

A History of Adult Education
at and through the New England
University College and the University of New England,
1948 to 1980

A thesis submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
to The University of New
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by

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He in truth desires to imitate God who administers his high position with a view to the benefit of others, and is not elated with his own praises; when placed above others, he desires to serve, and not to rule them. Pope St. Gregory I: *Morals*, 26, 48 (6th century)

The Founders ... thought of the University as belonging to the city and the region, educating the locals, taking an active part in local culture and helping the problems of local industry. T.W. Bamford, *The University of Hull: The First Fifty Years* (1978), p. 269.

[Ours] was the outstanding Department of Extension in Australia (A.C.M. Howard to A. Lazenby, 19 October 1969; quoted below, p. 219)

To encourage links between the research and scholarship of the University and regional national and international communities. (Fifth Aim of the University of New England, *Annual Report 1988* (1989), p. 3)

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CERTIFICATE

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently submitted for any other degree.

I certify that, to the best of my knowledge, any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

John Sprott Ryan

PREFACE

This thesis is the immediate product of several perceptions and forces. The first is the writer's life-long interest in Adult Education, particularly nurtured by his earlier experiences in Dunedin (New Zealand), and later, in Oxford, and in Nottingham, - in all of which places he saw gifted and committed university men and women making heroic and successful efforts to enrich the social, intellectual and cultural life in the general community, especially for those who had been deprived of much meaningful educational opportunity in the days of the Great Depression or in the austere times of and after the Second World War. The second catalyst to the task was his own association with most of the early dedicated staff of the pioneering Department of Adult Education at the University of New England, where he was appointed to a teaching department at a relatively early stage of the then new University's development. The personal stimulus of conducting regular weekly classes for this Department was succeeded by satisfying participation in many Seminars and Residential Schools under the long-serving Directors, A.J.A. Nelson and S.J. Rooth.

A third influence was the observation of the making of university extension policy and of related general decision-making during personal service on the Professorial Board, in 1968, and on the Academic Board from 1984 to 1988, as well as the experience of the workings of the Professorial Board's Extension Committee from 1968 until its abolition in 1970 (including membership of its ad hoc rebuttal sub-committee to the 'Howie Report' in 1969), and service on the Board of Continuing Education, 1978 to 1980, itself to then undergo a like form of eclipse. The fourth influence was the urging of A.C.M. Howard, W.G. Maddox, N.D. Crew and, later, Professor A. Cumming, to record some of the diverse experiences participated in and their perceived background and significance - not least because of: close contact with the Department during its greatest days; first-hand observation of widespread later academic misunderstanding of its liberal and committed purposes; and then the slow attrition of its work, in more austere days. To these three friends and particularly to Professor A. Cumming, and then to Dr. R.G. Bagnall, as my supervisors, there is owed a very considerable debt for their patient support and encouragement to complete this survey, when many other duties seemed certain to delay or prevent its final completion.

Another reason for undertaking the task of recorder and (contemporary) interpreter was the realization that there had been a most inadequate preservation of the Department's documents and files which would, in all probability, make such (pilot) research even more difficult if it were left much longer. Fortunately, apart from the death in 1979 of Sir Robert Madgwick whom I had known, many of the later university a.e./c.e. 'players' were still available to permit access to the various papers which they held. Sadly several of those who were most supportive - J.P. Belshaw,

A.C.M. Howard, Lascelles Wilson, and B.C.F. James, in particular - have died since the account was begun. This thinning of the ranks of men once so active and catalytic in the New England field and so informed as to the adult education offerings there has served as a further spur to the completion of this necessarily selective outline account. For summary it must be, not merely because of the constraints on its length, but also because of the Department's loss of many hundreds of files, as well as the lack of space to record the significant aspects of like numbers of courses or residential/regional schools, whose happening or innovative concepts are often subsumed in the preserved annual total enrolment figures, or minimally authenticated by concerned individuals retaining random associated workpapers, attendance lists, and the like.

Thus the various disasters overtaking records¹ of the Department of University Extension/Continuing Education are archivally regrettable in themselves, and they have proved very awkward for the present researcher, endeavouring to document the (p.votal) events and committee decisions, and, above all, to give the flavour of what, for so many thousands of adults, has been the 'New England Experience'.² Yet the simultaneous task has been the explaining the various forces and ideas in interplay in the University - community dialogue, particularly as it was conducted by and through 'the Department'.

* *

.... and ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While most sources are given in the 'Bibliography' and in various footnotes which describe the documents, used closely or cited, it is important to acknowledge the assistance of many providers and general community consumers, several of whom have now passed away.

From the (former) ranks of the Department itself, grateful thanks are extended to: A.J.A. Nelson, for the loan of many papers and most generous help whenever so requested; the late A.C.M. Howard, Mrs. M. Howard, Mr. B. Brennan, and Associate Professor Ross Thomas, for access to various Howard papers, and, particularly, to his unpublished volume of 'Memoirs'; S.J.

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1. From the several dispersals of the Departmental Library records it was possible to save a random selection of notes, proceedings, etc., due to the particular assistance of Mrs. B. Farrant, at a time even before the decision to embark upon this thesis.
 2. While this is the title of the 1988 volume of retrospective New England glances, edited by Margaret Franklin, similar terms were used much earlier, notably by the poet Les Murray, first in the University for 'The Young Writers' Retreat' of January 1967. His best known phrase is that 'New England is a state of mind'.

