

## LECTURES ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLAND.

Popular Addresses, Notes and other Fragments.

By Arnold Toynber.

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## THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By R. H. TAWNEY.

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# UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES

A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG WORKING MEN AND WOMEN

BY

#### ALBERT MANSBRIDGE

How shall a man learn except from one who is his friend?—Xenophon The lecture is one, the discussion is one thousand.—Arabian Properb

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### то MY WIFE

#### PREFACE.

The desire for education, as a way of life rather than as a means of livelihood or a mere intellectual exercise, is instinctive among English people and ready to reveal itself, under favourable conditions, at any moment. Its recent manifestation in what is known as the University Tutorial Class movement is so full of hope and promise for the future of our country, and indeed of all the English-speaking peoples, as to justify this attempt to describe what it has done, what it is, and what it may be.

This book will have achieved much if it is privileged to reveal a simple movement, often obscured by misconceptions and the perplexing paraphernalia of modern life, to those who have not up to the present been brought into touch with it. Its chief object is, however, to encourage those who, through long and weary days, have

striven to set the movement free in order that it may run its own course and achieve its own victories.

Any movement, however deeply rooted in the fundamental desires of the people, is beset at the outset by many dangers. An educational movement is often sorely beset. It has to fight its way through the network of objections raised by experts who are sometimes unable to understand that there is wisdom other than that which they perceive; and it has to contend, at every step, with the brooding pessimism which, in England at least, has often suffocated the early attempts of people to organize effort for other purposes than money or fame.

Up to the present, however, this movement has suffered little. It seemed as though English educationalists were waiting for it. The strength of the welcome given to it has been beyond all hope. The Universities and University Colleges of England and Wales have, without exception, welcomed it. The Universities of Australia are reaching out to it. The Board of Education has not only sought to assist it, but has ranged itself side by side with it as a developing force. Educa-

tion Authorities have, with one or two notable exceptions, given generous assistance to the classes which have arisen in their areas. Educational administrators in Parliament or elsewhere have appreciated it, and sought to cut the cords which might otherwise have bound it. Scholars have searched in it as for hidden treasure, and the earnestness of their seeking has been exceeded only by that of working men and women who have been fired by what has been to them an opportunity for splendid exploration into the things of the mind.

Still, there always lie about a rising movement the inevitable dangers of reaction. As it becomes successful, certain men see in it an opportunity to attain petty ends. In proportion as they succeed, even though statistics may become more splendid and finance more assured, the spirit passes away. Yet a movement depends entirely upon its spiritual integrity. Education is indeed a thing of the spirit.

It is with a deep sense of the dangers surrounding the rising movement that this little book has been written. But with that sense there goes a firm and confident hope that the dangers

will vanish, as indeed they must as the movement develops its own spirit through self-sacrifice and difficulty. This book contains the expression of many hopes and embodies the experience of many years of labour—experience gained by the scholars who have laboured in industrial centres and by the industrial workers who have laboured in the centres of scholarship. Nominally the product of one hand, it is, in fact, the joint effort of more people than it is possible to mention. Generally speaking, the compilers of the volume are the tutors of the classes and many of the students, but it would be unfitting to pass unrecognized the great help rendered by many friends, and particularly by Miss D. Jones, without whose arduous labours the preparation of the book would have been sadly hindered.

Nor can this preface be closed without the recognition that this movement owes its inspiration, among those who have passed away to Arnold Toynbee, who strove for a similar ideal with all his power; to Frederick Denison Maurice, whose name is writ large in the whole history of the Working Men's College; to Dr. Paton, who embodied all these ideals in his

life; and, among those living now, to Margaret McMillan, whose eye has scanned the very heart of the educational aspirations of Labour; to James Stuart, who in those early days when, with prophetic spirit, he set out to establish the world-famous movement of University Extension, laid the foundations upon which we are building now; to Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford, who in his efforts to reveal to men the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth, included in the greater whole the spirit and effect, if not the actual operations, of this movement; to Michael Sadler, whose generous encouragement fanned the sparks of early effort into the flames of life; as well as to countless others who reveal themselves in the actual details of the work.

So much confidence, trust, and hope have gone to make the movement that this book is, at the best, only a pale reflection of them, but, if it be indeed a reflection, it is justified.

#### ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

24 May, 1913.

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#### CHAPTER I.

#### A MOVEMENT IN BEING.

THE relation of tutor and student in a University Tutorial Class—as indeed in any other class of adults—is entirely different from the ordinary relationship of teacher and pupil. The teacher is in real fact a fellow-student, and the fellowstudents are teachers. Humility of spirit and an appreciation of the vast, unexplored reaches of knowledge are at once the inspiration and the vital force of such study, which is always pursued in accordance with the wills and desires of the students. For, unless they are vitally interested, no group of students will persist in studying a subject from which they receive no material reward and gain no recognition. The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, or as a means of development of body, soul, and spirit, can never be stimulated artificially; it must arise out of the very needs of the people. Fortunately, the ordinary individual, under normal circumstances, is ready—and indeed anxious—to tread in the way of Education if it be once opened before him.

The University Tutorial Class movement proves this abundantly. The working men and women who make up the roll of its students have imposed heavy conditions upon themselves. An agreement to study for three years without

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absence from class, unless illness or employment intervenes, and to write regular essays, cannot be lightly undertaken; yet it is undertaken by rapidly increasing numbers each year. No University or Education Authority would have ever dreamed of asking such things of the workers of England. They asked them of themselves and have been true to their own demands. The result is a movement in being which is full of promise, and has revealed many new and startling discoveries to those who study educational or even social effort.

The University Tutorial Class movement did not come into being of itself. It is the direct result of much experiment on the part of working men and women in the University Extension movement and in the various organizations of working people which had for long consistently pursued knowledge.

The actual period of development now calling for consideration commenced some ten years ago when, out of the ranks of labour, there emerged a movement of men and women determined at all costs to pursue truth through knowledge. This movement has founded for itself an organization which adopted, some three years after its institution, the name of the Workers' Educational Association. The Association has incontestably proved that the workers of England, as such, are alive and responsive to the finer creations of mind and spirit. It has proved that working men and women, even those who are tired, anxious, ill-fed, and ill-housed, have in them the Divine spark which the slightest breeze will fan into flame, lighting up with joy unspeakable

the way of knowledge, not for one day or two days, but through years.

It is difficult to describe such a movement as this, for its real power and its sources of strength are obviously intangible. They lie deep below the surface of individual and social life, and no statistics or mere appreciations or descriptions will serve to reveal them to the onlooker. It has often been said of the Workers' Educational Association itself, and as often of University Tutorial Classes, that no one can describe them adequately. They must be seen at work, or rather, worked with. Thus it is, that when observers and students of educational methods come from other lands, those who visit the classes become fired with their enthusiasm and endeavour to reproduce their spirit in the reports they write. Far otherwise is it with those who receive merely the written records and descriptions. To them it becomes a matter of the number of students, of financial considerations, of essays written; but these things are only the outer shell. Yet details are essential, if only as signposts, and it will be necessary to look back for a moment and then describe more completely, though briefly, the intentions of the Workers' Educational Association

The working people of England have never allowed the torch of education to drop from their hands to the ground. Always and everywhere the observer can detect evidences of the desire for education—sometimes covered up it is true, but at times bursting out in such a way as to have all the appearance of a revival. The Industrial Revolution materially altered the conditions of English working-class

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life and, for a time at least, that momentous upheaval which flung working men and women into hastily constructed towns, it dragged into its vortex the strength and beauty of English child, as well as of adult, life. But, amid much difficulty since those days, the workers of England have utilized adult schools, mechanics' institutes, working-men's colleges and University Extension lectures. Out of their varied experience, coupled with the fine and strong forces which have created the organizations of working people, the Workers' Educational Association, the first visible embodiment of the movement of to-day, arose.

This Association is a federation of educational and working-class organizations, of workers and scholars, for the purpose of stimulating the demand for education and of organizing the supply in the interests of those who are largely occupied by manual labour. It is, at the present time, a very large Association. It has federated to it some 2000 organizations, mostly of working people, but including among them the leading educational organizations of the day, and even Universities in Canada and Australia. It does its work through the medium of a Central Council, eight District Committees, and over 150 branches. It has spread to Ireland and Scotland, and has affected adult educational work on the Continent, while the signs indicate that Canada and Australia will develop an equivalent movement within their own borders. It is obvious that. being an educational movement, it is both non-political and unsectarian. Its story is of absorbing interest, full of the records of rich and self-sacrificing effort to release the

minds of the people from the obstructive and vitiating forces which destroy educational aspiration. Its members do this, not by talking about it, or by preaching, but by clearing their own minds.

We are now considering, however, only one branch of this federation. All others we must pass by.

The facts about University Tutorial Classes are simple. The students must not exceed thirty-two in number. They are, in the main, adult working men and women who make the pledges before referred to in regard to attendance and essays. The first hour is usually devoted to an exposition of the subject, differing from a lecture in that students may, if they find it necessary, interrupt and ask for further explanation or information. The second hour is devoted to discussion, but the class seldom ends at the close of the two hours. When the rooms are closed it overflows into the street; also a great deal of individual tutorial work is done outside class hours.

Each course of study must aim at reaching the standard of University honours work in the subject taken, and the reports made upon the classes reveal abundantly that they succeed. This is, to a great extent, due to the keenness which results from the freedom of the class. Such freedom expresses itself partly in management by the students in co-operation with the local Workers' Educational Association, or, in some cases, with the Local Education Authority.

The ultimate responsibility for the standard of the class rests upon a University Committee, to which the University appoints, on the nomination of the Workers' Educational Association, as many representatives of labour as there are University men with seats upon it. Every University in England and Wales has taken up the work and, for the purposes of efficiency and closer mutual understanding, they have established what is at present a unique body in English University life—a Central Joint Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives from every University and University College in England and Wales. At the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, which met in London in July, 1912, and was attended by the representatives of fifty-five Universities, it was generally held that the most living subject discussed was the development of tutorial classes.

Definite steps are now being taken to establish classes in Australia. In fact, the Legislature of New South Wales has made special provision for them, and the working men of Sydney have made up their minds that they are essential to the development of education in that state which, in many respects, has the most advanced educational system of our day. The present writer is visiting Australia in order to assist the work, having accepted an invitation from the Universities there.

Last winter there were 117 classes at work. Twenty-five others, in addition, have run their full course of three or four years, generally leaving behind them a nucleus of students for a new class and many who are willing to assist the educational work of co-operative societies, adult schools, and trade unions. Only four classes have ceased work before the close of three years, or, in other words, failed.

A growing movement like this is necessarily confronted

by many problems, but, even so, the burden of attempting their solution is lightened by the splendid spirit of those who devote their lives to the cause before it has achieved success and who care little for themselves but very deeply for the work.

In spite of the larger grant aid from the Board of Education, the further spread of the movement is seriously hampered by want of funds; for the Universities and University Colleges are spending as much at the present time as they reasonably can, and applications for classes are being refused, whilst the Workers' Educational Association is compelled to discourage the formation of others. We do not view this temporary situation with unqualified dismay, for the chief thing that matters now is that the work shall become increasingly excellent; in the long run, the money which the tutorial classes need is certain to be found. Universities, in England at least, have limited funds, and, although it may be contended that these classes may be doing work of incomparably more value than much that is carried on in the Universities themselves, yet the increasing excellence of internal University work is essential to the complete development of tutorial class work, and we are continually making demands upon Universities so to arrange their finance that no student of high ability shall be refused admission to internal work simply because he has no money.

England is not yet generous to its Universities. One reason for this is that they have been too much the creation or the monopoly of limited sections of the people. Modern town Universities have had to appeal constantly to the com-

mercial magnates, even though they rely for maintenance largely upon the grants from Local Education Authorities and from the Government. The ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had, until very recent years, very few children of the people within their walls. In the day when the workers regard universities as institutions whose work is inseparable from national well-being, they will see to it that the necessary grants are made.

It is clear that the operation of University Tutorial Classes is one of the most powerful forces in developing an appreciation of Universities, an appreciation which arises from the fact that working people and University tutors pursue education side by side, learning of one another.

Apart from finance the hindrances to work are considerable. In a season of good trade "overtime" decimates many classes, hinders innumerable students from undertaking work, and most certainly prevents classes being formed. Bad conditions of housing and undue hours of labour not only damp the ardour of many who have both the capacity and the desire for study, but tend to produce the impression that study is futile.

These and other problems press for consideration, but, in spite of them, the movement has revealed itself in strength as a necessary activity in national education. But for this and kindred movements, evening school work in England might have seemed to be designed for technical efficiency alone. A satisfied desire for education as a way of life is essential to the well-being of any community.

Tutorial classes are less than nothing if they concern

themselves merely with the acquisition or dissemination of knowledge. They are in reality concerned with the complete development of those who compose them, and indeed of the common life. It is this which makes them magnetic, and attracts the attention of continental scholars, who see in them the finest examples of adult education they know.

How the movement has linked up the experience of Universities with the experience of life outside, and has affected by correction and amplification university teaching, it is the purpose of the following pages to show. It is hoped that they may also be of assistance to many who are approaching the movement desirous to help it, but without knowledge of its principles or a clear idea as to the lines of its development.

#### CHAPTER II.

#### SCHOLARS AND WORKPEOPLE IN UNION.

ABOUT ten years ago a small group of working mentrade unionists and co-operators—looking back through the years, saw that education had developed just where the scholar and the workman joined hands. The natural unity existing between men who have not made business one of the chief ends of their life, and who in different ways perform tasks necessary to the development of the common life, was plain to them, and they were sure that the gap hitherto existing between working men and scholars was due to the lack of a uniting force. They believed implicitly that unity of action in the pursuit of education between manual and brain workers was not only possible but easy to bring about, and, moreover, that not only the education of the people but the welfare of England depended upon it.

They were inspired by the example of Arnold Toynbee, that eager, impetuous scholar of Balliol, who flung himself into the haunts of workmen, lived with them, talked their best talk, and grew to be one with them, lecturing with fiery zeal up and down England, and spending the last efforts of his all-too-brief life in the endeavour to secure unity between scholars and working people. They saw that the

principles which he advocated in his famous address to the Co-operators at Oxford in 1882 were capable of translation into the common life. It was his words which laid down for them their educational programme, and still largely dominate their actions to-day.

They had before them also the record of the Working Men's College, which gave clear evidence of the constructive power generated by the association of scholars and workpeople. Everything pointed to the fact that the expert in demand should co-operate with the expert in supply in one and the same organization. The working man knows best the conditions under which he is able to study, as well as where and when and what he desires to study. England has lost much through the inability of the people to transfer their ideas readily to other groups. It seems that people live, when not in ruts, between walls of glass. One group is inarticulate to the other group. A working man of more than usually wide reading said lately with some emphasis and some remorse that he had always considered members of the Church of England to be rogues, or very foolish, until he met them in the Workers' Education Association. An instance like this reveals the origin of much misunderstanding in modern society. Perhaps, too, one of the most fruitful causes of difficulty is the different use of words. Different groups of men seem to use entirely different languages. One word means one thing to this man and another to that; and so it will always be while men are educated in a different manner, and brought up amid different surroundings.

These things are dangerous to the community. But when scholar and workman work steadily side by side, day by day, in determining the conditions of educational supply, such difficulties tend to disappear. At a meeting for a class, after much discussion, it was found that the members desired that the night of study should be Tuesday, and then it came out that Tuesday was the day upon which washing was usually done at home. Only the workman knows what home is like on a washing day when the extent of the home is two or three rooms. Needless to say the attendance at the class has been very high, and there is no disposition on the part of the men to rush home where, probably, their room for those hours at least would be preferred to their company.

From considerations such as these the idea of definite action grew rapidly. A small provisional association, consisting entirely of Trade Unionists and Co-operators met on 14 July, 1903. As was anticipated, scholars—the finest of them—at once joined hands. On 22 August, 1903, through the ever-generous hospitality of Oxford, a National Conference was held. It was composed of representatives of Universities, trade unions, co-operative societies, Ruskin College, and other educational institutions. It was addressed by workmen—railway servants, weavers, engineers. It was presided over by the Bishop of Hereford, who, compelled to leave early, left his task to that gracious scholar, always filled with the spirit of labour—G. W. Kitchin, late Dean of Durham—one who never could resist an appeal from workmen.

The Association thus took a forward step, and there were

some at least who viewed its future with hope. But the majority, as things said since have revealed, whilst they wished it well, doubted its future. Some saw in it a mere attempt to reorganize University Extension, and working-class newspapers urged that a reduction in the charges of University Extension lectures was one of the first necessary steps.

Those, however, who saw deep significance in it held powerfully together.

The chief difficulty seemed to be finance. Wise reformers held that the Association was an absurdity, without large finance. The Association had no money. Some others held that the Universities would have to finance it, and that, if they financed it, they would govern it. Association was determined, above all things, to be free. It was clear that it should be unpartisan in politics, and should welcome men of all kinds of political thought; that it should be unsectarian, standing outside all creeds, but not hostile to any one of them; that it should be democratic in the sense that it should be governed by its members and that it would pay no more respect to the man of high place or of great wealth than to the humblest workman with no money; that it would accept no money given to influence its teaching. To all these principles it has, through the ten years of its life, kept true. It has unified in one body, without conscious difference, men of all experiences—the peer's son rejoices in the fellowship of the miner's son, and the casual labourer in the friendship of the don. The pursuit of education has made men forget

the lesser differences and realize their common humanity—not consciously, because to set out to realize it would be priggishness—but as a natural and an inevitable result. Men and women directly opposed to one another in the affairs of the municipality or State, or in the affairs of the Church, have realized friendship on the platform of the Association. Education unites and does not divide.

It has been the glory of the Association that, on its platforms, it has brought together leaders in the national life. On the occasion when it organized lectures for delivery in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, it secured as its successive chairmen, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Will Crooks, Sir William Anson, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. L. V. Harcourt, and Mr. George Barnes. Prelates and Salvation Army Captains have jostled one another on its platforms. Agnostic working men have listened with eagerness to the sermons in St. Mary's at Oxford, and then proceeded to Balliol College to discuss them with the preacher until midnight. The association of these men with one another has produced an intangible force which men call "the W.E.A. spirit". It is indefinable, but it is real: to be understood it must be experienced.

All this is merely an attempt to show how the force was generated which brought about the first University Tutorial Classes. Right through the whole existence of the Association it has been clear that nothing must be done for the workers but that which they themselves want, which they reach out to, and for which they themselves have expressed

a desire. The time has gone by when any one section of the people can do things for any other section without their co-operation. The magnificent prospectuses presented to the public by capable educational administrators have had no magnetism in them, because they have been created apart from those for whom they were designed. It was also clear that adult study must proceed on lines of complete freedom; that the ordinary pedagogic methods of the school were unsuitable; even the methods of Universities were incomplete, for adult men and women students will not take lectures passively like undergraduates; they desire to diagnose, to criticize, or to add to the views taken up by any teacher. They are ready to give their experience, their cherished ideas, to be reconsidered in the light of fuller knowledge, and to be fused into the greater whole.

In the early days of the movement University Extension lectures were utilized as much as possible, but the financial considerations, the disconnected form of study, and undemocratic methods of organization, tended to produce the conviction that such a system was not complete. At the same time it should be stated that branches have not ceased to use University Extension lectures, and, with the promise of further developments in University Extension methods, it would seem probable that they will be more frequently used in the future than they have been in the past. The feeling that University Extension needed development was strong in the minds of most of the lecturers who had served it from its earliest days. Men like Mr. Hudson Shaw were always reaching out to something better,

and gallant attempts were made to create a bridge between University Extension and the University. Mr. Hudson Shaw arranged for Joseph Owen, the weaver of Oldham, to go to Oxford, where he distinguished himself by gaining the Brackenbury Scholarship at Balliol and a First Class in the Final Schools of Modern History. But such attempts needed enormous efforts and could only be made in special cases. Dr. R. D. Roberts had striven by all possible means in his power to raise the dignity of University Extension and, as the past is searched for evidence, it becomes clear that more credit is due to him than was ever accorded in his lifetime for helping to initiate the forces which produced the tutorial class, although he never appeared to realize that it was essentially different from the Extension course and that it demanded different treatment. It is not always wise to treat the son in the same way as the father, or even brothers alike.

Just as some rivers have more than one source, so the tutorial class movement did not arise wholly in one place. London University and Oxford University, Battersea and Rochdale, must in this connexion be mentioned together.

The idea arose in London. Oxford and Rochdale developed it and laid down the lines of its work. Oxford and Rochdale were deliberately selected by the Workers' Educational Association, the one as the most suitable University, the other as the town which could successfully try the first experiment.

Dr. Roberts and Canon Barnett had from the inception of the Workers' Educational Association made it clear that its success or failure, in their eyes at least, would be estimated by the manner in which it promoted serious study on the part of small groups of working men and women.

London University, thanks to the financial ability of Dr. Roberts, was able to support experiments more easily than either Oxford or Cambridge. On 19 June, 1906, a Conference was held at London University, and a small committee was formed which definitely recommended the formation of a tutorial class for working people. The Association was invited to provide the students. May, 1907, the Battersea Workers' Educational Association was formed. In September of that year, just after the Rochdale class had been granted and the Oxford Conference taken place, Dr. Roberts and Professor Patrick Geddes visited Battersea, arriving, to the interest of the inhabitants, in a taxicab, a novelty at the time. found, at the hour of the beginning of the meeting, two students waiting. Neither Dr. Roberts nor Professor Geddes were men to be depressed by small beginnings. The meeting rose in number to eight, and the Professor sat down to the table, spread out, as is his wont, a large sheet of drawing paper, produced a lump of blue chalk, and proceeded in his fascinating and peculiar way to impart knowledge and develop idealism. The course, entitled "Civics," was successful, and during ten weeks showed an average attendance of fourteen. There was however, it must be noted, no pledge. To a certain extent the class conformed to tutorial class principles, but no essay work was asked for.

It is now time to turn to Rochdale, which had successfully organized University Extension lectures for some years,

drawing its inspiration largely from Mr. Ernest Carter, whose early death was not only a local but a national loss. His powerful organization of University Extension was followed by some years of notable work as Assistant Secretary for Elementary Education in the County of Lancashire.

In the early months of 1907 Mr. E. L. S. Horsburgh had delivered a course of Oxford lectures at Rochdale on Social and Political Problems to an audience consisting largely of working men and women, gathered together by the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association. At the same time a Ruskin Hall class was at work, and a class on the subject of the lectures in connexion with the Local Education Authority. The rising demand for systematic education was stimulated by Mr. Horsburgh, and the branch immediately set itself to work to satisfy it.

As already recorded, the Central Association was working at the problem and promised that if thirty working men and women would pledge themselves to study for two years, the Association would do what it could to secure the best possible tutor for the subject desired. Rochdale acted upon the suggestion, and called a meeting on a Saturday afternoon, which was attended by some fifty-six persons. They decided that they would pledge themselves to study for three years with twenty-four classes each year of two hours each, and write fortnightly essays. They chose a Saturday afternoon because that was the one time that was sacred from the ravages of "overtime". At Rochdale, as elsewhere, "overtime" is the bane of working-class education.

Rochdale had now done its part, and it was left for the Association to complete the work. To do this it arranged with the Dean of Christ Church, who was Chairman of the University Extension Delegacy, to receive a small deputation of Rochdale working-men students in August, 1907.

It proved to be an interesting occasion. The working men, who were consumed with eagerness, met the Dean, after having been his guests at luncheon, to discuss the matter. They told him that University Extension had made them hungry. It was therefore the duty of the University to satisfy that hunger. Naturally enough the Dean turned to the question of cost, when one of them suggested that they were so hungry that, if the Dean could realize how hungry they were, he would melt the College plate to provide the means for the satisfaction of their hunger. The Dean said: "You shall have your tutor". There was not the least doubt that he had himself been longing for some method of systematic University teaching in industrial centres. Probably it had been suggested to him largely by the fact that Colleges possessed property in populous districts. The deputation went away happy.

The difficulty at once arose as to the provision of a tutor. For such an experiment the man must be one of ready sympathy and intellectual power. It seemed to the Association that a late scholar of Balliol, Mr. R. H. Tawney, possessed the necessary qualifications. He had undertaken the teaching of working people in connexion with the Association and was, at the time, an assistant lecturer on Economics in the University of Glasgow. When it was clear to him

that he was wanted, he readily consented to take the class, and only proceeded to examine the inconveniences (which were considerable) afterwards. The appointment was made under the auspices of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, and financial assistance was provided out of a sum of money voted by New College, Oxford, to the Delegacy, this money being given as the direct result of a visit to New College by the writer and Mr. W. J. Sharkey, a working brushmaker, and at that time Secretary of the Birmingham branch.

The arrangements made at Oxford on behalf of Rochdale had come prominently before the Secretary for University Extension at Longton, where also the problem of systematic study was being faced. As a result the Local Education Authority who were responsible for University Extension work asked that the facilities afforded to Rochdale should be extended to Longton on similar terms.

Whilst the negotiations for the class at Rochdale were proceeding, arrangements were being undertaken for a large consideration of the whole question. It had been the custom of the University Extension Authorities at Oxford and Cambridge to welcome, each year, a Conference organized by the Workers' Educational Association. The subject selected on this occasion was "What Oxford can do for Workpeople". Early it became clear that the occasion was one which might prove to be historic. All the fermentation which had been going on in London, Rochdale, and elsewhere, had produced a new temper. Working people began to see in it an opportunity for taking definite

steps to bring Oxford into touch with the people. Accordingly the following resolution was prepared for submission to the Conference:—

"That this National Conference, consisting of workingclass and educational organizations, affirming the growing desire on the part of workpeople for Higher Education, and anxious for the further co-operation of Oxford in the systematic teaching of historical, economic, and other liberal subjects, approves the formation of a Committee of seven persons nominated by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and seven persons nominated by the Executive of the Workers' Educational Association, with instructions to report before Easter next to the organizations here represented, as to the best means of carrying into effect the suggestions made in the two papers read before the Conference."

Dr. Gore, then Bishop of Birmingham, agreed to preside, and papers were prepared by Mr. Walter Nield, President of the North-Western Co-operative Educational Committees' Association, and Mr. Sidney Ball, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, whilst Mr. J. M. Mactavish, a dockyard worker at Portsmouth, agreed to speak. The Conference proved of such an interesting nature that it demands a chapter to itself.

#### CHAPTER IIL

#### THE OXFORD CONFERENCE.

AFTER the lapse of six years only the outstanding features of the Conference remain vivid, but it is easy to turn to the written records, and, fortunately, in addition to the complete reports in the press and the comments thereupon, a verbatim report of the proceedings is in existence.

A varied crowd of men and women thronged the great Examination Schools at Oxford on August 10, 1907. University Extension students occupied the portion not reserved for delegates. Even then the crucial nature of the occasion was not realized, though delegates attended from 200 organizations of working people in England and Wales. For the most part they were keen working men who were ready to be stirred into distrust of Oxford, for, at that time, the distrust of Universities amongst working people was general. In a few places it had been broken down by the wisdom of Oxford men, by the working of the University Extension system, and by the progress of the Workers' Educational Association. It would obviously have taken but little to have aroused the meeting to open animosity. At the same time there was hovering over it all the charm which Oxford never fails to exercise upon those who visit

her. It may safely be said that no working man or woman ever visits Oxford without feeling some passionate desire for the extension of education.

