the role of the trades unions in direct relation to the promotion of its provision via its trades unionists and in the financial support of members' study. The effects of trades union influence on adult education during the inter-war period were clearly of great significance and it is, again, to the credit of those who worked hard to develop a culture of continuing education, that we see the raising of educational expectation among the working classes. Politically motivated trades unionists, however, might well have been quite prepared to acknowledge their desire to educate adults in order to enable them to discern the social inequalities of capitalism and it is this struggle for social control which generated much adult educational activity. With the founding of the National Council of Labour Colleges in 1921 the perception of the Labour College Movement as a tool of Marxism grew and their popularity was to suffer a serious decline following the General Strike of 1926, necessitating a demonstrated move away from Marxist teaching with the closure of the Central Labour College in 1929 following the withdrawal of Trades Union funds.

The end of the First World War had brought not only demobilisation but also much industrial unrest, alongside a consciousness of the political changes in Eastern Europe and although impartiality in adult education may well have been desired by many and even advocated in a report of the Industrial Unrest Commissioners in 1916, a growing political awareness meant that organisations such as the Plebs' League, and the National Council of Labour Colleges were now as overt and as clear in their objective to overthrow capitalism through the education of the working population, as the Christian providers of continuing education had been in their objectives to educate working class people in the teachings of the Church. The government, like the governed, was conscious of the value of continuing the education of young adults and the Lewis Report of 1917, which had been commissioned to examine the relationship between education and employment, advocated continuing education and

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[22] Kelly T A History of Adult Education in Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1992)

offered vocational and non-vocational education and lessons in citizenship to the age of eighteen in order to prevent the premature end to personal and intellectual development.

In Manchester, as nationally, the growth of the WEA continued during the inter-war years, greatly encouraged, according to Mansbridge, by the support of William Temple[23] and although the inter-war years were to impose other priorities on the British Government, thus putting many educational hopes and plans (such as those expressed in the Hadow Report of 1926) into abeyance, the work of the WEA continued. Its positive cyclic effect was as evident within the post-war Government as anywhere in the country, with fourteen members of the Government having contributed to the Association's work either as tutors or members of the Executive and more than fifty Members of Parliament either having been students or tutors. Mansbridge could have been justifiably satisfied with his life's work both at grass-roots level and in a line of Vice-Presidents which was to include RA Butler, Richard Crossman and Hugh Gaitskell. Approval amongst leaders and led is not a common achievement. Mansbridge's policy of bringing together academics and workers in the planning and provision of adult education had proved well founded and the benefits had been felt across the class system.

The inter-war period saw changes in the nature of extension work, as more working-class men and women attended classes, thanks to their improved standard of general education. From 1915 the Board of Education had provided grants for Tutorial Class Advanced Courses of a minimum of twenty-four weeks duration for students who had successfully completed the standard three year course. The improved standard of elementary education also allowed the WEA to abandon its preparatory classes, using them instead after 1938 as 'sessional' opportunities to present short courses or to give an insight into their three-year tutorial classes. An increased demand for arts subjects in the WEA's academic year of 1933/4 also reflects the changing perception of adult students.

Male dominance of classes was reduced, too, as women's roles moved away from the purely domestic and Townswomen's Guilds and the Women's Institutes promoted further education for their members, cultivating a greater awareness of the benefits and pleasures of extra-mural study.

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[23] Mansbridge A Fellow Men : 1948 cited in Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.72

Another positive demand and supply cycle was then promoted in the need for access to books and printed material and the hitherto rather poor quality of provision offered by public libraries was seen to improve dramatically during the inter-war period. In addition to the improved quality of service, from 1930 when the National Central Library was established, books could be borrowed on inter-library loan and access was then on a national, and in some libraries an international, scale. The commercial publishing world quickly capitalised on this demand for printed works and the early forerunners of printed classics, Nelsons and Colins and Dent's with their Everyman's Library of reprinted work, gave way to the new works of Benn's in 1927 and the highly successful Penguin Classics in 1935. Newspaper circulation, too, began to rise during the inter-war years.

Recognising this demand, the British Broadcasting Corporation created an Adult Education Department in 1927, offering six twenty-minute programmes per week for which it produced supplementary literature and went on to establish formal collaboration with local education authorities, which was to prevail until the end of the Second World War. With the majority of households in Britain having a wireless set, education could now come to adults in their own homes and the perception of its role in adult life would also become increasingly positive as adult education could no longer be seen simply as a second chance for those who had somehow 'failed' or 'missed out' early in life.

