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"A Lasting Alliance Between Town and Gown"? Dalhousie Extension Lectures, 1890–1945

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ABSTRACT
In the 1890s, universities across North America embarked on a short-lived "university extension" movement modelled on systems of lectures and examinations that had been developed at Cambridge and Oxford. While this movement lasted only a few years in the United States and failed to launch in Canada, it sparked substantial interest in the delivery of public lectures by university professors over the first half of the twentieth century. Based upon archival research, this article presents a historical case study of the extension lecture service organized by Dalhousie University. The article narrates the evolution of the lectures delivered, explains how the lecture service operated, and analyzes why the university launched, sustained, and ultimately terminated that service. The article highlights the antecedents of "friendraising" and argues that universities' engagement with communities is driven by factors that are related more to institutional politics than to the interests or educational needs of people in those communities.

RÉSUMÉ
Dans les années 1890, les universités nord-américaines se sont lancées dans un mouvement éphémère d'« extension universitaire » inspiré des systèmes de conférences et d'examens développés à Cambridge et à Oxford. Bien que ce mouvement n'ait duré que quelques années aux États-Unis et n'ait pas réussi à s'implanter au Canada, il a suscité un vif intérêt pour la tenue de conférences publiques par des professeurs d'université durant la première moitié du XXe siècle. S'appuyant sur des recherches archivistiques, cet article présente une étude de cas historique du service de conférences d'extension organisé par l'Université Dalhousie. L'article retrace l'évolution des conférences offertes, explique le fonctionnement du service et analyse les raisons pour lesquelles l'université a lancé, maintenu, puis finalement mis fin à ce service. L'article met en lumière les antécédents de la création de réseaux d'amis et de soutiens et soutient que l'engagement des universités auprès des communautés est davantage motivé par des considérations politiques institutionnelles que par les intérêts ou les besoins éducatifs des membres de ces communautés.

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"I trust that this extension course will be the means of diffusing the results of higher education to a greater number of students than those actually in attendance on classes for a degree; and that it will also arouse among the people of Halifax more interest in the welfare and progress of Dalhousie College, and more active sympathy with her. It is to the advantage of both college and city that we should not remain strangers. Closer acquaintanceship will, I feel sure, benefit us both; and pave the way for a lasting alliance between town and gown."

Dr. Archibald MacMechan, 1892[1]

Introduction

From October 1892 through February 1893, Archibald MacMechan delivered a series of nineteen lectures on Shakespeare.[2] The lectures were held weekly at the School for the Blind in Halifax and were open to all who wished to attend at a cost of five dollars for the series, or fifty cents for a single lecture.[3] MacMechan's lectures blended literary criticism with the sociology of knowledge, entertaining his audiences with readings from plays and poems and educating them with analyses of how Shakespeare's literary products were influenced by historical and biographical factors. The fact that over one hundred people consistently attended the lectures led MacMechan, during his final lecture, to remark with irony that he had "often heard it said since coming to this city that the people of it took no interest in things of the intellect."[4] This was MacMechan's second experiment with a course of extension lectures, following the piloting of his approach with a series of eleven lectures on Tennyson given in Halifax from January through March, 1890.[5]

MacMechan's work at Dalhousie took place in the context of a movement in the early 1890s through which leaders of prominent universities established the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching (ASEUT) and the Canadian University Extension Association (CUEA). Both organizations positioned university extension as a movement dedicated to the democratization of higher education, and both promoted public lectures as the means through which such democratization would be accomplished. George James, ASEUT general secretary, wrote that university extension was "the bringing of the university to the people" such that the "privileges of knowledge shall be no longer only for those who are able to satisfy the conditions of academic residence."[6] In announcing the establishment of the CUEA, its leaders stated that the aim of the organization was "to bring within reach of the people opportunities of sharing in the benefits of higher education."[7] Both organizations advocated for universities to provide off-campus lectures, grouped into courses, that would lead to certificates for students successfully completing examinations at the end of those courses. While the systematic provision of courses, examinations, and certificates was never accomplished in Canada and lasted only a few years in the United States, this movement did foster the sustained engagement of universities in the provision of public lectures for adults not enrolled as students.[8]

The purpose of this article is to challenge the account of the extension lecture movement given by MacMechan and the leaders of the ASEUT and CUEA — an

account focused on the democratization of higher education and the nurturing of "a lasting alliance between town and gown." As demonstrated here through a study of the rise and fall of the extension lecture service at Dalhousie University, this movement was driven primarily by institutional politics and universities' resource needs. After setting its findings in the context of existing scholarship regarding university extension, the article begins by presenting the basic facts about extension lectures offered by Dalhousie — answering what, who, when, and where questions — and by describing how extension lectures were organized in collaboration with local organizations across the Maritimes. The article focuses primarily on analyzing why Dalhousie established, sustained for nearly a quarter century, and then terminated its extension lecture service. Its thesis is that extension lecturing constituted a form of "friendraising," and that institutional support for such lecturing rose and fell due to its perceived costs and benefits, rather than due to the evolving needs or interests of people in communities across the Maritimes.[9] Thus, while MacMechan and others may have sincerely believed in the value of democratizing higher education and building linkages between town and gown, extension lectures thrived as an institutional priority only so long as they were perceived by professors and university administrators as serving the financial resource needs of the institution and its staff.

Historical Context and Existing Scholarship

The extension lecture movement migrated to North America from the United Kingdom, where in the 1870s professors employed by Cambridge University, Oxford University, and the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching began organizing lectures and examinations for those not attending the universities.[10] Charles Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin from 1903 through 1918, claimed that "the English extension idea" was first adopted in the US by his university in 1888. He stated:

> The idea of extension caught like wildfire; and by the end of 1890 it is reported that more than two hundred organizations were carrying on extension in nearly every state of the union;… The extension movement, taken up with great enthusiasm, had an immediate success; but, like many other a propaganda, its activity and strength were largely ephemeral.[11]

In place of the public lectures that were the centrepiece of the "British" extension movement, Van Hise advocated for a much wider set of extension activities: courses delivered by correspondence or at off-campus locations; applied research and information dissemination; technical services provided to state and municipal governments; the organization of debates and public discussion; and the provision of educational exhibits and presentations at fairs, institutes, and conventions.[12]

Across the US, a second wave of the extension movement — one modelled on Van Hise's work at Wisconsin rather than on the public lecture movement — took place in the early twentieth century.[13] George Woytanowitz summarizes the difference

between the "Wisconsin idea" and the models of extension that had earlier been imported to North America from Britain:

> The emphasis shifted from scholarship to service. The goal was no longer to approximate university work in an off-campus setting … but to orient the extension curriculum to the needs of the state and its citizens. Extension no longer implied a professor, a podium, and students; it could mean a professor drawing up a model city charter, or testing chemicals to aid wheat production.… Extension included just about any off-campus activity by which a professor provided service to the public.[14]