Rooth, former Director, for his patient assistance in answer to queries and for honest appraisals of various events during his directorship; the late B.C.F. James, for his unfailing courtesy, and willingness to locate fugitive articles and reviews; M.D. Crew, for his assistance with defining many themes and particularly for his willingness to discuss his perspectives on Community Development matters; A.F. Dunton, now retired in Sydney, for his stimulating help with my own Clarence Schools, his lead in a.e. research, and for his incisive analysis of situations long ago; Dr. E.C. ('N.') Iceton for indispensable access to various reports and relevant O.E.C.D. documents; B. Brennan, the sometime Acting Director for his patience, availability and quiet support; the late W.J. McCarthy (M.P.), for his willingness to discuss M.E.R.D.A matters; and to the late Dr. Peter A. Wright, T. Mulligan and other members of that organization for their own recollections of its extension endeavours.

Other members of the Department, past or present, who have assisted me should be listed now: F. Bitmead; Mrs. G. Boland; R. Chappell (now M.P. for the immediate region); Dr. R.J. Clark; D.R. Dymock; the late Mrs. J. Ellis; the late Miss J. Ewing; Mrs. B. Farrant; Mrs. D. Fuller; the late Mrs. Howard (Grafton); R. Howard; J. Hutchinson; Mrs. L.M. Kalocsai; T. Keneally; Mrs. S. Ketley; G. Krippner; Mrs. N. Lipinski; Mrs. V. McLennan; Mrs. U. Marsh (Tamworth); J.F. Mason; the late Mrs. Audrey J. Miller; Mrs. D. Mitchell; Miss P. Morse; Miss M. Mulligan; C. Petersen (Tamworth); G.B. Pittendrigh; J.M. Praed (Perth); R.J. Prater (Coffs Harbour); the late Dr. M.G. Price; Miss M. Quinn; M.K. Rochester; J.W. Warburton (Adelaide); the late F. Wigham; Dr. D.A. Whitelock (Adelaide); and Mrs. Jean Wright (Tamworth).

For access to various relevant Madgwick, Sydney-located, and/or Army Education Service Reports, thanks are due to: Miss Mary Madgwick, her late father's literary executor; the late Sir Hermann Black, for long the Chancellor of the University of Sydney; the Archives Section authorities of Fisher Library, University of Sydney; Mrs May Eberle and Miss Ilona Eberle; the authorities of the Australian War Memorial Library and of the Army Records Section, Melbourne; Mr. John Wellings of the New South Wales Board of Adult Education; and G.W. Falkenmire of the Migrant Education Office (Sydney).

Within the University of New England the following (administration) officers (with their titles then) have assisted with access to relevant documents at various times: the late Dr. T.C. Lamble, Registrar; David Williams, Registrar and Secretary; Miss G. Shannon, Registrar's Secretary; Mrs. P. Chapman, Assistant to the Registrar; David McDonald, then the Faculty of Education Secretary; P. McClenaghan, Staff Records; W. Olphert, former Dean, Faculty of Education; B. Turner, Staff Officer; Miss S. Bearman, Information Officer; and, much earlier on, K.R. Long, when Acting Registrar. Help has been received from the two former University

Archivists. A. Wilkes and G. Furkiss. Other present/past members of the Dixon Library Staff who have assisted with location of elusive materials include: P. Beaton; I. Chaudry; Mrs. J. Foley; Ms. M. Maticka; Mrs. C. Raszewski; R. Ryan; the late Miss E. Tattersall; and Mrs. L. Wissman. Several Pro-Vice-Chancellors of more recent years have been helpful in discussing their responsibility for and perspectives on continuing education, namely (in chronological order): Emeritus Professor, P.K. Elkin; Professor J.L. Dillon; and Emeritus Professor J.S. Nalson. The views philosophical and general views of the second and third Vice-Chancellors, Professors Z. Cowen and A. Lazenby as to u.e./c.e. are mainly taken from their available public statements, although the present writer had much personal contact with both over many years.

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As far as other University based or associated providers are concerned, a like debt is owed to many persons. For information about the 'Kellogg Rural Adjustment Unit', thanks must go to: Emeritus Professor G.L. McClymont, Professor W. Musgrave, G. Gregory, J. Lees, and N.D. Crew; for data on the Agricultural Business Research Institute, to: P.A. Rickards, Mrs. S. Woodburn (Canberra), and R. Lacey; on the Animal Genetics and Breeding Unit, to Dr. K. Hammond and D. Gentle; on the Financial Management Research Centre, to Professor G. Meredith, M.S. Beasley and various secretaries; on the Regional Centre for Music and Drama, G. Pittendrigh, Ms. A. Glover and Miss P. Morse; and on early Farm Management and related research/field work, Professor J.L. Dillon. Most of the information about the Department of Geography's extension/research work came from documents, but the assistance is acknowledged of: the late Emeritus Professor G.J. Butland; Associate Professors E. Woolmington, J.J. Pigram, and D.J. Walmesley; as well as from the former members of that Department, Dr. R.F. Warner and B.A.G. Plummer (now living in London). The early officers of the New England Regional Association for Adult Learning who have assisted with the details of their organization include R. Briscoe-Hough (Chairman/Treasurer, Tamworth), Sue Dennis (then Co-Ordinator/Principal of Tamworth Adult Learning Group/Evening College); N.D. Crew (Chairman, of Armidale); and Eve Shaw (former Regional Officer, of Armidale).