In his greeting to the Conference the Secretary to the University Extension Delegacy struck a true note when he suggested that Oxford had made a great advance towards becoming a national institution. "Barriers of creed have been thrown down, barriers of class also. Oxford is a national institution. We hope it will become more national, not by the exclusion of the rich, but by the inclusion of the poor."

Dr. Gore is always welcome to an audience of working people, and it was fortunate that it had been possible for him to preside. His speech was full of warning. He meditated upon the fact that it had often been said that "the great function of the Universities is to educate the govern-; ing classes," but he reminded the Conference that the term "governing classes" needed wide extension, and that "everybody who has eyes to see must recognize that the governing classes in England and in other countries include, and that continually in a broader and intenser form, those who work with their hands". "What I want," he said, "is that our ancient Universities-and here in Oxford in particularshould be maintained before all else as places of serious study; so that more and more those who don't want to become serious students should find themselves out of place in a University, and that the endowments and resources of the University should be made available, as far as possible, for all those who really want to be serious students. It means, in part,

that they should be made available on the spot where the University is. It means also, in part, that we should have University Extension teaching in the old sense, but also with a new application. It means that it should be regarded as the normal function of the University to supply thorough, systematic, regular and steady teaching to small classes, where these small classes can be arranged. What I should like to see brought about is that wherever in any city there is a guaranteed class of thirty persons, or of some such number, who undertake to see to the local expenses, there I want that the Universities-not Oxford and Cambridge only, but Oxford and Cambridge amongst other Universities -should be willing to provide a teacher who should help these men through this systematic course of study. I believe that is what we really want." In these words the Bishop indicated the whole future of the Tutorial Class movement. Did he see with prophetic vision, we wonder, the 117 classes of to-day? Never was a speech more abundantly justified in the event.

Additional strength was given to the Conference by the presence of Sir Robert Morant, who was then Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education; whilst in that office he was always ready to meet fresh educational demands, and it is literally true to say that, so far as working people were concerned, he never spared himself in his desire to discover their wishes, and to meet them when he had understood them. He spoke in a way that was somewhat unusual for a permanent official, and committed his Department to real and definite aid. The Act of 1902, which few people

regard as a perfect Act, had, nevertheless, opened up opportunities to Local Education Authorities for the provision of almost any kind of education, and, however much England may have been behind Scotland, it has never made the mistake of becoming too rigid. Our Education Acts have left a great deal of opportunity for the encouragement of experiments no matter who conducts them. Sir Robert said frankly that the Board of Education "is looking for guidance from such an Association as is represented here today, to show us the way in which adult education can best be furthered. In particular, we believe it is to small classes and solid, earnest work that we can give increasingly of the golden stream." This term which he used-"the golden stream"-was somewhat misunderstood, and was held by many to be a promise of direct help to the Association, but that, of course, was quite a mistake. All that was promised and all that has ever been given is grants for actual class work, and then only a portion of the actual cost. The opponents of the Association have, indeed, actually tried to argue that the Association was under Government control as a result of receiving grants in aid.

The reader of the first paper, Mr. Walter Nield, was one who had been brought into connexion with University Extension at Oldham, and he stated the needs of the people in clear and emphatic words.

Mr. Sidney Ball presented the second paper after Mr. Nield had moved the resolution. He rejoiced that the workers themselves were now going to lead in matters concerning their own education.

In spite of these clear and definite expressions of true principle, the Conference was inclined to be restive, when a short, keen, sturdy Scotch shipwright arose and arraigned the Universities in terms of burning eloquence, stronger than any of the opponents of the movement had deemed it possible to use. The effect of the speech was that it swung the opposition into its place, and won the respect of Oxford men who, for the first time, heard in their halls a clear expression of working-class demand. No one but the speaker could perhaps approve every point in the speech, but the spirit in which it was delivered unquestionably compelled admiration.<sup>1</sup>

The day was won. Oxford and working people were swung together into line—a line which, as events proved, has never since been broken.

The speech was followed by open discussion, during which many interesting points of view were presented.

Mr. Hudson Shaw was emphatic in his opposition on one point which seemed to him to impugn a sound educational ideal: "A working man can get no good from Oxford at all, if he is going to dictate to us before he comes what he is going to hear". It need hardly be said that working people have never desired to do so; they have simply said that Oxford should make an effort to deal impartially with every question, and that she could make that effort successfully only by co-operation with working people. This was what Mr. Mactavish meant. Mr. Shaw proceeded to ask Oxford to hand over a college to the movement, lock, stock, and

barrel, but in this he ran counter to the ideas of working people, who obviously desire no class college, but the utilization of all the colleges by the best students, irrespective of whether they were working people or otherwise.

The resolution was carried with enthusiasm and with only one or two dissentients. It was carried, moreover, with evidence of obvious determination to make it a starting point of one of the greatest educational movements of our time.

The last word was spoken by Mr. Philip Snowden, who said that he found "the chief obstacle in the way of progress to be that ignorance and indifference of workpeople to which so much reference has been made this afternoon". He stated what was an obvious truth when he said: "There is no member of your Association who thinks that your Association will provide for the future demand for higher education among the workers" because he, too, saw a vision of the time when the obstacles will be cleared away, and free progress towards education will be the function of the whole community. He realized that it was only through success that the Association could become merged in a larger communal activity.

The Conference closed with Mr. Snowden's words: "I would rather have better education given to the masses of the working classes than the best for a few. 'O God, make no more giants; elevate the race!'"

## CHAPTER IV.

#### THE OXFORD REPORT.

To the great satisfaction of the conveners of the Conference, Dr. T. H. Warren, President of Magdalen College and, at that time, Vice-Chancellor of the University, nominated seven members of the University to meet seven other persons nominated by the Workers' Educational Association. Throughout the whole of the negotiations in connexion with the work of tutorial classes (as indeed throughout their after-history) Dr. Warren has always given sympathetic help.

The seven Oxford members were fully representative of the University. They were the Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Turner, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, together with such well-known tutors as Mr. A. L. Smith and Mr. Sidney Ball. A place was found for Mr. Marriott, Secretary to the University Extension Delegacy, for Mr. H. B. Lees Smith, of Ruskin College, and for Mr. A. E. Zimmern, who had become interested in the work through the visit, already mentioned, of the writer and Mr. Sharkey to New College.

The Workers' Educational Association, for its part, appointed representatives of the Co-operative Union, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and the National Conference of Friendly Societies, whilst two labour town councillors were appointed in the persons of Mr. Alfred Wilkinson of Rochdale, and Mr. J. M. Mactavish of Portsmouth, whose speech at the Conference has been already noticed.

At the first meeting of the Committee on 27 December, 1907, the Dean of Christ Church was appointed Chairman, Mr. D. J. Shackleton (then M.P. for Clitheroe), Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Zimmern and the writer, Joint Secretaries.

This first meeting was held in the old common room of Balliol College—as meetings of the resulting Joint Committee are held to this day—but New College provided hospitality. Never before had such a diversified set of people come together to discuss with authority a problem of University Education. But the members soon settled down together and quickly satisfied each other that the sole aim of each of them was the spread of Education.

Frankness and plain speaking prevailed. Difficult problems were faced by the whole Committee. Disagreements were discussed without bitterness and for the purposes of settlement. Oxford with all her paraphernalia of learning roused the indignation of a member here and there. "Oxford needs reform!" said one of them contemptuously, "she's ripe, and rotten, and ready to drop at a touch." Not a member of the Committee failed to realize that the report would be useless unless it proved true to the real interests of Oxford and of labour alike. But the Committee soon found that these were identical. It was commonly

thought that the University members would lead, but the result proved that there were no leaders—the Committee became one and indivisible.

Whilst the Report was being written, it will be remembered, the Longton and Rochdale classes were at work. Thus an object lesson was provided. The Report, in all its details, is of surpassing interest. It is impossible to give any successful summary of it, but perhaps the main divisions may be indicated as preliminary to a statement of its recommendations. At the outset it traced the interest expressed by the workers in education, and showed how it "waxed and waned, leaped forward, and sank back, as the hopes kindled by other movements awoke them to new possibilities, or distress and disappointment made them sceptical of any kind of progress. Religion, machine production, the cooperative movement, Christian socialism, political discontent, have all contributed something to the demand for higher education among workpeople."

The growth of Adult Schools, the formation of Mechanics' Institutes, the efforts of the Co-operative movement, the establishment of Working Men's Colleges, were all brought under contribution, whilst the establishment of Ruskin College, Fircroft, and the formation of the Workers' Educational Association provided the signs of present hope.

Then followed a careful summary of the purpose, history, and endowments of the University and Colleges of Oxford. The contention that, in the words of the Royal Commission of 1852, these Colleges "were designed to supply poor students, so long as they were poor, and so long as they

were students, but no longer, with a maintenance, decent and honest, as it is expressed in the Statutes of New College, but of a very frugal character," is examined with care, but the considerations which make it difficult to accept this view as it stands are placed well to the forefront, and it is shown that Balliol College, as far back as the Statutes of Devorgilla "consisted of men of different degrees of wealth and scales of living". But the plain conclusion is come to that, "in the Middle Ages, the University was open to practically all who desired to learn, irrespective of wealth or poverty".

The gradual change in the method of University life which resulted from the exclusion of poor students is plainly set forth. Clear and straight statements of labour organizations are quoted. No view of Oxford is omitted which has any kind of argument on its side. The method of granting scholarships and exhibitions is examined, and it is clearly shown that the bulk of the scholarships and exhibitions are not restricted to poor men. It is also shown that the scholarships are not adapted to secure an Oxford education for a maximum number of the children of the working classes.

With very great difficulty, owing to the complex nature of Oxford accounts, a Statement of the Income and Expenditure of the University was prepared and included—the first statement in a popular form of the funds of the University.

The University Extension movement in its application to working people is carefully examined, and the conclusion is definitely come to that "if due attention is paid to the history of the University Extension movement, and an earnest attempt is made to build in the future on the experience of the past, it may ultimately become what its founders desired, one channel (though only one) for bringing University Education of the highest and most systematic character within the reach of the working classes".

All through the Report insistence is laid upon the fact that the recommendations are confined to one line of advance, and do not attempt to define, in full, the attitude of ordinary people to Oxford.

A closely reasoned chapter on "The Demand made by Working People for University Education" concludes by stating summarily the requirements which a University must satisfy in a democratic community. "A modern University must be accessible to every class, not merely in the formal sense that it admits every applicant of good character who satisfies its educational requirements, but in the practical sense of making it certain that no one will be excluded merely on the ground of poverty."

Again: "In order to obtain the University education which they desire, it must not be necessary for workpeople to leave the class in which they were born". . . . "Any organization of Higher Education which is based on the assumption that education of a 'general' kind is desired or needed only by those entering the professions, while technical education alone is suitable for persons engaged in manual labour is fundamentally mistaken." . . "The task of meeting the needs of new classes of students is one which cannot, except with great detriment to education, be deferred

until an organized demand arises (as it has now arisen) outside the University."

The chapter concludes with an expression of the importance attached to the "principle of direct representation" upon University bodies of leading working people, since such representation not only secures "the confidence and co-operation of large bodies of men who might otherwise be inclined to distrust Oxford," but also "gives workmen a very valuable insight into the working of University institutions".

We have thus reached the precise point where the establishment of tutorial classes beyond the limits of the University become practicable, and it may roughly be said that the principles laid down in the Report are those which dominate the movement to this day. As these will perhaps be revealed in the history of the method and conduct of the classes, it is not necessary for us to deal with them here. The question of cost, the method of grants, and the authorities responsible for organizing working-class education, are severally dealt with.

It was always assumed in the minds of the writers of the Report that the classes should themselves lead some of their members to the University, that they should form a recognized avenue of approach to University studies for adult working men and women; the problems involved in such a scheme were carefully considered, and it was held to be possible and practicable for working men to proceed to the Oxford Colleges.

The principle that the men should be actual members of

colleges was definitely laid down. It was felt that they could study at Oxford for at least two years, and take a diploma in Economics and Political Science.

The after-career of working-class students was carefully considered in a final chapter, and it was shown that the ever-increasing number of workpeople's organizations demanded officials and leaders of the highest capacity, and that many of them comprised duties which a University education would enable working men to perform with greater adequacy, while some at least of the students would become tutors of classes.

The Report implies that much misunderstanding and trouble has been due to the fact that higher education has not been open to working people, and, consequently, that the higher education of people other than working people has been less valuable and of less directive force than it otherwise would have been.

The Summary of Recommendations is of such importance that we have ventured to present it *in extenso*, as an appendix.

The Committee felt that their Report would not be complete without some advice as to courses of study and, further, some suggestions for preliminary study. These have proved of extreme value to many tutors, although in no one case have they directed the studies of a class.

As soon as the Report appeared it became prominent in the public press. Papers which had no particular tenets to uphold received it with enthusiasm. Oxford, it was felt and often said, had seized a great opportunity which would redound to her credit throughout the years. It was interesting to find that no reasoned attack could be made upon the Report by the extremists of any political party, and to this day the Report has not been assailed in a way which has caused the authors of it to wish that any part of it had been written otherwise. The first edition of 3000 copies was readily disposed of, and arrangements are now being made for the issue of a third and revised edition of the Report.

Of the recommendations which it made many have been carried into effect. A Statute was promulgated in Congregation at Oxford on October 27, 1908, empowering the Extension Delegacy to form a Committee consisting of working-class representatives in equal numbers with members of the Delegacy. This Statute made the Joint Committee in Oxford possible, and for the first time working men were associated with the actual administration of a portion of a University's work. main recommendations in regard to tutorial classes have been adopted in each University and University College of England and Wales. That was a success hardly dreamed of at the outset. The Board of Education altered its regulations to meet the new financial need. Almost before the Report was published eight classes in connexion with Oxford were arranged for, and in the following year thirty-nine classes had started work in connexion with the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Liverpool, London, Leeds, and Sheffield,

			Classes.	Students.	Uziversities.
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1908-9	•		8	237	I
1909-10			39	1,117	7

Public libraries and the Library Association set to work to see how they could increase the supply of books; and the Gilchrist Trustees readily made grants. All over England a new sense of hope arose—a hope that the democracy of the future would be an educated democracy. Working people began to see that their ultimate social salvation lay in the development of their highest mental qualities. People of all classes taking enlightened interest in public affairs felt the same stirrings of hope.

In many backwaters and in places remote from public expression, the old cry was heard, perhaps with new force, that education is a dangerous thing in the hands of working men. But such ideas arise from an undemocratic view of society, and false notions of education. Education should turn the minds of people towards light, order, and self-discipline, but what has often stood for education, being merely drill in the acquisition of certain facts, has not had this effect. It has often enabled folly to be expressed in gentlemanly ways, which is a dangerous thing. The contact of an increasing number of strong and eager minds with knowledge should tend to build up a new attitude towards life and should purify and ennoble social habits. This was what people hoped.

Roughly speaking, the real foundation of working-class distrust of education is the growing consciousness that educational facilities are only for a favoured few, and a great desire that Universities should impose a high intellectual test and a low financial test, whereas to-day too often the reverse is the case. Working people to-day are not convinced that Universities are performing their real function in the community, and tutorial classes are not regarded by them as an alternative to the democratizing of the Universities, but simply as a means by which the Universities can be brought into a state magnetic to all those who desire and pursue knowledge. Working people have never believed that there is any peculiar virtue in Universities as commonly understood. If the University spirit is a disinterested desire for knowledge, then there is much University spirit in many towns of England. The real University is mystical and invisible; it is to be found wherever scholars co-operate for the extension of the bounds of knowledge. It is not in one place, or in selected places. It is intangible, undiscoverable, but none the less real, and men know one another when they are of its sacred courts.

# CHAPTER V.

#### A COMPLETE CLASS.

THE lines of the complete tutorial class depart little, if at all, from the original conception laid down in the "Oxford Report," though the nature of the classes is now better understood and their possibilities more easily realized. The spirit of a class in its freedom, tolerance, and keenness is now discernible.

While it is unsound to impose a class upon any town, yet, at the same time, it has been proved by experiment that, granted normal conditions, any town will provide thirty men and women willing to pledge themselves to study for three years. The necessary pledges are clear:—

The first is to attend every meeting of the class. This pledge always needs explanation, for the normal working man is conscientious in the extreme. He hesitates to pledge himself to do that which he fears he will be unable to carry out, and, if it appears to him that "overtime" may prevent him from attending regularly, or that he may not be living in the same town for three years, he does not care to commit himself. It is obvious, however, having regard to the uncertainty of employment which affects many workmen, that if employment, or the lack of it, intervenes and prevents attendance,

the student is automatically released from his pledge. Again there is a considerable amount of illness amongst working people and, strange as it may seem, it has often been necessary to point out that, when a man is ill, he is not expected to attend the class.

Some one may here ask: "Are these pledges of attendance honourably fulfilled?" Experience proves that they are. In a town where employment is stable, it has been found that an average of twenty out of an original thirty students complete the three years' work. The general average is, however, slightly over fifteen. The impetus of a good class carries it often to four years, and the average of students completing the fourth year is well over ten.

Students further pledge themselves to write twelve essays in connexion with each year of the course; but, especially in the second and third years, equivalents have to be taken. There is wholesome repugnance on the part of students to do other than their best work. The movement has always refused to lower the standard for an essay by accepting mere fragments, or answers to questions. The actual numbers of essays returned are full of encouragement, and indicate a vast amount of work. Of course the stumbling-block to membership lies in the essay-writing conditions, for it has not been customary for working men and women to write, even though they may have frequently spoken at public meetings. The difficulty many find in expressing thoughts upon paper is a very real one. Most tutorial class students left day schools at an early age and have not attended evening schools. Moreover, they are strangely subject to the false idea that their essays at the outset should be complete. In fact, they feel that they are called upon to write something worthy of publication. They forget that an essay is merely an attempt to put upon paper that which they really know, or think at the time, and that it is put on paper in order to enable the tutor, as a helper and not as a critic, to develop them in the best way. One man informed us that he had written fifteen essays one after another and torn them up. It was his way of reaching out to his ideal of perfection. The waste was pathetic, for he could have consulted the tutor after each of the essays, and his rate of progress would have been thereby quickened. There lies on our table a letter from a student explaining his inability to write an essay. It consists of five closely-written pages of foolscap.

The difficulties of essay-writing are surmounted when the matter is put properly before the students by sympathetic tutors, although some tutors still set their students to write essays in just the same way as they themselves were set to write them at the University. Difficulties of technique are rapidly surmounted; even spelling becomes correct. It has been reported, however, that men who spell the worst seem sometimes to think the best. Writing is generally legible, which is a greater tribute than students are always able to pay to the writing of their tutors. At least one class made pathetic complaint in this connexion. The born essay writer, when in a tutorial class, rapidly develops power, and one Joint Committee received at least two essays which consisted of over 150 quarto pages written in small script.

The difficulties which beset the workman writer of essays can hardly be grasped by those who have quiet rooms in which to work. Tutorial class students are often amongst the poorest of working people, and their homes are very much crowded. More than one report has been made of students who rise in the middle of the night to do their essays—their only chance of obtaining quiet. One student who had fallen behind with his essays determined to make a real attempt to catch up. He waited until his landlord's family and his fellow-lodgers had retired for the night, and then worked until two o'clock in the morning. His labours ended, he contentedly fell asleep, in which state he remained until considerably after the time when he should have started work. He was dismissed for being late. He had to leave the town, but secured work in another town, where there was a tutorial class which he at once joined.

Many eulogies have been passed upon tutorial class essays, but perhaps it is sufficient to say that the level of essays is astonishingly high; that in some Universities at least the essays have been copied and given to students reading for the Final Honours Schools; that many have been taken back to Colonial Universities by visitors to this country; and that many of them, owing to the industrial experience of their writers, have added definitely to knowledge. A volume of essays on economic subjects by tutorial class students is under contemplation.

The tutorial class would, of course, be impossible without essay-writing, and the students fully recognize this. They would not give up the discipline of essay-writing when once they have started upon it. At the same time, if there were no essays, the tutorial classes would be thronged. The problem is how to explain what essay-writing means to people whom it frightens away from the idea of the class. After all it must be remembered that the classes are only for the keenest students; there are other classes of different types for students who are unduly oppressed by difficulties in the way of making the pledges, or whose main interest prevents their giving the necessary time.

The pledges are always made on condition that both subject and tutor are approved, and that day, time, and place are suitable. Sometimes the pledges are made in the hope that they will be so, sometimes after they have been determined. It has been fortunate, from one point of view, that the initial demand of working people has mostly been for historical or economic study. If it had been otherwise it would have been difficult to arrange the first group of In any case it would be unsound to start a class with an imposed subject. After three years' work in a tutorial class, students' interests broaden out and they begin to desire the study of Philosophy or Literature. proval of the tutor, which is held to be a right of the students, generally follows as a matter of course, for there are not many tutors and they are appointed by Joint Committees only after the most careful selection. There are, in the history of the movement, only two cases of classes disapproving their tutors, and in each case their disapproval was held to be sound by the Joint Committee and took effect

Although each class is free to make its own arrangements, custom has ruled that no class shall meet for a period of less than two hours, and that it shall continue for three separate sessions of twenty-four lessons. There has been no difficulty in ensuring the observance of this custom, for classes continue longer than two hours whenever they have opportunity and often carry on their work beyond the three years. The custom has been strengthened by the decision of the Board of Education that any less period of study could hardly be consonant with the Board's demand that the course should be studied on the same level as a University course in honours. The earlier classes were definitely divided into two halves. The tutor expounded the subject for one hour, the students having the right to ask questions during the exposition. In this way the class was differentiated from a mere lecture, and, during the second hour, the students brought forward their own points of view and the information which they possessed, and questioned the tutor. This may be said to be the ruling practice. Provided, however, that, roughly speaking, the class has a time for discussion equal to that occupied by the exposition, it has been held to be sound for a class to divide its two hours as it wishes. Sometimes the tutor invites comments and discussion on each separate point, as he brings it forward.

A fundamental principle is that tutorial assistance must be given to each individual student, i.e. that a class is working incompletely if there is lack of personal contact between each student and the teacher. In some cases this

has been found to be difficult, especially where students are working right up to the hour of the lecture, and where it is only possible for the tutor to visit the neighbourhood once a week. These difficulties will, however, it is hoped, be gradually got over in the future by the arrangement of classes in groups, so that a tutor will have little travelling to do. It is sometimes impossible to find a room after the class for a tutor to meet individual students, for, since most classes are held in public educational buildings, there are necessarily rigid rules as to the time of closing. Classes are frequently continued on pavements, and they have been known to overflow to railway stations and actually to be continued in the train. A great deal of individual assistance can, however, be given by wisely written comments upon essays, and whenever a tutor finds it impossible to see a student, he tries to write him a letter dealing with his peculiar difficulties. Tutors are glad to accept the hospitality of students for the night, or invitations to tea. These are given, whenever possible, with all the gracious spirit of hospitality that is characteristic of English working people. Golden opportunities for tutorial assistance are thus gained, and the adherence of a student to a class is much strengthened if he has been the host of the tutor in his own house.

The amount of work done outside class hours in connexion with a typical tutorial class is very great. Students meet for all kinds of purposes, sometimes in small, sometimes in large groups, often definitely organized as reading circles in connexion with the class. One or other of the students can generally be seen in the Reference Library of the town.

They tend to draw together in the organizations of the district and, in many different ways, develop opportunities for study. When the actual class meetings are over for the session, they meet together in essay circles; sometimes the whole class meets regularly throughout the summer. Groups of classes combine to form students' associations, local summer classes are on the increase, whilst each University draws together as many of its students as possible for purposes of residential or week-end study during the summer. Tutors keep in contact with their classes, and avail themselves of opportunities during the summer to visit places of historical interest which illustrate the course of study. When once a class is well started opportunities for social intercourse should be frequent. It is especially desirable that the wives, husbands, and friends of students should have an opportunity to meet in social intercourse. It is possible for some classes to arrange for tea at a small cost before the actual class. This is especially valuable for men who have not time to go home to tea. In fact the class does well to build up as many of the characteristics of college life as it possibly can, and a class increases in strength when the relatives and friends of the students share in the interest.

Every strong tutorial class develops by its side a preparatory class for the purpose of training men and women to fill vacancies as they occur during the three years. Sometimes this class is taught by the tutor, sometimes by a rota of advanced students.

Financial conditions have in the past made it necessary to fill vacancies, the Board of Education grants being paid on the attendance of original and later students. In the future grants will be paid on the attendance of original students alone. Even so it has been found that the *morale* and power of a class has been increased by the admission of new students. In a right class older students enjoy and gain much profit from helping new students, and incidentally the spirit of the class is much strengthened. Moreover students tend to become depressed as their number diminishes. It is better, therefore, to fill up vacancies unless the class be exceptionally spirited, and the recent regulations of the Board of Education allow this.

Experience has proved that the driving power of men and women willing to pledge themselves for three years is sufficient for the purposes of a tutorial class. It has been held that all tutorial classes should be preceded by preparatory classes. But it has been found in practice that such classes fail to fulfil their purpose unless they are taught by a tutor of tutorial class standard, and unless they are conducted just as a full class is. Much true education is informal and ungraded. A great teacher welcomes, like Socrates, every student and would count it folly to examine and place him, or even to require him to attend a teacher of less degree as a means of preparation. It is always difficult to alter the gauge of a class when attendance is voluntary. Students who come from a class in which no essays were written are more loth to write essays than students starting right away in the tutorial class

There is a great deal of work to be accomplished in con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Regulations for University Tutorial Classes, 1913-14, Appendix II.

nexion with a class. A good secretary always strengthens a weak class, whilst a bad secretary weakens a strong one. In all voluntary organizations, the personality of the secretary is of vital importance. The band of tutorial class secretaries is made up of men and women deserving the highest tribute, who work steadily and regularly and cheerfully, who understand the raison d'être of the class, and are anxious for its successful working as a necessary contribution to the whole movement. The work of a secretary is complicated, for Board of Education forms are not easy to fill up. It sometimes seems as though the work needed professional training. Secretaries to Local Education Authorities are often, however, willing to help when they are not actually responsible to the Board of Education in an official capacity as "Correspondent," and the Board of Education deals with any irregularities with infinite patience and unfailing assistance. Still, there are many things to be seen to. The register must be ready. It must be carefully prepared and dealt with. Inspectors drop in at untoward moments, and managers are supposed to check the registers regularly. The tutor, however, overlooks and signs the register, and some tutors deal with them entirely themselves. It is the secretary's business to know the exact reasons for absences when they occur, and a person of much tact is needed to secure all the reasons without being unduly inquisitorial. addition to the Board of Education Register, the Central Joint Advisory Committee has prepared a form of class records which it finds necessary for the purpose of preserving exact statistics of the movement. There are few secretaries who are able to do the work completely, but the movement asks of secretaries to do their best, to do as much as they reasonably can, and with that it is content.

A great deal of labour falls upon the class librarian. It is his business to see that no student is without the book that he, or she, ought to have. He should be alert when there is opportunity to secure more books for the class. He must be able to make reasonable representations to the University Joint Committee. He should be able to secure concessions from the local library, and to watch all possible sources of books, including the Central Library for Tutorial Classes. When he has received his books he has to see that they reach the right students, that they are returned in due course for reissue or for return to the library from which they have been drawn. The book difficulty is a real one, and it may be said that one of the chief advantages of the organization of the Tutorial Class movement has been that, for the first time, working men and women have had access to the recognized authorities on the subjects in which they are interested. Much working-class study has, in the past, been carried on with books which are out of date, or, in some cases, discredited. At present no class has all the books it ought to have. That would imply, in many cases, the possession of some thirty copies of every book needed. It is a matter of distress to a class when the tutor states that a certain book must be read and there is only one copy in the class library. The co-operation of the class gives way then to competition of a particularly keen order.