Historical scholarship regarding the role of universities in the US in adult education tends to focus on what Harold Stubblefield and Patrick Keane call "the American model of university extension" rather than the extension lecture movement.[15] Exceptions include accounts of the involvement of university professors and administrators in the Chautauqua movement.[16]

Historical scholarship regarding university extension in Canada likewise focuses more upon activities aligned with the Wisconsin idea than upon the extension lecture movement. In the 1950s, notable adult education leaders Edward Corbett and James (Roby) Kidd published overviews of past and present extension work at Canadian universities.[17] These studies focused on two forms of adult education: one inspired by the Wisconsin idea of extension and the other centred on the provision of part-time study opportunities through evening courses, correspondence courses, and summer schools. Such a focus reflected the programmatic priorities of Canadian university extension units in the 1950s, but it neglected the important role of extension lectures at Canadian universities prior to that decade. Subsequent historical scholarship about university extension in Canada has reproduced such neglect.[18]

Despite the overall neglect of extension lectures in historical scholarship about university extension, some researchers have recognized the importance of extension lecturing to Canadian universities. Most prominently, Robin Harris describes extension lecture work at several Canadian universities in the 1800s, and argues:

> The value of such offerings is indisputable whether regarded as a contribution to the general education of the community or as a means of improving the university's image in the minds of those who support it; but it is also beyond doubt that from a purely academic point of view non-credit work has little value. The justification for a university committing part of its limited resources to such work was also much stronger in 1860 or in 1890 than it is today when so many other agencies are offering lectures of this type.[19]

Here, Harris positions extension lectures as having educational value for people in communities and public relations value for universities—and he implies that extension lectures by university professors became less important over time due to the emergence of alternative sources of information and entertainment. Such an

explanation of the decline of extension lectures as a priority for Canadian universities is logical, but as will be demonstrated in this article, it does not align with the actual history of decisions made by such universities to discontinue their dedication of resources to extension lecturing.

A few studies have narrated the delivery of extension lectures by university professors in Canada. Descriptive accounts of such lectures form part of broader histories of extension units produced via doctoral dissertations about the University of Alberta and Queen's University.[20] There are also first-hand accounts of the experiences of extension lecturers.[21] However, these dissertations and first-hand accounts do not explain why Canadian universities instituted, sustained, and terminated extension lecture services that, from the 1920s through the 1940s, collectively involved hundreds of lectures and tens of thousands of participants annually.[22] Indeed, apart from observations about the rise of radio as a medium of information dissemination and entertainment and increasing workloads relating to teaching and research on the part of university professors, existing scholarship offers little critical analysis of why extension lecture services were discontinued across Canada.[23] The primary contribution of this article to the history of education in Canada is to analyze why Dalhousie University established, sustained for nearly a quarter of a century, and then terminated its extension lecture service. Through doing so, the article explores the genealogy of friendraising at Canadian universities and critically examines those universities' claims about the provision of services to external communities.[24] First, however, the article establishes the basic facts about the history of extension lecturing at Dalhousie.

The Basic Facts: Extension Lectures Organized by Dalhousie University, 1921–1942

As Professor MacMechan's lectures on Tennyson and Shakespeare illustrate, professors at Dalhousie did engage in extension lecturing in the 1800s. However, in 1914, President Arthur Stanley MacKenzie reported that "the University has never been able to provide Extension Lecture Courses as it would like to do were the staff not so overworked. Short courses of lectures have, however, been given at various times under the auspices of the University."[25] MacKenzie described two series of lectures: one organized by Professor David Harris on various topics in the history of physiology, medicine, and evolution in autumn 1912; and another delivered by Professor MacMechan on the history of Nova Scotia in winter 1914. Both were comprised of six lectures delivered in Halifax, and both donated their proceeds to the Dalhousie Alumnae Association. Between November 1914 and February 1916, Dalhousie professors delivered three series of public lectures: one on Nietzsche and the ideas of modern Germany, one on ancient Greece, and one on human psychology.[26]

While these activities indicate that public lectures were part of the institutional culture at Dalhousie by the early 1900s, it was not until 1921 that the university developed a systematic approach to organizing extension lectures. On October 10, 1921, Harold Murray, professor of classics and secretary of the Dalhousie Senate,

wrote that "in accordance with the motion passed by Senate at its last meeting, the President has named the following members of the Senate as a Committee to consider the matter of university extension and extra-mural work."[27] In addition to President Mackenzie, the inaugural members of the Extension Committee were Bishop Hunt (Commerce), Archibald MacMechan (English), Henry Munro (Political Science), and George Wilson (History). With Munro as chairperson, the committee set to work organizing forty-nine lectures that were delivered in Halifax and twelve other communities from January through March 1922.[28] Figure 1 provides the names and the departmental affiliation of each of the lecturers, along with the number and titles of the lectures they delivered in 1922.

Figure 1. Dalhousie's Extension Lecturers and Lectures, 1922

Lecturer (number of lectures delivered)	Department	Titles of Lectures
James Dawson (3)	Biology	Evolution; Being Well Born
Robert Dawson (4)	Economics	English Banking System; English Trade Unionism
David Harris (6)	Physiology	Circulation of Blood; Influence of Italian Thought
Bishop Hunt (5)	Commerce	Business and Education; Federal Reserve System
John Johnstone (3)	Physics	Atoms, Molecules, Electrons; The Smallest Things
Archibald MacMechan (8)	English	Canadian Literature; Poetry of Kipling
Donald MacRae (3)	Law	Canadian Bank Act; Common Law
Charles Mercer (1)	Languages	A Visit to Spain
Henry Munro (6)	Political Science	British Foreign Policy; Disarmament; International Relations
Edward Nichols (3)	Classics	How We Talk; Scholarship: What Is It?
Herbert Stewart (5)	Philosophy	Public Opinion; On Reading; Instinct vs. Reason
George Wilson (2)	History	International Trade; Lord Metcalfe and Responsible Government

In the subsequent years, the professors identified in Figure 1 continued delivering extension lectures, with Munro and Stewart being the most prolific lecturers. Other professors, including Charles Bennet (English), Norman Symons (Psychology), and James Falconer (Archaeology), became active extension lecturers in the mid-1920s. Overall, from 1922 through 1929, Dalhousie professors delivered an average of thirty-four extension lectures annually. Although attendance figures for individual lectures were not preserved, estimated aggregate attendance at extension lectures was 5,000 people in 1923.[29] Financial constraints during the Great Depression—at the university and among organizations who sponsored the lectures in communities—led to a hiatus in the Dalhousie extension lecture service during the first half of the 1930s.

From 1935 through 1939 the number of extension lectures rebounded to an annual average of fifty-six. During these years, Dalhousie took a thematic approach to its extension lectures, publicizing six substantive areas: education and psychology; history; literature; politics and current events; science; and travel. Figure 2 identifies those professors who gave extension lectures in at least two years between 1936 and 1939, along with their departmental affiliations and titles of selected lectures.