Among the many most helpful (former) members of the Staff of the University not already listed and sympathetic to adult education, particular mention must be made of: F.G. Atkinson (English); the late Emeritus Professor J.P. Belshaw (Economics); R.A. Boyd (Botany); J.C. Croft (English); D.A. Kent (History); Valerie Leech (French); Emeritus Professor J.N. Lewis (Agricultural Economics); Associate Professor K.A. McKenzie (English); the late Professor R.S. Neale (Economic History); Mrs. Cherry Robertson (secretary to A.J.A. Nelson); Dr. P. Sydenham (Geophysics); the late Professor L.C.F. Turner (History); G. Träbing (German); B.C. Walsh (English); Dr. (now Emeritus Professor) R.B. Ward (History); and Emeritus

Professor N.T. Yeates (originally of the Department of Livestock Husbandry).

There are also the numerous 'consumers' and 'external' tutors³ at various schools. Notable for their frankness in interview and generous help in (further) consultation to the present writer are: Mrs. Barbara Bennett (Cowra), Dr. R.G. Blomfield (Armidale); Ian M. Johnstone (Armidale); Mrs. K. Letters (Armidale); S. Liston (Glen Innes); G. McCubbin (long of Gunnedah); Frances C. McInherny (Armidale); L.A. Murray (Bunyah); B. Oakley (Melbourne and Sydney); Mrs. A. Pearson (Tenterfield); B. Richardson (Armidale); R. Robinson (Newcastle); D. Rummary (Armidale); M. Ryan (Lismore); Sir Adrian Solomons (Tamworth); Mr. Justice W.D.J. Ward (Sydney); and K. Webb (Sydney). Yet, since this is at least partly and basically, a history of participants in and requesters of the a.e. offerings of the New England University College and 'old' University of New England, it will be clear that they are but a very small group from the hundreds with whom the writer has worked. And despite the uneven records, it has been possible to read a number of files of letters of enquiry, constructive written suggestions and grateful appreciations from many hundreds more of those who availed themselves of the wide range of services provided by the 'Department'.

While several of them are acknowledged elsewhere, it is important to mention various significant discussions with several community members of the (University's) Adult Education Committee, later Board of Continuing Education - notably: C. Ebert (Lismore); Mrs. J. Flint (Dubbo), Mr. R.A. Oxenford (Grafton) and Messrs. J.P. Larkin and L.M. Long. When serving on the University Council, or its Committees, the following then community members had discussed extension matters with me at various times: Dr. Phillip A. Wright (Armidale), Bishop J.S. Moyes (Armidale), J.B. Regan (Tamworth), J.I. Moorhead (Grafton), I.M. Johnstone (Armidale), B.A. Wright (Jeogla); Dr. P.A. Wright (Uralla), and A.J.A. Nelson (Armidale).

It will be more than clear that the writer had had numerous interviews with many interested persons - both providers and consumers - on adult education/extension matters over a number of years, both before and during the writing of this thesis. Their views have covered a range of responses, from heartfelt gratitude for assistance to relative bewilderment at the cessation of offerings deemed most relevant to the (public) consumer. Of even more help have been my specific and detailed consultations with the Pro-Vice-Chancellors concerned with policy, the various 'lay' Council members with an interest in this liaison exercise, and the former regional and residential officers of the Department, as well as with all those who have ever served in the Community Development Division. Many frank comments

3. Their 'then' place of residence is indicated.

by the listed present/past leaders of the University's autonomous extension units have much assisted me in clarifying my perspectives on events to which I had initially been too close to form dispassionate conclusions.

* *

Miss Shirley Dawson and others in the Photographic Section have improved very considerably on the odd surviving photograph and so assisted to illustrate this thesis the better.

Mrs. Diane Watson, Mrs. Stephanie Hamilton and Mrs. Janet Batchelor of the University, have all typed earlier papers by the writer which were concerned with related matters of New England adult education. Finally, my sincere thanks are due to Miss Eve Shaw of Armidale who has composed the plates for this thesis and accepted cheerfully the many modifications of detail that have had to be incorporated into its final version.

July 1989

J.S. Ryan.

Note:

While various details have been modified in revision, it has not been thought necessary to alter the then correct titles of individuals working in the old University of New England, particularly since the thesis only describes and endeavours to interpret events up to 1980, and its central framework relates to the University well before its amalgamation with the various hitherto separate colleges. Further it has not been deemed appropriate to give the later/present titles of persons whose duties changed after 1980, or to refer to similar changes to the style of the various Departments and Faculties. It is to be stressed that the modifications are largely concerned with ideas and so are to be found in the main text itself.

June 1991

J.S. Ryan.

List of Abbreviations, Acronyms, etc.

Frequently Encountered in this Thesis:

A.A.A.E.	Australian Association of Adult Education
A.A.D.E.	Australian Association of Dance Education
A.A.E.S.	Australian Agricultural Economics Society
A.B.C.	Australian Broadcasting Commission
A.B.R.I.	Agricultural Business Research Institute
A.C.C.R.A.	Australian Committee for Coding Rural Accounts (N.S.W.)
A.C.A.E.C.	Association of Community Adult Education Centres
A.C.E.	Australian College of Education
A.C.I.D.	Australian Communities in Distress
A.C.O.T.A.F.E.	Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education
<i>A.D.H.S.J. & P.</i>	<i>Armidale and District Historical Society Journal and Proceedings (first published 1961)</i>
a.e.	adult education
A.E.C.	Adult Education Committee (a Committee of the University of New England Council)
(A) A.E.S.	(Australian) Army Education Service
A.G.B.U.	Animal Genetics and Breeding Unit
A.I.A.S.	Australian Institute of Agricultural Science
A.I.F.	Australian Imperial Force
A.I.P.S.	Australian Institute of Political Science
<i>A.J.A.E.</i>	<i>Australian Journal of Adult Education</i>
A.L.A.	Adult Learning Association (a small community group)
A.L.C.	Adult Learning Centre
A.L.G.	Adult Learning Group
A.N.U.	(The) Australian National University
A.N.Z.A.A.S.	Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science
A.P.C.	Academic Plan Committee
A.S.P.B.A.E.	Asian and South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education
A.S.R.S.	Accounting System Research Centre
A.T.C.	Armidale Teachers College
<i>A.U.</i>	<i>The Australian University</i> (Vol. 1, 1963)
A.U.C.	Australian Universities Commission
A.-V./a.-v.	Audio-Visual/audio-visual
B.A.E.	Board of Adult Education
B.A.E.	Bureau of Agricultural Economics (Federal, in Canberra)
C.A.E.	College of Advanced Education
C.A.E.C.	Community Adult Education Centre
C.A.L.C.	Community Adult Learning Centre
C.A.L.L.S.	Centre for Australian Language and Literature Studies
c.d.	community development
C.D.	Community Development (especially as a Division of the University of New England's extension department)
c.e./C.E.	continuing education

C.E.R.I.	Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (within the O.E.C.D.) (Created in June 1968)
C.H.E.R.P.	Coifs Harbour Education and Recreation Program
Clarence	the zone name for the University's regional (extension) office in Grafton (1958-1975); also called the Mid-North Coast Office
C.L.A.	Community Learning Association
C.L.F.	Commonwealth Literary Fund
C.H.E.R.P.	Coifs Harbour Education and Recreation Program
C.N.A.A.	Council for National Academic Awards (U.K.) (founded in 1964)
Comm. Ben.	the Commemoration of Benefactors Ceremony, held every spring (1955 to 1966).
Council	The Council of the University of New England, the shorthand term for the senior governing body from 1954 to 1989.
C.P.E.	Continuing Professional Education
C.R.T. (S)	Commonwealth Reconstruction Training (Scheme)
C.S.I.R.O.	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization
C.W.A.	Country Women's Association (especially the New South Wales Branch)
D.A.E.	(the New England University College's/The University of New England's) Department of Adult Education
D.C.E.	Department of Continuing Education
D.E.E.T.	Department of Employment, Education and Training
Department	when not otherwise distinguished, it is to be assumed to be the Department: of Adult Education (1948-63); of University Extension (1963-74); of Continuing Education (1974 -).
(Department of) Tutorial Classes	The Department of Tutorial Classes, University of Sydney (1914-1962)
D.P.I.	Department of Primary Industry (Commonwealth)
D.U.E.	Department of University Extension
Extension	name of a Departmental Division from 1974
Extension Board	The Extension Board of the University of Sydney
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
Far West	the name of Zone 4 in the Development Zone Scheme (1971 -)
F.C.A.A.	Federal Conference of Australian Aborigines
F.H.S/f.h.s.	Folk High School/folk high school (movement)
F.M.	Farm Management
F.M.R.C.	Financial Management Research Centre
F.M.S.C.	Farm Management Service Centre
G.P.C. (E.)	General Planning Committee (for Extension)
Grafton	the city and/or the University's office (1956 - c.1972) on the Mid-North Coast
H.o.D.	Head of Department (i.e. an academic teaching and/or research department of the University of New England)

I.L.O.	International Labour Organisation
L.S.E.	Lordon School of Economics
M.C.	Military Cross
M.I.A.	Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area
M.I.T.	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Namoi	the zone name for the University's regional (extension) office in Tamworth
N.E.R.D.A.	New England Rural Development Association
N.E.E.D. Centre	New England Educational Diagnostic Centre
N.E.S.	National Emergency Services
N.E.R.A.A.L.	New England Regional Association for Adult Learning
N.E.T.C.	New England Theatre Company (refers to either the Barnes or later, more official, theatre group)
N.E.U.C.	New England University College
New England	Refers (variously) to: Zone 2 (Region); or the University; or the area loosely centred on Armidale
N.E.U.C.A.C.	New England University College Advisory Committee
N.R.C.A.E.	Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education (1975 -1989)
N.S.W.	New South Wales
N.Z.	New Zealand
O.E.C.D.	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (founded in 1960 in Paris)
Orana	Region Three in the Decentralized Development Scheme
P. & C. (Assn.)	Parents and Citizens (Association)
P.L.C.	Presbyterian Ladies' College
P.M.G.	Postmaster-General('s Department)
P.-V.-C.	Pro-Vice-Chancellor
R.A.B.(C.)	Rural and Business(men) (Committee) i.e. the c.d. group on the Clarence River from the later 1950s, functioning for about 10-15 years)
R.C.A.E.	Regional Council of Adult Education
R.C.M.D.	Regional Centre for Music and Drama
R.S.D.	(the) Residential Schools Division (i.e. of the Department)
Richmond Tweed	the Department's regional office at Lismore
R.-T.R.D.A.	Richmond-Tweed Regional Development Authority
R.-T.R.D.C.	Richmond-Tweed Regional Development Committee
S.R.H.E.	Society for Research into Higher Education (U.K.)
(S.U.)E.B.	(Sydney University) Extension Board
Tablelands	the regional a.e. zone, based on Armidale, which reached out to Tenterfield, Uralla, Walcha, Dorrigo, and, at certain periods, Taree. In the later 1960s it was equivalent to Region 2 of the Decentralized Zones scheme.
T.A.F.E.	Technical and Further Education (Department)
T.S.W.	Thinking, Speaking and Writing (i.e. the name for many Residential Seminars in Communication and/or the techniques used in them) (1968-1983)

Tutorial Classes

A Department originally for (Sydney) regular weekly classes for adults, through the University of Sydney. Later used of the same teaching methods in other N.S.W. centres.