Universities, however, have done their best in regard to the provision of books, and even the most laggard of them are gradually increasing their supplies.

A complete class is in touch with the University Joint Committee concerned, with the Board of Education, and with the Local Education Authority. It is watched over and helped by the Workers' Educational Association, which as a rule is responsible for its existence. The University Joint Committees, moreover, combine together in the Central Joint Advisory Committee which calls together annual Conferences of Tutors and discusses problems common to all the classes.

The University Joint Committee appoints the tutor, is responsible for the educational conduct of the class, and supplies financial aid. The Oxford Committee meets the entire cost of the class after £40 has been paid into its funds by the local body, which uses for this purpose the various grants received. In this example it is followed by other Universities, though some such as London, Leeds, and Sheffield only demand that the class shall meet local expenses, all grants being paid direct to the committee itself; the cost of running these classes, however, owing to the fact that the tutors are paid less, is not so great as in the case of Oxford which, asking much of tutors, has set the standard at £80 per session of twenty-four lessons.

It is difficult to estimate the exact cost of a class to a

University, but £30 a class would be the lowest possible amount in the case of the new Universities.

The conditions governing Board of Education grants are shown in the Appendix.<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that they have been changed twice. Rochdale and Longton commenced when the maximum grant was 5s. per twenty hours' attendance. Other classes started when the amount was raised to 8s. 6d. Future classes will start under a system of increased grant designed to render their finances more stable. It has been devised after careful and sympathetic examination of the whole movement, and shows throughout evidence of desire to develop the classes on their own lines.

The Local Education Authority, even when it has not assisted in the construction of a given class, is brought into official contact with it when the Board of Education invites its remarks. Such remarks have never been made in opposition to the formation of a class, for Local Education Authorities have always adopted a welcoming attitude; but their actual relationship to the classes varies. The amount of their financial help during the session 1911-12 is shown in detail in Appendix VII. Such help has increased during the session 1912-13. Four Authorities establish classes on their own responsibility and make the necessary arrangements with the University. Forty-three Authorities make grants to classes subject as a rule to inspection. The most notable of these are Lancashire, which will make a grant of £15 to classes established in its area, and London, which has sanctioned a grant of £600 to twenty classes. Five

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

Authorities make no grants. It is anticipated that in these cases the specific, and to a great extent local, difficulties will be removed

It will be seen that the Authorities as a rule prefer, or at least acquiesce in, the management of the classes by the Workers' Educational Association. Such Authorities recognize in them, not Evening School work but University work, and they desire them to have the appropriate freedom.

There are, however, exceptions. Two Authorities in the north, one a County Council and the other a County Borough, refuse to approve the payment of public money to any body in their area other than themselves. In each of these cases, however, reasonable compromises have been made, and the classes have been allowed the necessary freedom, whilst the bodies promoting them have been allowed to develop the life of the classes in such ways as have seemed to them wise.

The Workers' Educational Association strives in season and out of season to secure further facilities and greater aid for the classes. In many cases it has been compelled to guarantee the deficits upon classes; but this necessity is passing away. It is well that this is so, for the Association itself has little or no guaranteed income. Whenever a class flags it is the duty of the Association to discover the cause and to remove it. By numerous meetings and by the publication of its periodical the "Highway," it exercises an inspiring influence upon existing classes and assists in the founding of new ones. It nominates the Labour members on Joint Committees, and in the ordinary run of its work

# UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES

encourages unity of action, but it is determined that no hard and fast rules shall be laid down for the conduct of classes, for it recognizes that no class can be successful unless it shapes itself in harmony with the motions of its own spirit.

# CHAPTER VI.

### STUDENTS AND TUTORS.

TUTORIAL class students must of necessity be forceful men and women. It is hardly probable that individuals will join tutorial classes unless they have either been students for some time, or have been working earnestly for organizations which have called forth their best powers. The social practice of Co-operative Societies, Trades Unions, political bodies and churches operates in much the same way as a college; for, as it has been well said, the most valuable portion of a college career lies in the informal associations of student with student. The politics or creed of any particular student is a matter of no concern. All that is asked of him is that he shall be willing to seek understanding in the spirit of fellowship. Politicians of all types and schools rub shoulders in the classes; men of no creed, or even men in opposition to creeds, sit side by side with devoted and active church workers. This mixture of types is one of the glories of the tutorial class system, and there could be no tutorial class if such mixture were not encouraged. "The collision of mind with mind" is naturally a constant happening.

If a tutorial class is to be in any sense an intellectual centre,

it must have the power of bringing under unprejudiced examination anything which bears upon the subject of its study. The pursuit of knowledge is dependent not merely upon the acquisition of facts, but upon the power to consider things from varying, even opposing, points of view.

Moreover, it is as necessary for a tutorial class, as for a University, that it should be above bias. The best antidote to bias is freedom of expression on the part of a number of people of different experiences and different opinions.

The time will come when Tutorial Classes will no longer be held to be the monopoly of working people, for the method of study in them is congenial to the general adult mind. At present, however, they are the creation of working people; and Universities and 'other bodies are drawn to assist them not only by the fact that the workers have been a disinherited class in education but by the unfailing instinct that among them are large untapped reservoirs of knowledge and capacity. How far the classes are composed of manual workers will be seen from the analysis of occupations in Appendix VII.

Some classes have been severely criticized on the ground that they contain a large proportion of non-manual workers; especially is this so in the case of classes in London and Manchester where there is a large population of clerks. The case of the clerk is not like that of the teacher, or even of the leisured person. He has often had no opportunity of education, other than that provided by the somewhat narrow study of Shorthand and Book-keeping. It

would be unfair to regard the clerk as undesirable for tutorial class purposes. He brings to the work the asset of a type of mind different from that of the manual worker, yet not so different as would be the case if his father were not usually a manual worker.

In most classes there are one or two school teachers. The presence of many, unless they are exceptionally sympathetic, may be dangerous to the class. Their facility of expression and technical ability are apt to depress ordinary students by obscuring true standards from them. At the same time teachers who are true students are most helpful, and fortunately those who regard study solely as an avenue to advancement in the profession are not attracted to a type of class which after three years' work allows them no diploma. Much tribute is due to those teachers who have helped tutorial classes in quiet humility and with infinite devotion through long and unrewarded years. A class which does not contain one or two of them is the poorer for their absence.

A number of students are engaged in administrative work of a local and national character. This militates against complete regularity of attendance, but their experience is invaluable. The entire representation of Labour on Town Councils has sometimes been in the hands of tutorial class students. It is troublesome, though gratifying, when students are elected before their three years' course is ended, because they often find it necessary to leave the class. In towns where Labour is not able to call upon many persons eligible for its more difficult and representative offices,

promising tutorial classes have been almost depleted before the end of the second year. The establishment of insurance committees has, in this way, during the past year been most harmful, but the chief injury has been caused by the large number of appointments made as the result of recent Government legislation. The actual number of students who have accepted appointments as Labour Exchange officials, or in connexion with the Insurance Act, is not to hand, but the effect is considerable. Several classes have in this way lost secretaries and replaced them by, to say the least of it, less efficient men. This acceptance of Government positions does not imply that the students concerned joined the classes for the purpose of getting on. It was inevitable that those concerned with securing the ablest officials should search for them amongst the most educated working men and women, and it is both unjust and absurd to blame a student who prefers regular employment at a reasonable wage to irregular work at an insufficient one. Some students have actually secured Labour Exchange work whilst unemployed. At the same time it is desirable that as few students in tutorial classes as possible should obtain appointments in the public service by virtue of their having been in such classes.

The real proof which the students give of their desire to study for self-development rather than for position lies in the absence of desire for diplomas or certificates. They finish their course and ask for no record of it. The University of Oxford actually devised a testamur and then found the classes so indifferent that they decided not to issue it.

In this lies much hope, for certificates would tend inevitably to attract an inferior type of ambitious student—not slow to appreciate the fact that the certificate attached to the highest type of non-technical education outside the Universities would stand him in good stead for purposes of professional advancement.

This repudiation of certificates has given great encouragement to those who believe that true study is its own sufficient reward.

Opportunity is afforded to students who desire written or viva voce examination, but no student has been examined since the first session of the first two classes.

This attitude of the students has been welcomed by educationalists who believe that compulsory examination disturbs the minds and hinders the development of adult students. Be this as it may, it is certain that tutorial class students have not been trained for examination purposes, and it was startling to find that the compulsory examination of two classes yielded results almost the exact opposite of those which the real capacity of the students would have justified. The less able though more facile students attained to the highest places. There may be some able students who, when trained, shine both in examinations and out of them. Such students, however, are not common in general; in tutorial classes they are rare.

The essays of students are examined carefully both by the tutors and in the Universities—whilst the inspectors of the Board of Education take away piles of them. Thus the class is examined as a whole, and the danger of competition

for place almost entirely neutralized, although some tutors cannot resist the temptation of showing that they regard certain students as brilliant.

Without examination, untempted by certificates, the classes are in little danger of losing their essential freedom, and indeed the keenness and high level of their work is the inevitable outcome of the spirit which thirty-one students, one of whom is a fine scholar, cannot fail when untrammelled to generate.

Women students now comprise about 15 per cent of the entire number, and in most classes there are two or three. They are sources of strength, attend regularly, and are rigid in the fulfilment of their pledges. The keenness of their attendance is illustrated by an incident which happened in connexion with a tutorial class two or three years ago, at Colne, in Lancashire. A heavy snowstorm had fallen upon the town. Trams were stopped; schools were shut; but the tutorial class opened its doors. The tutor himself managed to attend, although, on that night, several tutors were hindered by the storm. Out of the thirty students on the roll twenty-three students attended. There were only six women on the roll and not one of them was absent. Women often become the most determined propagandists of the classes. One woman writes in her local paper a weekly summary of the work done in the class.

The attendance of women at the summer classes at Oxford, which will be described in a later chapter, has been greatly facilitated by the formation of a University Women's fund for tutorial classes. This fund has helped

many students, and has a library of some 400 books. The amount of assistance which these books have given to women students can never be fully estimated. The fund aided twenty-nine women students at Oxford in the summer of 1912.

The manner in which husbands and wives will proceed to study together is revealed by an interesting incident in connexion with a London class. One of the newest students at the class was a wife. Her husband had been a member of the class in the previous session, and to use something like her own words: "He would come home every Wednesday evening and tell me how much he had enjoyed the class. That certainly interested me. But when he began to talk about things of which I seemed to know little, I feared that he might one day, by attending the class, obtain such knowledge that I could not follow him. So I at once decided to join the class myself, in order that our married life might be enriched by common study." Husband and wife are certainly two of the best students which that particular class possesses.

As the foregoing chapter implies, the previous education of students is not a matter of supreme importance. The real need is that they shall be men and women who, while keen to learn, have used their minds in right ways, and preferably have taken part in the work of some organization.

There is not likely to be any serious falling-off in the supply of students. Proper organization and sympathetic leaders will always ensure the continued existence of a strong class. Sometimes when a class has been proposed,

experts and people who have experience of previous educational work declare its establishment impossible.

For example, those who knew the educational conditions of an important southern town held that the men would not join a tutorial class in sufficient numbers. A simple method of organization was, however, devised, and the result was that seventy men and women wished to join the class, which was restricted to thirty. That class has just finished its fourth year, and has asked the University to allow it a fifth year's study. It has had a preparatory class running side by side with it all the time. The labour members of the Town Council are ex-tutorial class students. The Town Council has come to the help of the class in a generous manner, and altogether a new standard of thought has been set up.

It is not a normal thing for the ordinary working man or woman to join a tutorial class, but out of a considerable population there are always enough who can be sought out and drawn to it.

The occasions upon which it has been found impossible to establish a class are few and far between. Classes which have failed to carry out their three years' contract are very few—and the reasons for the failures are to be found in a combination of circumstances, chiefly affecting organization and changes of tutor.

The supply of tutors forms a much greater problem than the supply of students. It is perhaps well that unlimited finance has not been at the disposal of the movement, because it would have been fatal to its right working had it been able to establish classes more rapidly than it could obtain suitable tutors. The Report of the Board of Education on the Classes, which is printed as an Appendix, calls special attention to this danger: "Care must be taken to get the best men for the work. One or two weak or tactless lecturers might give a serious set-back to the movement."

Some tutors attempt to dominate their classes more than is wise. Others obviously need training by the classes. If a class is started properly, however, it is not at the mercy of its tutor. It realizes that it has to restrain his ambitions and make up his defects, although, in spite of this, classes are often too appreciative of their tutors. "My class believes what I say," said one tutor, "and that is a fearful thing." Some tutors may have caused set-backs to classes, but it may be safely assumed that the movement is now too strong to suffer seriously at the hands even of an unusually tactless tutor. As a general rule the tutors have entered the classes in the spirit which has enabled them to throw aside their past knowledge and to build it up again with the extra materials supplied by the class.

The effect of the work upon the tutors is remarkable. Weak men have been turned into strong men. Men with a high opinion of their own knowledge and capacity have frequently lowered it in the face of the wider vistas of their subject which the class unfolds to them. The number of tutors could be counted on one hand who are not anxious for criticisms or glad when they receive them, even though the gladness may be shot with pain. A tutor who can induce his students to tell him exactly how he fails to meet their

need is in a happy case. Fortunately many succeed in this, especially those who are helped by classes which rightly regard the presence of a tutor in their midst as a golden opportunity to inform the Universities concerning industrial conditions. The supply of tutors has grown more rapidly than was expected, but the fact that, at present, the employment is not in all cases assured and settled hinders many who do not hold internal University appointments from taking up the work, even when they passionately desire to do so.

It is generally held that a tutor should be engaged in some internal University work, and several Universities adhere strictly to that plan; but as the number of classes increases it will be impossible to find such work for all the tutors. In spite of this it would be dangerous to allow tutors to get out of touch with the University, and various plans must be devised to prevent this. If tutors do lose touch with the University, the advantage of what they learn is, unless they publish, lost to the University, and the spirit they gain has not full opportunity to express itself; there is also some risk that they may not keep up with the development of their subject. At present, with the exception of the University of London, the constitution of which does not allow the opportunity, the majority are engaged in internal University work. Of the four Cambridge tutors three are Fellows of Colleges, and one is a research scholar engaged in internal work. It happens, sometimes, that a tutor is engaged in internal work in a different University from that which employs him for the classes. In the future,

as indeed in the past, there will be, roughly, three types of tutors. The first, numbering at present twenty-six, will consist of those who are engaged mainly in University work, such as professors, lecturers, or college tutors, able to take only one class, but desiring to do so because of the interest of the work and its power of adding to their experience and knowledge. It is, of course, essential in these cases that the interests of the class should be safeguarded, and that they should not be considered as secondary to University work. In other words, the tutor should be able to keep the time necessary for the complete work of his class free from the invasion of other interests. The second, numbering at present twenty-one, will consist of persons engaged in other occupations or in teaching other than in a University or University College. This type of person is common in London. Men of high capacity enter the Civil Service, and in many cases welcome the opportunity of continuing their studies and making use of their training. It is eminently desirable that this class of man should have opportunity, provided he be of the highest type. It seems to us that men holding appointments in the Board of Education would do well to take during the week, for a time at least, some one class or other. It would have great effect in freshening their official duties, which, carried on apart from any teaching, may easily tend to become mere routine. The third, numbering at present fourteen, will consist of persons employed directly for the work and giving the whole of their time to the conduct of the classes, with the exception of some piece of internal work carried on, in the case of Oxford or Cambridge, in the summer term, or, in the case of the newer Universities, during the ordinary academic year. It is hoped that the custom initiated by All Souls College, Oxford, of directly supporting a tutor, will be followed by other colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Fellowships for the purpose of tutorial class work, combined with research, would be helpful and profitable both to the classes and to the University. The statutes of many colleges allow it.

Since the tutorial classes would fail unless the tutors, who need not necessarily be graduates, were men or women of high qualifications devoted to the study of their subject. and prepared to devote a considerable portion of their life to it, it is necessary that no tutor be appointed hurriedly or unadvisedly. It sometimes happens that a class is waiting and no tutor is obtainable. This constitutes a grave difficulty, and ventures of faith necessarily have to be made. But, even in such circumstances, no appointment should be made unless it seems likely that the person appointed is at least potentially desirable. The magnetism of some tutors is obvious. Their students become attached to them and real friendship ensues. It often happens that the tutor becomes a person of force in the town, whose opinion is sought, and whose presence is desired on occasions of importance. He may take a high position in the educational councils of a town. This happens easily when the tutor is of high national reputation, or the holder of the Chair in his subject at the University.

It was an early ideal of the movement that working people themselves would graduate in the classes and proceed to after-study in order to become qualified as tutors. In one or two instances ex-tutorial class students have become qualified to undertake tutorial class teaching. An agricultural worker who passed through Ruskin College has also received appointment, but, in addition to obtaining the diploma in Economics and Political Science at Oxford, he had produced a monograph which was published under the editorship of Professor Vinogradoff in a series of Oxford studies. Another of the tutors was a telegraph operator, who proceeded to Ruskin College and obtained the diploma with distinction.

An interesting argument has, however, been raised by working men themselves against the order of workmen-tutors. It was held that most of the members of a class have a working-man's experience. If the tutor is of the same experience he may bring nothing new to the class, whereas, if he has passed through a public school and University, he brings the experience of another side of life. Perhaps the argument is more interesting as showing the catholicity of idea in a class than as guide to the appointment of tutors. As a matter of fact, provided the tutor be a really first-class man possessing sympathy and imagination, it matters very little what his past experience has been.

It may not be unfitting to pursue the subject of the relations of the tutor to the class a little further. It has already been implied that any idea of a tutor teaching his class in the way undergraduates fresh from school are taught is unsound. A tutor becomes one with his students. It has been said that in a class of thirty students and one tutor,

there are thirty-one students and thirty-one teachers. It is, of course, the function of the tutor to fetch and carry for the class what is necessary for its complete mental satisfaction. He imparts his learning and training to his fellow-students, and in the course of doing so learns much and generally admits it with enthusiasm.

A Professor of Economics was taking a class in the Midlands, missed his train, and discovered that he would arrive at the class an hour late. He wired for instructions. The answer was: "Come on. We will wait." When he reached the class he found that all the students were present. He reflected on the fact that his class of Cambridge undergraduates would have dissolved if he had been fifteen minutes late.

The following instance is interesting in that it reveals the actual force which exists in the classes apart from the tutor. A class—it is true that it was in the fourth year—was visited by H.M. Inspector who found the tutor absent through illness, but the students hard at work and all the essentials of a tutorial class in operation.

Inspectors frequently derive inspiration from the classes. One stumbled unknowingly across a tutorial class and was astonished to find work worthy of the most advanced students in a University being carried on; after the two hours were up, he invited them to stay for another hour, and they stayed. Inspectors join in the discussions as freely as students. The good effect of such relations can easily be conceived.

Students, tutors, and inspectors alike thus profit by the

classes. The contributions to learning made by the tutors are, in these early days, of importance, not so much for increase of knowledge, but rather as evidence of increased power. Moreover, they have been forced to extend the bounds of their study. Already proof has been given of this. The treatment of subjects in Universities often falls far short of the bounds within which the minds of keen adult students range.

Several tutors have been appointed to Chairs and Lectureships—some of them with little or no other professional experience. Thus the reputation of the work and of those engaged in it has received endorsement of indisputable nature, but the vital force generated by the association in tutorial classes is in the main intangible, and will in quiet and unobserved ways stimulate and support the advance of national education.

# CHAPTER VII.

#### SOME EXISTING CLASSES.

FROM a long list of classes which contains so many that are excellent and of varying characteristics, it is impossible to make a satisfactory selection, yet it would appear desirable to present the records of a few classes, and it is fitting that the most complete account should be given of the tutorial class at Longton, which was the first to meet of those still at work. Members of unmentioned classes will realize that their own may justify elaborate treatment, but that conditions of space render it impossible.

It will be remembered that Longton did not originate the idea of tutorial classes, but quite frankly and deliberately followed the example of Rochdale, as has been recorded in a previous chapter.

The class began on Friday evening, 24 January, 1908, with the study of Economic History. It is still at work, having held 132 two-hour meetings, and on no occasion has the tutor, Mr. R. H. Tawney (Balliol College, Oxford) been absent. There are in this sixth year of the class ten of the original students. At the outset, thirty-four effective students began work. The original undertaking made by

the students was for two years. It was not until the second session that the three-years' system was adopted, when practically all the students signed again for this extended period. The Local Education Authority had, prior to the tutorial class, established University Extension lectures, and at the end of the first year of work the students decided to form a University Extension Guild which should unite the students in both sections of Extension work.

The time spent in the class proved all too short for the purpose of the students, and so in October, 1908, a weekly discussion class was arranged to meet upon some night other than the class night. These meetings were usually attended by any number of students from twelve to twenty-five. This more informal class strengthened the feeling of fellowship and made the discussion hour in the class proper more effective. Again in October, 1909, a preparatory class, to study English Industrial History, was formed to meet weekly for twenty-four weeks. The students of the tutorial class proper made themselves responsible for the lectures. This class was successful from the outset, and proved its usefulness by supplying a reserve of prepared students who were ready to enter the tutorial class proper when vacancies arose. The teaching and organizing did much to strengthen the tutorial class students themselves. The preparatory and the discussion classes are still at work.

Yet another class was provided to help new students who felt difficulty with essay work. This action of fellow-students in helping one another again added strength to the class.

The class, being composed almost entirely of industrial workers, suffered much from "overtime" on the one hand and from despondency and restlessness, as the result of unemployment, on the other. In spite of frequent removals (and at one time six students left the class for another part of the country) at the end of three and a half years, in April, 1911, nineteen students had been in the class for three years, and sixteen since the actual first meeting. These figures are the more remarkable when it is remembered that five students of the class left to form the nucleus of a tutorial class at Hanley, four of these five students being still in the daughter class, which is now finishing a successful three years' course.

In April, 1911, Professor Turner and the writer visited the class in order to discuss its future. Twenty-four out of the twenty-six students present asked that the class should be continued for a further three years. This was approved by the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee, and the class resumed work in April, 1911, in the happy state of having forty-nine students pressing for admission. To meet the needs of the necessarily disappointed nineteen, the Local Education Authority opened a new class at Stoke, two miles distant.

The class has always had a good proportion of women students. Two of those present in the sixth year were at the first meeting of the class. There were eight women in the first year and nine in the sixth year.

In regard to the membership of the class, the actual details of at least two students will not be without interest:— One of these students attended the first lesson of the class at the age of sixty-nine. He is still a student and has been absent six times as the result of illness. He has kept up his essay work regularly, has visited Oxford for further study on two occasions, and it is obvious that he regards with affection the class and all that belongs to it. It is not usual for men so old as this to be in classes, but there is an instance of a student of seventy whose careful work earned high eulogy from Professor Vinogradoff.

There is also in the class a basket-maker whose calling makes great demands upon him. Nevertheless, he has not been absent or late once during the whole period of the class. He has not missed a single essay and he has been helpful in all the activities of the class of which he is now the Secretary. During the last five years there have been over 400 meetings in connexion with the class and the ramifications therefrom. He has attended each of these meetings, except one when he was prevented by having to act as a substitute for a fellow-member in the teaching of a preparatory class.

We intend to discuss "overtime" in another place, but it would be fitting to give here the record of the employment of a potter's engineer, who left school at the age of nine, and to add to it a statement of the amount of work in connexion with his tutorial class which he accomplished. Needless to say that this student is a man of exceptional determination and physical strength. He was for some time a Councillor of the Borough, but not while a member of the class.

# A STUDY IN OVERTIME.

Name of Tutorial Class Longton.

1912. Week Ending		Hours in Normal Week.	Hours Worked.	Overtime,				
January	6	53	63	10	bours			
j,	13		62	g				
"	20	53	63 62 68	13	**			
"	37	1 53	62	وَ	.,			
February	73	53 53 53 53	8o	27	**	all day	Sunday.	
,, ,	io	53	87	34	**	ali day a	ınd night	t Sunday.
	17	53 53 53	87 84	3.0	**	,,	٠, -	,, ·
*	24	53	j go	37 28	**			
March	2	53	8r		**			
,,	9	53 53	90 81 66 69 <del>1</del> 67 66	164	.,			
**	16	53	<b>6</b> 9}	167	10			
71	23	53	67	14	**			
. **	30 6	53		13	**			
April		53 53	102	49	41	three ni	ghts.	
**	13	53	65	12	11			
**	20	53 53	89	36		all day s	and night	t Sunday
May	27	53	77	24	91			
May	4	53	75	22	10			
17	11	53 53	69	16	**			
11	18	53	<i>?</i> 9.	26	11	all day	Sunday.	
_"	25	53	DI#	8	11			
June	I	53 53	65 89 77 75 69 79 61 89 67 68	36	**	WII GEA .	rna vilgo	t Sunday.
21	8	53	97	14,	**			
**	15	53 53 53	004	151	91			
"	22	53	71 79			-10 4 (	D	
11	29	53	79	26	41	ali day :	Sunday.	

Number of hours for 26 Normal Weeks	1378
Number of hours actually worked	19371
Overtime in 26 weeks, 5591 or an average of	
21½ hours per week.	
Number of Attendances at Tutorial Class .	I 2
Number of Essays written	14
Number of Papers read to Preparatory Classes,	
Stoke and Longton	10

Number of Lectures given to Miners' Classes .	6
Number of Essays read to Literary Societies .	5
Number of Lectures given to Workmen's Clubs	2
Number of Essays read in helping Miners' Lec-	
turer who was ill	2

The class has felt from the outset that it might easily grow narrow unless it admitted new students. Having recognized this, as will be gathered from the previous details, it set to work to do so under approved educational conditions.

The Longton class owes much to the enlightened Education Authority of Stoke-on-Trent which, continuing the work of the Longton Education Authority, has encouraged the development of the work, and accepted responsibility for finance, in addition to granting the free use of rooms for meetings in connexion with the class. It recognized that the class, to accomplish its best work, must be free and democratically governed by the students. The efforts of the Education Authority have been ably seconded by the Public Library, which in spite of limited means has always done its best to meet the need of tutorial class students.

In such a record of success it is difficult to discover defects, but the long duration of the class, in spite of the efforts of the students, cannot entirely remove the educational disabilities of new students. In the later years, also, new students, unless they be enthusiastic and powerful, are naturally inclined to rely perhaps too much upon those older students who were the pioneers of the class. But on the whole, one who observes the class from a distance is

inclined to think that its remarkable educational activity, and the manner in which students, inspired by the tutor, have merged their individual interest in the common lot, make it one of the most hopeful classes yet established. Its future work will be of intense interest, the more so since it has, of its own will, decided that some of its members should be considered by the University of Oxford as persons suitable for training for tutorial class teaching. The outcome of this class, as shown by educational work amongst miners in North Staffordshire, is of such great importance as to demand separate consideration.

### STATISTICS OF ATTENDANCE.

		No. of Effective Students.	Average Attendance.
January to April, 1908.		34	30
1908-1909	•	36	28
1909-1910		34	27
1910-1911		27	24
1911-1912	•	35	29
1912-1913 (up to date)	•	32	27

### OCCUPATIONS.

First Year :--

Potters 4, Miners 2, Colliery Weighman 1, Basket Maker 1, Potter's Engineer 1, House Painter 1, Insurance Agents 3, Stationer 1, Miller's Agent 1, Clerks 4, Gardener 1, Elementary School Teachers 8, Librarian 1, Clothier 1, Grocer 1, Domestic Duties (Women) 3. Total 34.