Figure 2. Dalhousie's Most Active Extension Lecturers, 1936–1939

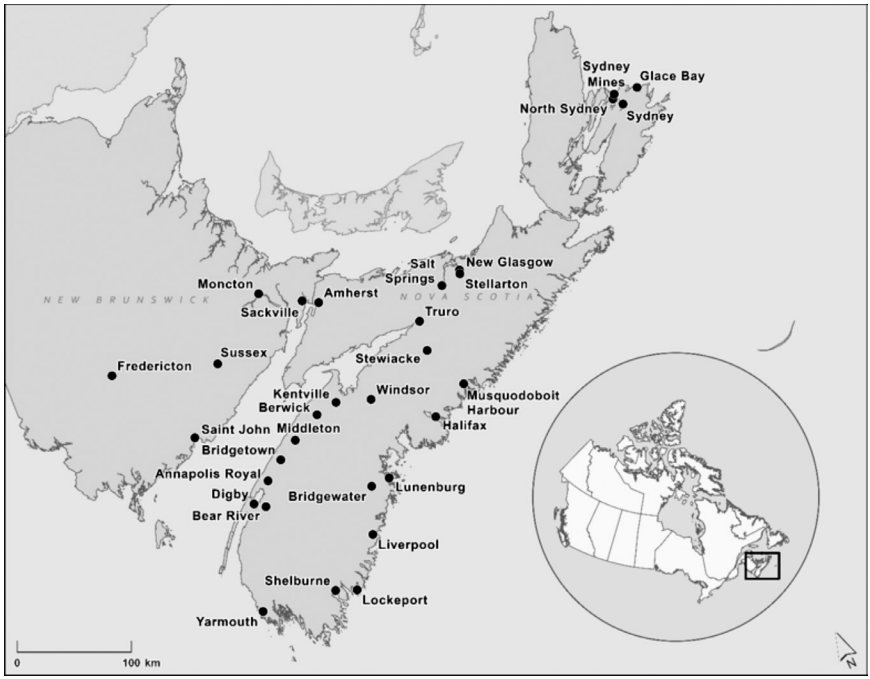
Lecturer (with number of years of active lecturing)	Department	Titles of Selected Lectures
John Adshead (4)	Mathematics	Czechoslovakia; The Passion Play at Oberammergau
Charles Bennet (2)	English	How to Write; The Bible as Literature; New Zealand
George Curtis (3)	Law	Current International Affairs; Law in Daily Life
George Douglas (4)	Geology	Geological Views of Evolution; The Geology of Canada
B. A. Fletcher (4)	Education	Parents and Children; British Ideas in Education
John Johnstone (2)	Physics	Earthquakes; The Sun
Vincent MacDonald (4)	Law	The Canadian Constitution Today; Motorists and the Law
Charles Mercer (2)	Languages	Spain and Portugal; Geneva and the League of Nations
Lothar Richter (2)	German	Canada's Unemployment Problem; Germany's Economy
Herbert Stewart (4)	Philosophy	G. K. Chesterton; Japan and Problems of the Far East
George Wilson (3)	History	Background of the Spanish Civil War; A Trip to Russia

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate that in the 1920s and the later 1930s Dalhousie University organized a wide range of extension lectures. The extension lecture service continued during the Second World War, but the number of lectures declined substantially and the archival record for the years after 1942 does not provide details regarding the lectures that were delivered.[30]

In addition to covering a diverse range of topics, Dalhousie's extension lecture service served a substantial geographical area — sending professors across Nova Scotia and into neighbouring provinces. In the twenty years in which Dalhousie University organized extension lectures, forty-seven communities outside of Halifax hosted such lectures. Figure 3 identifies the places in which Dalhousie professors delivered extension lectures in at least two years.

For nearly a quarter century, Dalhousie organized an extension lecture service that provided a diverse range of lectures to a widely distributed set of communities. Communities that hosted extension lectures in at least seven years were Bridgetown, Sydney, Windsor, Glace Bay, Bridgewater, and Saint John. With these basic facts established, this article now briefly reconstructs the administrative processes through

Figure 3.
Communities Hosting Extension Lectures in at least Two Years, 1921–1942



Source: Map produced by Renna Truong, University of Calgary Libraries and Cultural Resources.

which the university worked with community-based organizations to deliver these lectures. It then explains why the university launched and sustained an extension lecture service, and finally analyzes why that service was terminated in the mid-1940s.

The Process: Administering Extension Lectures

On November 3, 1922, Hunt sent the following letter to numerous professors at Dalhousie: "The Committee on Extension requests that you send the Secretary, Professor B. C. Hunt … a memorandum of suitable topics for extension lectures which you would be willing to give during the coming winter. The matter should be given immediate attention."[31] Similar letters launched annual cycles of extension lecturing throughout the 1920s. In the second half of the 1930s, such letters were sent by President Carleton Stanley. On September 19, 1935, Stanley wrote a letter to "those members of the staff likely to be interested in extension lectures" that described the value of extension lectures to Dalhousie and its external community, and then told the professors: "It will help in arranging matters if you can let me know, early, the titles of lectures that you will be able to offer during the coming term."[32]

In the early 1940s, comparable requests were sent to Dalhousie professors by Alex Mowat, professor of education.[33]

Each autumn, based upon responses received from professors to such letters, the Extension Committee (in the 1920s) and the Office of the President (in the 1930s and 1940s) assembled a list of extension lecturers and the titles of the extension lectures that they were willing to deliver.[34] Such lists were disseminated in two main ways. First, they were compiled into advertisements placed in October or November each year into Halifax-based newspapers such as the *Chronicle*, the *Herald*, the *Mail*, and the *Star*.[35] Second, they were included as appendices to letters sent to organizations that had expressed interest in hosting one or more lectures. For example, in December 1924, Hunt sent such letters to the University Women's Club of St. John, NB, the Bridgewater Chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Women's Institutes of Bear River and Lockeport, the School Board of Middleton, the Young Men's Christian Associations of Yarmouth and Sydney, the Amherst Teachers' Association, and the Methodist Church of Windsor.[36] Such organizations subsequently worked with administrators at Dalhousie to select and schedule lecturers and lectures.

Financial arrangements for Dalhousie extension lectures were straightforward and were explained in a letter from MacKenzie to Dr. Hamilton Vigle, the principal of Mount Allison Ladies' College in Sackville, NB, in 1924.[37] MacKenzie explained that local organizations hosting extension lectures were responsible for paying the lecturers' travelling expenses and an honorarium of ten dollars. He explained the process as follows: "Some club or guild or organization in a town gets up and finances a course of lectures. They sell the tickets and charge what they please for them. They usually make money for some philanthropic, charitable or church purposes."[38] In some cases, travelling expenses for the lecturers were shared by organizations located in such a way that lecturers could make a small circuit of lectures on a single trip. For the local organizations, hosting extension lectures was an opportunity for revenue generation, if income from ticket sales exceeded the costs of hosting the lecturer. For Dalhousie, the extension lecture service involved modest out-of-pocket costs, since the work of organizing and delivering the lectures was undertaken by members of staff already employed on a full-time basis by the university.