U.C.L.A.

University of California, Los Angeles

U.E./u.e.

University Extension (a Department of the University of New England, 1963-74) and a name for its a.e. work.

U.N.

United Nations

U.N.E.

University of New England

U.N.E.S.C.O.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

U.N.E.T.A.

University of New England Teachers' Association (i.e. the academic staff's union)

W.C. & I.C.

Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission

W.E.A.

Workers Educational Association

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* *

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this opening section is to explain the focus of the study, the analytical framework and procedures that were used in its undertaking, and the presentation of the emergent picture in the thesis.

The personal urge to record the early extension activities of the University of New England¹ was succeeded by the slow collecting of many disparate file records and numerous publications, and by the careful analysis and sifting of the memorabilia of the earlier work of many (former) members of the provider Department, and of like record materials from and opinions of a number of fairly regular consumers of the offerings from the same Department. From both of these last groups' opinions and data came ever the stronger convictions: that the history of the major adult education endeavour of the University should focus on two sorts of persons - the actual (regional) providers and the consumers themselves - and on the resultant programmes; and that this was a field of endeavour and achievement vitally important to the local regional community itself and to its various leader representatives. However, after the time of the first vice-chancellor, it had become a progressively diminishing and more 'marginal' aspect of the university's total mission.

Although these many and complex activities and events themselves constitute a valid part of the still ongoing history of the New England University College and of the University of New England, they are also part of the social and cultural history of Australia² in the decades after World War II; even as it is the case that they were strongly influenced by various overseas exercises in further education - the folk high schools of Denmark; the village colleges of East Anglia; community experiments in New Zealand, such as the one at Fie ding; or the 'land-grant' philosophy 'which has had so much to do with the development of university extension in certain sections of the United States'.³ As the treatment of the last matter, too, will make clear, there were many ideas and visits from North America which were central to the educational thought of such inspirers of the adult education endeavour as R. Madgwick, J. Belshaw and A. Nelson.

We are dealing also in this topic with a micro-focus, and in some measure, with a ever more complex history of the needs of the rural people

1. See the opening section of the 'Preface' to this study.
2. See, in particular, Brian Head and James Walter (eds.). *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society* (1988), *passim*.
3. This quotation continues with the statement that that style 'is most in evidence ... in Australia ... at the University of New England', pp. 20-21 of Paul H. Sheats, *A Report on University Adult Education in New Zealand and Australia* (1960).

in their own small communities for most of the period under survey. While change within the parent institution would cause both the services provided and the community to be reached to alter dramatically in the 1970s, the rise of the University's specialist provider agencies, with full financial autonomy and viability, would further limit the Department's offerings and earnings and so its more obvious local impact. Indeed, the whole is also an advance model of the directional changes which would soon beset the University itself in the 1980s, as 'accountability' became of paramount concern.

The case study has afforded many other interesting cultural aspects - a largely discrete region, with a socio-political sense of its own difference; a zone long neglected by centralist government, or perceived by its community leaders to have been so treated; the wide espousal of a pragmatic yet generously liberal philosophy of what might constitute further education; a sense of the need for social and community reform from the early staff extensionists who had come from outside the region, men Depression-time reared, who had an unstoppable urge to right the world's wrongs, in true Keynesian fashion, in a smaller place, away from the metropolis and its deadening impersonality.

* * *

The focus of the study that emerged from these endeavours, while always on the Department itself, is to be seen to move over the four key factors of interaction which were always in interplay - in positive, neutral, or negative fashion - in the extension or outreach endeavours, first of the New England University College, and then of its successor the (old) University of New England. These always constituted the framework for the programme and its changing emphases.

- (i) the (potential/desired) consumers or clientele, with their various needs/educational interests in the non-formal sense, and varying liberal tastes; early on provision of these needs would be largely through the Department of Adult Education and aimed at a very localised community;
- (ii) the emerging ways of articulating those educational needs, of suggesting courses for meeting them, of drawing the manifold problems to the attention of the various organizations which might assist; and the consequent imperative need for the parent body to supply solutions to immediate intractable problems and, in the words of Earle Page, 'to lead the community' in every sphere of modern living; in short the whole area to be defined as 'the effort towards suitable, stimulating and future - challenging programmes';
- (iii) the institutional (university) context for the provision/assistance, a matter which would always be

related to funding from sources both 'external' and internal to the institution; and depend on the university's changing perception⁴ of what is (in)appropriate to do/offer in the general extension area - both because of different budgeting, and as the institution feels itself to be a national⁵ rather than purely regional (or state) provider of further and higher education;

- and (iv) the general social context for all adult education, which would be modified by the radio and other electronic media, the longer New South Wales secondary education period (from 1967) by considerable unexpected political and demographic change, as well as by the impact of the more pragmatic (higher educational) philosophies of the later part of the period of review.

It has been the intention to keep these four forces in some kind of interplay in not only the treatment of the smaller regions, and of the particular subject areas of university offering, but also in the account of the changes forced upon almost all the 'key players' as the golden dawn of the Madgwick-Nelson visionary period slowly faded. Then too, the outreach policy itself was permanently sundered almost at the outset by a local distinction as to the a.e. effort. While there were many⁶ who saw the University's external studies/credit offerings as adult education, the official policy kept the two areas apart, and that exclusion of so much of this field will of necessity be followed here.

