

Plumbing the University of Toronto: William James Dunlop and the History of Adult Education in Canada

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ABSTRACT

Working as the director of University Extension and Publicity for the University of Toronto from 1920 to 1951, William Dunlop built a large and diverse set of adult education programs, developed an influential discourse of extension, and sustained support for the adult education movement from three university presidents. This article explains the rise of institutional commitment to extension work due to political, financial, and competitive factors and demonstrates that the enduring outcomes of Dunlop's work included programmatic forms through which university extension was delivered and discourses through which extension work was positioned at Canadian universities. Rather than accept the rhetoric of university leaders—that the extension movement was about the democratization of higher education—scholars should recognize that the engagement of universities in extension work was rooted in those institutions' struggles for resources and was implicated in the role of universities as agents in developing new forms of social class relations.

RÉSUMÉ

En tant que Directeur de la vulgarisation et de la promotion universitaires pour l'Université de Toronto de 1920 à 1951, William Dunlop a mis sur pied un ensemble vaste et diversifié de programmes d'éducation des adultes, il a développé un discours influent portant sur la vulgarisation et a maintenu l'appui de trois présidents universitaires au mouvement de l'éducation des adultes. Dans cet article, l'auteur explique l'essor de l'engagement institutionnel en faveur du travail de vulgarisation universitaire à travers les facteurs politiques, financiers et motivés par la concurrence qui l'ont suscité. Il démontre également que les résultats durables du travail de Dunlop incluaient les formes des programmes par lesquels la vulgarisation universitaire se faisait ainsi que les discours par lesquels ce travail de vulgarisation s'élaborait dans les universités canadiennes. Plutôt que d'accepter la rhétorique des dirigeants universitaires—stipulant que ce mouvement de vulgarisation était lié à la démocratisation de l'enseignement supérieur—les chercheurs devraient reconnaître que l'engagement des universités dans le travail de vulgarisation s'enracinait plutôt dans les luttes que ces institutions livraient pour obtenir des ressources et faisait des universités des agentes de développement de nouvelles formes de relations de classe sociale.

<https://doi.org/10.32316/hse-rhe.v34i2.5043>

“Have you ever thought of a university as a fountain of knowledge? It is a rather old simile. In a university, knowledge is dispensed—through teaching. But in a university knowledge is also discovered—through research. That fountain of knowledge is walled in—by academic entrance requirements. University Extension is the system of piping by which the water from the fountain is carried out to those who cannot enter.”

William James Dunlop, 1934¹

Introduction

Through several decades in the twentieth century, William James Dunlop was one of the most influential figures in Canadian adult education. He was the founding director of the Department of University Extension and Publicity at the University of Toronto, which he led from 1920 to 1951. On behalf of the university, he developed policy for, and supervised the activities of, the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) across much of Ontario from 1920 to 1942. In 1935, he was elected founding president of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), and he served on that organization's executive until 1953. During the 1940s, he held leadership positions with Canadian Legion Educational Services, the Community Life Training Institute, and the Universities' Adult Education Board for Ontario. Upon retiring from university duties at the age of seventy, Dunlop became the Ontario minister of education, a position he held for eight years until ill health forced him to definitively retire in 1959.

Prominent scholars in the 1950s recognized Dunlop's contributions to adult education. James (Roby) Kidd noted Dunlop's role in laying the groundwork for the CAAE by expanding the educational work of Canadian universities with working-class and rural people, directing the first national survey of adult education in Canada, and building a large extension program at the University of Toronto.² Dunlop wrote the foreword to Edward Corbett's (1952) *University Extension in Canada*.³ While Dunlop's contemporaries recognized his influence on adult education in Canada, historians today have not.⁴ Existing scholarship does not examine Dunlop's contributions to adult education or assess the extension work of the University of Toronto during Dunlop's tenure.

Scholarly silence regarding Dunlop's work may be explained in part by the fact that published histories of university extension between 1920 and 1950 focus on rural initiatives. There are studies of the Antigonish Movement facilitated by St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia⁵ and of the rural extension work inaugurated by the University of Saskatchewan in 1910 and the University of Alberta in 1912.⁶ However, even though over half of the Canadian population has resided in urban areas since the 1920s,⁷ few of the published studies of university extension work that took place before 1950 have examined programs oriented towards city-dwellers.⁸ Between 1920 and 1950, far more Canadians participated in university extension programs than enrolled as university students.⁹ The dearth of publications regarding

universities engaged in urban adult education work during this period is a serious gap in historical scholarship.