The Rationale: Extension Lectures as Friendraising

Why did Dalhousie University establish an Extension Committee in 1921 and deliver for the subsequent quarter of a century a substantial number of extension lectures across Nova Scotia and beyond? The direct reason was that President MacKenzie was asked to do so by Dugald Macgillivray, superintendent of the Maritime and Newfoundland branches of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. In September 1921, Macgillivray wrote to Mackenzie:

> I have been wondering if the University staffs would now be able to carry through moderate University Extension Courses, to commence in January, in

> a few of the leading Provincial towns, such as Sydney, North Sydney, New Glasgow, Pictou, Amherst, Truro, Yarmouth, Bridgewater.… If such is practicable I might be of some assistance in getting the Courses organized in the several towns.[39]

Macgillivray—who later served on the Dalhousie Board of Governors—provided specific suggestions regarding topics that various professors might address in their lectures, and he concluded his letter by stating "if anything is to be done it should be done promptly, and the fact announced, so as to keep the field clear." MacKenzie replied just two weeks later, confirming that an Extension Committee had been appointed by the Dalhousie Senate and stating that "Professor Munro will act as Convenor of the Committee to take up the matter with you."[40]

The broader context for MacKenzie's prompt and positive reply to Macgillivray's request was that Dalhousie University had launched a fundraising campaign in 1920 led by General Manager G. Fred Pearson. Pearson described Dalhousie as a "non-denominational … democratic non-sectarian University fitted by one hundred years of proved public service to minister to the higher educational needs of the million people of the Atlantic Provinces."[41] Pearson noted that the cost of educating students at Dalhousie was substantially greater than the fees paid to the university by those students, and claimed:

> Dalhousie receives no financial grants from the Province. She depends upon the gifts of private citizens to make it possible for her to carry on. It is as much the duty of a citizen to support Dalhousie, as it is his duty to pay taxes, observe the laws or help the poor.[42]

Public lectures had been used as a fundraising strategy at Dalhousie in the decade prior to the campaign managed by Pearson. The public lecture series organized in 1912 and 1914 by professors Harris and MacMechan raised funds for the construction of a women's residence, as did the 1915 lecture series on ancient Greece and the 1916 lecture series on human psychology.[43] However, the extension lecture service organized by Dalhousie between 1921 and 1945 did not raise funds for the university; revenues that were generated by the sale of tickets for the lectures were retained by the local organizations hosting the lectures. Rather, extension lecturing raised friends for the university.

The friendraising role of extension lectures was acknowledged by Dalhousie administrators. In 1935, President Stanley wrote to his academic staff members:

> The Extension Lectures given by members of the University Staff in the Maritime Provinces last year were a considerable success. We owe, I think, a duty to the community in this regard, and that is what we should keep chiefly in mind. But it need hardly be said that the University needs friends, and this is an excellent way to make them.[44]

In this era, seeing extension lectures as a friendraising strategy was not unique to Dalhousie. In 1939, Henry Cody, president of the University of Toronto, praised the evening courses and extension lectures organized by his university's Department of University Extension and Publicity, and claimed:

> The University is making through this channel a fine contribution to the educational life of the Province. No longer are institutions of higher learning remote from the general life of the community; they are constantly ministering to that life, and on the university standard of instruction are meeting various public needs as these arise. Through these classes, the university is making and keeping new friends who appreciate the service given them.[45]

Stanley and Cody recognized that extension lectures helped cultivate positive relationships with people whose support might benefit the university in various ways.

The End of the Line: Understanding the Termination of Dalhousie Extension Lectures

While the origins of, and the institutional rationale for, the Dalhousie extension lecture service were straightforward, the demise of that service in the mid-1940s reflected a complex array of circumstances and decisions. During the second half of the 1930s, extension lectures became a prominent component of the relationship between Dalhousie and communities across the Maritime provinces. In 1935, Stanley described the warm reception with which the relaunching of the extension lecture service was greeted:

> Last autumn, the University announced that a programme of some twenty-five Extension Lectures, prepared by members of the Faculties on a variety of subjects — history, literature, politics and government, science, travel — was ready for extra-mural delivery during the winter of 1934–35. This opportunity was eagerly embraced by groups in various centres throughout the provinces.[46]

In 1936, Stanley described the large number and diversity of extension lectures delivered and observed:

> It is to be regretted that the lack of facilities for winter travel made it impossible to visit the more rural portions of the province, from which came many urgent requests, and where the need is, possibly, the greatest. Interest in extra-mural work of this kind has grown rapidly during the past year, and the demand for and appreciation of these lectures has shown that there is great scope for development along these lines on the part of the University throughout the Maritime Provinces.[47]

In 1937, Stanley offered the following assessment of the reception that had been given to Dalhousie extension lecturers across the Maritimes.

> In every case, the speaker found a cordial welcome, gracious hospitality, and an interested audience which frequently overflowed the lecture hall, from which conclusion may be drawn that the Extension Lecture Course has established itself as a definitely welcome and helpful aid to adult education in these provinces.[48]

That same year, in a memorandum distributed to full-time academic staff at Dalhousie, Stanley praised the extension lecturers and lauded their importance to communities: "I am sure that all that have been engaged in Extension Lectures during the past year have heard, as I have done, the most gratifying remarks on the excellence of the work and its usefulness to the community."[49] In 1939, Stanley claimed that the extension lecture service could be greatly expanded and improved if financial support were available:

> The session of 1938–39 has been the most successful, in many ways, in the history of our extension work; there is an increasing demand yearly in the Maritime Provinces for this service, and if adequate funds were available to carry out its plans, a far more comprehensive and efficient programme could be undertaken.[50]

From the number of extension lectures delivered, and from the prominence given to such lectures in the annual reports of Dalhousie University's president, it is clear that the extension lecture service had been institutionalized and reflected significant demand on the part of people in many communities from which Dalhousie drew most of its students. How then did that service disappear within a few years?

The impact of the Second World War curtailed the number of extension lectures delivered in the early 1940s. Stanley described this impact in his annual report for 1939–40.