### Sixth Year:-

Potters (Throwers Decorators, etc.) 13, Miner 1, Clerks 6, Basket Maker 1, Elementary School Teachers 3, Potter's Engineer 1, Insurance Collectors 2, Labourer 1, Warehouseman 1, Railway Booking Clerk 1, Colliery Weighman 1, House Painter 1. Total, 32.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE CLASS.

# 1911-12:--

- 1. From October to April, Longton students gave eleven lecture-courses, nine of six and two of twelve lectures each, in the surrounding mining villages. In all cases these lectures have been taken seriously, and have involved considerable work in preparation. Again, much time and trouble have been taken in travelling to the centres which are scattered and difficult of access, some being distant ten or twelve miles from Longton.
- 2. Seven students gave lectures at Working-men's Clubs in the Potteries.
- 3. A series of nine weekly papers were given from January to April, by Longton students, to the members of the newly formed Stoke tutorial class.
- 4. Six papers were given to local Literary and Debating Societies.
- 5. The whole of the organization and secretarial work of the miners' movement was carried out by Longton tutorial class students, the following officers of the movement being of the class, viz.: The Librarian, the two Secre-

taries, and the Assistant-Secretary. Much time has had to be spent on work of detail and organization.

1912-13:--

- 1. By the close of this session Longton students, past and present, will have given sixteen lecture-courses, four of twelve and twelve of six lectures in each, in the mining villages and Potteries during the year.
- 2. Five students will have read papers on the subject of the French Revolution, at the local extension class.
- 3. Six students have attended the extension lecture class in connexion with a course on the French Revolution. These students also attended the lectures and some wrote papers. Four took the examination.
- 4. Other students have given odd papers and lectures on various occasions.
- 5. The organization of twenty-two preparatory class centres, which this year has been extremely heavy, has been done chiefly by five of the students.

It is inevitable that the details concerning other classes should be more restricted.

The University of Cambridge undertook tutorial class work in the session 1909-10, and commenced three classes: at Leicester and Portsmouth in Economics, and at Wellingborough in Literature. The University had the classes inspected, and the reports were of such a satisfactory nature as to cause a forward movement in the University towards the establishment of further classes. Of the original students in each class, over twenty completed three years of study.

The class at Leicester has completed four years' work in Economics under the guidance of Mr. W. T. Layton (Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College). Sixteen of its fourth-year students commenced work in the second year. In the whole history of the class only two students have ceased to attend because of the difficulty of the work. Two students resigned during the first year, in both cases through illness. In the second year, "overtime" caused resignations, together the class has been characterized by keenness both in attendance and in essay-writing. Among the students have been numbered two councillors and several officials of Trade Unions. One student has been co-opted a member of the Leicester Education Committee, and another has become tutor in Economics at Fircroft, a residential workingmen's college near Birmingham, founded in connexion with the adult school movement.

This class has stimulated the formation of a second tutorial class in Sociology, and preparatory courses of twenty-four lessons each have been attended every winter by some sixty students.

Its missionary work has been real and expansive, the students have worked together, and assisted the Secretary in the development of the movement in Leicester and the district around.

In reporting to the University upon this class Professor Chapman said:—

"The class evidently took the greatest interest in the lecture given by Mr. Layton when I attended. That they followed him closely was evident from the fact that questions were

asked now and then in the course of the lecture, when a step in the reasoning had not been clearly understood. At the close of the lecture there was an animated discussion on points which had been dealt with, and related matters. The discussion brought out the peculiar strength and the peculiar weakness of adult classes of this kind. The weakness was to be seen in the appearance during the discussion of the presuppositions with which some members of the class had approached the subject, and in their inclination to confine their thoughts to things which bore on their own experiences. The strength was to be seen in the interest and earnestness with which points were argued out. The discussion is one of the most valuable features of these classes, and to manage it to the best purpose it is essential that the lecturer should not only have a full knowledge of his subject, but that he should be in sympathetic relations with his class. Despite the obvious prejudices of some members of the class, I was struck with their evident anxiety to be openminded and to understand the lecturer's point of view. Mr. Layton managed his class admirably, and he has undoubtedly won their confidence. It occurred to me that it would be as well if subjects for essays were sometimes selected from points which had arisen during the discussion, and if occasionally students were allowed to write an unusually long essay, to take the place of two or three ordinary essays, on subjects chosen by themselves, but approved by the lecturer.

"I feel no hesitation in reporting that valuable educational results are being effected in this class, and that the students

as a body are doing their utmost to make full use of the opportunity afforded by it."

Though the bulk of the classes study Economic History or some aspect of Social Science, it will be well to select for mention a class in Philosophy in connexion with the University of Birmingham and another in Natural Science in connexion with the University of Manchester. Only one class, Wellingborough, in connexion with the University of Cambridge, completed three years in English Literature, although several others are now at work.

The University of Birmingham commenced tutorial class work in the session 1910-11, and among the earlier classes was one in Philosophy. The popularity, in Birmingham, of this study is remarkable, and has been accounted for by the fact that the jewellery and allied trades, centred in the city, call for mental alertness and artistic perception and encourage interest in abstract questions. In any case the demand for a class in Philosophy was made by working jewellers. A number of teachers wished to join; but it was announced that the class would be of no professional use, consequently those who did join were moved by a purely educational interest. Dr. Helen Wodehouse acted as tutor during the first session, and upon her appointment as Principal of Bingley Training College, was succeeded by Mr. L. H. Green. The class has drawn closely together, being helped to do so by the fact that it is as difficult to discuss Philosophy with all and sundry, as it is easy to discuss Economic and Political problems. "Rambles" with a set discussion at the end have been frequent, and the class has gone so far as to arrange a special Summer Class for itself at Whitsuntide, the members living together from the Friday until the Tuesday or Wednesday.

One of the most successful students is a tram conductor. He did not succeed with Economics, but Philosophy proved congenial to his type of mind.

There is little doubt that the study of pure philosophy will extend amongst working people, who will come more and more to see that many of their problems are philosophical as well as economic. The subject is admirably adapted to the tutorial class method.

The University of Manchester, when it initiated the work, arranged, at the request of some workers at Chadderton. near to Oldham, a class in Natural Science. In spite of three changes of tutor, the class has held together well, and has now completed four years of work. It is interesting to note that the Board of Education reduced the grant on this class because of insufficiency of apparatus. As the class was suffering grave financial disabilities, the action was, to say the least, not so encouraging as actions of the Board of Education in connexion with tutorial classes have otherwise been. In the fourth year of the class, however, it has been made possible for the students to attend the laboratories at the University of Manchester. The total number of students in the fourth year of the class is twentyone. Of these ten are original students. Of the original students all, with the exception of five, were manual workers, mostly in connexion with the textile industry.

The quarrymen of North Wales entered the Tutorial

Class movement in 1910-11, and the University College of North Wales (Bangor) joined hands with the Quarrymen's Union, which agreed to contribute, out of its own funds, £50 per annum. Four classes in Economics were started—at Penygroes, Llanberis, Bethesda, and Blaenau Festiniog, with Mr. R. Richards as tutor. Mr. Rees, afterwards tutor at Belfast, had conducted a class the previous winter at Festiniog.

The classes are now in the third year, with an average number of students in each class of just over twenty. The attendance suffered very much in the second year through preliminary meetings held in connexion with the Insurance Act. The devotion of the quarrymen to church and chapel meetings is much more marked than the devotion of the English working men, and tends to reduce attendances, but even so one class made 97 per cent of the possible attendances. Discussions rage fast and furious amongst Welshmen, and many in the classes have had long local experience and influence. It was one of these classes which the Inspector invited to run on for three hours.

The University College of North Wales has been followed in its work by the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth, and by the University College of South Wales at Cardiff, but the classes in South Wales are not yet full University tutorial classes. Nevertheless, they show a vigour and enthusiasm and power for going on which is somewhat in advance of the ordinary English class.

Of Battersea and Rochdale, the two other original classes, a few words will suffice. They are mentioned simply as further proof that the demands are not ephemeral, that once a tutorial class gets to work, it continues.

The Battersea class has just commenced a new three vears' course in Biology. The original classes at this centre taught by Professor Geddes and Mr. Victor Branford were succeeded by a class taught for three years by Dr. Lionel Tayler in Sociology which is now continuing work under him in Biology. One difficulty which the Battersea class experienced arose when it organized itself upon tutorial class lines. This caused a distinct break of gauge, and some students were lost. Moreover, some feared that the class would suffer from the change which occurred when Professor Geddes handed over the class to Dr. Tayler. This, however, has been far from the case, and there is no room for many students who desire to attend. Round about the Battersea tutorial class has been much work in other classes. of a less strenuous type, and in some of these successful tutors have undergone their apprenticeship.

The work at Rochdale shows a remarkable record and, for some time, two tutorial classes were supported. At the present time only one is at work, under the tutorship of Mr. F. W. Kolthammer, of Brasenose. The work in Rochdale has suffered much by the number of students who have moved to other towns. Many of them have been appointed to labour exchanges. Just as at Longton, however, a great amount of extra work has been accomplished in connexion with the various activities of the Workers' Educational Association. Several students have conducted provisional tutorial classes in the outlying towns.

A chapter such as this is necessarily fragmentary, and there rise up before one many things which should have been mentioned, many students who through long and laborious days have striven for tutorial class ideals, all types of men and women passionate for the welfare of the people. struggling against "overtime," damaged by accident, suffering all the disabilities which would lead people to say: "How can these men study?" Yet they go on-not only studying but making it possible for others to study, loyal and true to all that the educational movement means, casual labourers often on the brink of unemployment, oppressed at other times by overwork, living in one or two room tenements, tired after the day's labour, forming a band of men and women of which any country may well be proud. They are the forerunners of educational revival. Of them, severally and individually, one would like to speak. One would like to follow the half-blind pedlar as he goes about his day's work and then, in the evening, goes out to teach classes with loving enthusiasm. One would like to go out with the men who, day's work over, are ready to travel miles in order to help a few men to understand. One would like to follow the actual books in their courses as they are eagerly read by working-men students at all hours.

To visit the classes is a great joy. It is an inspiration to those who, from Germany, France, and America, come to see what is going on in England. They say they have seen nothing like it. It is probably because there is the full sense of comradeship, because there is high study, and because education devised by working men in company 6 \*

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with scholars is, as has always been claimed, a joyous exploration. There is no sadness about a tutorial class. There is no desire that it shall end, no hesitancy in the attending of it. To those who partake in it, it is the event of the week.

## CHAPTER VIII.

#### THE EXPANSION OF A CLASS.

A THIRD year tutorial class set in a populous district cannot be counted successful unless it has given rise to other classes, or, at least, made efforts for the spread of education.

Judged by this standard the classes at Swindon, Battersea, Rochdale, Leicester, Longton, and Chesterfield, only to mention a few, are completely justified. There are indeed but one or two classes of which this cannot be said, whilst the efforts in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Leeds are steadily raising the level of non-technical education throughout the entire area of the towns concerned.

Indeed, directly the tutorial class conception of education takes hold of the mind, it is apparent that the field is white to harvest.

In the second year of the work at Swindon the members became fired by the desire of helping the villages. Night after night they travelled long distances on bicycles—sometimes by train—held meetings, inspired the various sections of village life, and set classes on foot. At Woodborough, near Pewsey in Wiltshire, a class in History has been held during two winters, and the average attendance has been

well over thirty adults. A class in Literature at Rodbourne Cheney has completed two winters' work. In numerous other villages the members of the classes have conducted courses of lectures in History, Literature, and Rural Economics. The Wiltshire County Council gave ready help, making provision for the free use of schoolrooms throughout the County. This work by the class did not, except in the notable instance of a man who is a missionary first and a student after, affect adversely either the regularity of attendance or the excellence of the essays. And after all a lesson to a class is an admirable substitute for an essay.

The Battersea class has all along been a training ground for educational workers throughout South London. There is a notable instance of a chimney-sweep who for two winters has conducted classes in Sociology, and is so competent in his research that he has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Society.

Members of the Rochdale class have given many hundred lectures either in short courses or singly. Their use of a Public House was entirely successful the first winter, but the landlord found it too unprofitable for his immediate purposes, and in the following winter instructed them to lecture elsewhere. The successful first year class at Heywood was admirably taught by a student during a provisional session.

Classes of tramwaymen and railway servants in Leicester, as well as groups in surrounding villages, such as Fleckney, have benefited by the teaching of tutorial class students.

And so the story goes on. A pedlar teaches classes in

the vicinity of Chesterfield. He is nearly blind, but a pillar of the tutorial class, a patient student, and an enthusiastic teacher. A school teacher at Portsmouth goes out weekly into the Sussex villages. Hundreds of students week by week give their help to Adult Schools, Trade Union Branches and Co-operative Societies by lecturing upon the things which they really understand. It would be interesting to isolate, examine, appreciate, and criticize this activity, but for these purposes the example of the movement initiated in North Staffordshire by the Longton class must suffice.

One of the women students first conceived the idea of starting a class in a mining village, but before the idea bore fruit, the Chief Instructor for Mining in North Staffordshire, anxious that men following technical instruction should have opportunities for humanistic studies, approached the tutorial class and asked its help. The mining villages of the North Staffordshire Coalfield lie on the outskirts of the Potteries, cut off somewhat from the main lines of communication, and more or less isolated from the large towns. They have all the disadvantages of town life and none of its advantages. There was in them no provision for a humanistic type of education.

In May, 1911, a special meeting was held in the Mining School at Stoke at which the chief speaker was the Longton class tutor. The immediate result was the starting of work in ten mining villages. The subjects desired were chiefly historical and literary. It will be remembered that the course of study in the Longton class was mainly

economic and historical. But in classes working rightly, the subject selected, whatever it be, opens up the whole field of knowledge; the unity of knowledge becomes a living fact. In addition to this, Oxford University Extension lectures had provided opportunities for literary study. The tutorial class students attended the lectures, and, continuing the study of Literature in their own field, were qualified to undertake the classes in mining villages. It was also possible to draw upon the services of several local residents who were not members of the class, but who had experience of University Extension lectures.

The work of the session 1911-12 produced 250 students grouped in ten classes. Eight tutorial class students acted as tutors, whilst three devoted themselves to the heavy work of organization. Naturally enough, after such a good start, the work grew rapidly. Instead of ten classes there are now twenty-one, and they show signs of extending beyond the area. The actual centres, the number of students, and other details for 1912-13 are shown in the list on opposite page.

Every village class is conducted as nearly as possible on tutorial class lines—forty-five to sixty minutes' exposition with at least half an hour's discussion. Books are provided for students and essay work is encouraged.

Of the tutors, nine are past or present Longton tutorial class students, whilst five are from the Hanley tutorial class. The class at Stoke is too young to have provided teachers yet, but, following the example of Longton, it has established its preparatory class, which is being taught in

Place.	Subject.	No. of Lectures.	No. on Register.	Average Attendance.
1. Audley	England in the Middle Ages, etc.	12	70	25
2. Biddulph Moor	History of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	12	32	25
3. Bradeley	Industrial History from 1066	24	26	13
4. Brown Edge	"Growth of Parliament"	12	29	15
5. Brown Lees	Industrial History	12	20	11
6. Chesterton	England in the Middle Ages	12	15	11
7. Fegg Hayes	31 17 17 11	12	20	IO
8. Knypersley	"Staffordshire Worthles"	6	35	25
g. Leycett	" Charles Dickens"	6	30	15
to. Newchapel	Industrial History	6	12	Abandoned
II. Norton	1. History, 1760-1834	6 6 6 6 }	26	16
12. Norton Women's Class		6	14	10
3. Pittsbill	Industrial History	6 6 6	25	12
4. Silverdale	I. Six Poets	6 -	15	10
•	2. Shakespeare's Plays	6	15 26	16
15. Smallthorns	r. "Six Great Industrial Move- ments"	12	24	9
	2. "Staffordshire Worthies"	6	22	11
t6. Talk o' th' Hill	r. " Iohn Ruskin"	6 }		
	2. "Modern Germany"	6 }	25	zб
ry. Tunstalt	Industrial History	12	17	13
8. Burslem	, ,	12	ıń	7
g. Stoke	" "	24	ID	<del>,</del>
o. Longton	l " " l		14	10
21. Wedgwood's Works (Women's Class)	"John Ruskin"	44 6	16	12
(	Total of Students in average atte	ndence '	'	292

turn by the tutorial class members. Visitors to these classes, not excepting H.M. Inspectors, have been impressed by the power and enthusiasm of the work. It may be noted that the classes are voluntary in all details and at present draw no grant from the Board of Education. Perhaps under the new regulations it may be possible to secure a block grant for such a movement, based in some way roughly upon the number of students. In any case the education of working people on lines devised by themselves has now spread throughout the whole of the North Staffordshire district. It must not be thought that there is any dilettantism because the teachers are amateurs. They

have become possessed of the real spirit of teaching and learning, and, consequently, allow nothing within their control to interfere with their work. They are willing to go out many miles, travelling by inconvenient trains or tram services, often walking long distances, contented even if necessary to pay their own expenses, certainly drawing from their labours no remuneration whatsoever, nor indeed desiring any. Thus we find a miner, after an exhausting day's work in the mine, spending his leisure in reading and preparing lectures in mediaeval history for two village classes composed of fellow-workers, which he has successfully conducted, and so passing on to others the knowledge he has himself gained in the tutorial class. Beyond this it would be unfitting to appreciate any one of the tutors specifically; but it may be said once again that they are almost without exception working men and women, and are one and all convinced of the imminence of the new educational order, which indeed they are creating.

There were not wanting those who said that, if the students of the class started teaching, the tutorial class work itself might suffer. It is somewhat surprising to find that this has not happened, and that the most regular and active members of the tutorial classes including those who have best fulfilled the essay-writing conditions, are exactly those who are engaged in this work of teaching.

The Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee, as soon as it had the work reported to it, out of its limited funds began to make grants, and thus directly encouraged and supported the work of organization. The Secretary of the movement became the first Organizing Secretary of the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee, and, although he was forced to reside in Oxford, it has been possible for him to visit the classes regularly and to assist them in many ways. Numbers of the students go to Oxford in the summer, and thus a real and vital connexion is set up between the district and Oxford itself, a connexion fraught with many possibilities because it is certain that, sooner or later, the increase in the number of classes will necessitate the construction of some definite centre which may be a great Staffordshire college working in affiliation with the University of Oxford. Certainly men and women who have shown themselves capable as teachers, and who have completed a long term of study in a tutorial class, should have an opportunity of completing their training, and of becoming resident tutors in the district.

The satisfaction which arises from the contemplation of such self-sacrificing and remarkable work is inevitably shot through with fear that it will not continue or that it will lose the spirit which has given it life. If indeed it were not high time that England as a whole believed in the devotion and ability of the manual workers whom she treats sometimes with strange indifference, no record of this work, or indeed of any other, would have been given. Nothing injures educational work so much as publicity, because no one can record what is after all a spiritual process. All the real things are unmentioned, and the material manifestations are exaggerated by isolation. Men tend to cherish the unrealities for which they receive praise and lose the unre-

cognized spirit. There is as much danger in the undue contemplation of records as there is in that of statistics. Classes should be allowed to expand unobserved, unrecorded, for their most powerful influence is exerted unseen and silently.

## CHAPTER IX.

#### THE AFTER-STUDY OF STUDENTS.

It has often been said that one of the weaknesses of the Tutorial Class movement is that after three years' study the class breaks up and there is an end of it. This is far from being the case, but the statement indicates a problem of great and increasing difficulty. There are, however, few classes which are not in connexion with the Workers' Educational Association, and students find in its growth opportunities for continued work and the construction of permanent groups of students developing sometimes into a college. Moreover, it has been seen that tutorial classes tend to create educational movements.

Two main types of persons join the classes, one consisting of men and women who are convinced that their work as citizens is accomplished inadequately because of their lack of knowledge, and who decide deliberately to give a great portion of three years to the acquisition of such knowledge; the other consisting of those who join the classes as the result of pure educational impulse. These types do not remain fixed throughout the years of the class. Men pass from one to the other. In any case, it frequently happens that the class becomes so large a portion of the

lives of the students that they cannot with equanimity contemplate ceasing attendance.

There is, moreover, a tendency for classes to proceed to a fourth and even to a fifth year of study, and even when the tutor has ceased regular attendance classes continue. In one such case the County Authority has made a grant of £.10. Then, as indicated in the previous chapter, there is a wealth of opportunity for teaching which itself becomes learning. Up to the present the number of real students who have passed clean out of the movement is negligible. But even though this be granted, it is clear that students of ability and character should have opportunity to work directly in connexion with Universities, and that some, at least, should become internal students and in rare instances perhaps remain there either to teach or do research. There can be no rest until the solution of this problem is accomplished with satisfaction to Labour as well as to the Universities.

Alternatives can be provided, in some instances, by attendances at the evening classes of Universities when a University is situated in or near to the locality of the class; in others by the provision of summer classes. But these are half-measures to meet the needs of those students whom it would be impossible or inadvisable to remove from home. We must first recognize that the problem varies in accordance with the locality of the class, and with the nature of the University in connexion with which it is held. The opportunities afforded to students resident near Universities for attendance in non-working hours have been

taken advantage of in London, Liverpool, and Manchester. It is intended to encourage, in the neighbourhood of town Universities, institutions which, approximating to the Working-men's College, will draw to them adult students who desire to associate themselves with others in the pursuit of humane education. These institutions will depend almost entirely upon tutorial class students for their government and teaching. The Royal Commission on University Education in London has recommended that the Goldsmiths' College be placed at the disposal of the Workers' Educational Association for this purpose.<sup>1</sup>

It may perhaps be more convenient for our purpose to consider the problem in connexion with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At the outset, we have to note that some Labour leaders regard the social influences of the Universities as inimical to the development of working men and women. Men, who are enthusiastic about tutorial classes, view with much alarm the idea of taking students to Oxford or Cambridge, as inevitably prejudicial to working-class movements. There are practically no precedents to justify their fear. The only working man, as such, who was ever taken to Oxford, was Joseph Owen, who became Fellow of Pembroke and is now an Inspector of Schools. He was selected as a student, not as a keen worker for the organization of labour, but he has never lost interest in the movements of the people.

It is probable, however, that the careers of workingclass lads who pass up the "ladder" of education to the University supply, unreasonably enough, the basis of argu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix V.

ment. It is one of the most poignant causes of regret that such scholars turn to work in the professions and often cease to be interested in their own people. In many cases they cause distress to their own parents, and the distress would be greater if it were not that pride in their career neutralizes much of the pain. It would be unfair to suggest that the successful mounting of the ladder of education necessarily changes a man's affections and disturbs his loyalty. There are many notable exceptions. At the same time the difficulty of mounting the ladder, the continual reaching-out for sufficient money to accomplish a University career, operating as they do at a formative period of a man's life, tend to settle in him strong acquisitive characteristics, and an undue appreciation of place.

Many men who have the scholarship-getting power secure funds far in excess of their need at the University. The problem of University scholarships is not merely the result of granting them to rich men but to poor men who may have too many. The ordinary scholarship boy is not, as a rule, selected for breadth of view or strength of character, but for his ability in school subjects and he is often of a type not likely to develop into a worker for great causes.

The Oxford Committee which, it will be remembered, recommended strongly that properly qualified students should have an opportunity of entering into residence at a University, was impressed by the difficulty of selection which, however, it considered would pass away if the members of the class, the tutor, the organization responsible for the class, and the Oxford Committee were in agreement. In practice they consulted the two classes which first completed a full course, but found that the time was not ripe for proceeding further.

The chief danger of granting valuable scholarships lies in the possible attraction of an undesirable type of student. Still, the Committee was of opinion that a drastic method of selection would neutralize even this.

The opinion would probably have been justified if it had been found possible in practice for a reasonable proportion of the students to take advantage of scholarships. But the great majority of the students are married, and engaged in some work or other which they are afraid to prejudice by absenting themselves for one or two years. Grave dangers would in any case accompany the breaking-up of a workman's home. The conditions of working-class life are such that the strain placed upon a home by such an action would be in all cases almost unendurable, and in many entirely so. Thus the restriction of the area of selection increases the danger arising from the unduly magnetic influence which the prospect of a University scholarship would have upon men who desire advancement.

The experience of the Longton class has, however, brought the experiment within immediate range, for, when men have proved themselves by self-sacrifice in teaching and in study for many years, their fellow-students as well as their tutor know their characteristics. At the same time Longton's demand that such students should be trained as tutors for tutorial classes raises the level of capacity and

character necessary for entrance to the University still higher.

If the question of taking students to the Universities be isolated from the perplexing problems which we have mentioned, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a student, sent to Oxford by a strong group of students looking to him to come back a finer, nobler, better man, more full of care and affection for his own people, will probably remain true to the cause. It will be difficult for him to break loose. An experiment of this sort has certainly never yet been tried.

Many difficulties of the situation are inherent in our present educational system. Frank admission of the incomplete nature of that system has been made of late with clear emphasis by Lord Haldane, who has forced the problem of its reconstruction to the front rank of presentday parliamentary questions. The mid-Victorian idea of the ladder, which served for many years as a symbol of the pious intentions of the well-placed towards the children of the poor, has served its turn. England, deeply conscious of the need, will turn more and more to the construction of an educational highway which will give opportunity for the complete educational development of each child, adolescent, and adult, according to capacity and character. It is not our privilege here to indicate the main features of the highway, but simply to point out that, in a complete system of education, University Tutorial Classes will find their place, because adults will increasingly demand opportunities of higher education; and the difficulties which lie about them.

especially in regard to the after-study of students, will be removed. One experiment, which holds the promise of much future development, must, however, be described.

The growth of summer classes presents one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of working-class education. They have developed out of the inherent necessities of the case and stand, ultimately, for the use of Oxford and Cambridge in the Long Vacation. It is obvious that much effort may be directed profitably towards the utilization, for at least three months of the year, of the magnificent equipment of Oxford and Cambridge, with all their storied tradition.

During the summers of 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913, there have been summer classes at Oxford. For some years past, the Workers' Educational Association had gathered together groups of working men and women for the purpose of attending the University Extension summer meetings. These groups grew rapidly. Commencing with ten students, they soon reached 200. It was found, however, that, in the case of Oxford, at least, practically nothing was done for the keen student who desired to pursue the subject which he had been studying throughout the winter. Protests were made to the effect that working men did not want to be addressed at Oxford by Labour leaders but by Oxford scholars on their own subject. As the result of this, in the following year, one of the most able and devoted of University extension lecturers was appointed to lecture on social and economic problems. His was an impossible task. He had at the same time to deal with these keen students and to interest some 600 or 700 people who knew little of the subject,

many of them being foreigners anxious to improve their English.

At the Cambridge Summer Meeting, on the other hand, there had always been a course of lectures in Economic Science, designed for keen students. Sometimes the lecture and the discussion ran to three hours.