Through an examination of Dunlop's work during his three decades at the University of Toronto, this article narrates an important chapter in the history of adult education in Canada. Dunlop built a large and diverse set of adult education programs oriented primarily towards urban Canadians. Such programs foreshadowed major strategies through which Canadian universities have since engaged adult students: part-time degree-completion pathways; public lectures; non-credit evening courses; distance education courses; certificate programs in business; and full-time, employment-oriented programs leading to credentials awarded after one or two years of study. Dunlop also developed a distinct vocabulary for speaking about university extension—employing terms such as meeting needs, recovering costs, innovating, incubating programs, and measuring success through enrolments, labour market outcomes, and “friend-raising.”¹⁰ Dunlop's discourse of extension influenced the way universities in Canada positioned adult education within their institutional mandates. Dunlop was also able to sustain strong support from three successive presidents of Canada's largest university for the adult education movement.

This article describes Dunlop's extension work and analyzes both *why* the University of Toronto expanded its engagement with adult education, and *how* Dunlop's discourse influenced subsequent developments at Canadian universities. I explain the growth of institutional commitment to adult education as a result of political influence applied by the Ontario provincial government; a need for robust public relations by universities in the face of significant financial constraints; and competitive pressure exerted on the University of Toronto by the evolving extension work at Queen's University. I explain the outcomes of Dunlop's work through observing the correspondence between the programmatic forms and discourses of extension that he developed at the University of Toronto and subsequent developments at Canadian universities. This article contributes to scholarship about the history of education in Canada by describing an important era of university extension work in Canada's largest city, and explaining the political-economic roots of that work and its influence on broader discourses of extension.

Prologue: Adult Education before Dunlop

Adults have always been part of the University of Toronto student body. As early as 1860, institutional calendars referred to “occasional students” as part-time students who were allowed to attend lectures without being admitted as qualified undergraduates, and who could write examinations and receive “certificates of attendance.”¹¹ Furthermore, in the 1880s, the university expanded to include the School of Practical Science (engineering, applied chemistry, architecture, and mining geology) and the Ontario Agricultural College, both of which had programs oriented towards non-degree students seeking vocational education.¹² However, during the 1890s, the university began serving adults through public lectures open to people not registered as students. In April 1894, the university's senate passed a statute

proclaiming: “a standing committee of seven members of Senate shall be appointed annually for the purpose of carrying on ‘University Extension’ work of a kind similar to that carried on under the same designation in connection with the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.”¹³

Why did the University of Toronto, sixty-seven years after receiving its royal charter as King’s College, announce an intention to engage in the education of people not enrolled as students at the university? In an abstract sense, the desirability of such activity had been demonstrated in Britain, through extension work initiated in the 1870s by Cambridge and Oxford.¹⁴ The British extension movement migrated to North America with the support of an “American Society for the Extension of University Teaching,” established in 1890.¹⁵ More concretely, the University of Toronto expressed a commitment to adult education in the early 1890s due to political, financial, and competitive pressures. Politically, George Ross, the Ontario minister of education, invited representatives of all universities in Ontario to meetings in November 1891 and January 1892.¹⁶ Daniel Wilson, president of the University of Toronto, attended the first meeting but missed the second due to illness. Through these meetings, Edward Blake, chancellor of the University of Toronto, joined his counterparts from McGill, Queen’s, and Laval in establishing the short-lived “Canadian University Extension Association” (CUEA)—an agency dedicated “to bring within reach of the people opportunities of sharing in the benefits of higher education.”¹⁷ The CUEA published a *Bulletin* in May 1892 outlining guidelines and budgetary parameters for a national system of university extension that would involve universities in each province providing lecturers, examining students, and accrediting results. Although this system of university extension never materialized in Canada,¹⁸ the fact that George Ross (who became premier of Ontario in 1899) chaired two meetings of university leaders to encourage them to engage in extension work surely influenced the decision of the University of Toronto to establish the Senate Committee on University Extension.