> War had been declared about a month before the session opened in October, and, in consequence, several of the professors had been called up for service; others had undertaken extra work of various kinds, so that due to lack of lecturers, the programme of extension work for the winter of 1939–40 had to be considerably curtailed. Paradoxically enough, however, requests for lectures were received in greater numbers than ever before, interest in world affairs evidently being greatly stimulated in all communities by reason of the war, and it is to be greatly regretted that the demand could not be met fully.[51]

Given ongoing demand from communities, Stanley believed that the curtailing of the extension lecture service would be short-lived: "Although the repercussions of war have had a minimizing effect temporarily upon extension work, its value to the community remains, ready to be expanded again in a happier future."[52] In 1941 and 1942, Stanley again reported that the number of extension lectures had decreased and argued that the practical needs of the war effort had reduced both the supply of

lecturers and the demand from communities.[53] After 1942, however, Stanley did not mention extension lectures in his annual reports. Furthermore, Stanley's successor as Dalhousie president, Alexander Kerr, did not mention extension lectures in the report he gave for the years from 1945 through 1950.[54]

Rather than bounce back, as Stanley had expected in the early 1940s, extension lecturing simply disappeared from institutional life at Dalhousie after 1945. Despite the growth of alternative forms of education and entertainment, such as radio and moving pictures, it is unlikely that the cessation of demand from people in communities would have explained this development. Indeed, in the second half of the 1940s, the University of British Columbia reported delivering an annual average of 566 extension lectures to aggregate audiences averaging over 56,000 people; in these years, the University of Alberta reported delivering an annual average of 171 extension lectures to aggregate audiences averaging over 44,000 people.[55] It is highly unlikely that demand for extension lectures would have remained so robust in the westernmost provinces and yet collapsed entirely in the Maritime provinces during these years. Rather, the demise of the extension lecture service at Dalhousie was driven by institutional factors that compelled professors and senior administrators to decide to no longer engage in extension lecturing.

Financial constraints were prominent among these institutional factors. Dalhousie received very little public funding in the 1930s and 1940s (most of which was earmarked for the faculties of medicine and dentistry) and so relied upon student fees and philanthropic donations for financial resources. Kerr wrote that "it can be said without hesitation that more funds than are at present in sight will be required if we are to maintain our high standard of scholarship and adequately serve the needs of the Maritime community."[56] The absence of taxpayer support for Dalhousie contrasted with that provided to the three Canadian universities maintaining the largest extension lecture services in the 1940s. The University of British Columbia received an annual operating grant from the provincial government that increased from $425,000 in 1940–41 to $1.75 million in 1950–51.[57] At the University of Alberta, the Department of Extension received an annual grant from the provincial government that grew from $28,000 in 1940–41 to $90,000 in 1955–56.[58] The University of Toronto received annual government grants that grew from $1.5 million in 1940–41 to $1.8 million in 1945–46.[59] Public support for these universities provided them with a greater degree of flexibility in dedicating resources to activities that were not directly related to generating tuition revenues and an additional motivation to engage in direct contact with large numbers of citizens: that of nurturing political capital with provincial government decision-makers keen to see their universities perceived as useful to the tax-paying public at large. At Dalhousie, in the absence of tax-payer support, the extension lecture service eventually became subject to a more stringent cost-benefit analysis.[60]

At Dalhousie, the extension lecture service was conceived as a means of raising friends for the university—friends who would become sources of funds either through sending their children to attend the university or making donations to the university. However, that service also came with costs, as Stanley noted in 1935 in a letter describing the extension lecture service:

> As can be imagined all this work entails a great deal of labour on the part of Dalhousie professors and a very considerable correspondence and office work. The University has no endowment for such purposes and freely gives its services to any community in the Maritime Provinces which will pay the travelling expenses of the lecturers. Many communities have been most appreciative, and the rich diversity of the intellectual interests, dealt with by the combined staffs of the many faculties of the University and of King's College, has been very generally remarked.[61]

While Stanley positioned such work as an investment in friendraising, financial constraints in the 1930s changed one of the arrangements that had made extension lecturing attractive to professors at Dalhousie. The ten-dollar honorarium that had been paid to extension lecturers by local organizations prior to the Great Depression was paid from 1935 through early 1939 directly by the university.[62] Beginning in autumn 1939, Dalhousie stopped paying that honorarium.[63] Local organizations continued paying professors' travel expenses, but the professors no longer received a cash payment for delivering lectures.[64]

The absence of honoraria for extension lecturing likely exacerbated another key factor in the demise of the extension lecture service: the reticence of professors to engage in extension lecturing. Such reticence can be inferred from a memorandum sent by Stanley to his academic staff in 1938. The purpose of this memorandum was to ask professors to identify the extension lectures that they would be willing to deliver in the 1938–39 academic year. Stanley explicitly recognized the time constraints facing his academic staff: "I wish to thank all concerned for their thoughtful attention and diligent pains. I know that every teacher in Dalhousie is already fully occupied with work in classrooms and laboratories."[65] He argued that some of those who had previously engaged in extension lecturing "have found on the whole that these outside experiences have been valuable to themselves in many ways." He went on to state:

> My own belief is that all university teachers, with few exceptions, experience a quickening by having occasionally to face such a composite audience as an extension lecturer meets. And most of us, however specialised in our subjects, soon accumulate mental material—stray thoughts on books and authors, on schools, politics, and life generally—which for our own sakes ought to be "worked off." It's a good thing to be obliged to hammer these thoughts out, and to find whether they are just maggots in the brain or whether they bring a response from others.

Following this statement about the value of extension lecturing for the lecturers themselves, Stanley engaged in moral suasion to encourage more members of his academic staff to volunteer as lecturers:

> of recent years, the task has fallen on too few. I have heard no complaints from any of the lecturers; but it is conceivable to me that some are being overworked.

> At any rate, I am certain that the audiences that have been built up would welcome some fresh voices. May I once again thank you, and ask that you consider the possibilities for the session 1938–39?

Stanley's memorandum implies that, even during the period in which Dalhousie was paying its professors a ten-dollar bonus for each extension lecture, it was a challenge to convince those professors to give such lectures.

This challenge would likely have increased once the honorarium was removed from the incentive given to professors for extension lecturing. One indicator of the scope of this challenge was the low rate of participation of professors in the extension lecture service in the early 1940s. In autumn 1941, Mowat wrote to twenty-eight professors, inviting them to respond with the titles of the extension lectures that they were "prepared to offer this year."[66] Just twelve professors (including Mowat) were subsequently identified on the list of extension lectures offered in 1941–42, meaning that three-fifths of the professoriate declined to participate.[67] In the second half of the 1940s, the reticence of professors to engage in extension lectures was compounded by a dramatic rise in the enrolment of full-time students at Dalhousie. Enrolments at Dalhousie grew from 400 or less in the 1910s to nearly 1,000 in the early 1930s, before declining to less than 700 during the Second World War. At the end of the war, returning service personnel enrolled in large numbers, resulting in an unprecedented boom in the number of full-time students—with overall enrolments surpassing 1,800 in 1948.[68] Rising enrolments undoubtedly contributed to the lack of institutional interest in extension lectures—both due to the administrative attention required to manage such growth and due to the lack of time of professors to engage in activities other than teaching such unprecedented numbers of students.[69]

The final institutional factor leading to the demise of the extension lecture service at Dalhousie was its strong association with President Stanley. Prior to the Great Depression, the Senate Committee on Extension led and managed the extension lecture service. In the mid-1930s, President Stanley revived extension lecturing, but not the Extension Committee. Stanley personally solicited the participation of Dalhousie professors as extension lecturers. A secretary in his office undertook the correspondence with local organizations necessary to selecting and scheduling the lectures. For a decade, Stanley referred prominently to extension lectures in his annual reports, consistently expressing his belief in the importance of the lectures and their value for the communities served by Dalhousie. Ordinarily, this strong level of presidential support would be associated with the institutional sustainability of a program. However, unfortunately for the extension lecture service, Stanley became the focus of significant conflict at Dalhousie in the mid-1940s, and he was forced to resign by the Board of Governors in January 1945.[70] The close association of Stanley with the extension lecture service likely contributed to the lack of willingness of his successor (along with his former colleagues) to champion that service as he had done.