At the Oxford Summer Meeting of 1900 Mr. A. L. Smith of Balliol, who had examined many of the essays done in the tutorial classes, put before Mr. Hudson Shaw and some of his own colleagues on the Joint Committee, the idea that men should come from tutorial classes to Oxford, bringing their special difficulties and requests for further information to be dealt with by Oxford tutors working in an individual way. The idea was seized upon, and the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee arranged in the summer of 1910 classes running for a period of two months, which were attended by eighty-seven tutorial class students. In 1911 the number had risen to 173 and, in 1912, 215 students attended, although no students were admitted from other than Oxford centres who were not of two years' standing. In 1913 students had to be of three years' standing. The classes were brought under Board of Education Regulations and received grants at the same rate as ordinary tutorial classes. These grants which are inadequate for the purpose are likely to be increased, the Board of Education having now stated its willingness to make such additional grants as it considers appropriate.

It will be well to give some account of the 1912 summer classes. Of the 215 students, twenty-nine were women.

Ninety-one were members of Oxford classes and 108 of classes under other Universities. Sixteen unattached students were admitted on special recommendation. The average length of stay per student was two weeks. Fourteen students attended for four weeks or over. Each student was allotted a tutor, the number of tutors doing actual work being forty-six, the majority of them being Fellows and Tutors of Oxford Colleges, or Lecturers in the Women's Colleges. The subjects taken with the tutors, together with the number of students taking them, are shown in an Appendix.<sup>1</sup>

The occupations of the students are too diversified and interesting not to be given in detail. It will be observed that there are thirty-five clerks given in the list. This is accounted for by the fact that, as a rule, clerks are allowed a week or a fortnight's holiday with full pay, whilst the majority of other workers have to lose their wages when they are not at work. The number of hours spent with tutors in definite work by students amounted to 1137, whilst the hours in attendance at classes amounted to 1856. This does not include the time spent in reading and essay writing, which was considerable. The classes were taken by authorities on their subject and were, as far as could be arranged, courses of six classes, extending over one week. For instance, in August, six lectures were given by Prof. J. L. Myres on "Economic Conditions of Primitive Communities"; six lectures by Prof. W. G. S. Adams on "Problems of Representative Government," and six lectures by Prof. W. M. Geldart on "Law and Society". Frequent lectures were given by <sup>1</sup> Appendix VIII.

## ZINIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES

Mr. A. L. Smith, and to him, the originator of the idea, is due much of the credit for the success of the summer classes. He came to be regarded as the friend of each student, and working men and women learnt to appreciate the enthusiasm by which many generations of undergraduates, including some of the most famous men of our time, have benefited.

A typical day at the summer classes begins with the lecture at 10 a.m. going on to midday or beyond. The afternoon is spent in visits to colleges or museums with, on one day a week, a river excursion, and perhaps an excursion to Cuddesdon to visit Dr. Gore. In the evening, it is customary for the common room at Balliol College to be used, and men of distinction come down to discuss with working men the problems in which they are interested.

The school of 1912 was visited by many persons who had come to England to study educational institutions—some of them to study in particular the Tutorial Class movement. Their assertion, that in all their experience of education they had never come across more remarkable sights than these seen at Balliol College, was probably fully justified. Common tea on the Balliol lawns each day with groups composed of men and women of all types of exexperience was remarkable enough, but to find in the morning a lecture room containing thirty to forty keen men and women hanging upon every word of the tutor, and then asking questions for one hour and a half, discussing the points raised, adding knowledge to knowledge, seemed to them to be startling in the extreme. The whole signi-

ficance of the Tutorial Class movement stands clearly revealed on such an occasion. Let us take an instance which, although crude, may well illustrate this.

A professor of law had been lecturing for an hour on Workmen's Compensation. His audience was composed of men and women who had, for the most part, worked in factories, certainly in the processes of industry. One of them had lost his leg in a railway accident. He rose upon the wooden substitute and proceeded as a student to examine the effect of the law of Workmen's Compensation upon himself. The professor heard things from a new point of view. He saw them as in the pages of a living, not of a written, document. If actual knowledge is not added (as in this case it certainly was), the bounds of the subject must of necessity be broadened by such free discussion between men of experience and the scholar. This play and interplay of the whole of the summer classes, in class room, under the trees, this discussion for hours together with tutors, or in the more general atmosphere of the common roomprovide priceless opportunities for the unification of knowledge and experience. It is small wonder that, not only are students keen to come again, but tutors are anxious to arrange their vacations so that they shall be able to continue their work, for it provides golden opportunity for the scholar and is a means of strengthening the University of Oxford to an extent hardly yet realized. The effect on the students, both men and women, is very great. After the Summer School of 1911 the Oxford Committee published a very careful analysis of the whole experiment. Each student

was invited to send in a criticism of the school and each tutor a criticism of every student. It was impossible to keep appreciation out. Perhaps it may be well to include a report from three students, although it is difficult to make any selection:—

A. I will attempt to state what the chief advantages of the Oxford classes are, as they appear to me. First, one benefits by meeting the various types of worker students who come from different parts of the country. One sees their different ways of thinking; one sees their trend of mind, their mannerisms, and their degrees of fellowship. Knowing this, it becomes easier for one to work with his fellows. One becomes more careful in dubbing a fellow-student a "snob" or a "prig". A student may be so named for no other reason than that he wants solitude in order to get quietness for thought.

The change to one hour's lecture and one hour's discussion per day is, I think, a success. There is now more time for thought. It gives more inducement to exertion and attention, so that one assimilates more actual knowledge than previously. I cannot hope to hear better lectures than the three I listened to. The subjects were of the kind that are greatly essential to the student of modern problems of society. Mr. --- gave us a good insight into present-day systems of government. He plainly showed many good and bad phases of these systems. Many opposing forces, he proved, have to be reckoned with in the legislative institutions of all countries. Mr. --- treated politics historically. He showed what effect Napoleonic administration had, first, on France in particular, and, secondly, on Europe in general. Then Mr. --- cleared up many of the vague ideas which students held regarding the institutions and conditions of life that existed before, in, and after, feudal times. The lecturers were kindly and obliging. Such goods increase one's taste for more.

Much credit is due to the organizers of the visit to Oxford. There was no cause for grumbling. One was informed of one week's work beforehand. This enables one to arrange the work and sight-seeing of the week accordingly. The private tuition is very interesting and instructive. The critical examination of one's essay is very helpful since one can ask direct questions on obscure points. The flow of ideas, therefore, becomes easier.

B. As I look back on the fortnight I spent in Oxford this year, I find that I received, from the lectures given and the private tuition, the firm root of my future education. Never before have I begun a winter's work with more mental and intellectual vigour.

I greatly appreciated the lectures on "Sociology," by Dr. —; "The Manorial System," by Mr. —; the "Political Science," by Mr. —, and "Napoleon," by Mr. —. Although I am an Economics student, I was more than pleased that lectures were not taken on Industrial History and Economics altogether. I do not study Economics so that I may know, say, the advantages and disadvantages of the division of labour; I study it because I find that it has broadened my ideas of life, it has given me still more sympathy for those who have not the pleasures I have in life, and a determination to work for their uplifting.

The lectures given on "Sociology" took us on the human side of social problems, and gave us a broader outlook on Economics.

I found that doing the essay at home and discussing it with a tutor was a far better plan than doing the essays in Oxford. I had an essay to write the second week, and I found it rather hard work to settle down to doing "Wages". I would prefer to spend the time at home, before going to Oxford, on the essays, and discuss them in Oxford; or write essays in Oxford on the lectures given. I think it would be a good thing if we did at least one essay on the lecture (if it were not Economics), and then

we should know if we had got a thorough grasp of the lecture. I would have very much liked to have written an essay for Dr.

——, and discussed it with him.

The social side of the Summer School is almost (if I may use the word) perfect. We speak of the W.E.A. spirit, but I don't think we all realize what a very tangible thing it is. I have experienced a little of it this year in Oxford. I hope I may prove myself worthy of such kindness by working for those who will in the future inherit the same spirit.

C. At Oxford I lost the fear which has haunted me ever since my first acquaintance with the W.E.A.—that it is too good to last. The difficulties of the movement are far more clear to me now than they were before I came, but I have been made so conscious of the strength of our Association that I never dream now of the possibility of the provisions running short when I attempt to stimulate an appetite for W.E.A. fare.

I came literally exulting in the high privilege (there still seems an element of the miraculous about it) of three years' training in a tutorial class and intending to render some service, in return for benefits received, when the course of study ended. Contact with the other W.E.A. members not only made my position look a mean one, but it also revealed several ways in which I can help our Association—now.

In prospect, the thought of coming into close quarters with a tutor disturbed me considerably; in retrospect, I find that in those interviews my enjoyment reached its high-water mark. I have to make grateful acknowledgment, first, for a considerable amount of straightening out on one or two questions that puzzled me; second, for the shock of the revelation that some things which I had regarded as comparatively simple, are infinitely complex; third, for the free gift of one or two conundrums which I shall not, even approximately, solve for years.

I especially appreciated the permission to send essays beforehand, instead of writing them on the spot; in the midst of so many delightful distractions I personally found work of that kind quite out of the question.

Many times during the last fortnight I have felt grateful to Prof. —— for the information he imparted to us. Lectures such as we were privileged to hear are a real help towards understanding labour problems.

The classes have, of course, not yet been established sufficiently long for their exact form to be crystallized, but the importance of actual classes seems to be growing less and that of individual tutorial work growing greater. Future development is also, to a great extent, dependent on finance. The work accomplished has induced much greater sympathy, and Oxford Colleges are beginning to make special grants for the classes, such as Magdalen College £50, All Souls College £50, while, as has been noted, the Board of Education grant is to be increased. The Gilchrist Trustees also have provided scholarship grants amounting to £100 per annum

The success which the Oxford classes have achieved will, without doubt, be equalled in Cambridge. Special classes for advanced students in Economic Theory have been held this summer.

A residential school lasting for a fortnight was held in 1912 at University College, Reading. It was attended by some forty students who enjoyed to the full the conditions of life in a University hostel. The classes were conducted on the same lines as the Oxford classes, but help was not invited from the Board of Education. It is hoped that a further school will be held in the summer of 1914.

Special courses of lectures at week-ends were given in 1912 by the Universities of London, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, and Durham, whilst, this year, the northern Universities arranged a six weeks' residential school at Bangor, organized on exactly the same lines as the Oxford classes. In addition a fortnight's residential school for North-Eastern students was held at Durham.

Through the agency of these various schools most students who desire to devote a few days to study will be able to do so. Some may ask: "Is a short period of study any use?" The answer is that, if it is not connected with the subject which the student had been working at all the winter, the educational use may be small, but, when it is so connected, the advantage may be very great. In any case many students regard attendance at the summer classes as the centre of their year's work. Men and women look forward to it all the year and look back to it. They often get real guidance in a way which it is impossible for the class tutor to give. They meet scholars of the first rank and men of their own experience from different parts of the country. It becomes a time of real fellowship, and the whole work of the classes throughout the winter is rendered more effective.

There is a great problem in connexion with the summer classes. It is customary for the many working men to spend such time as they can get away from work in the summer with their wives. This has been recognized from the outset as desirable, and every encouragement is given to students to bring their wives, and many do so. Financial aid, when needed, is sometimes accorded. Special

arrangements are made in order that wives who do not attend the classes, as many do, may derive as much educational or other benefit as possible from their visit. To many of them the time thus becomes as great an experience as to their husbands. The breaking-up of a working-man's home, even for such a short time as a summer holiday, is a great misfortune except under specially favoured conditions. Perhaps, in the division which may easily come between a husband who is set on intellectual things and a wife who is not, or vice versa, lies one of the chief possibilities of sadness, if not of tragedy, in working-class education; but it has always been the aim of the W.E.A. to bring man and wife along together, and special efforts are continually made, with very great effect, to reveal to wives and husbands at once, the real beauty and glory which lies hidden in education. There is no better opportunity for this than at a summer school.

When men come alone arrangements are made to accommodate as many of them as possible in Oxford Colleges. Balliol and Christ Church, in particular, have been most generous in this respect, and it has been found possible to allow men sets of rooms with full board at a price which is reasonable and possible to working men.

It is thus possible for the movement to keep in touch with all the students who have passed through the classes and to give them some real opportunities for uninterrupted study under favourable conditions. This, however, will involve a much larger system of summer classes, and considerable financial assistance. For each year the number of students increases. It is no light task to request Oxford or Cambridge to have 500 of them during the summer. It means indeed nothing less than a Long Vacation University without robes and without degrees; a place of noble study influencing the lives of English working people in a manner possible to no other kind of institution; a partial restoration of the glories of places which in time past refused no scholar who chanced to ask admission.

### CHAPTER X.

#### SOME PROBLEMS.

THE whole existence of tutorial classes is beset with difficulties. The majority of classes are without adequate financial support and, consequently, suffer from changes of tutors and insufficiency of books. "Overtime" is always making inroads upon the attendance, and organizing work has had to be accomplished with little or no money.

Over and above all these lie the dangers consequent upon too rapid success, which may cause the damping down of the fine force which created the earlier classes. As a movement grows, fellowship may break under the strain, and if fellowship goes, the movement in its finer aspects ceases to exist.

The movement fears nothing more than the effects of the conventional interpretation of education in England, which may express itself through students, tutor, and officials alike. The signs of this are far too strong. Fortunately the Board of Education and many Local Education Authorities are unaffected.

Some of the difficulties may now well be examined in detail.

(1) The establishment of classes has too often been under-

taken to satisfy a University which desires to start a certain number, and which would become critical and perhaps unsympathetic if there were not as many classes as it agreed at the moment to undertake. This, however, is a difficulty which has almost passed away.

Scepticism concerning the establishment of a class is always overcome provided the right methods of organization are adopted.

(2) Opposition, when it is exerted, is fortunately weak and petulant.

It comes, on the one hand, from local administrators who see political menace in every forward move of working people. There are few County or Town Councils, however, which have ever endorsed this view, although animated and even ferocious discussions have taken place. Moreover the confidence reposed in the movement by the leaders of all political parties, and the constant appreciation of the work accomplished, are banishing opposition to regions where grumbles concerning "what the country is coming to" still bear the semblance of wisdom.

On the other hand opposition comes from a very small section who suspect the co-operation of Universities as a sinister method of ensuring still further the enslavement of the people, and who affirm that "There is no wisdom or knowledge needed by the workers to-day which can be gained from Universities".

Suspicion thus engendered has lost to the movement, in many cases only temporarily, fine students; but on the whole the result has been beneficial. The declamations have arrested the attention of many thinking men and women. They proceed to investigate the movement and as a result become enthusiastic students and propagandists.

Fortunately England has not yet suffered a sufficiently violent cleavage between different sections of the community to prevent co-operation between them for purely educational purposes. The alliance between scholars and working people has come just in time to show Universities the real condition and point of view of English workers. If the Universities understand, England, in the long run, will understand also, for the Universities are the most powerful institutions in English life and the influence of their thought eventually permeates every other type of institution. If the Universities misunderstand, cleavage is inevitable.

The existence of the alliance will be seriously endangered if any tutorial class suffers limitation of its freedom at the hands of any church, political party, or University. So far, however, records prove that freedom has been actively encouraged, and that neither socialism, nor capitalism, nor anglicanism, nor agnosticism, nor any other force has even attempted to dominate a class which regards itself as a place "in which the intellect may safely range and speculate, sure to find its equal in some antagonist activity, and its judge in the tribunal of truth; a place where inquiry is pushed forward, discoveries verified and perfected, rashness rendered innocuous, error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge; a place where the professor becomes eloquent, becomes a missionary and preacher of science, displaying it in its most complete and most win-

ning form, pouring it forth with the zeal of enthusiasm, and lighting up his own love of it in the breasts of his hearers."

Any idea that there is no suspicion on the part of working people who become students would, however, be misleading. The dread of the "master class" is deeply rooted. "The masters penetrate and dominate so many other National Institutions. Is it possible that the tutorial class can be exempt?" They know that some Universities are not. A little while ago a student told an inspector of his dread lest his essays, expressing his inmost soul, should come to the eyes of his employers, and secure his dismissal. He knew that speeches, even in Trade Union meetings, have had this result.

This suspicious attitude is the heritage of the past, and in too many places is justified to-day. To declaim against it is to strengthen it. It can only be finally dismissed by the action of a complete educational system, towards which these classes are tending.

(3) The financial difficulty follows hard upon the formation of a class.

It is remarkable that so large a movement should have struggled into being with so little financial support for its teaching, much less for its organizing. Unlimited, or even sufficient, finance would not, however, have proved an unmixed blessing.

The strength of the financial position, such as it is, is due to the fact that it is derived from three main sources—the Universities, the Board of Education, and the Local

Education Authorities. These have been supplemented by the Gilchrist Trustees and the Workers' Educational Association.

No class so far has been prevented from starting by insuperable financial obstacles; the Universities have not refused a class, and the local organization has always been willing to take the risk. The applications for classes have, however, been kept back because it was well known that Universities would only grant a limited number. Difficulty has arisen during the second and third years when there are less students, and, consequently, a smaller Board of Education grant; or even in the first year when "overtime" commences to make inroads upon attendance. But the new regulations of the Board will lessen that difficulty greatly, and, unless employment in a town is greatly disturbed by "overtime" or reorganization, it should vanish altogether. All the time there hangs over many classes the results inevitable from the insufficient payment of tutors, and an inadequate supply of books.

(4) Leaving "overtime" until later, it may be well to examine the tutor and book problems.

Tutors should be able to live by the work. They must be persons of the highest possible standard if they are to do the work idemanded of them. All the time temptations will be placed before them to undertake remunerative work in assured positions. They require sufficient means to travel for purposes of research and for an up-to-date expanding working library. In the case of tutors taking four classes they ought not, in the interest of their students, to be allowed to undertake any other work for remuneration without the approval of the University Joint Committee concerned, for four classes mean 120 students, each of whom demands individual attention and must have his essays examined.

The Oxford Committee held that a tutor could undertake five classes, and decided to pay £80 per class or £400 per annum for full work. It has with great difficulty achieved this, and it is noteworthy that the original Oxford tutors are still teaching.

Cambridge pays £72 a class and London £60.

Other Universities have hitherto paid less. Generally speaking, in consequence, they have been subject to frequent changes of tutors and have been unable to attract suitable men from other work. Many of the tutors cheerfully continue, even when tempted to accept well-paid University posts—but under-payment will, in the long run, have its result.

Well-considered and deliberate changes of tutors after long notice may prove beneficial, but the majority of changes are sudden and in the interests of other work. It is important that a tutor should continue his teaching for three years if his class is to have a full measure of success. The attachment of working people to a tutor is a different thing entirely from that which obtains in a school or college—and it is sometimes difficult to transfer it to a successor. Be that as it may, in more cases than one a tutor's acceptance in mid-session of a University or other post has seriously weakened the class. It is legitimate for tutors to accept posts, but it is hard when as the result a

class is placed in financial difficulty, is forced to continue work with a less suitable tutor, and loses credit in consequence of diminishing attendance. This has happened on several occasions. It is not well that tutors should undertake the work as a mere stepping-stone to some post that they desire. It seems almost utopian to expect that such cases will not occur, but the number of tutors who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the work is so large as to compel admiration and stimulate hope.

But by far the most serious internal problem of the classes is that tutors have often found themselves unable to give the individual tuition outside the class hours which the whole system implies. There are many tutors who have set themselves wisely to do the maximum amount of this work possible to them and to their students; but the fact that many students work right up to the class hour and that the distances tutors have to travel are often very great has rendered the amount very small. There are, however, a number of tutors who try to do all their work in the two hours, and have not realized what working people are demanding of the Universities-tutors who actually, if not deliberately. place the satisfaction of other interests before this demand for individual tuition. Such an attitude of mind is disastrous and will undoubtedly be put a stop to by the action of the joint committees. It is clear that if a tutor is unable. in the course of six months, to have a talk with each student individually, the case is exceptional whatever the difficulty; but, even if unable to see the student, he can at least write to him a friendly letter dealing with his characteristic

problems. The marking of essays supplies a very favourable opportunity for personal tuition, but here again, there are tutors who have fallen into a method of marking essays which was never intended in a tutorial class, and have even contented themselves with making some comment such as "very good" or "excellent". These cases are, however, few and far between. The ideal solution of the whole problem is the establishment of resident tutors, and the several University committees are working to this end. If this be done, there must, however, be opportunities for the removal of tutors, both in the interests of tutor and class, when it seems wise. Where colleges begin to take root, the tutor will probably be the principal and perhaps become fixed in the neighbourhood.

Apart from this it is evident that classes which have met on Saturdays, or even on Sundays, as some few have done, have been able to realize much more completely than other classes the ideal of individual tuition.

If in the long run the difficulty turns out to be one of finance, some means must be found of dealing with it, for clearly the working men and women of England who are capable and desirous of continued study at a high level, whilst pursuing their daily work, ought to have every reasonable opportunity placed in their way.

(5) The problem of books is mainly financial. If the study is to be the equivalent of an Honours Degree, a good supply of the latest books is indispensable. It is hoped that the lately-formed Central Library will eventually receive large assistance from the State or otherwise, in order to

build up the sources of supply. There is, however, a hindrance other than financial, inasmuch as some inexperienced and ill-advised tutors do not fully realize the importance of books. It came to light, for example, that one tutor had taken his class for two years in Economic Theory with only one textbook and no books of reference. Such a class, from the tutorial class point of view, is useless. A tutorial class in Economics should have access to the opinions of all economic writers, the orthodox equally with the unorthodox. No class, for example, can afford to disregard either Marshall or Marx. A literature class should have the finest published texts. Some University Joint Committees, even this year, incredible as it may seem, supplied no books to their classes. On the other hand, some Universities have spent liberally upon the provision of books and are gradually accumulating first-rate libraries. conjunction with the books from public libraries and, what is perhaps of the greatest significance, from the Central Tutorial Classes Library (which has now been established in London), these have, to a certain extent, managed to supply the demands of the students. So far as their means will allow students purchase their own books, and the Workers' Educational Association has been able to do something in this connexion. It has, for instance, arranged with Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb to publish cheap editions of "The History of Trade Unionism" and of "Industrial Democracy". It has also arranged for cheap editions of other books. If the number of evening students amongst adults goes on increasing at its present rate, it will soon be necessary for

public libraries to receive additional financial assistance from some source or other. The Library Association has been attempting for some time to carry a bill on these lines. It would be advantageous if the Board of Education undertook the supervision of public libraries. Perhaps, in the first place, it might make grants to existing libraries. It might even take over, instead of merely aiding, the Central Library for Tutorial Classes, and send books on the subject desired through the medium of local libraries for the use of students in grant-aided classes, if not in others. It is interesting to note that in supplying books to tutorial classes the Central Library is making the first attempt to place the whole range of reference books on any given subject within the reach of working men and women.

(6) The gravest of all problems in connexion with tutorial class study is "overtime," which is still so frequent as to decimate the number of applicants for classes, and sometimes to decimate the actual number of students. "Overtime," and the fear of it, paralyse efforts towards education. The lowness of wages in certain occupations makes even the keen scholar anxious to increase his income in every legitimate way. Still there are not wanting cases of men who, earning small wages and with large responsibilities, will pay money to others to do their "overtime" for them. The number of actual hours lost by students in attendance at classes in the session 1911-12 through "overtime" was 3059. The effect of this hindrance upon two classes held in the vicinity of a dockyard this year, may be summarized as follows. The number of hours lost through "overtime" by

students in actual attendance was 191. Ten other students signed pledge-forms and were determined to attend the class, but immediately their duties were altered to day and night shift in alternate weeks. The day shift is from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. and the night shift from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. These men also frequently worked "overtime" when on the day shift until 10 p.m. Thus are classes broken up. The secretary of the class was himself transferred for work to another place and managed, with difficulty, to arrange with his fellowworkmen so that he could get back in time for the class. On one occasion he arranged his work, thinking that if he came to class straight from work his "overtime" would not prevent him making his full attendance. He was informed, however, on the day before the class that he would be required to work until 8 p.m. and probably later, until further notice. This, be it noted, happened to men in the service of the Government. The tutor, it may be added, provides notes of the lectures for men who are thus compelled to be absent.

The session 1912-13 covered a period of good trade. The complete figures are not before us at the time of writing, but it is clear that the number of hours' absence through "overtime" will greatly exceed that of 1911-12. The Workers' Educational Association at its ninth Annual Meeting passed the following resolution in accordance with which it takes action as opportunities arise:—

"That this Meeting, recognizing the growing desire for education, trusts that an appeal will be made to Education Authorities to approach employers of labour, and at the same time also approach the various industrial organizations of the workers, to suppress 'overtime' as far as possible; and that where young people attend evening schools the employer be asked to allow them time off, either two hours off in the afternoon of the school day, or else two hours off the following morning; and in view of the financial waste involved in the consequent irregularity in the attendance of students, calls upon the Board of Education to make an inquiry into the educational aspects of the question of 'overtime'."

- (7) The shift system is also destructive of educational effort, but an attempt has been made to meet it in some cases by holding classes morning and evening with identical lessons. The student can then attend either class and keep the continuity of his work. In the case, however, of the three-shift system, now so prevalent in mining districts, the difficulty of organizing educational work has so far proved insuperable. It is not merely that the times change, but the shift system demoralizes the mental attitude of working men, even as it upsets their household arrangements.
- (8) Perhaps after all the greatest problem before the movement lies in surmounting the results of its seeming early success. Men who were prone to be sceptical in the early days are naturally anxious to participate. Officials are anxious to take their part in a movement which cannot now be officially ignored; and the changed attitude of such men, unless they genuinely sympathize with the new ideals, will inevitably produce a reaction towards the old order. The movement must, by its inherent force, stand firm

upon the ground which it has won, and working men who take part in the movement must watch jealously any attempt to hinder the freedom of the classes. As the Warden of King's College for Women pointed out in the "Times," they have rediscovered for themselves the method of education which was the method of Plato and they must guard it jealously—reinforced by all true scholars.

### CHAPTER XI.

#### THE FUTURE.

THE future can never be faced without awe and a sense of insufficiency. Fear arises that the success of the past will fail to persist into the future. There is, however, no reason for such fear in the case of tutorial classes, for they are but a present-day expression of an eternal need. Plato advocated their principles and enjoyed their practice. The best work of a University has always conformed to the same spirit. Even if their form passes, the influence they have exerted will strongly affect English education and English society, for men and women have learned in them new lessons which they will not fail in the years to come to teach to others, and have seen the movements of a new spirit, uniting and transforming men by the power of a common ideal.

It is possible that for a year or two the number of classes may decline—but that matters little so long as those remaining are true to the ideals of scholarship, refusing to turn out mere repositories of knowledge, rejecting in the course of their work those tendencies which are characteristic of priggishness and superiority, and inspiring men in all humility to serve the whole community even in the most thankless offices.

Nothing then can force the Tutorial Class method out of the English educational system; and it is now struggling to enter Scotland, there to claim kinship with the finest of that country's work. It may, through misuse, be discredited, or its noble force be turned to lesser ends; but the claim made by working people to a share in the intellectual activity of the race has been justified. The sneers of cynics will henceforth fall upon deaf ears. Adult education has been manifested as a method distinct from that of either school or college. In a recent report the Higher Education Committee of the London County Council said: "There are probably a good many men and women among the 25,000 teachers in the Council's service who have both the knowledge and the capacity for applying Workers' Educational Association methods".

In the coming discussions in the country on the future of national education, over 5000 well-trained working men and women will take their part. They will not fail to advocate necessary national expenditure on education, for they themselves have benefited by systematic training on large and liberal lines. Moreover, they will stand shoulder to shoulder in the determination that educational privilege shall become a thing of the past, and that each child, adolescent and adult, shall in the future have the education necessary for complete development. They have experienced such pain through the realization, in tutorial classes, of their own limitations that it would be impossible for them to cease to strive to free their children.