The second area of ongoing investigation is, necessarily, the range of offerings of the Department whose responsibility it was to articulate, shape and supply the appropriate programmes to the general and more specific communities within its purview. The public both forwarded its 'needs': through local committees and (large) community public meetings;⁷ through queries raised at regional offices or in letters which were answered on a.e. radio programmes in the particular area; and by their attendance at/absence from the projected schools seminars, classes, or discussion groups. Other influences on the proffered programmes were:

-
4. Sadly this changing thrust was often not articulated to the community leaders, as is recorded in the 'Preface' to the present survey.
 5. This trend probably manifested itself first c.1968 and was complete by the later Whitlam period, 1974-1975.
 6. Notably A. Nelson and A. Dunton. (See Chapter III.) The Tamworth and Grafton regional offices for long saw themselves as information banks on all matters concerning 'external studies'.
 7. This was particularly the case with matters of larger community concern.

- (i) the general requests⁸ articulated by regional community representatives/Council members when at the appropriate meetings at the University in Armidale;
 - (ii) the particular professional training and subject expertise of the various senior men in the University's regional offices, which influenced them to interpret their own areas' requirements, in some measure at least, in terms of their own discipline expertise and previous educational experience;⁹
- and (iii) the various tied grants of money from federal/banking developmental agencies which thus determined particular aspects of the several regional agendas and funded specific projects.

Thus it is that personalities bulk very large and the treatment is 'prosopographic'. While these prominent men were all achievers as adult educationalists, they had not been formally trained for their posts - although both Eberle and Dunton¹⁰ would write post-graduate theses about their own field experience for higher degrees from other universities. While they all planned their programmes and submitted them to Armidale and the Central Committee, in practice the Nelson men were largely free agents under the benign overview of R.B. Madgwick and of A.J.A. Nelson. When they were not replaced¹¹ by officers of like seniority, conviction and experience, the work tended perforce to diminish in scope and effect. The zest and drive of the period 1958-1965 was matched only by the remarkable range of courses and activities encouraged by Madgwick and Nelson, and the succeeding periods, of necessity, seemed the more restrained and concerned with 'retraining' a more limited clientele. But that is to anticipate. The interaction of the four specified forces remains the core of the thesis as it shaped itself.

* * *

Although it is not possible to trace in copious detail the complex matters of increasing inertia in the later 'university extension' and

8. E.g. that of Bishop Moyes at Council (1959-60) for more courses on literature. This particular pressure was followed by an enormous expansion in the literary offerings (especially in 1961-64) in such centres as Tamworth, Grafton, Lismore, Tenterfield, Port Macquarie, Inverell, Manilla, etc.

9. See Ch. III, *passim*.

10. The first did this for Melbourne, the second for Queensland University, while A.C.M. Howard had earlier written a theory thesis (also for Melbourne) on his regional work prior to joining the Department.

11. A method of curtailing regional work was to recall officers to Armidale, as was done with Dunton, Praed, and Bitmead.

'continuing education' committees, it is more than clear that these groups, lacked such powerful champions as Belshaw or Madgwick, began to flounder as they felt themselves to be impotent, or began to realize albeit subconsciously, that the state Department of Technical and Further Education (T.A.F.E.)¹² was providing much of the necessary educational infrastructure for their own communities in an increasingly demanding technological age. Thus the pattern of offerings in the later period of the time surveyed would be one governed by both constraints and restraints, the nature of which was often not made clear to either the community in general or the members of the Committee/Board constituted to deal with Extension matters.¹³ By a complex paradox more clearly observable in hindsight, the maturing Armidale university would appear to have become almost as cautious in its outreach as the Senate of the University of Sydney had been, thirty and more years before, when that earlier body was confronted with the non traditional plans of its Extension Board Secretaries, particularly when organising adult education offerings for the north of the State. No longer would the later 1970s and early 1980s university feel impelled to 'lead the community'.

* * *

Within all these changing patterns of leadership, finance, consultation and of actual programme - the history of this adult education exercise must needs be interpreted. The Appendices supplied furnish illustration of all these matters, and even comprise a collection of ancillary documents to flesh out the main text. After the departure of the first vice-chancellor in 1966, the (now full time) pro vice-chancellor¹⁴ became the senior moderating academic figure and his budget-interpreting and restraining role became more and more significant as the University moved into the 1970s, and the 1980s. Already the second and third vice-chancellors were confronted with a progressively more complex institution, whose priorities and purposes had changed very considerably. No longer would the popularizing or the making relevant of the university at a grassroots level be seen to be an over-riding priority. In adult education itself, world