Developments in education for the working classes in the Manchester region had also been influenced by the war, and one of the consequences was that from the ranks of the labour movement a small but significant increase in the development of education of an overtly political nature for adults, as the work of Edmund and Ruth Frow demonstrates. Following a report by the Assistant Secretary of Manchester District NUR Assistant Secretary, FG Temple, in 1916, in which he asserted that 'his council had "wisely decided that education, from a Labour standpoint, is an important phase of its work" ', Sunday morning classes were held in Manchester and Stockport which were tutored by such socialists as Robert Holder, ex-Central Labour College student and Labour propagandist.[24]

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[24] Frow E and R in Simon B (ed), The Search for Enlightenment : The Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century (London: Lawrence & Wishart 1990) p.78

By the academic year of 1919/20 the Manchester Labour College was running twenty-five classes with a combined total of four hundred and fifty students[25] and the Karl Marx centenary celebration of 1918 had been notable by virtue of its main speaker being Manchester University lecturer, JT Walton Newbold, while the Plebs League publication "was devoted to centenary articles on Marx and aspects of Marxism".[26]

Manchester's pioneering approach to adult education can be seen in the alacrity with which it took advantage of the 1902 Act's enabling provision to facilitate technical instruction and develop a network of Evening Continuation Schools. Simon's references to adult education activity in Manchester, in his study of adult education in the country in general, The Search for Enlightenment : The Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century, illustrate well the city's leading role in recognising and providing for the educational needs of adults and includes Edmund and Ruth Frow's important work, The Spark of Independent Working-Class Education: Lancashire, 1909-1930. A further study of Simon's, The Politics of Educational Reform 1920 -1940,[27] offers a national backcloth to local developments in Manchester by considering the effect of the Geddes Axe; the containment of reform via means tests, grants and loans; the educational policies of the first and second Labour Governments and the Governments' support of continuation schools and the Workers' Educational Association.

This thesis set out to examine in depth the contribution of Owens College (from 1903 the Victoria University of Manchester) to the university extension movement in Manchester from 1886 to 1914. The detailed and critical review of literature in the opening chapter provides a useful overview of the development of the university provision of extension lectures, especially by Oxford and Cambridge, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The general background to and issues arising in relation to the provision of university extension lectures has been well and interestingly documented by Stuart Marriott. Developments of the work at Oxford and Cambridge have been covered by Jepson and Welch, and the contribution of the third of the four major providers before 1914, London University, has been assessed by Burrows. The

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[25] ibid p. 85

[26] ibid p82

[27] Simon B The Politics of Educational Reform 1920 - 1940 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1974) *passim.*

growth of the movement within the Victoria University has been examined by J.F.C.Harrison and Jepson (Leeds and Yorkshire), and by Kelly (briefly) in his single volume history of the University of Liverpool. The development of university extension at Owens College has been described fascinatingly but briefly by Thomas Kelly in Outside the Walls. Lees has touched upon the subject, and that of the pre-1914 development of the WEA in Manchester, briefly in what is in any case a thesis which has a much wider scope than that of the present writer. Fieldhouse has offered useful perspectives upon the university extension movement and the WEA in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in A History of Modern British Adult Education (1996), as has Kelly from a more moderate viewpoint in his A History of Adult Education in Great Britain.

The present writer took Kelly's short work on the history of university extension at Manchester University (1886-1946) as a starting point for this thesis and has indeed used many of the primary sources used by him. She acknowledges the contribution made by his seminal study to that of her own work, together with that of Lees' detailed investigation into the development of adult education in Manchester in the eighty years prior to the First World War. However, whilst acknowledging appropriately their research, the present study supplements and develops their work in several important respects. Kelly's Outside the Walls looks almost entirely at the extension movement at Owens College, but places it only briefly (pp.3-6) in any national context. The present writer has endeavoured throughout this thesis to ensure that sufficient detail has been given of the developments of extension work at Oxford and Cambridge and, to a lesser extent, London, to enable the reader to have a clear and reasonably detailed understanding of the situation nationally against which the work at the Victoria University can be set. Whilst using many of the same primary sources as Kelly, the present study looks in some detail at aspects of university extension work at Manchester which Kelly has either not covered at all or has dealt with cursorily: the nature of the relationships among the leading providers of university extension activity; the intended audience for the courses; and the setting of the collaboration of the university with the WEA in Manchester relating to the organisation of university tutorial classes in a regional and national context.

In addition, the second chapter of this current study which in many respects underpins the entire thesis, covers in detail an aspect which is perhaps hinted at in Kelly's work but touched on only in passing: the tracing of a clear line of development of a tradition, through the various educational contributions of Owens College to the Manchester community in the thirty-five years from the College's inception to 1886, of

adult educational activities which were precursors of what was eventually to result in Manchester in the development of university extension programmes. Lees, in his thorough study of developments in the education of adults in nineteenth century Manchester, touches on this theme incidentally at several points in his thesis, but as the focus of his work is much wider it is not a connection which he pursues.