The Universities can never be the same again. Plato's

contention that students should proceed to higher study after experience of life is abundantly reinforced by the practice of tutorial classes.

Somewhere or other in the Universities of England there must be places for tried men, who, regardless of degrees or distinctions of any kind, will steadily pursue truth as their master passion. They will not be appointed teachers, but men of the same spirit will come and sit at their feet, and the power of their teaching, as they learn from one another, may go down the ages.

This, after all, is where the best tutorial class students should find themselves in a University; not merely sitting side by side with youths whose conception of education and of the great world is limited by their experience, and who in the main are seeking for entry to the more agreeable occupations of professional life. It would, however, greatly enhance the value of a University course if men who have grappled with life did move freely amongst young men. Misunderstandings would vanish, the pursuit of knowledge would rise to a plane removed from prizes and degrees. The education of "Governors" would be more complete—more of the State would be seen. Here and there, happily, the value of the Association can be seen now.

Summer classes are concourses of experienced men and women. Ruskin College will prove to be so too, if it avoids ordinary academic standards, and realizes the treasures hidden in the rich lives of those who go to it from mine and factory.

Throughout Universities the idea is steadily gaining

ground that the keenness and power manifested by adult students in tutorial classes is something richer and rarer than that which is experienced in the ordinary round of University teaching. There will be few University teachers in the future who will hesitate to take advantage of an opportunity to teach working men and women. Even now some of the ablest and most distinguished are seeking such opportunities.

The study of books, the hearing of academic lectures, the teaching of inexperienced students will, each in their degree, gain new vitality if added to them all is the stimulus derived from contact with the inquiring adult mind. After all the tutorial class is but the fireside discussion on the part of keen men, extended and organized and placed in contact with the sources of knowledge. It is in its essentials, as we have implied, "as old as the hills".

By the gradual fermentation of these ideas any doubt on the part of Universities as to the wisdom of spending the necessary money will be dissipated. If they do not possess the money they will work to secure it. There is happily no University or University College in England which has declined to spend money, but even so the decision to spend £250 per annum for five tutorial classes with 150 students is severely criticized, whereas the payment of twice the amount to an internal tutor dealing with ten students would pass unnoticed. Not that for one moment any one should think that junior lecturers in Universities are well paid. Quite the reverse is the case, and the fact has had material influence in keeping down the salaries of tutorial class teachers.

Far-sighted educationalists have always held that the pursuit of education should be its own reward, and examinations with their accompaniment of diplomas and certificates will lose their ephemeral power quickly now that this enlightened view is being so strikingly endorsed by experience.

Turn now to the actual classes. Even if in the next few years there is a set-back, the supply of tutors will steadily grow, and as funds increase it is reasonable to suppose that each town and considerable village will have its University class. Even the villages! for the way in which village workers are turning to education placed before them by the tutorial class method is astonishing.

In several village classes under the Workers' Educational Association there is now an average attendance of some thirty students studying History, Literature, and Science. The possibility of village University tutorial classes is not so remote as it may seem to some, and the wise conditions of Board of Education grants make it possible for them to receive the maximum help.

The effect of the output of tutorial class students so far has been great, and, to use the words of Professor Hobhouse and Mr. J. W. Headlam: "Its effects are likely to be permanent, and to spread from the actual members of the class to those who come in contact with them. If it comes to be the custom for those who take an interest in public affairs to prepare themselves by attending courses of this kind the results may be of considerable importance. At any rate, much will have been done to diffuse among

large classes of the population to whom it has until lately been wholly unfamiliar a new idea of the possibilities of education on these matters." It is certain that, if the common life of England is to be raised to higher levels, and if this country is not to become decadent, new forces must come into play. It cannot be doubted that the tutorial class movement is one of such forces. The spectacle of men of different experiences mingling together and becoming one in the pursuit of common study is one of profound significance.

It would need a prophet's vision to foresee the England of the future as the classes persist upon their steady way. It may perhaps be well if statistics of the classes are little talked about, because statistics are in themselves dangerous and tend to divert minds from the true issues. It is difficult to emphasize statistics and keep the soul alive. After all, the best results of the classes will be unseen. They are intangible. But, as we have before implied, they cannot fail to assist the development of the Highway of Education so long desired; a Highway which provides for each man, woman, and child the education which he or she ought to have, and which leads directly to a state of society in which people will do the work for which they are best fitted and which they are happiest in doing-when men and women will be no longer the slaves of convention, but, having broken free from hampering tradition and the bonds of their serfdom, will rise to the plane of things which endure; when, captains of their own destiny, whatever their intellectual capacities may be, they will enter with power and

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spirit upon education as upon joyous adventure or splendid exploration, equally content whether the path they take be well trodden and simple, or if alone and on the confines of knowledge it is theirs to unravel secrets and reveal mysteries never before known or understood by men.

### APPENDIX I.

# SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE OXFORD JOINT COMMITTEE.

I. Teaching beyond the Limits of the University.

We recommend:---

- (i) That it is desirable to organize systematic teaching in certain selected centres extending over a period of not less than two years.
- (ii) That this teaching should take the form (a) of lectures (with classes), but more particularly (b) of class work as distinct from lectures, each class to consist, as a rule, of not more than thirty students.
- (iii) That a special certificate should be awarded under the authority of the University Extension Delegacy on the work, attendance, and proficiency of the class students, after a report from the teacher and two University representatives appointed for the purpose; and that the students' capacity should be tested mainly by examination of the essays written by them during the two years' course.
- (iv) That it is desirable that the certificate should be such as would satisfy the requirements of the Committee for Economics (or other similar committees) for the admission

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of students not members of the University to Diploma

(v) That in view of the lack of textbooks suitable for the use of these classes, the Standing Committee recommended below be asked to make arrangements for the provision and publication of such textbooks.

## II. The Admission of Working-class Students to Oxford.

### We recommend:—

- (i) That it is desirable that in the future qualified students from the tutorial classes should be enabled regularly and easily to pass into residence at Oxford, and to continue their studies there.
- (ii) That in order to make possible the residence of working-class students in Oxford (a) Colleges be asked to set aside a certain number of scholarships or exhibitions for them; (δ) a request be forwarded to the Trustees of the University Appeal Fund to set aside a sum for the purpose of granting assistance to working-class students from the autorial classes.
- (iii) That recommendation for such scholarships, exhibitions, and maintenance grants be based on a report from a Committee of Selection, consisting of the class teacher, the two University representatives, a representative of the Workers' Educational Association, of the local organization, and of the class.
- (iv) That it be one of the duties of the Standing Committee, which it is proposed to constitute below, to organize funds for the establishment of such scholarships, exhibitions,
- \*This proposal has already been met by the Committee for Economics.

or maintenance grants, to be tenable either at a College or Hall of the University, by a non-collegiate student, or at Ruskin College.

## III. The Position and Payment of Teachers.

We recommend:-

- (i) That the teachers be paid £80 per unit of twenty-four classes, or when in full work £400 per session of twenty-four weeks, together with travelling expenses.
- (ii) That the teachers be given an academic status in Oxford by being employed regularly as lecturers for a college or for the University.
- (iii) That £40 out of every £80 paid per course of classes, or £200 per annum when the teacher is in full work, be contributed by Oxford, and that it be the duty of the Standing Committee to raise the necessary money for this purpose, and also for travelling expenses, fees to examiners, and other incidental University expenses.
- (iv) That the selection of teachers be in the hands of the Standing Committee, subject to approval by the University Extension Delegacy, and by the body, whether College or University, which makes itself responsible for their part payment.

# IV. The Authority for Organizing Working-class

The question of organization is at present in an experimental stage.

We recommend—for the present:—

(i) That a Standing Committee of the University Extension Delegacy be constituted to deal with the education of

workpeople both in and outside Oxford, whose duty it shall be to take steps for the carrying out of the recommendations made in this Report, and to take all other steps for establishing or strengthening any connexion between Oxford and the working classes which may from time to time appear desirable.

- (ii) That the Committee consist of not less than five, nor more than seven representatives of the University nominated by the University Extension Delegacy and of an equal number of representatives of working-class institutions and organizations, appointed through the Workers' Educational Association.
- (iii) That it should be immediately responsible to the Delegacy.
  - (iv) That it should hold a stated meeting each term.
- (v) That the Committee have its own secretaries, and conduct all correspondence between Oxford and working-class centres where tutorial classes are established, or lectures given under its auspices.\*

### V. Ruskin College.

### We recommend:-

- (i) That residence for one year at Ruskin College together with a certificate from the College, in which two University representatives appointed for the purpose by the Committee of Economics shall concur, that the student has reached a satisfactory standard in the course of study pursued in the College should be accepted as satisfying the requirements of the University that he has received a good general education and is qualified to pursue the study of Economics.
  - (ii) That under any scheme of Scholarships or Exhibitions

<sup>\*</sup> This Committee has already been constituted.

for working men, a certain number of such Scholarships or Exhibitions should be placed at the disposal of the Council of Ruskin College for second-year students who have qualified for admission to the Diploma course in Economics or Political Science.

# VI. Diploma in Political Science.

We recommend the establishment of a Diploma in Political Science, either as part of, or parallel to the Diploma in Economics.

# VII. Special Inquiry Department.

We recommend the establishment by the University of a Special Department, whose duty it shall be to collect information as to educational movements in this country and abroad, to inquire into the needs of new classes of students, and to issue Reports from time to time. We think that such a Department would render valuable service in guiding the policy of the University and Colleges upon all matters which concern the secondary schools, and other parts of our educational system, especially those affecting the working classes.

> THOMAS B. STRONG (Chairman). D. J. SHACKLETON (Vice-Chairman).

S. BALL.

I. M. MACTAVISH.

W. H. BERRY.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

C. W. BOWERMAN.

A. L. SMITH.

RICHARDSON CAMPBELL. H. H. TURNER. H. B. LEES SMITH.

ALFRED WILKINSON.

A. E. ZIMMERN A. MANSBRIDGE

Joint Secretaries.

Note .- Mr. Marriott cordially concurs in the educational recommendations of the above Report, but expresses no opinion on the administrative changes suggested in it.

#### APPENDIX IL

# BOARD OF EDUCATION REGULATIONS FOR TUTORIAL CLASSES.

(A) Extract from the Board of Education Regulations for Further Education from 1 August, 1907 to 31 July, 1908 governing the tutorial classes at Battersea, Rochdale, and Longton, in their first year.

#### DIVISION I.—LITERARY AND COMMERCIAL.

- (b) (i) The rate of grant may be increased up to 5s. where advanced instruction is efficiently given by teachers recognized by the Board as specially qualified, and where the syllabus followed is one of the Specimen Advanced Syllabuses published by the Board, or a corresponding syllabus specially approved for the purpose by the Board. Where the work of the school includes such advanced work, a single rate of grant may be awarded for all the work under Division I., and in this case that rate will be determined in part by the standard of this advanced instruction, and by the relative amount of this work.
- (B) Extract from the Board of Education Regulations for Further Education in England and Wales from I August, 1908 to 31 July, 1909, governing the grants to tutorial classes up to and including the Session 1912-13.

# Prefatory Memorandum.

(iii) By an alteration in Division I. (b) (ii) of Section 32 the Board have recognized that organized work of a very high standard of advancement is now being attempted in sections of evening education eligible for grants under this Division, other than the commercial courses to which the highest rate of grant has hitherto been restricted. The Board have, however, indicated by the condition that the standard of the work must correspond with that required for University Degrees in Honours, that it is only in the very highest type of classwork that there will be any likelihood of a grant being allowed at a rate in excess of that previously payable.

#### Division I.

#### Literary and Commercial.

- (ii) Where an approved course of organized instruction, including instruction in commercial subjects, is provided the rate may be further increased up to 8s. 6d. The course must not include instruction of the standard recognized under the Preparatory Division of this Section, and must, except in special cases, extend over not less than three years. The condition that the course must include instruction in commercial subjects may be waived if the course as actually carried out by the students is of a standard corresponding with that required for an Honours degree.
- (C) Board of Education Regulations for University Tutorial Classes, 1913-14 (in force from 1 August, 1913).
  - 1.-(a) The Board of Education will be prepared to make

special grants, subject to the requirements of these Regulations and of Articles 1 to 25 of the Regulations for Technical Schools, etc., in aid of part-time courses in subjects of general as distinct from vocational education, given under the educational supervision either of a University or University College, acting directly or through a Committee or Delegacy, or of an educational body containing representatives of a University or University College, and constituted expressly for such supervision.

- (b) The University or supervising body must be responsible for the framing of the syllabus and the selection of a suitable tutor.
- (c) The instruction must aim at reaching, within the limits of the subject covered, the standard of University work in Honours.
- 2. The course must extend for each class over a period of not less than three years, and must occupy at least two hours a week for twenty-four weeks in each year, at least one half of the time being devoted to class work.
- 3.—(a) Arrangements must be made to the satisfaction of the Board for regulating the admission of students to each class, and for ensuring regularity of attendance and written work by the students.
- (b) The number of original students admitted to any class for a course beginning in 1913-14 or later must not exceed thirty-two. In future years the Board may require the number of original students not to exceed twenty-four.
- (c) The roll of original students must be made up not later than the third meeting of the first year of the course, and must be at once forwarded to the Board. For classes whose course began before 1913-14 the Board will decide, after

an inspection of the registers for the first year, which students are to be regarded as having been original students.

- (d) Added students, whose attendances will not be taken into account for purposes of grant, may be admitted after the roll has been closed, provided that the tutor is satisfied that they are able to take up the work at the stage which has been reached by the class, and that their admission does not bring the total number of original and added students on the register for any year of the course to more than twenty-four.
- 4. If a teacher conducts more than one class of this type, or conducts a class or classes in addition to other regular teaching work, the Board must be satisfied that he has adequate time available for the efficient conduct of the class.
- 5.—(a) Provided that the Regulations are satisfied and the instruction efficient, the Board will make a grant in respect of each class for each year of the course, to the amount of  $\pounds 30$ , or half the fee, exclusive of travelling and similar expenses, paid to the tutor, whichever may be the less, provided that the number of original students who attend not less than 66 per cent of the meetings of the class during the year, and do such written work as may be required by the tutor, reaches not less than two-thirds of the total number of original students or twelve in all (whichever is the higher) for a class in its first year, half the number of original students or nine in all for a class in its] second year, and one-third of the number of original students or six in all for a class in its third or any later year.
- (b) A proportionate deduction will be made from the full grant for each unit by which the number of original students

in regular attendance falls below the number required of the class for the full grant.

- (c) In order to be registered as in attendance at a meeting, a student must have arrived not more than ten minutes after the beginning of the meeting and must have left not more than ten minutes before the end of the meeting.
- 6.—(a) Grant will be paid by the Board to the University or other supervising body in respect of each class under its supervision, except that it may be paid to a Local Education Authority if the Authority takes full financial responsibility for a class and requests the grant to be so paid.
- (b) Every University or other supervising body will be required to furnish to the Board an annual statement of accounts in connexion with tutorial classes, in a form prescribed by the Board.
- 7. The Board may make such additional grants as they may think fit in respect of vacation courses for selected students organized in connexion with classes aided under these Regulations.
- 8. Classes whose course began in or before 1912-13 will have the alternative of receiving grant for that and subsequent years under Article 32 (d) of the Regulations for Technical Schools, 1910.

17 June, 1913.

L. A. SELBY-BIGGE.

#### Note on the new Regulations (1913-14).

The new Regulations of the Board of Education are certain to strengthen tutorial classes if proper organizing methods are adopted.

It has been observed that classes have heretofore admitted

students who had not been thoroughly tested as to their determination to attend the class for three years unless they were prevented by unavoidable causes. There was in the nature of things no reason why these should not have been admitted, provided the class was not full up, although in many cases it lessened the proportion of students who did complete the three years. There was no financial loss, and some measure of financial gain.

It will be observed that under the new Regulations a student who does not show reasonable promise of attendance for the three years is a distinct cause of financial loss; there cannot be any financial gain.

Under Regulation 5, a full tutorial class capable of earning the £30 grant for each of three years can be started with eighteen students. The ideal class is, of course, twenty-four.

#### APPENDIX III.

#### BOARD OF EDUCATION REPORT ON TUTORIAL CLASSES.

Special Report of H.M. Inspector, Mr. Headlam, and Prof.

- L. T. Hobhouse, on certain tutorial classes in connection with the Workers' Educational Association.
- r. The following Report is based on visits of inspection paid to a number of classes held in connection with the Workers' Educational Association. We have inspected fourteen of these classes; \* we have in each case attended a lecture and the discussion following upon it. We have read a good proportion of the paper work done by the students and have conversed with lecturers; and students upon the subject of their work. Though there is considerable variation in the methods of different lecturers and in the standards reached by different classes, certain general conclusions are clear to us, and enable us to submit the following Report.

#### GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

- 2. The course of instruction is in general arranged to extend over three years, and in some centres preliminary lectures are now arranged to serve as an introduction to more systematic study. Two of the lectures which we at-
  - \* A list of the classes inspected is appended.

tended (those at Longton and Rochdale) belonged to the third year, some to the second year, but the majority to the first year of the course. There was naturally a marked difference in the standard reached, and allowance had to be made for the stage of the course in judging of the work done.

- 3. The subject commonly taken is Social History and Economic Theory. It presents certain obvious difficulties in handling; but, on the other hand, it forms a good subject for continuous study. We have in general found the course to be well planned. In the majority of cases a rapid survey of mediaeval social conditions leads up to a more detailed treatment of the modern period, and the historical investigation in turn serves as the basis and starting-point for the discussion of economic theory. Occasionally we thought that an attempt was made to cover too wide a ground, but as a rule the course appeared to us well suited to the conditions of the work. It may be remarked that continuity is the first and most obvious point to be aimed at in work of this description, and that when it was not adequately secured the whole standard of the work donenotwithstanding the ability of the lecturer-was of a relatively unsatisfactory character.
- 4. The classes in general contain about thirty students. They are promoted by the Workers' Educational Association, occasionally with some financial assistance from the Local Education Authority in addition to the Board of Education Grant, and with the co-operation of one or other of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. In all cases the lecturer is appointed by the University. The lectures were in general

given weekly through the winter and are suspended in the summer. In some cases we found that the class was proposing to continue work on its own account during the interval by arranging meetings at which papers were to be read and discussed.

5. The form of the teaching is that of a lecture followed by a discussion, and accompanied by paper work. Subjects for essays are given out from week to week, and generally each student is expected to do one essay a fortnight. In most cases it is a condition of admission to the course that the student should sign an undertaking to attend regularly for three years and do paper work with equal regularity, unless prevented by illness, overtime, removal, or unavoidable cause. The register is in all cases properly kept, and the room is in general adequate to the needs of the class.

#### CHARACTER OF THE WORK.

6. With regard to the character and value of the work done, we formed a clear general impression, which may be sufficiently set out under the following heads. It must be understood that what we say would not apply without some modification to every class, but unless expressly limited, is to be taken as giving our opinion of the average of the work done.

#### Standard.

7. A question which may conveniently be treated first, and to which we were instructed to give particular attention, is how the instruction given and the work done in the classes inspected stands in relation to what may be called a "Uni-

versity standard". To estimate this adequately would involve a definition of the "University standard" of teaching. Without presuming so far, we may apply certain fairly obvious tests. We may assume that University teaching is teaching suited to adults; that it is scientific, detached, and impartial in character; that it aims not so much at filling the mind of the student with facts or theories as at calling forth his own individuality, and stimulating him to mental effort; that it accustoms him to the critical study of the leading authorities, with perhaps occasional references to first-hand sources of information, and that it implants in his mind a standard of thoroughness, and gives him a sense of the difficulty as well as of the value of truth. The student so trained learns to distinguish between what may fairly be called matter of fact and what is certainly mere matter of opinion, between the white light and the coloured. He becomes accustomed to distinguish issues, and to look at separate questions each on its own merits and without an eye to their bearing on some cherished theory. He learns to state fairly, and even sympathetically, the position of those to whose practical conclusions he is most stoutly opposed. He becomes able to examine a suggested idea, and see what comes of it, before accepting it or rejecting it. Finally, without necessarily becoming an original student, he gains an insight into the conditions under which original research is carried on. He is able to weigh! evidence, to follow and criticize argument, and put his own value on authorities.

8. Such a course of education involves long and severe mental discipline, and moreover, implies previous training and previous general education of a relatively wide range. Admission to membership of a University is in fact made conditional on the production of evidence of such preparation. In the classes which we have inspected, this preliminary education is for the most part very inadequate, and the courses themselves, while extending over three years, have to be adapted to the conditions of a workman's life, and can therefore utilize only the leisure time of hardworked men. The three years' course of continuous study is in itself an entirely new experience to the great majority of those who attend the classes.

9. These circumstances necessarily affect the amount and character of the work achieved. In point of fact, to compare the work actually done in these classes with that of an Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate is a method of doubtful The conditions differ, and the product is in some respects better and in others not so good. There is more maturity of mind and more grip of reality behind many of these papers. There is as a rule, naturally, less of the qualities arising out of a general literary education. If, however, the question be put whether, so far as they go, and within the limits of time and available energy the classes are conducted in the spirit which we have described, and tend to accustom the student to the ideal of work familiar at a University, we can answer with an unhesitating affirmative; and in particular, the treatment both of History and Economics is scientific and detached in character. As regards the standard reached, there are students whose essays compare favourably with the best academic work.

We may illustrate our general conclusion by reference to the character of the teaching, the quality of the written work, and the evidence of independent reading by the students.

#### Teaching.

10. The lectures of course vary in merit, but taken as a whole the standard is high, the conception just, and the execution good. In the earlier stages the lecturers study clearness and simplicity, in the latter they do not hesitate to set out arguments that can only be followed by dint of the closest attention, and would only appeal to serious students. In the discussions which follow the lectures they meet the students with great frankness and simplicity, and though controversial subjects are frequently raised by one member or another of the class, and sometimes pursued with considerable vigour and plainness of expression, there is a marked absence of any desire to "score" and a prevailing sense of fair play for views of all kinds which says much for the spirit in which the classes have been conducted. The lecturers appear to us to have impressed their classes with the fundamental qualities of candour and detachment in the pursuit of knowledge. Their attitude is that not merely of teachers, but of fellow-students with much to learn. do not seek easy solutions, but encourage their classes to face difficulties. Teaching of this quality may be said to convey something more important than a piece of history or a set of economic doctrines.

Upon the whole of the lectures and the teaching generally we have no hesitation in saying that they conform to the best standard of University work.

# Paper Work.

11. The paper work done by the students was naturally of very unequal merit. The majority of them, as already remarked, have had no previous training since they left the

elementary school. Some have been at the Adult Schools, and some have attended occasional lectures or have belonged to debating or literary societies. Some few are teachers, some are clerks or engaged in commercial work of one kind or another, or have gained some little practice in putting ideas on to paper from their experience as trade union secretaries. But few, if any, have had previous training that would at all aid them with work of this description. Hence some of the earliest essays are of very elementary character. But it is precisely here that we find the greatest improvement as we turn from the earliest to the latest efforts of the students. Minor defects of spelling and grammatical construction linger long, but the more important powers of arrangement, lucidity, and fullness of expression develop on the whole in a satisfactory manner.

12. We have already pointed out the difficulty of comparing work done under these conditions with that of undergraduate students, both the merits and the defects being of a different order; but if we are to make the comparison we may perhaps put it that the essays of the first year courses run from very rudimentary beginnings up to a matriculation standard, and those of later years advance in proportion. The best third year students would, we think, be quite in a position to read for the Oxford Diploma in Economics, and would probably, after a year's full work, obtain it without difficulty. Here and there work of a still higher standard is to be found.

At the same time it must be remembered that this standard is reached as a rule in one subject alone, e.g. in Economic History and Theory, whereas a University generally insists upon equal merit in a larger number of subjects, which must be studied concurrently, as the condition of a degree. To acquire such wider knowledge would under the conditions of these classes occupy necessarily a much longer period.

## Reading.

- 13. Any comparison with the work of University students would naturally include a reference to the nature and amount of the independent reading done by members of the class. Some observations on this part of the work will be found below; it will at this point be sufficient to say that much attention is given to the provision of books, that the books are well selected, and are generally of a kind suitable to the early stages of a University course, and that notwithstanding very serious difficulties, many of the students make every effort to read a large number of the books supplied.
- 14. We do not, therefore, doubt that there are students among these classes, who, if opportunity offered, could continue their studies at Oxford, Cambridge, or some other University with success. At the same time, we do not consider that aid in this form is by any means the most vital need of the classes in their present position. Of this we shall speak later, merely remarking here that it is the consolidation and extension of the work in the several localities where it has been begun, rather than the encouragement of exceptional individuals, which appears to us to be the point of greatest importance for the general advancement of education.

#### DETAILED REMARKS.

## Numbers and Method of Instruction.

15. The method of work is similar to that usually adopted in Extension Lectures, namely, an hour's lecture followed by

a discussion, also of an hour's duration. The only difference in this respect from the ordinary Extension Lecture is that all those who attend the lecture remain to the class and do paper work. Generally there is a printed syllabus of the lectures distributed among the students. The practice as to this, however, varies greatly. In most of the courses managed by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge there is a full syllabus containing short bibliographies. In other cases this is reduced to a list of the titles of the lectures; in some cases there is no syllabus at all.

#### The Lecture.

- r6. This was in almost every case a formal lecture given without any break. There was naturally much variety in the type of lecture; in one case it was a closely reasoned formal discourse read from manuscript; more generally it was given with the help of a few notes. One or two really brilliant and able lectures were heard. In all cases there was a notable absence of any attempt to win popularity by ex parte statements, misplaced jocularity, or personal allusions: in all cases they were academic lectures.
- 17. It is suggested that some modification of the system of the formal lecture might with advantage be introduced. With a class of thirty or less than thirty, questions can, within reasonable limits, be introduced in the course of the lecture; if this were done points of difficulty could be raised and removed as they occur, and those which require longer discussion could then be reserved for the class. This was done in one or two cases; the students during the course of the lecture asked questions of the lecturer, and he at times addressed questions to them. The good result of

this was clear; the lecture seemed to be followed with closer attention, the lecturer was always in close touch with his class, and the effect on the discussion which followed the lecture was very marked.

#### The Class.

- 18. The lecture is always followed by a class, which is devoted to the discussion and elucidation of points that have arisen in the course of the lecture. Generally the initiative in the discussion is left to the class, who ask questions of the lecturer, which he answers as best he can; in many cases the questions asked by one member would lead to a general discussion in which several join, and the answer to an objection or the explanation of a difficulty would often come from some other member of the class.
- 19. This method has its advantages, but may well be combined or alternated with the opposite method, by which the lecturer leads the class, prompts discussion, and himself puts questions to the class designed to probe weak spots and stimulate thought.
- 20. As it is, the conduct of the discussion depends too much on the class itself. If it contains a group of men who have formed strong opinions of their own, they are apt to take up the whole time with a vigorous "heckling" of the lecturer on any point where he may happen to have run across their views. Such heckling is by no means unproductive, for, as one lecturer said to us, the class learns from one another; but of course it makes a great demand on the temper and capacities of the lecturer. It should not be allowed to occupy the whole time of the class, and the teacher on his side should start questions and guide dis-

cussion. In classes where there is no such group of theorists the discussion is apt to become desultory, and there again a lead is required.