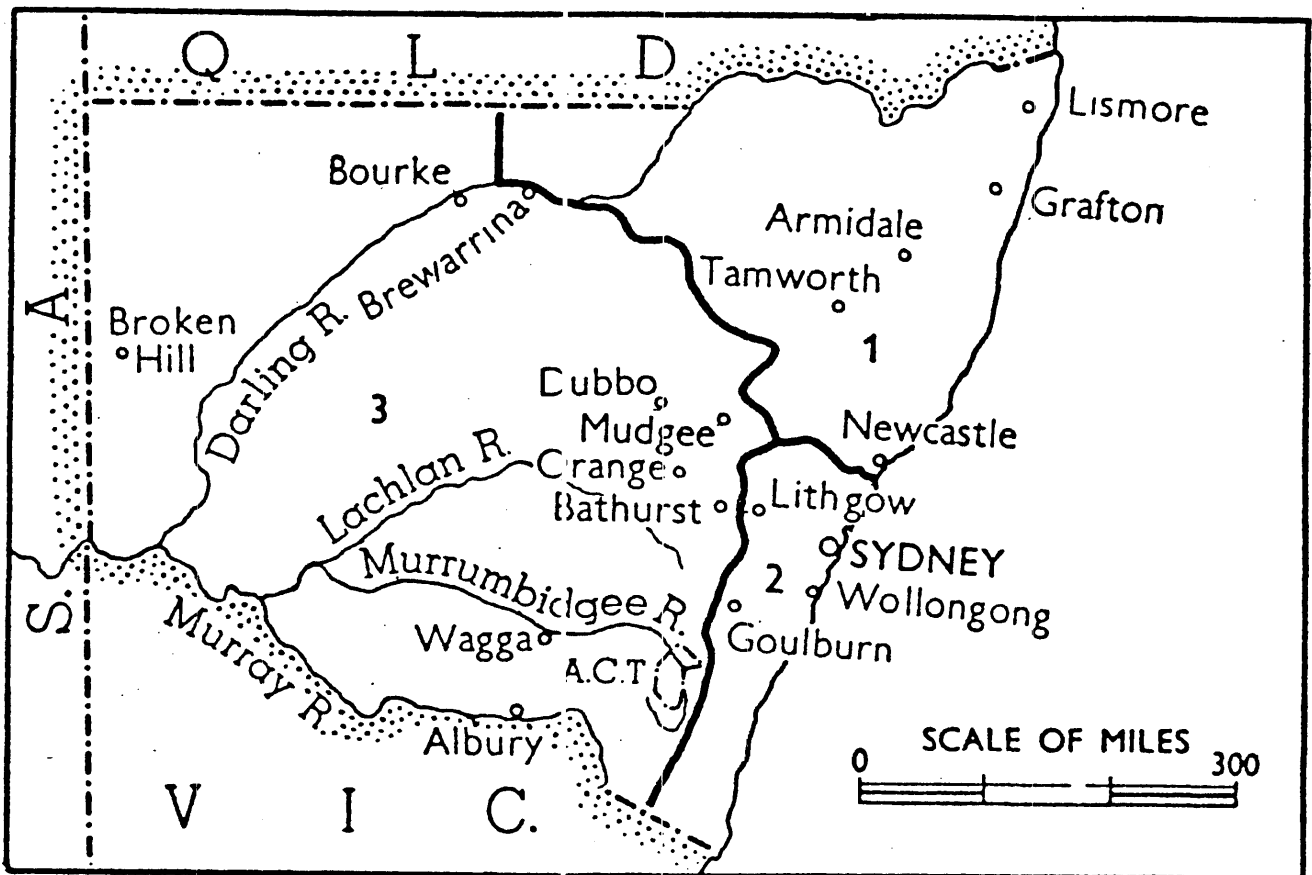
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12. A very large number of community requests were deemed to be more appropriate to/referred to T.A.F.E. from the Board of Continuing Education in the period 1978-1980. (See 'Preface'.)
 13. Somewhat illogically Financial Management Research and A.B.R.I. Centre plans were also presented at the committee, even though the F.M.R.C. was an (almost completely) autonomous body, as was A.B.R.I.
 14. Earlier the office was a part-time one, with constant change of person, and the day-to-day work of the Department was under very close scrutiny of the Vice-Chancellor. From about 1968, the programme and size of the Department would be supervised by ever larger numbers of persons with no expertise/experience in the field.

trends were already towards more 'professional' courses and towards a programme that was much more of the refresher type. Further, the need for courses to be self-supporting or to 'break even' financially became of paramount concern.