In short, extension lecturing came to an end at Dalhousie in the mid-1940s due in part to the impact of the war and its aftermath, in part to financial and human resource constraints within which that relatively small, private university operated,

and in part due to the toxic association that the activity had with a president who was forced out of office.

Conclusions

Between 1921 and 1945, Dalhousie University organized an extension lecture service through which dozens of professors visited dozens of communities to lecture upon wide-ranging subjects in the humanities, natural and social sciences, and current events. Each year, apart from several during the Great Depression, Dalhousie advertised a list of lectures that its professors were willing to make at communities across the Maritime provinces. Each lecture was organized in collaboration with a local organization that covered the lecturer's travel expenses, paid (until the Great Depression) a ten-dollar honorarium to the lecturer, and typically generated a profit by charging admission for the lecture. While Dalhousie professors had engaged in some off-campus lecturing since at least 1890, the establishment of a Senate Committee on Extension in 1921 was sparked by a request from a prominent banker. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, extension lecturing was operated as a form of cost-recovery friendraising for the institution. Over the course of the early 1940s, the extension lecture service lost momentum and was eventually terminated, partly due to wartime conditions and partly due to financial constraints and institutional politics.

For the history of adult and higher education in Canada, this article makes three basic contributions. First, it preserves a significant chapter in the engagement of universities with the provision of services to adults not enrolled as students. That chapter has been neglected by historians of education, even though extension lecturing involved far more Canadians than did on-campus instruction over the first half of the twentieth century. Second, this article highlights an antecedent of the contemporary concept of friendraising, revealing an interesting component of the lengthy history of public relations work at Canadian universities. Third, and perhaps most importantly in an era in which universities are engaged in a variety of efforts to connect with off-campus communities,[71] this article shows that forms of university-community engagement may evolve for reasons quite remote from the material interests or educational needs of those living in such communities. Extension lecturing through Dalhousie emerged and was sustained as a strategy of friendraising; it disappeared not because the communities who had hosted extension lecturers suddenly had no interest in them, but rather because resource constraints, competing priorities, and institutional politics made such lecturing unappealing to administrators and professors alike.

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Notes

1 Archibald MacMechan, "Lecture 1," Lectures on Shakespeare, delivered in the School for the Blind, Halifax, October 4, 1892, 2–3, Archibald MacMechan Fonds MS-2-82, box 38, folders 14–15, Dalhousie University Archives (hereafter DUA).

2 For details regarding MacMechan's literary work, see Janet Baker, *Archibald MacMechan: Canadian Man of Letters* (Roseway Publishing, 2000).

3 *Shakespeare,* brochure dated September 7, 1892, Dalhousie College Extension, Archibald MacMechan Fonds MS-2-82, box 38, folders 14–15, DUA.

4 Archibald MacMechan, "Lecture 19," Lectures on Shakespeare, delivered in the School for the Blind, Halifax, February 28, 1893, 14, Archibald MacMechan Fonds MS-2-82, box 38, folders 14–15, DUA.

5 Archibald MacMechan, Eleven Lectures on Tennyson, delivered January 10 through March 28, 1890, Archibald MacMechan Fonds, MS-2-82, box 23, folder 14, DUA.

6 George James, "What Is University Extension?" *University Extension* 1 (1891): 55.

7 Canadian University Extension Association, *Bulletin 1* (CUEA, 1892), 2.

8 For a synopsis of the failure of the university extension movement to launch in Canada, see T. J. MacLaughlin, "University Extension in Canada," *University Extension* 3 (1894): 309–17. For synopses of the rise and fall of the movement in the United States, see John Morton, *University Extension in the United States* (University of Alabama Press, 1953) and Charles Van Hise, "The University Extension Function in the Modern University," *Proceedings of the First National University Extension Conference* (University Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, 1915). For first-hand accounts of the movement in the US, see the journal *University Extension,* published monthly by the ASEUT from 1891 through 1894.

9 The term friendraising is used by university administrators in a manner equivalent to the term fundraising. The difference is that, rather than raising funds, the university is building relationships with people who support the institution, who may later become donors or students, or who may later send their children to the institution or support the institution's lobbying efforts.

10 For accounts of the British origins of the extension lecture movement, see John Burrows, *University Adult Education in London: A Century of Achievement* (University of London, 1976); Norman Jepson, *The Beginnings of English University Adult Education: Policy and Problems* (Michael Joseph, 1973); and Alexandra Lawrie, *The Beginnings of University English: Extramural Study, 1885–1910* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

11 Van Hise, "The University Extension Function," 11.

12 Van Hise, "The University Extension Function," 14–21.

13 For accounts of the growth of extension work based on the model provided by the University of Wisconsin, see Morton, *University Extension in the United States*; David Portman, *The Universities and the Public: A History of Higher Adult Education in the United States* (Nelson-Hall, 1978); Theodore Shannon and Clarence Shoenfeld, *University Extension* (Center for Applied Research in Education, 1965); Alfred True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785–1925* (United States Department of Agriculture, 1929); and George Woytanowitz, *University Extension: The Early Years in the United States, 1885–1915* (National University Extension Association, 1974).

14 Woytanowitz, *University Extension*, 150–51.

15 Harold Stubblefield and Patrick Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (Jossey-Bass, 1994).

16 See John Scott, "The Chautauqua Movement: Revolution in Popular Higher Education," *Journal of Higher Education* 70, no. 4 (1999): 389–412; Willis Moreland and Erwin Goldenstein, *Pioneers in Adult Education* (Nelson-Hall, 1985). See also Stubblefield and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*; and Portman, *The Universities and the Public*.

17 Edward Corbett, *University Extension in Canada* (Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1952); James Kidd, *Adult Education in the Canadian University* (Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1956); James Kidd, ed., *Adult Education in Canada* (Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950).