21. The class did not always seem to serve its purpose of thoroughly threshing out difficulties which had arisen in the lectures; in some cases obvious points in the lectures, which had either been left insufficiently explained or at least ought to have aroused discussion, were not taken up and were not made the subject of further inquiry. On the whole, it cannot be said that the class always succeeded in fulfilling the functions of a "seminar," and in one or two cases it was difficult to make the discussion occupy the whole of the hour allotted to it. It would therefore seem desirable that the lecturer should take rather a more active part in the conduct of the class. In urging this, however, we are conscious that we are making a further demand on the lecturer. which can only be satisfactorily met if the amount of work demanded of him is proportionately diminished. It often appeared that by the end of the class the energy of the lecturer had been exhausted. The truth is that the proper conduct of a class of this kind is an extremely difficult and exhausting task, and if it comes directly after an hour's lecture without a break, most men by the end of the time will lose their quickness of apprehension, and the vigour which is necessary for dealing with the questions propounded to them. This will be still more the case if, as undoubtedly happens with some of the lecturers, they are tired at the beginning.

### Paper Work.

22. This is of course one of the most important parts, if not the most important part, of the whole scheme. On the

whole the essays are done with very fair regularity. It must be remembered that the men have only their leisure timeevenings and week-ends-that work of this kind is wholly new to a great majority of them, and that they have considerable difficulty in obtaining the use of the necessary books for a sufficient time. In addition to this, we must recollect that it is in many cases almost impossible for them to get any quiet time or place. One operative told us that in order to get a time when the house was quiet for working in, he went to bed at seven, got up at midnight, worked for two hours, and then went to bed again. The general rule is that one essay should be done every fortnight, and a strong effort is made to keep up this standard. But it is a maximum which it is impossible to increase without scamping the work, and any distraction-for instance, a General Election -throws the work into arrears. Many of the essays that we have seen would occupy a workman's leisure time for a month, and one such essay is of far more educational value than two which are incompletely finished. It is quite clear, therefore, that, in reckoning the paper work, quality and fullness should be taken into consideration as well as the actual number of essays.

23. With regard to the quality of the essays, there is the greatest possible variety. Some of those sent up during the first year of the course by the weaker students are of a most rudimentary kind; as might be expected, thought, arrangement, spelling, grammar, are all most seriously defective. There, was, however, ample evidence that even the weaker students improve in their work rapidly with practice. Some of the better essays showed real ability and knowledge. The best, as would naturally be the case, were those in

which the men dealt with matters of which they had immediate practical knowledge; \* but in both the third year classes which we visited there was quite a fair proportion of really good work, and there were few Centres in which there were not individual students reaching a good standard.

24. In connection with the paper work, a most important matter (and on the whole this is the most serious criticism which we have to make), is the arrangement for criticism and correction. The general practice is for the lecturers to make written comments on the essays (which, in the Oxford Centres, are written in books). These written comments were sometimes full and to the point, but in many cases they were meagre, and the essays did not receive nearly enough criticism and correction.

It is quite clear that the lecturers find it difficult to get adequate time for the careful correction of so many essays. It is a work which would take many hours, and this must be taken into consideration in the payment given to them. Probably the labour which ought to be expended has been under-estimated.

25. No amount of written correction and comment can, however, be thoroughly satisfactory. What is wanted is a regular arrangement by which a lecturer can personally discuss essays with each individual student. There seemed to be little or no regular system by which this is provided for. Some lecturers managed to get a short time for this purpose before the lecture or after the class; others arranged for it by giving extra time (perhaps on Sunday or some other day)

Thus a carriage-builder gives an account of the changes of method which he has witnessed during a quarter of a century in his trade, which would be well worth publication as a piece of original observation.

for the purpose, but when it is done it is at the considerable cost of extra time and voluntary effort on the part of the lecturers, and we cannot always expect this of them. would be impossible in those cases where the lecturer is much occupied, and is only able to spend a few hours in the town. Some of the lecturers at the beginning of each lecture say a few words about the last set of essays collectively; and some in the class make a point of encouraging a fuller discussion of the difficult points which have arisen in the essays. This is a practice which ought to be regularly followed, for half the value of the essays is lost if full opportunity is not taken for talking over the mistakes and misapprehensions which many of them necessarily contain. Quite apart from this, however, it seems to us necessary that provision should be made for the lecturer's discussing his written work individually with each student. would not be necessary for him to discuss each essay separately with each student, but there ought to be a few minutes given for each member of the class three or four times in the term. It could then be supplemented by half an hour's general exposition of the main points of weakness or difficulty which the essays had revealed. The time for this might be provided by arranging that one night in three or four should be set apart for consideration of paper work. or it might be taken out of that now assigned to the class and the lecture. If the lecture were fifty minutes and the class were forty minutes, and the half-hour thus spared were given to the correction of essays with individual students, it is probable that not much of essential value would be lost either of the lecture or of the class. The discussion of the essays would moreover often suggest points for fuller consideration in class, and the break would be a welcome relief to the lecturer, who now often finds two hours' continuous work a severe strain.

26. This is the only important modification of method which we are led to suggest. To carry it out adequately involves a limitation of the numbers of the class. The Association puts the limit at thirty. This is an outside figure, yet in one or two cases it is exceeded. Twenty-five would be a fitter number to aim at, and thirty should be an absolute maximum, to be allowed only for some exceptional reason. To give an average of five minutes' discussion to each essay done by a class of thirty would occupy two and a half hours, that is, it would exceed the whole time available on any given evening.

# Books and Reading.

- 27. In all cases there are recommended to the students a number of books for study. These include the recognized authoritative works which must be the basis on which all study of the subject is begun. Generally it is found possible to arrange that one textbook of moderate price should be possessed by every student; for instance, in many classes all the students had Townsend Warner's "Industrial History of England". In addition to this, they are, however, expected to refer to the larger works, such as Cunningham's "History" and Traill's "Social England". In every class copies of the principal books necessary are provided.
- 28. It is not easy to say how much the books are actually read. One might have expected that a good deal of time in the class would have been taken up by the students asking questions on points which had occurred to them in their read-

ing. There was, however, little or nothing of this, and it seldom appeared as though the lecturer could appeal to any general body of knowledge possessed by the class as a result of reading in preparation for the lecture. At every class there were individual essays which showed considerable reading, and there were occasional essays in which the authorities were quoted, compared, and criticized; some students had apparently used Blue Books and studied the fuller works such as Webb's "History of Trade Unionism".

29. It is, however, clear that the amount of reading is to a considerable extent limited by the difficulties in the supply of books. It is usual for the University to which the course is attached to send to the Centre a box of books: Manchester assigns £5 for this purpose to each Centre; Oxford and Cambridge send a good supply. In addition to this there are available at some Centres those books which are in the Public Library. This source of supply is, however, very uncertain; in some cases Free Libraries are very defective, and of little use for the purposes of the student of Social History and Economics. Even in those places in which an effort is made by the Librarian to help the students, he seems often to have very insufficient funds at his disposal for this purpose. In some Centres supplies of books are sent by an outside Society, and there is a special Association for providing books for women students. In London arrangements are being made by which the students can have access to the valuable library of Political Economy belonging to the University of London.

30. As a rule, then, there are available the chief books on the subject which is being dealt with; there are, however, many difficulties in making them easily accessible to

the students. Naturally there are, and can be, only one or two copies of the most important works, though there may be several copies of some of the simpler and more elementary textbooks. Only one student can use each book at a time, and when, for instance, there is a course on Economic History, it may easily happen that many students are unable to work out a point properly, as there is perhaps only one copy available of Cunningham's "Industrial History," or of Webb's "Trade Unionism". It often happens that important books of reference, for instance, Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy," or Traill's "Social England," which are really quite necessary, cannot be got at by the students at all, and the lecturer cannot expect all the class to read any definite portion of any book at the same time either in preparation for the lecture or afterwards. In more than one case references were made in the lecture to passages of books which should be read by the students, but on inquiry it was found that there was no possibility of the students reading the passages referred to.

31. In some cases arrangements have been made for books to be set out in a special room at the Free Library, where they can be consulted by those students who can get time to attend during those hours when the library is open, and at one Centre a special reading-room has been provided. This is a line of development which ought to be pursued. All work of the kind undertaken in these classes implies the habit of consulting several books together, comparing authorities, and looking up points in books of reference. This cannot be done unless there is a well-selected Library of reference easily accessible to the students. It is presumably to meet this kind of demand that Free Libraries were in-

stituted, and it is much to be regretted that they do not seem, at any rate in many cases, adequately to meet the demand. It should be added that the Libraries are not open on Sundays, and that Sunday is the only day on which they would be readily accessible to many of the students.

32. It is quite clear that the whole question of books is one that requires most urgent attention. These classes reveal a genuine desire for advice and help in reading, of which there has hitherto been little provision. It would be well that the need should be formulated and made generally known to those interested in the advancement of education. There are few ways in which money could be expended with greater certainty of its being applied in sound uses than the provision of books in adequate numbers for these classes; and it is suggested that the time has come for full consideration of the methods by which the organization and management of Public Libraries could be better adapted to the needs of serious students belonging to the working classes.

# Preliminary Courses.

33. In general the courses extend over three years, whether conducted by one lecturer throughout or by different lecturers in successive years. In some cases preliminary lectures have been given before the three-year course is instituted, and this appears to us an excellent arrangement. At one Centre we are told that there is an average attendance of sixty at the course which is now being held as a preliminary to a three-year course to be started next autumn. Opportunity for a little written work might well be given in these preliminary courses—though it would be inadvisable to make it compulsory at this stage—and admission to the regular

course might be made to depend on a certain standard of performance in these. In some cases members of a regular class are themselves organizing a subsidiary class which will serve as a preliminary to a future regular course. This is a noteworthy development, indicating the keenness of the students and also the extent to which they have benefited by their teaching. We have seen some of the paper work done by one such subsidiary class under the guidance of students from the main class, and found that it reached a very fair elementary standard. Work of this kind is eminently deserving of encouragement.

# Membership and Attendance.

34. The members of the classes are principally workingmen, though there is a sprinkling of teachers, clerks, and commercial travellers, etc. The women members, who are not numerous, are often teachers.

The attendance is generally continuous through the three years and is well maintained, but admissions are sometimes allowed after a course has begun.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS.

- 35. The further development of the classes must depend mainly on a spontaneous local effort, and be guided largely by local circumstances. It would be premature for any central authority to attempt to lay down hard and fast lines. We may, however, point to certain needs which could be met by increased financial support and by the co-operation of Universities and colleges.
- 36. The most immediate need, which could largely be met by no very immoderate grant of money, is for more books.
  - 37. A larger question is that of a more complete tutorial

- staff. Some of the lecturers appeared to us to be distinctly overworked, and with evening lectures there is always a danger that a man who is at all hard pressed will omit to take adequate rest and recreation by day. No lecturer ought to give as many as six courses a week, nor is one who is conducting five courses in a position to do other work at the same time. Attention should be given to this matter by the responsible Boards or Committees of the Universities concerned.
- 38. Care must also be taken to get the best men for the work. One or two weak or tactless lecturers might give a serious set-back to the movement. These points should be taken into consideration in fixing the salary of the lecturers. The precedent set by an Oxford College of securing the adequate endowment of one lecturer by means of a fixed salary is fully justified by success, and affords a valuable precedent to any other College desirous of participating in the work.
- 39. Colleges willing to give exhibitions to picked students can assist deserving individuals to complete their studies. Probably, however, more would be gained for the class as a whole from a number of such grants as would enable several of the picked members of each class to attend meetings for a fortnight or three weeks, than from one Exhibition which should enable a single student to reside for a year at Oxford or Cambridge.
- 40. Summer meetings of those students who can afford the time at one of the Universities facilitate the exchange of ideas, and help to carry forward the higher branches of the work.\* Universities and colleges that would co-operate,

<sup>\*</sup> A meeting of this kind has been held this year at Oxford.

financially or otherwise, in arranging them, would do a useful work. The main development of the work, however, must go on in the several localities and on the lines on which it has begun, which seem to us to be quite sound.

41. Unless the existing facilities for adult education in a centre be particularly good, it is generally desirable that a preliminary course should be arranged. This course might be suited to the needs of a larger group of students, from whom the permanent class for the three years' tutorial course might be selected.

#### CONCLUSION.

42. We have only to add, in conclusion, that no one could attend these classes without being struck by the zeal and earnestness of the students, their happy relations with the lecturer, the general atmosphere of comradeship and good feeling in the classes, and the strong appreciation by the students of the benefit which they are deriving from the work. These impressions are not derived from any single class or type of classes. They are common to the diverse and widely scattered Centres which we have visited, and they indicate the possibility of a very wide extension of teaching of this type. The experiment of the Association has, in fact, revealed the existence of a very widespread demand for serious teaching of the best and most thorough kind on matters standing in an intelligible relation to the life interests of the workmen. It has shown that the root questions of social history and theory may be examined by competent teachers leading a class of workmen-students in a spirit at which no reasonable man will cavil. Such results are not under existing circumstances to be achieved without difficulty, and there will always be danger of a set-back to the movement from any lecturer of less capacity or inferior discretion. But if adequate care is taken in the arrangement of subjects, the choice of lecturers, and the supervision of work, the movement may be expected to go forward, and in the sense and with the limitations mentioned above, to make intellectual training of the "University type" generally accessible to those who desire it among the working class.

43. Of the quality of the training and its potentialities of social value, we have formed, as has been shown, a high estimate, and we have no hesitation in saying that the money contributed by the Board for the support of these classes is being put to a thoroughly good use. They are establishing in a number of great industrial towns centres of genuinely educated thought on social and industrial problems. What they teach is no mere exotic of culture, but is intimately related to the life and work of the students. Its effects are. therefore, likely to be permanent, and to spread from the actual members of the class to those who come in contact with them. If it comes to be the custom for those who take an interest in public affairs to prepare themselves by attending courses of this kind the results may be of considerable importance. At any rate, much will have been done to diffuse among large classes of the population to whom it has until lately been wholly unfamiliar a new idea of the possibilities of education on these matters.

> J. W. HEADLAM. L. T. HOBHOUSE.

# 164 UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES LIST OF CLASSES INSPECTED.

University.	Ciase.		Lecturer.
	North.		
Manchester Leeds . Liverpool Manchester Oxford . Leeds .	Blackburn . Castleford . Liverpool . Oldham No. 2 Rochdale . Wakefield .	•	H. M. Hallsworth. Hon. Gerard Collier. Prof. Ramsay Muir. F. W. Kolthammer. R. H. Tawney. W. H. Pringle.
	Midlands.		
Oxford . Oxford . Cambridge Oxford .	Chesterfield Glossop Leicester Longton South	•	F. W. Kolthammer. W. T. Layton. R. H. Tawney.
London . London . Cambridge Oxford .	Battersea . Croydon . Portsmouth Swindon .	.{	Prof. Geddes. Dr. Lionel Tayler. Dr. Gilbert Slater. W. T. Layton. E. T. Humby. R. V. Lennard.

# NOTE.

For permission to include the following extracts from official publications the publishers are indebted to the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office.

#### APPENDIX IV.

#### EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

I. From the Introductory Report of the Board of Education on the Universities and University Colleges in receipt of Treasury Grant, 1908-9:—

"In every direction there are signs of active interest in University affairs, and the future is full of hope. Not the least hopeful of these signs of interest is the growing desire of all classes of the community for higher education. Workers' Educational Association, which from small beginnings has rapidly grown into a powerful and influential society, has voiced the wish of organized labour, and particularly of the younger working class men and women, to learn the best that the Universities have to offer in the study of Industrial and Economic History and other subjects bearing upon the social, economic, and political conditions of a great industrial people. Joint Committees of working men and University representatives have been appointed at different Universities and recognized classes for the study of these subjects under University lecturers have been established during the past year at no less than thirty-eight centres. The movement shows promise of enabling the Universities successfully to do the work which the University Extension movement at its inception in 1873 undoubtedly

aimed at doing. 'University Extension' in the issue has for the most part done something else, but in doing it has made it easier to see what are the essential factors in any successful plan for bringing the Universities into touch with the working classes. It is now clear that the scheme must provide for close co-operation between working-class leaders and the Universities in making the arrangements for the classes, in selecting the subjects for study, and in appointing the teachers. It is clear that the teaching must constantly have in view the special needs and difficulties of workingclass students, and that the classes must therefore be small, and special care be taken in supervising the written essays: that the teachers must be men of such education and mental calibre that they can recognize and turn to account the intimate knowledge their students frequently have of the actual working of the present economic and social system. Where these conditions are complied with, both teachers and taught must benefit greatly from the classes. The movement has its own special dangers, of course, some of them immediate, some more remote, but difficulties are only dangerous if they are not recognized.

"One of the gravest dangers, common to this and other forms of specialized adult instruction in this country, is the likelihood that it will be called, and come to be thought of as, University education because it is of an advanced standard and conducted by University teachers. In itself this would not matter, were it not that there is another kind of education to which the experience of every civilized country and of many centuries has applied that name. This other kind of education is only possible when it is based upon a broad preliminary education of wide range, continued up to the

threshold of manhood, and when it is conducted under conditions which enable it while in progress to become the main interest and preoccupation of the student. There are other criteria of a University education besides these, but unless a nation can produce and will pay for the support of men of letters and science of such distinction that they are able to provide this kind of education and to find students capable of undergoing it, there can be no such thing as a University within its boundaries; and without Universities there would be no means of producing teachers capable of giving the advanced adult instruction which is essential not only for the technological training of an industrial people, but for those wider, more general, and more humane purposes which the Workers' Educational Association have in view. It is no real advantage to any movement which aims at the higher education of a people to apply to the facilities provided a name which properly belongs to something else, for the wrong use of the word tends to obscure the reality and so to make it less likely that true University education will become available for all who are capable of profiting by it. Universities in the present day have much work to do besides providing University education, but if they are to do this other work well they must themselves avoid confusion of thought in regard to it, and take care to do thoroughly well the work for which they primarily exist."

II. From the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, 1909:—

"The Committee are of opinion that these tutorial classes in History, Literature, Economics, and Political Science well deserve encouragement on the part of Local Authorities and of all bodies interested in popular educa-

tion. The fundamental purpose of such classes is to enable the workers to enter upon a wider intellectual life by means of instruction which interprets the facts of daily experience in the light of historical science or literature. Though relatively costly to provide, such classes will well repay the outlay made upon them wherever a small group of adult students is prepared to undertake the concentrated study and intellectual self-discipline which the work involves."

## III. From the Report of the Board of Education, 1908-9:-

"Among the recent developments of Further Education the tutorial classes promoted by the Workers' Educational Association deserve special mention. One of these classes is now undertaking a course in English Literature, but the subjects taken in most cases are Economics and Industrial History. These subjects do not offer any of the attractions of direct advantage in employment, and they call for close and continuous study from those who would pursue them; none the less the classes have attained much success. Their organization, which, like some of the recent developments of Lads' and Girls' Clubs, involves the combination of central and local support with the enthusiasm of voluntary effort, is noteworthy in several respects. In the first place, while full liberty is left to the local branches of the Association in matters of management, the classes are usually in touch on the one hand with Local Education Authorities, who co-operate with and in some cases aid or maintain them, and on the other hand with the Universities through the agency of joint committees consisting of representatives of various Universities and of the Workers' Associations. which control the general arrangements for instruction. In

the second place, the students usually undertake to attend the course regularly for three years, twenty-four meetings being held as a rule in each year, one hour at each meeting being devoted to a lecture, and one to class-work on questions arising out of the lecture; the regular writing of essays fortnightly is also a feature of the scheme. In the third place, the teachers are usually men of exceptionally high qualifications; and as many of them take more than one tutorial class, and as class-work and essays are an essential part of the course, they are enabled to get into a peculiarly close relation with the students.

"The movement is spreading very rapidly; in the present session thirty-five tutorial classes are at work, twenty-seven being in the first year of the course, six in the second year, and two in the third year. There seems no doubt, in view of the method of organization of the classes, the ability and devotion of the teachers, the industry of the students, and the peculiar advantages which many of them possess for a concrete study of economic questions, that an exceedingly interesting and fruitful form of further education is being developed. In effect, studies in Economic Science and History are taking their place, with those in Physical and Natural Science and those in Languages, as avenues to liberal culture and fields of intellectual interest for young men whose higher education has to be obtained after their work in life has begun."

# IV. From the Report of the Board of Education, 1909-10:-

37. The growth of the tutorial classes organized in connexion with the Workers' Educational Association has been fully maintained during the year. Nearly seventy classes are at work during the present session, or about double the

number of last year. The organization of these classes has remained almost universally the same as that described in last year's Report. The subjects studied in the great majority of classes are historical or economic, the only exceptions being one class studying Science, two studying English Literature, and two studying Philosophy. During 1909-10, fourteen classes were inspected by Your Majesty's Inspector, Mr. J. W. Headlam, and Prof. L. T. Hobhouse; and a Special Report on these classes was issued as a result of this inspection. An interesting experiment is being tried at Southall in a class mainly intended for railway employees. Duplicate meetings of the class are held at different times on the same day, with a view to providing for the varying shifts of work, which make regular attendance at a fixed time difficult for the majority of the students.

## V. From the Report of the Board of Education, 1911-12:-

248. The tutorial classes organized by Universities in cooperation with the Workers' Educational Association, continue to increase in numbers and to arouse in a remarkable degree the enthusiasm of the picked artisan students by whom they are attended. The subjects taken are of a general and not a vocational character, and each student undertakes to complete a full three years' course. The number of classes recognized during 1911-12 was ninety-four, indicating the wide extension of the movement since 1907-8, the first year in which such classes received aid from the Board, when the number recognized was two. Of the ninety-four classes the University of Oxford takes responsibility for seventeen, that of Cambridge for three, that of

London for twenty-three, that of Manchester for fourteen, that of Liverpool for seven, that of Birmingham for eight, that of Durham for eight, that of Leeds for six, that of Sheffield for four, and the University Colleges of Nottingham and Reading for three and one respectively.

The subjects most ordinarily selected continue to be Industrial History, in which there are thirty courses, and Economics, in which there are forty-two; but a tendency to widen the range of subject is showing itself, and there are now eight classes in Sociology, four in English Literature, five in General History, four in Philosophy, and in Biology. The classes are distributed as follows over the various years of their courses: twenty-eight are in the first year, thirty-one in the second, twenty-nine in the third, five in the fourth, and one in the fifth. A Vacation School for picked students from various local centres was held at Oxford during July and August, 1912.

### APPENDIX V.

# ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN LONDON.

Extracts from the Final Report of the Commissioners.

79. There is, however, one class of adult student for whom the University should, in our opinion, make further provision than that just indicated, though they will also, no doubt, benefit by some of the evening courses given in the day colleges. We refer to the large and increasing body of workers whose needs and desires have found expression through the Workers' Educational Association. We have been greatly impressed by the remarkable progress already made by that Association under the inspiring guidance of its general secretary in arranging classes of a University standard for working men and women. We are even more impressed by the true spirit of learning, the earnest desire for knowledge, and the tenacity of purpose which have been shown by the students. These men and women desire knowledge, not diplomas or degrees, and we think that no University, and above all no city University, would justify its existence that did not do its utmost to help and encourage work of this kind. Such work is not essential to a University in the narrower sense of being a condition of its existence, but it is essential in the broader view, which lays

upon a great seat of learning the duty of using its talents to the utmost, and offering its treasure freely to all who can benefit by them and sincerely desire to do so. In the branches of study which have proved most attractive to these students the benefit is reciprocal. The intimate personal knowledge the workers have of many important social and economic problems throws a light upon the history of industry, and on the relation of Capital to Labour, which is of inestimable value to the teacher and investigator. Systematic inquiries; have been conducted that would have been impossible without the active and intelligent assistance of the workers, and we understand that some of the students themselves have made independent investigations under the guidance of their tutors. We think, therefore, that the University of London should be so organized and endowed as to enable it to establish and maintain a special centre to be identified with the work done in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Association, and to serve the social as well as the intellectual needs of its students. part of our Report (see paragraph 411) we shall explain how we think this can be done. But we must point out here that although we think this special provision should be made by the University itself, the University will not be in the position to undertake this important work successfully unless it has previously obtained the means of providing satisfactorily for its own undergraduate and graduate students, and for its own professoriate. Unless the University has a distinguished and properly paid body of teachers who will constantly be sending out able and well-trained young graduates, the supply of teachers necessary for the conduct of the rapidly increasing number of classes for working men and women will fail at its source. The stronger the University can be made for its primary duties, the better it will be able to help forward this new and hopeful movement.

410. There is, however, another side of the extension work of the University which is more uniformly maintained at a high level. The University Board for the Extension of University Teaching is assisted in the selection of teachers for classes organized in connexion with the Workers' Educational Association, and in deciding the subjects upon which lectures should be given to these classes, by a joint committee of fourteen persons, seven of whom are appointed by the University and seven by the Workers' Educational Association and other labour organizations. The classes here referred to are limited to a maximum of thirty students, are tutorial in their nature and not ordinary Extension lectures. The students pledge themselves to regular attendance so far as the conditions of their employment permit, and undertake to be regular in writing essays bearing upon the subject of the course. These classes open out a new and hopeful field for the spread of a pure love of learning—the main function of a University. We have already expressed our admiration of the results that have been attained by this Association in co-operation with all the Universities, and we have quoted a passage from a Special Report made by two inspectors of the Board of Education (see paragraph 67). That passage, which defines in clear and admirable language the meaning of University education, is followed by another in which the inspectors say that they have applied the test to the work of the tutorial classes, and that "If . . . the question be put whether, so far as they go, and within the

limits of time and available energy the classes are conducted in the spirit which we have described, and tend to accustom the student to the ideal of work familiar at a University, we can answer with an unhesitating affirmative; and in particular, the treatment both of history and economics is scientific and detached in character. As regards the standard reached, there are students whose essays compare favourably with the best academic work." This result is due partly no doubt to the fact that the teachers are nearly all of them men actually engaged in University teaching, and not men making their living by conducting tutorial classes, but quite as much it is due to the enthusiasm, the zeal, and the sincere desire for truth animating the students, who are drawn almost entirely from the working classes. There is, indeed, another condition making for the thoroughness of the teaching, and that is the considerable amount of financial aid which is forthcoming from the Board of Education and from the London County Council. Without this aid it would be impossible to keep the classes as small as Mr. Mansbridge shows that they are at present. His evidence also indicates that the University of London is enabled to exercise a proper control over the tutorial classes within its area.

A11. At first, no doubt, the classes of the Workers' Educational Association were devoted to a study of those sides of history and theory which seemed to bear most closely upon the needs and difficulties of the worker in the modern industrial state. That was right and proper, for men and women of adult years no less than younger students will do the best work where their interests lie. Already, however, a demand is growing up for courses in

### 176 UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES

literature and other subjects of value for their time of leisure, and we believe this demand will grow, until the students of the Workers' Educational Association will realize one of the greatest truths a University can enforce—the essential unity of knowledge. We think the University should consider the work it is doing for these men and women one of the most serious and important of its services to the metropolis, and that it ought to provide a well-equipped building in a convenient situation as the visible centre of the movement, where courses of lectures could be given by the best teachers, including from time to time lectures and addresses by the professors of the University; where debates could be held, and the students meet for social intercourse. The University already possesses in the Goldsmiths' College a building admirably suited for the purpose, and situated close to the homes of many thousands of the students it should attract. This building should be used in the evenings, on Saturday afternoons, and on Sundays, as the chief University centre for tutorial class students, and a residence should be provided within its walls, if possible, for a warden who would be responsible for the organization of its work and social life.