This thesis has its limitations, partly due to the rather intermittent nature of the material relating to university extension in Manchester and, more particularly, with the relative scarcity, despite careful searching and enquiry, of primary source material on the early years of the WEA in Manchester. The WEA was contacted both nationally and locally and the author received what little information was available, which was of a very general nature. Enquiries made of the Manchester branch of the WEA achieved very little as no archival material was available. What relevant local and national sources were available were located and these have been used where appropriate. Extant material which Kelly used in 1950 has been re-examined and in some cases explored and contextualised, as subsequent research has unearthed little in the way of new primary sources.

As far as connections between the university and the WEA in Manchester are concerned, because of the lack of new primary sources, in order to assemble a detailed and coherent account of the developments of the university tutorial classes in Manchester, secondary sources have had to feature somewhat more than had been anticipated at the outset. Where other theses and journal articles have directed the research to other sources these have been acknowledged in footnotes. Aspects of WEA work in Manchester which have involved the provision of educational activities in conjunction with agencies other than the universities have been referred to, but not featured as they are outside the scope of this thesis. In any event, these are relatively minor parts of the work of the WEA in Manchester, and to varying extents elsewhere, before 1914.

One of the problems the historical researcher faces in undertaking a detailed study of any establishment or movement over a protracted period is that the distribution of material tends to be uneven. Some sources abound and some are distinctly lacking. This is a recurrent problem and all one can do is make a rigorous examination of the extant sources and deal where one can in appropriate detail with the narrative and through careful analysis make full use of the available material. This has been done as far as possible in this thesis.

The experience of university extension activity at Manchester between 1886 and 1914 tended to reflect the patterns which emerge in other parts of the country. Despite the conducting of extension lectures in working-class districts such as Ancoats, which had a strong tradition of adult education provision by the late nineteenth century, and Openshaw, the movement in Manchester was, in conformity with the national picture, dominated by the middle classes. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Manchester the demand for university extension lectures there came initially from the middle-class districts of Withington and Chorlton-cum-Hardy, both within easy access of Owens College and that the provision of traditional university extension courses in the city ended at Withington in 1906. As elsewhere, a majority of the middle-class students were women, and the movement failed to attract middle-class young men or men from the working classes (other than the skilled artisan element) in any significant numbers.[28]

Possibilities for further research suggest themselves. A study of the University of Manchester's extra-mural work in the inter-war years, to supplement Kelly's brief treatment of the topic, is needed and further research similar to that undertaken recently at the University of Leeds[29] on fifty years of post-war work in adult continuing education, would bring the situation in Manchester to the present day and provide a companion study to Kelly's Outside the Walls.

Thomas Kelly's Outside the Walls concludes with an epilogue by R.D. Waller, Professor of Adult Education, to whom Kelly was, from 1945-48, Deputy Director of Extra-Mural Studies, in which Waller says that "Adult educational work cannot be successful without warmth and generosity;" and asks "What will some future historian, writing perhaps in 50 years' time, have to say about us and our doings? .... This at any rate the future historian may record - whatever he may think of our work, we were all happy in doing it".[30] This present historian, writing exactly fifty

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[28] Jepson N.A. The Beginnings of English University Adult Education: Policy and Problems A Critical Study of the early Oxford and Cambridge University Extension Lecture Movements between 1873 and 1907 with special reference to Yorkshire (London: Michael Joseph Ltd. 1973) pp.104-123

[29] Taylor R (ed) Beyond the Walls: fifty years of adult and continuing education at the University of Leeds 1946-1996 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in Continuing Education The University of Leeds 1996)

[30] Kelly 1950 op.cit. p.95

years after Kelly's work was published, has no difficulty in concluding that it was indeed the joy and enthusiasm which adult educators brought to their subject which ensured its success and subsequent development, here at the University of Manchester, enabling the eventual establishment of adult education as part of the mainstream work of the School of Education, today. Edwin Welch's observations[31] of the manner in which the thrust of the Extension Movement's initial success, born of Stuart's founding enthusiasm and energetic commitment, was put into decline by Browne's "indifference" during his time as Secretary to the Local Lectures Syndicate, and the positive results of Roberts' determination to halt that decline, support the view that the success or failure of any movement depend on the enthusiasm and commitment of those at its helm. Enthusiasm is contagious and the research discussed in this thesis demonstrates the importance of the motivating spirit of such men as Stuart, Sadler, Roberts, Marriott, Hudson Shaw, Marshall, Roscoe and Mansbridge, in driving forward movements of such far-reaching national importance as that of University Extension and the WEA. Without the inspiration of visionaries such as Stuart and Mansbridge, social progress would be impeded and certainly during the period covered by this thesis when England was in great danger of social revolution, such danger was averted to a large extent by the ability of those whose great enthusiasm in their own areas motivated and sustained them in their determination to provide adult education.

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[31] Welch E. The Peripatetic University: Cambridge Local Lectures 1873-1973 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1973) pp 80-85

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