18 For an example of historical scholarship that addresses the Wisconsin idea and part-time studies models of extension but neglects the role of extension lecturing, see Michael Welton, *Unearthing Canada's Hidden Past: A Short History of Adult Education* (Thompson, 2013). Detailed studies of extension at individual universities likewise neglect the role of extension lecturing. For studies of the Wisconsin model of extension in Canada, see Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today* (Thompson, 1997); Barbara Cormack, *Beyond the Classroom: The First 60 Years of the University of Alberta Department of Extension* (Faculty of Extension, University of Alberta, 1981); Lorne Paul, *Extension at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1910–70: A History* (University of Saskatchewan, 1979). For accounts of Wisconsin-style university extension in Canada, see Scott McLean, *Reaching Out into the World: A History of Extension at the University of Saskatchewan, 1910–2007* (University Extension Press, 2007); Scott McLean, "University Extension and Social Change: Positioning a 'University of the People' in Saskatchewan," *Adult Education Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2007): 3–21; Scott McLean, "A Work Second to None: Positioning Extension at the University of Alberta, 1912–1975," *Studies in the Education of Adults* 39, no. 1 (2007): 77–91; Scott McLean, "Sacrificial Lambs and Rallying Cries: The Politics of Adult Education at the University of Manitoba, 1907–1949," *Adult Education Quarterly*, doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/07417136241308219; Scott McLean and Eric Damer, *Transformations: A History of UBC Continuing Studies* (University of British Columbia, 2012); Scott McLean, "No 'Haughty and Inaccessible Ivory Tower': Laval University and Adult Education, 1930–1965," *Canadian Journal of Education* 46, no. 2 (2023): 441–71; Scott McLean, "Building a Better and a Sounder Newfoundland? Reassessing the History of University Extension, 1959–1991, *Canadian Historical Review* (in press); Gordon Selman, *A History of Fifty Years of Extension Service by the University of British Columbia* (Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1966); Jeff Webb, "The Rise and Fall of Memorial University's Extension Service, 1959–91," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 29, no. 1 (2014): 84–116; Michael Welton, "Pioneers and Progressive Pedagogues: Carrying the University to the People of Saskatchewan, 1905–1928," *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* 17, no. 2 (2003): 59–83. For studies of the history of course provision through extension services at Canadian universities, see Scott McLean, "Essor, chute, puis renaissance des études à temps partiel pour adultes à l'Université de Montréal," *Revue canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire* 37, no. 1 (2011): 1–16; Scott McLean, "Champions of Democracy or Agents of Professionalization? The Extension Era at the Universities of Toronto, Queen's, and McMaster," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 60, no. 4 (2023): 646–67; Scott McLean, *Democratizing Access to Higher Education: The Extension Era at McMaster University* (McMaster Continuing Education, 2023); Scott McLean, "From Missionary Zeal to Holiday Appeal: Summer School, Professionalization, and Teachers in Canada, 1915–1959," *History of Education Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2024): 242–69; Scott McLean and Heather Rollwagen, "Educational Expansion or Credential Inflation? The Evolution of Part-time Study by Adults at McGill University, Canada," *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 29, no. 6 (2010): 739–55.

19 Robin Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663–1960* (University of Toronto Press, 1976), 147.

20 Ralph Clark, "A History of the Department of Extension at the University of Alberta, 1912–1956" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1985); Edward Dunlop, "The Development of Extension Education at Queen's University, 1889–1945" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1981).

21 Edward Corbett, *We Have with Us Tonight* (Ryerson Press, 1957); Edmund Broadus, "Small Beginnings," in James Kidd, ed., *Learning and Society* (Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1963), 45–51.

22 Note that the universities delivering the largest numbers of extension lectures over these decades were those of British Columbia, Alberta, Toronto, Manitoba, McGill, and Dalhousie. For details, see Scott McLean, "Discovering Adult Education at McGill University and the University of British Columbia," *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* 22, no. 1 (2009): 1–20; Scott McLean, "Plumbing the University of Toronto: William James Dunlop and the History of Adult Education in Canada," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 34, no. 2 (2022): 22–46; Scott McLean, "Cultural Distinction and the University of Toronto: Constructing Symbolic Boundaries of Social Class in Canada, 1894–1950," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 58, no. 1 (2024): 129–58; McLean, "Sacrificial Lambs."

23 One exception is McLean, "Sacrificial Lambs," which argues that the University of Manitoba terminated its extension lecture service in 1933 due in part to financial constraints during the Great Depression and in part to a strategic decision made by the institution's president to terminate extension lecturing as part of a campaign to pressure the provincial government for increased financial support.

24 This article focusses on Dalhousie because its institutional archives have preserved a rich collection of materials offering insights into the content and location of extension lectures, the process through which such lectures were organized, and the institutional rationale for the delivery of such lectures.

25 Arthur Stanley MacKenzie, *Annual Report of the President of Dalhousie University, 1913–14* (Dalhousie University, 1914), 14–15, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 4, DUA.

26 Arthur Stanley MacKenzie, *Annual Report of the President of Dalhousie University, 1914–15* (Dalhousie University, 1915), 12–13; and *Annual Report of the President of Dalhousie University, 1915–16* (Dalhousie University, 1916), 12, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 4, DUA.

27 Harold Murray, memorandum to Professor Bishop Hunt, October 10, 1921, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.

28 Bishop Hunt, *Report on Extension 1922–23*; report submitted October 23, 2023, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.

29 Bishop Hunt, *Extension Lectures 1921–22;* report submitted May 15, 2022, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.

30 Extension lectures offered by Dalhousie in 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1945 are documented in promotional memoranda. However, after 1942 there are no surviving records containing the names of active lecturers, the titles of lectures delivered, or the number of lectures delivered, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA. After 1945, there is no record that extension lecturing was organized through Dalhousie University.

31 Bishop Hunt, memorandum dated November 3, 2022; note that a similar memorandum was sent October 28, 1924, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.

32 Carleton Stanley, memorandum dated September 19, 1935; note that similar memoranda were sent on October 2, 1936, September 13, 1937, and July 15, 1938, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.

33 Alex Mowat, memorandum dated September 21, 1940. In his request, Mowat explained: "I have been asked to take charge of arrangements for the Extension Lectures this year, and solicit the cooperation of all concerned in making a success of the work." Note that a similar memorandum was sent on October 15, 1941, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.