### APPENDIX VI.

#### THE TESTIMONY OF PUBLIC MEN.

The President of the Board of Education (Mr. Walter Runciman):—

"It is this gap between the first instruction and the first desire for instruction, which comes much later in life, which has somehow or other to be filled. There is a great demand for this, I believe, among the adult population, and it is to be seen most strongly in the remarkable success of the Workers' Educational Association, a success brought about by the enthusiasm of an excellent central committee, and the generous assistance given by the Universities and University men. Their organized three years' course of history and economics has been attended by large numbers of artisans all over the United Kingdom."—Discussion on Education Estimates, House of Commons, July, 1910.

Sir William Anson, M.P.:-

"I am very glad also that the Board have given public recognition to the work of the Workers' Educational Association. I have known something of that work in its relation to my own University at Oxford. We have been very much interested in it, and we are well aware of the energy, enthusiasm, and wisdom with which that work is being carried on."—Discussion on Education Estimates, House of Commons, July, 1910.

12

### The President of the Board of Education (Mr. Pease):-

"I should like also to pay a tribute to the excellent work being done by the Workers' Educational Association. The number of tutorial classes has grown from two to eight, thirty-five, seventy, and now there are 100 of them. The Universities are being brought into contact with progressive working men, who undertake to go through a full three years' course. The work which is being done in connexion with that organization is of the very highest value."—Discussion on Education Estimates, House of Commons, June, 1912.

### Mr. F. Goldstone, M.P. :-

"One thing I observe with very great pleasure, namely, the encouragement given to the tutorial classes of the Workers' Educational Association. The system is only four years old, but there have already been 3000 students, of whom 600 have completed three years' courses. This is the testimony of Mr. A. L. Smith, of Balliol College, in regard to these classes:—

Twenty-five per cent of the essays examined by him after second year's work in two classes, and first year's work in six classes, were equal to the work done by students who gained first classes in the Final Schools of Modern History. He was astonished, not so much at the quality as at the quantity of the quality of the work done.

I hope the President of the Board of Education will be enabled to encourage this kind of work."—Discussion on Education Estimates, House of Commons, June, 1912.

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nd v	\$		Factory Workers.	Ž.
	\$	1111#1111#1111	Potters.	5
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7	39	110015	Labourers.	S NO
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Ī	8	1111000150010001	Postmen, Tramwaymen, and Policemen.	(Statistics of Occupation in nine classes not given.)
Ä	8		Commercial Travellers.	
	86		Boot and Shoe Trades and Leather Workers.	
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	8		Foremen and Managers.	
	167	11513583845151	Miscellaneous, including Draughtsmen, Gas Inspectors, Nurses, Caretakers, Gardeners, Instrument Makers, Bookbinders, Pediars, Window Cleaners, Card Makers, Upholsterers, Glass Workers, Publicans, Chimney Sweeps, and Hawkers.	

ANALYSIS OF OCCUPATIONS. STATISTICS OF CLASSES, 1911-12. APPENDIX VII.

[N.B.—It is impossible to tabulate the financial assistance given to tions vary from £25

University and Class.	Subject.	Year.	Tutor.
BELFAST (QUEER'S UNIVERSITY). Belfast (1) Belfast (2)	Reconomics	2	A. L. Curr, B.A. Prof. H. O. Meredith, M.A. J. F. Ress, B.A.
BIRMINGHAM. Birmingham (1) Birmingham (2) Birmingham (3) Derby Dudley	Economics Plato's Republic Economic History Economic History Economics .	9 3 1 6 5	Hon. G. Collier, M.A
Northfield Stirchley	Economics Economic History	3	F. Roscoe, M.A
CAMBRIDGE, Leicester	Economics	3	W. T. Layton, M.A
Portsmouth	Economics	3	W. G. Constable, M.A
Wellingborough . DURHAM.	English Literature	3	A. J. Wyatt, M.A
Ashington Gatesbead	Economic History Economic History	I	P. A. Brown, M.A. P. A. Brown, M.A.
Newcastle (1)	Economics	*	Prof. H. M. Hallsworth, M.A.
Newcestie (2)	Economics	2	Prof. H. M. Hallsworth, M.A.
Sunderland . West Hartlepool .	Economic History Economic History	I	P. A. Brown, M.A.  Meredith Atkinson, B.A.
West Stanley (1)	Economic History	i	P. A. Brown, M.A.
West Stanley (2) . LEEDS.	English Literature	I	Dr. Lilias Macgregor
Bradford	Political Science .	3	W. H. Pringle, M.A., LL.B.
Brighouse	Economics .	3	H. Clay, B.A.
Castleford Leeds	Economic History Economics	3	F. A. Brown, M.A. W. H. Pringle, M.A., LL.B.
Hebden Bridge . Wakefield LIVERPOOL.	Economics	3 3	H. Clay, B.A. W. H. Pringle, M.A., LL.B.
. Accrington .	Reconomic History	2	Evan Hughes, M.A.
Barrow Birkenhead	Economic History Economic History	. I	Evan Hughes, M.A
Crewe	Economic History		R.G. Miles, B.A.
Lancaster	Economic History	4	E. G. Miles, B.A
Liverpool (r)	Economic History	3	G. A. LAIDE, M.A.
Liverpool (a)	Economic History Local Government	1	Evan Hughes, M.A
		•	

Grant of £50 from the Belfast Co-operative Society.
 These percentages are based only on the attendances of "Effective" atudents,
 This class having completed a three years' course under the University of Oxof Liverpool.

classes by the Universities under which they work, but such contributo £50 for each class.]

	Number of Students.					ed Can Absence.	0C\$	xutage.+	ig se	G	rants.
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i.e., of those who attended for fourteen hours or more.

ford at Christmas, 1911, undertook a special course for one term under the University

§ One term only.

University and Class.	Subject.	Year.	Tutor.				
ONDON.	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·						
Battersea	Sociology	3	L.R.C.P. J. L. Tayler, M.R.C.S.				
Bromley	Sociology	1					
Camberwell	Economics	<b>1</b> •	E. Cleveland-Stevens, B.A.				
Clerkenwell	Economics	3	M. Epstein, M.A., Ph.D.				
Croydon	Economics	1 3	G. Slater, M.A., D.Sc.				
Enfield	Remomics	2	Mabel Atkinson, M.A.				
Fleet St. (Printers)	Economic History	9	W. H. Pringle, M.A., LL.B.				
Hanover Square .		1	Alice Wall, B.A.				
Ilford	Economic History		Mabel Atkinson, M.A.				
Kentish Town	Growth of the Eng-	l _	97 977.3				
Marylebone	iish People	4	Kenneth Vickers, M.A.				
	Sociology	1	R. P. Farley, B.A.				
Morley College (1) Morley College (2)	Recommics	•	W. H. Pringle, M.A., LL.B				
Poplar	Economic History	1	Mabel Atkinson, M.A.				
Southall (x)	Economic History	1 2	L. B. Buncher, B.A.				
3014MII (1)	Growth of the Eng-		Kenneth Vickers, M.A.				
Southall (a)	lish People		Admicia values, m.r.				
Tottenham	Economic History		I. G. Newlove W. H. Pringle, M.A., LL.B				
West Ham	Economics	3	T Tayler MRCS				
West 11EH	Sociology	, .	J. L. Tayler, M.R.C.S. L.R.C.P.				
Willesden	Political Institu-	1	L.E.C.I.				
***************************************	tions and Politi-		1				
	cal Thought .		H. H. Schloesser				
Wimbledon	Growth of the Eng-		12. 12. 002-2022				
***************************************	lish People	l .	Kenneth Vickers, M.A.				
Working Man's	Economic and So-		Hendell Aleman, marri				
College (1)	cial History .	3	Hon, G. Collier, M.A.				
Working Men	Political Institu-	3	11011 (11 0011101) 2111111				
College (2)	tions and Politi-		•				
	cal Thought .	1 2	J. P. Jamieson, B.A.				
MANCHESTER.		1 ~					
Ashton	Economic History		P. W. Hubback, M.A.				
Bacup			R. B. Forrester, M.A.				
Belton	Economics	3	Conrad Gill, M.A.				
	l	1					
Burnley , .			F. W. Hubback, M.A R. B. Forrester, M.A				
Blackburn		3	K. B. Forrester, M.A.				
Chadderton		. 3	W. M. Tattersall, D.Sc.				
Chorley (t)	Economics	3	R. B. Forrester, M.A F. W. Clarke, M.A M. Hovell, M.A M. Hovell, M.A				
Chorley (2) . Coine	English Literature Modern History		M Hovell M.A.				
Leigh	Economics .	3	M. Hovell, M.A.				
Manchester .	Remomies	1 5	Courad Gill. M.A.				
W-lea-	T	3	Courad Gill, M.A Conrad Gill, M.A				
Oldham	Economic History	🟅	R. B. Forrester, M.A.				
Salford .	Economic History	3	R. B. Forrester, M.A F. W. Hubback, M.A				
NOTTINGHAM	,	1 -	1				
(University Col	.i	1	1				
LEGE).	1	L					
Mansfield .	. Romomic History	1	ER. C. F. Dolley, M.A.				
Nottingham .	Remomic History	7 2	R. C. F. Dolley, M.A E. A. Smith, B.Sc.				
Sutton-in-Ashfield	Economic History	7 .	E. A. Smith, B.Sc.				

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University and Class.	Subject.	Year.	Tutor.
	r		
OXFORD. Bournemouth .	Economic History	2	J. G. Newlove
	Reonomic History	1	I. G. Newlove
Chesterfield			I. G. Newlovs F. W. Kolthammer, M.A. R. V. Lennard, B.A.
Gloncester	Local Government Economic Theory		R. V. Lennard, B.A.
Glossop	Local Government	4	F. W. Kolthammer, M.A.
Halifax Hanley	Economic Theory Economic Theory	3	H. Clay, B.A. F. W. Kolthammer, M.A.
samey	Ecoporate Lasery	, ,	F. W. Marineman, 2013
Huddersfield . Littleborough .	Local Government Economic and Con- stitutional His-	3	F. W. Kolthammer, M.A
Longton	Economic and	4	R. H. Tawney, B.A.
l .	Constitutional History		R. H. Tawney, B.A.
Luton	Bonomic History	5	I. G. Newlove
Oldham	Local Government	4	J. G. Newtove F. W. Kolthammer, M.A.
Rochdele (3)	Recommic and Constitutional History	ı	R. H. Tawney, B.A.
Rochdale (s) .	Economic and	•	10 to 10 20 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
Stoke	Social Problems Economic and	3	R. H. Tawney, B.A
Swindon	Constitutional History Economic His-	1	W. L. Knoz, B.A
	tory (1st term) Political Theory (2nd term)	4	R. V. Lennard, B.A
Wrexham*	Economic and Social Problems	3	R. H. Tawney, B.A
READING (Univer- sity College).	[	ļ	Ī
Reading - SHEFFIELD.	Economic History	•	Prof. F. M. Stenton, M.A.
Barnaley	Economics	3	J. Baxter, M.A.
Rotherham Sheffield (1)	Economic History	1 2	D. Knoop, M.A.
Sheffield (2)	Philosophy	- a	i T. Lovedav. M.A.
Sheffield (3)	Economic History	ī	J. Baxter, M.A.
WALES (Univer- sity College of, Bangor).		[	
Bethesda	Economic History	1	R. Richards, M.A
Blacuau Festiniog	Economic History	İ	R. Richarda, M.A.
Lianberia	Economic History	1	R. Richards, M.A.
Penygroes WALES (Univer-	Economic History		R. Richards, M.A.
MALES (UNIVER-	1	ŀ	
ABERYSTWYTH).		1	

<sup>•</sup> One term only.

Total Number of Students enrolled :-

**9606** 

<sup>†</sup> Class not formed till January, 1912.

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Total Number of Effective Students:-

Men . . . 2141 Women . . . 344

# UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES

# ADDITIONAL CLASSES, 1912-13.

University and Class.	Tutor.	Subject.
BIRMINGHAM. Burton-on-Trent Dudley	W. W. Lee, B.Sc Ivor B. John, M.A	Remonic Hist. English Lit.
BBLFAST (QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY). Belfast III	J. F. Ross, B.A	Political Theories of the 19th Century
Bath	P. Anstey, B.Sc	Economics
Ipswich	W. G. Constable, M.A F. R. Salter, M.A	Reconomic Hist.
DURHAM. Jarrow Middlesbrough Wallscod	Meredith Atkinson, B.A.	Reconomics
LEEDS.	P. A. Brown, M.A	Social and Constitutional
Brighouse	<b></b>	History Social and Constitutional History
Cleckheaton Todmorden	Prof. Macgregor, M.A. B. Clamen, M.A. A. Greenwood, B.Sc.	Beconomic Hist. English Lit. Economics
LIVERPOOL.  Birkenhead  Hoylake  Liverpool IIL  Rock Ferry	E. G. Miles, B.A. G. Laing, M.A. Evan Hughes, M.A. Evan Hughes, M.A.	Economic Hist.
LONDON. Batterses Bloomsbury Finchley. Hammersmith Stoke Newington Toynbee Hail Working Men's	J. Lionel Tayler, M.R.C.S. Alice Wall, B.A. W. H. Pringle, M.A., LL.B. A. W. Ashby A. E. Brown, M.A., LL.B. A. B. Bland, B.A.	Biology English Lit. Economic Hist. The History of the State Roonomic Hist.
College III.  MANCHESTER. Blackburn . Bolton . Chorley I. Chorley II. Haalingden . Manchester II. Manchester III. Manchester III.	Conrad Gill, M.A.	English Lit.  Economic Hist. Economic Hist. Economic Hist. Economic Hist. General Hist. Economic Hist.

# APPENDIX VII

University and Class.	Tutor.	Subject.		
NOTTINGHAM (University College). Leicester Nottingham II.		Sociology Economic Hist.		
OXFORD. Chatham II Halifax	H. Clav. B.A.	Economic Hist. Social and Constitutional History		
Heywood Kettering Leeds (Swarthmore Settlement)	F. W. Kolthammer, M.A. Helen Stocks	Economic Hist. " " Social and Constitutional		
	l **	History Economic Hist. Theory		
READING (UNIVER- SITY COLLEGE). Reading II ,	Prof. Edith Morley	English Lit.		
•	E. Curtis, M.A	European Hist.		
WALES (UNIVER- STY COLLEGE OF BANGOR). Liandwrog	L. V. D. Owen, B.A	Economic Hist.		

### APPENDIX VIII.

# (SOME) DETAILED STATISTICS OF THE OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL, 1912.

The following were the numbers in the various weeks:-

					Men.	Women.	Total.
ist w	reek	(29 June—6 July)		•	9	I	10
bas	"	(6 July—13 ,, )			25	I	26
3rd	22	(13 ,, -20 ,, )	•	•	25	2	27
4th	,,	(20 ,, —27 ,, )		•	34	3	37
5th	27	(27 " —3 Aug.)		•	29	7	36
6th	33	(3 Aug.—10 " )		•	76	18	94
7th	33	(10 ,, -17 ,, )		•	60	II	71
8th	**	(17 ,, -24 ,, )	•		30	7	37

Period of students' attendances:-

For 6 weeks 1, 5 weeks 2, 4 weeks 11, 3 weeks 6, 2 weeks 65, 1 week 130. Total, 215.

Average period of stay: Two weeks.

The numbers of students drawn from classes under the various Universities and University Colleges were as follows: Birmingham 11, Belfast 4, Cambridge 2, Durham 1, Leeds 10, Liverpool 25, London 32, Manchester 17, Nottingham (University College) 2, Oxford 91, Sheffield 4, students admitted on special reports 16. Total, 215.

The subjects taken by the students with tutors, and the numbers in each subject, were:—

	APP	END	IX V	Ш		189
Anthropology						2
Biology	•		•	•		3
Economics .						48
Education .						4
Greek						I
History :						
Industrial and	Econ	omic				94
General .						6
Constitutional						2-102
Law:						
Elements of	_	_		_		1
Trade Union				•		3— 4
Literature .	•				·	J T
Political Science	•	•	•	•	·	38
Philosophy .	•	•	•	•	•	•
Pedagogy .	•	•	•	•	•	5 1
	Jelian	•	•	•	•	<del>-</del>
Psychology and I	runcs	•	•	•	•	I
Ruskin	•	•	•	•	•	I
Sociology .	•	•		•	•	3
						215

As regards books, over 300 volumes were borrowed from the Summer School Library.

The numbers of students in attendance from the Oxford Tutorial Classes were as follows: Bournemouth 6, Chatham 8, Chesterfield 13, Glossop 7, Halifax 4, Hanley 6, Huddersfield 4, Littleborough 3, Luton 4, Longton 18, Oldham 2, Rochdale II. 6, Rochdale III. 3, Swindon 4, Stoke 3. Total 91, viz. 81 men, 10 women.

The occupations of the students were as follows:---

						_
Accountant .		•	I	Married women .	•	8
Brassworker .			3	Medicinal capsule mai	ker	I
Bricklayer			I	Miners		9
Bottlemaker .		•	I	Musical Instrument		
Basketmaker .			1	maker .		I
Carter			1			3
Chimney-sweep .			1	Pediar		I
Check-weighman			1	P. O. sorter .		1
<sup>1</sup> Clerks			35	Postman		I
Confectioner .			1	Pottery Trades :		
Cotton Operatives	:			Potters	8	
Cop packer .		I		Potter's decora-		
Loom overlook	er	1	1	tors	3	
Spinner		I		Potter's lathe-	•	
Warper		I		treader .	I-	—I 2
Weavers .		14-	-18	Printing Trade:—		
Dry soap makers			2	Compositors .	6	
Dockyard apprent	tice		1		4	
Engraver			1		ľ	
Engine drivers .			4	Bookbinder .	I	
Engineers			8	Printers	4	16
Farrier			I	Stuff-pressers .		3
Fitters			8	Straw hat maker.		I
Factory manager			I	Shop assistants .		8
Farmer			I	Students		3
Gas meter inspect	tor		I	School attendance		•
Insurance agents			3	officers		3
Iron Workers :		-		Shipwright		Ĭ
Armour plate				Signalman .		I
worker .		I		Tailor's cutter		I
Boilermaker .		Ĭ		Tailors		3
Boltmaker		1		Tailoress		I
Grinders .		4		Trade Union Secreta	rv	I
Moulders .		2		Tramcar inspector	-,	ī
Millwright .	•	ī		Traveller	•	_ I
Spindlemaker.	•	_	_7 T	Teachers	•	II
Toiners	•			Warehousemen .	•	7
Labourer			I	Wood carver .	•	í
Librarian	'	•	1	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	•	
Linen-bundler .	1	•		Total		215
rmen-rander .	1	•	1	j I Olah	•	~-3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The number of Clerks is accounted for by the fact that as a rule they are allowed a week or a fortnight's holiday with full pay.

Payments in the way of scholarships were made to students of tutorial classes conducted by the various Universities as follows:—

							£	s. d.
Birminghan	n					•	13	13 0
Belfast							3	4 0
Cambridge					•		7	1 0
Durham				,			0	10 0
Leeds							. 12	10 0
Liverpool						٠	13	2 0
London							26	7 0
Morley Co	ollege	(Lo	ndon	) Sp	ecial			
Schola		•		·	•		8	15 0
Mancheste	,						45	90
Nottinghan	a (Uz	ivers	ity C	ollege	. (		4	0 0
<sup>1</sup> Oxford	•		•		•	٠	269	5 4
Total amou	ınt p	aid ir	s Sch	olarsh	ips		£403	16 4

Note.—The Gilchrist Scholarships are included in the above.

The numbers of hours spent at lectures and with tutors each week are as follows:—

			Lec	ure Hours.	Hours with Tators.	Total.
ıst week			•	118	23	141
2nd	17		•	<b>29</b> 6	66	362
3rd	"			322	68	390
4th	1)		•	384	84	468
5th	,,		•	404	101	505
бth	**		•	1082	401	1483
7th	**		•	820	<b>28</b> 6	1106
8th	93	•	•	430	108	538
			Totals	3856	1137	4993

This includes the sum of £74 ros. for special class scholarships.

It is estimated that the amount to be received in Government Grant will be about  $\pounds 90$ .

## Tutors taking part.

H. H. Allsopp, M.A. Miss M. Atkinson. Meredith Atkinson, B.A. P. A. Brown, M.A. Hon. Alice M. Bruce. A. J. Carlyle, D.Litt. E. F. Carritt, M.A. G. D. Cole, B.A. Hon. G. Collier, M.A. C. R. Cruttwell, M.A. A. D. Darbishire, M.A. Miss H. Darbishire. Miss C. E. Elkin. Prof. W. M. Geldart, M.A. R. Gibson, B.A. A. G. Heath, M.A. E. F. Hitchcock. A. J. Jenkinson, M.A. D. Knoop, M.A. F. W. Kolthammer, M.A. Miss A. E. Levett. K. Leys, M.A. A. D. Lindsay, M.A.

Mrs. E. V. Lindsay. R. R. Marett, M.A. E. G. Miles, M.A. Prof. J. L. Myres, M.A. L. B. Naymier, M.A. I. G. Newlove. Miss D. S. Potter. L. L. Price, M.A. W. H. Pringle, M.A. T. H. Penson, M.A. M. Powicke, M.A. J. F. Rees, M.A. A. L. Smith, M.A. Miss M. Smith. Miss H. Stocks, C. G. Stone, B.A. R. H. Tawney, B.A. G. E. Underhill, M.A. Miss H. Walton. E. W. Webster, M.A. A. T. P. Williams, B.A. Rev. H. H. Williams, M.A. Miss H. Wodehouse.

### List of Lectures.

July 1-5. Six lectures. Agrarian Problems of the Sixteenth Century. R. H. Tawney, B.A.

July 8-11. Four lectures. The expression of the Popular Will in Politics. A. D. Lindsay, M.A.

July 11, 12. Two lectures. The Use and Abuse of His-

- tory. The Economic Interpretation of History. A. L. Smith, M.A.
- July 15. One lecture. Value of History to Economics and Politics. A. L. Smith, M.A.
- July 16-20. Five lectures. The Biological Study of the Home. Dr. J. Lionel Tayler.
- July 22-24. Three lectures. Problems of Representative Government in Europe. E. Barker, M.A.
- July 25, 26. Three lectures. The Value of History, etc. A. L. Smith, M.A.
- July 27-Aug. 3. Six lectures. Economic Conditions of Primitive Communities. Prof. J. L. Myres, M.A.
- Aug. 5-10. Six lectures. Problems of Representative Government. W. G. S. Adams, M.A.
- Aug. 12-17. Six lectures. Law and Society. Prof. W. M. Geldart, M.A.
- Aug. 19-21. Three lectures. Taxation and the Family. F. W. Kolthammer, M.A.
- Aug. 22-23. Three lectures. Heredity and Evolution. A. D. Darbishire, M.A.
- Note.—Lectures extra to the ordinary course were given by Rev. G. K. A. Bell, M.A. (2); Dr. A. J. Carlyle (2); Mr. C. T. Hutchinson M.A. (x); Prof. H. H. Turner (3), etc.

### APPENDIX IX.

# SPEECH BY MR. J. M. MACTAVISH AT THE OXFORD CONFERENCE, 1907.

I am not here as a suppliant for my class. I decline to sit at the rich man's gate praying for crumbs. I claim for my class all the best of all that Oxford has to give. I claim it as a right-wrongfully withheld-wrong not only to us but What is the true function of a University? it to train the nation's best men, or to sell its gifts to the rich? Instead of recruiting her students from the widest possible area, she has restricted her area of selection to the fortunate few. They come to her not for intellectual training, but for veneering. Not only are workpeople deprived of the right of access to that which belongs to no class or caste, the accumulated knowledge and experience of the race, but Oxford herself misses her true mission, while the nation and the race lose the services of its best men. emphasize that point because I wish it to be remembered that workpeople could do far more for Oxford, than Oxford can do for the workpeople. For, remember, democracy will realize itself, with or without the assistance of Oxford; but if Oxford continues to stand apart from the workpeople, then she will ultimately be remembered, not for what she is but for what she has been. And now having made good my claim, or our claim, to her best services, what is it that workpeople want from Oxford? So far as a multitude of

them is concerned, absolutely nothing. Their struggle is not for education; it is for bread—and in that struggle they become stolid and stunted brothers to the ox. They are what they are, however, not altogether, but very largely, because Oxford has not given us of her best. But speaking for myself, and for thousands more who are like-minded, we want from Oxford all that Mr. Nield has asked, and a great More especially do we want something more definite. We want the workpeople who come to Oxford to undertake definite work. But what is that definite work to be? We want them to come back to us as missionaries, but what is their message to be? If workpeople are to come to Oxford, and they are to be trained for the great task of lifting their class, which is no class but the nation—if they are to come to Oxford to be trained for this great task, then the study—as has already been pointed out—the study of history and economics is an essential part of that definite work. what school of economics does Oxford accept as authority? Will her interpretation of history inspire a man to remain in his class, or will it embue him with a desire to escape from his class, which is supposed to have no history, or only one of menial service? Let us be frank with Oxford in this matter, because unless she understands what we want she can do nothing for us. The economics which emanate from Oxford are well-adapted to meet the requirements and stimulate the minds of those young gentlemen who frequent her colleges, and because they are reduced to a science of social conduct and industrial practice which has made them and keeps them comfortable. But you cannot expect the people to enthuse over a science which promises them no more than a life of precarious toil.

God bless the squire and his relations, And keep us in our proper stations.

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; that will teach us the true economic relationship in which men ought to stand to men, and men to women—a science based, not on the acquisitiveness of the individual, but on social utility. Even as much do we want from her a new interpretation of history—not one that will continuously remind us that we are on edge of the abyss, but one that will inspire us; not the short and simple annals of the poor, but the history of the people. For although we are supposed to have no recorded history, without us all history was and is impossible. And here let me say that I believe that one of the reasons, if not the great reason, why our University Extension lectures have not been successful is due to the fact that the average University Extension lecturer is decidedly middle and upper class in his outlook. I have seen a series of lectures on that fascinating subject the French Revolution given in a very big hall to a mere handful, not because the lecturer did not know his subject, or because he lacked lucidity of expression, but because his point of view was decidedly middle-class. The sufferings of the people, their ready response to the high but unpracticable ideals of "liberty, fraternity and equality" were but slightly touched on, or altogether ignored. His lectures were the records of a few great men. But those men only show because the people provided them with a background. If our University Extension lectures are to do the work they were expected to do, then not only must the subjects be carefully selected, but

the matter so arranged that it will appeal to and inspire those they are intended for. Further, let me remind Oxford, that our economic disadvantage places us at the mercy of the gentlemen that she trains. The man in the street can see that University Education enables the son of a working man to escape from his class; but he does not see that it builds up that sense of human solidarity which is essential to the lifting of the class itself. The sons of the working-man come to Oxford to escape from their class, not to lift it. We want Oxford to open wide her doors to the best of our people, and take them in. We want her to send them back to us as doctors whose business will be health-giving, not wealth-getting; we want her to send them back to us as lawyers, whose business will be justice not fees; we want her to send them back to us as living teachers, not mechanical manipulators of child-life. We want her to inspire them, not with the idea of getting on, but with the idea of social service. Let her send forth an army of such men, armed at all points for the defence of the people, but more especially for the defence of our children; for it is through them she will have her reward. And finally let me say to young people: Strive to come to Oxford. To Oxford I say: Open wide your doors and take us in; we need you; vou need us.

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