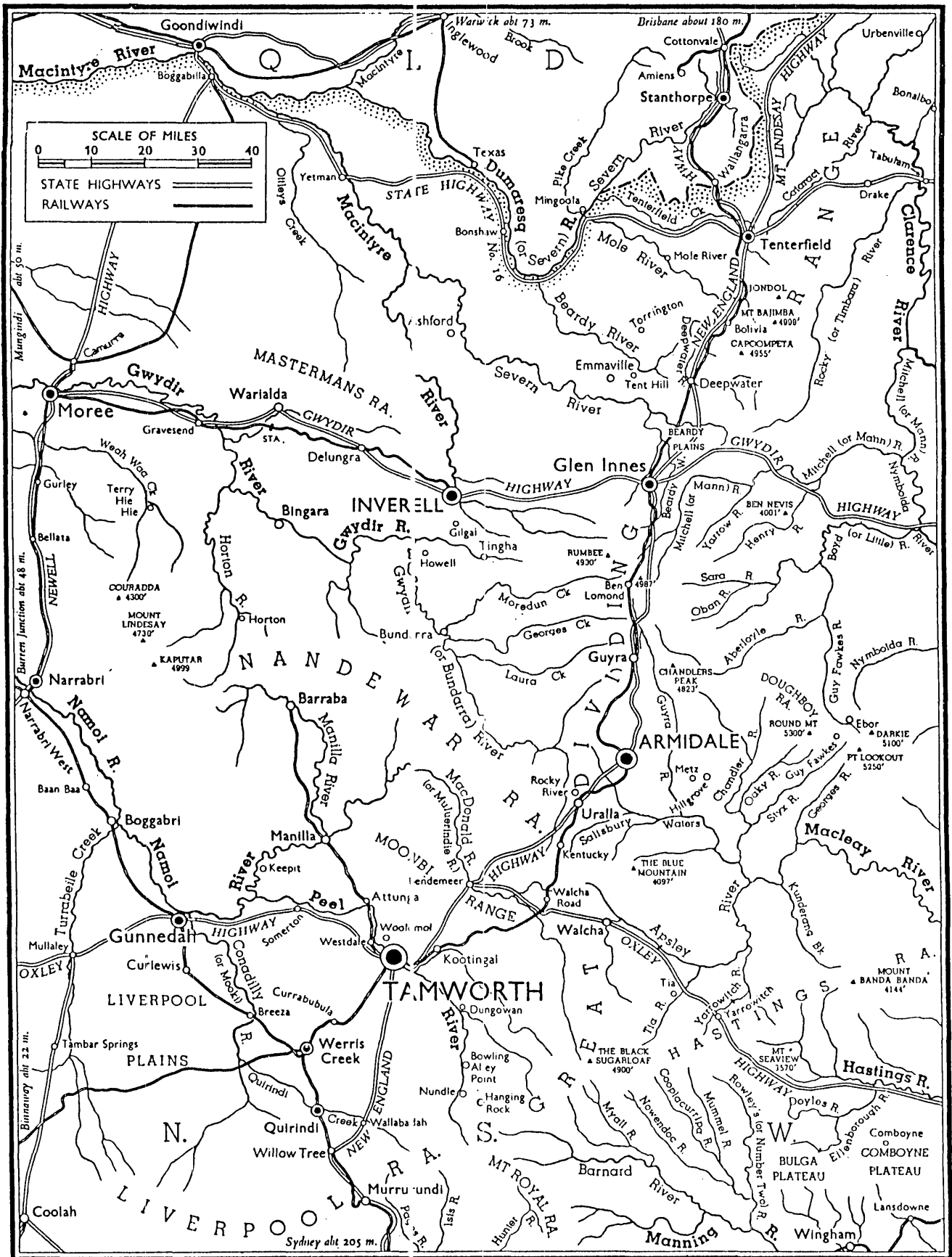
Although the field of adult education has always been marginal to the Australian university as institution, in New England this was not so in the days of the University College, or of the successor University itself, particularly in the period 1954-1972. Where the nexus had long been seen to be between the university's offering adult education and its own effective survival, the imperatives changed markedly. The American advice and models for the early University extension role, notably the 'land-grant' philosophy and massive exercises in facilitating community survival/development - at the core of Nelson's own philosophy of adult education and the focus of N. Crew's long career - would not be seen as relevant, appropriate or affordable in later days.

* * *

Yet it must be made clear that the thesis itself is essentially a model of articulated needs and their provision, in a relatively isolated area, of the adult education deemed appropriate to that time and place. The first map supplied indicates that, in the 1930s, there was already a strong sense



NEW ENGLAND



NEW ENGLAND AND NORTH-WESTERN SLOPES

of separate region in Northern New South Wales (area on the map), and that zone became progressively the target for the developing programme of the Department. The extension work proffered then and later had considerable social impact, with its content range - but not its educative purpose - close to the political aspirations of the leaders of the region, community and religious, and with existing educative and welfare organizations.

As time went on the community-university dialogue became more specific, and so the directors in Armidale left more and more to the regional officers. The outreach was initially confined to the Armidale region, but developed in 1955, an outreach to Tamworth, which would prove to be the largest, longest-running, and most successful of the regional offices. Later the North Coast would be added, with differing types of programme suitable to the differing lifestyles, and greater concentrations of population. 'Residential schools' (mainly at Armidale) would also wax and wane under pressures of costs and accommodation.

For a period of about twenty years the 'Department' was seen to be much committed to 'community development', a strategy of individual and group learning that was both much misunderstood and then used as a form of accusation against such work. For the sad truth of the matter is that the adult education exercise had always been marginal to the Australian university as institution, and this enterprise was seen as 'interventionist', unduly expensive, and not warranted on many grounds.

While the thesis began as an historical record of a specific outreach as an institution built 'the most outstanding Department of Extension in Australia', it has also had, perforce, to record the decline of the same facilitating department; the flourishing, without undue scrutiny, of its various (commercial) offshoots; and the changing external focus/community for the university to target. It is also interesting to note how the 'Department' throughout the period developed in embryo many subjects and even whole faculties for the more formal teaching and research of the University proper.

When one looks back at the pattern of New England extension or education for adults provided by this university, it is difficult not to relate it to various phases of the national mental climate. Thus post-war reconstruction is followed, in the 1950s by a will for justice and by a public concern for those who lose in life's battles; the 1960s seem a veritable golden age of confidence and possibility; while in the 1970s, various pragmatisms diminish previous generosity of concern, and the cult of sport begins to make its inroads into the leisure of (rural) adults, even as it will move its young potential champions to take over the residential accommodation in the summers. Leadership style has changed perforce, under the pressure of various economic 'realities', and it is difficult to see any academic leader again having the bold autonomy of a Madgwick or a Nelson, or any

regional extension officer achieving the programmes possible in the period 1948 to c. 1972.

*

It but remains to stress here, as is done at many points in the text itself, that, 'adult education' is largely perceived in New England as the work of the so-designated Department, rather than external (i.e. credit) study, or the very specialized, largely commercially provider agencies. The 'Department's' work has always been learner-centred and need-situation based, and concerned with process rather than subject-matter-centred. Unlike the often mechanistic methods of so many of the more recent University providers - concerned with profit and/or obtaining research data - the particular quality of the Departmental work has always been two-way, concerned with problem-solving, with in-life topics, and with growth of the adult citizen. It has given the University, in the words of Les Murray, its distinctive 'radiance'.