34 From 1935 through 1939, the work of compiling the list of lecturers and lectures and managing requests from community-based organizations for the delivery of lectures was undertaken by Mrs. W. L. Maclean. From 1940 through 1945, such work was done by Miss Helen Balcom; President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
35 Archival holdings at Dalhousie include advertisements placed in October or November in 1922, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1942; President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10 and President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
36 Bishop Hunt, letters to Miss Lucy Smith, Mrs. Olive Robertson, Miss Arnie Robertson, Mr. S. H. Morrison, Mrs. A. B. Marshall, Mr. John MacNeil, Mr. E. D. McKnight, Miss Alice Holman, Reverand F. E. Barrett, Mr. W. O. Bell, all dated December 17, 1924, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.
37 Arthur Stanley MacKenzie to Hamilton Vigle, February 23, 1924, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.
38 MacKenzie to Vigle.
39 Dugald Macgillivray to MacKenzie, September 28, 1921, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.
40 (Anonymous) Secretary to President MacKenzie to D. Macgillivray, October 13, 1921, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 315, folder 10, DUA.
41 G. Fred Pearson, "Dalhousie: A Great National Asset," *Journal of Education (Being the Semi-Annual Supplement to the Report of the Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia)* 10 (Third Series), no. 1 (1920): 199–201, 199.
42 Pearson, "Dalhousie: A Great National Asset," 200.
43 Arthur Stanley MacKenzie, *Annual Reports*: 1913–14, 14–15; 1914–15, 12–13; 1915–16, 12, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 4, DUA.
44 Carleton Stanley, memorandum dated September 19, 1935, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
45 Henry Cody, *President's Report of the University of Toronto for the Year Ending June 30th, 1939* (University of Toronto, 1939), 10.
46 Carleton Stanley, *President's Report for the Year July 1st, 1934–June 30th, 1935* (Dalhousie University, 1935), 5, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 5, DUA.
47 Carleton Stanley, *President's Report for the Year July 1st, 1935–June 30th, 1936* (Dalhousie University, 1936), 9, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 5, DUA.
48 Carleton Stanley, *President's Report for the Year July 1st, 1936–June 30th, 1937* (Dalhousie University, 1937), 14, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 5, DUA.
49 Carleton Stanley, memorandum to Dalhousie professors, September 13, 1937, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
50 Carleton Stanley, *President's Report for the Year July 1st, 1938–June 30th, 1939* (Dalhousie University, 1939), 19, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 5, DUA.
51 Carleton Stanley, *President's Report for the Year July 1st, 1939–June 30th, 1940* (Dalhousie University, 1940), 11, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 6, DUA.
52 Stanley, *President's Report for the Year July 1st, 1939–June 30th, 1940*, 11.
53 Carleton Stanley, *President's Report for the year July 1st, 1940–June 30th, 1941* (Dalhousie University, 1941), 23, and Carleton Stanley, *President's Report for the Year July 1st, 1941–June 30th, 1942* (Dalhousie University, 1942), 24, Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 6, DUA.
54 Alexander Kerr, *President's Report, 1945–1950* (Dalhousie University, 1950).

55 These data are drawn from the annual reports of the president of each university.
56 Alexander Kerr, *President's Report, 1945 1950*, 12.
57 Eric Damer and Herbert Rosengarten, *UBC: The First 100 Years* (University of British Columbia, 2009), 117, 146.
58 Clark, *A History of the Department of Extension at the University of Alberta,* 210, 297.
59 University of Toronto Board of Governors, *Report of the Board of Governors for the Year Ended 30th June 1941* (Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1942), 12; University of Toronto Board of Governors, *Report of the Board of Governors for the Year Ended 30th June 1946* (Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1947), 9.
60 It is important to note that the receipt of provincial government support was not a necessary or sufficient condition for universities to provide extension lecture services. The University of Manitoba, which received significant government grants, terminated its extension lecture service in 1933. McMaster University, due to its status as a denominational (Baptist) institution, received no provincial funding until the late 1950s; it nevertheless maintained a modest but vibrant extension lecture service throughout the 1940s and 1950s. See McLean, "Sacrificial Lambs," and McLean, *Democratizing Access to Higher Education.*
61 Carleton Stanley to Mrs. H. L. Stewart, member of the Local Council of Women, November 21, 1935, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
62 Carleton Stanley, memorandum to full-time members of the academic staff at Dalhousie, July 15, 1938, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
63 Alex Mowat, memorandum to full-time members of the academic staff at Dalhousie, September 21, 1940, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
64 It is important to note that prior to the Depression, community-based organizations hosting extension lectures would regularly profit financially from doing so — by selling tickets to the lectures and gathering funds exceeding the professors' $10 honorarium and travel expenses. Dalhousie University had no share in such profits but rather ran the extension lecture service in a manner intended to recover the direct costs of doing so. Furthermore, while Stanley claimed that the friendraising benefits of extension lecturing exceeded the indirect costs of operating the service, it does not appear that any research was ever conducted to verify that claim. There is no evidence that anyone at Dalhousie measured the indirect financial benefits of extension lecturing — either through funds raised or students enrolled.
65 Carleton Stanley, memorandum to full-time members of the academic staff at Dalhousie, July 15, 1938, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA; note that the subsequent three quotations from Stanley come from the same document.
66 Alex Mowat, memorandum dated October 15, 1941, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA.
67 Helen Balsom, *Dalhousie University Extension Lectures, 1941–1942*, undated document, President's Office Fonds UA-3, box 287, folder 3, DUA. In comparison, in 1922–23, twenty-four Dalhousie professors offered extension lectures. In 1935–36, that number was nineteen.
68 Enrolment figures are reported in the president's reports for 1941–42 and 1945–50. The earlier report is located in Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 6, DUA. The latter report is located in Institute of Public Affairs Fonds UA 26, box 28, folder 1, DUA.
69 One should note that the post-war enrolment boom included the delivery of evening classes. Alex Mowat, who had been responsible for co-ordinating extension lectures in the early 1940s, was appointed director of evening classes in 1944. In the *President's Report for 1944–1945* (Dalhousie University Reference Collection Fonds MS-1-Ref, box 230, folder 6, DUA), Mowat wrote, (6) "During the session, 1944–45, Evening Classes of university calibre were carried on with the co-operation of Canadian Legion

Educational Services. Eleven classes were offered in Economics, Engineering, Drawing, English (two classes), French, Geology, German, Mathematics, Psychology, Spanish, and Surveying; each was taught by a member of the university staff; and each was the full equivalent, both in lecture time and in work required, of the corresponding class given in the regular university schedule. Over 250 students registered, of whom 202 were service men or women." The provision of such evening classes created further constraints on professors' time and other institutional resources available for extension lectures.

70 For a detailed narrative of Stanley's final years at Dalhousie, see chapter 5 ("Firing Carleton Stanley, 1943–1945") in Peter Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University,* vol. 2, *1925–1980: The Old College Transformed* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998). Waite claims that Stanley was fired due to a perception, on the part of the chair and several members of the Board of Governors that there was a "wall of hostility" against Stanley in key constituencies whose support would be essential to the success of a forthcoming fundraising campaign (133). Such hostility, Waite suggests, was rooted in perceptions that Stanley had a dictatorial manner and could be obstinate, egotistical, dishonest, and self-absorbed.

71 Contemporary initiatives at Canadian universities that share some similarities with the extension lecture movement include those known as knowledge mobilization and community engagement. For an overview of initiatives in which numerous universities are involved, see the following: Community-Based Research Canada (https://communityresearchcanada.ca); Research Impact Canada (http://researchimpact.ca); and Community Campus Engage Canada (https://ccecanada.ca).