In addition to political pressure, in the early 1890s, the university faced acute financial challenges. In February 1890, the main University of Toronto building was destroyed by fire. In his 1890–91 annual report, President Wilson documented the extensive work that had been undertaken to restore the building and replenish the library, expressed appreciation for financial support received from provincial legislators and private donors, and concluded, “the authorities of the University will undoubtedly have to contend for some considerable time with difficulties arising from an inadequate income.”¹⁹ In the face of this financial crisis, extension work provided a form of public relations that would appeal to both government representatives and private benefactors. Although democratizing access to higher education may have been one motivation for the university extension movement, maintaining the status of the universities was another. In 1871, James Stuart, pioneer of extension at Cambridge, argued “I believe that some such system which will carry the benefits of the University through the country is necessary, in order to retain the University in that position with respect to the education of the country which it has hitherto held.”²⁰ The public relations benefits of extension would have been recognized by

Wilson, whose convocation address in October 1891 outlined his admiration for the approach to extension taken at Cambridge.²¹

By the late 1880s, Queen's University was engaged in extension work, another factor that influenced the adoption of such work by the University of Toronto. Two initiatives in particular at Queen's threatened Toronto's position as Ontario's "Provincial University." First, from 1891 to 1897, Professors Adam Shortt and James Cappon delivered extension courses on political science and English literature — not in Kingston but in Ottawa. These courses included a series of weekly lectures followed by a written examination of those students desiring certificates.²² In 1893–94, there were about 150 students enrolled in these two courses.²³ Second, Queen's had established a program of correspondence study whereby "extra-mural" students could pursue a bachelor of arts (BA) on a part-time basis at a distance from Kingston.²⁴ In 1889, Queen's stated that extramural students could write examinations for BA courses "without attendance upon classes" as long as they had completed essays and exercises as prescribed by "the Professor of the subject at the dates specified."²⁵ In that year, extramural courses were available in philosophy, political science, history, English, and psychology. By 1894–95, there were sixty-seven extramural students enrolled in arts at Queens — representing over 20 per cent of the student body in arts, and over 12 per cent of the overall student body at Queen's.²⁶ The establishment of the extramural system at Queen's represented competitive pressure for the University of Toronto because schoolteachers — the target audience of that system — were a primary source of enrollment growth for both universities.

In practical terms, the Senate Committee on University Extension accomplished little in its early years. It delivered neither extension courses nor extramural courses. The committee's first initiative was modest: from 1894 to 1914, the University of Toronto hosted a series of public lectures on campus during Saturday afternoons in January and February. Over the course of twenty-one years, 143 "Saturday Public Lectures" were delivered, addressing themes of literature and philosophy (24 per cent); science, nature, and medicine (21 per cent); travelogues and ethnography (19 per cent); classics, religion, and history (17 per cent); fine arts (12 per cent); and current events (8 per cent).²⁷ The University of Toronto did not host Saturday Public Lectures during the First World War; the lecture series returned in 1920 but was quickly replaced by other on-campus events and extension lectures given off-campus. Indeed, as described in the next section of this article, such off-campus lectures began in the mid-1890s and grew substantially in the years following 1920.

In addition to providing lectures for members of the public, in 1905 the University of Toronto inaugurated two forms of course delivery through which working adults (primarily schoolteachers) could pursue a BA on a part-time basis: an annual summer session and the scheduling of courses in the late afternoon and evening.²⁸ Enrolments were low in the first fifteen years of these initiatives, with an annual average of fewer than thirty-five students participating in the "Teachers' Course."²⁹ The university's program of extension lectures, its summer session, and its evening courses were administered prior to 1920 by a University Extension Committee. Between 1910 and 1920, the president's reports contained an annual report from the secretary of that

committee, Dr. Albert Abbott. Thus, when Dunlop arrived as the founding director of the Department of University Extension and Publicity in 1920, the University of Toronto already had an established tradition of offering public lectures, a low-enrolment program of summer and evening courses for teachers working part-time towards a BA, and a governance committee whose secretary's annual report had been included in the president's reports for a decade.

Why did the University of Toronto, nearly thirty years after first pronouncing a desire to engage in British forms of extension work, suddenly change course in 1920 and establish a department ostensibly responsible for a wide range of work relating to public service and public relations? The desirability of such work had been demonstrated in the US, through extension programs launched in the early 1900s by state and land-grant universities.³⁰ At such universities, "extension" meant something rather different than it did in 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.... Extension included just about any off-campus activity by which a professor provided service to the public.³¹

By 1914, thirty American universities had established general extension divisions, and a further twenty-five agricultural colleges were engaged in agricultural extension work.³² The "Wisconsin idea" migrated to Canada with the establishment of the Extension Department at the University of Saskatchewan. In 1909, Walter Murray, the first president of the University of Saskatchewan (and a friend of University of Toronto President Robert Falconer) wrote that no form of

service is too mean or too exalted for the university. It is as fitting for the university, through correspondence classes, extension courses, supervision of farmers' clubs, traveling libraries, women's institutes or musical tests to place within the reach of the solitary student, the distant townsman, the farmer in his hours of leisure or the mothers and daughters in the home the opportunities for adding to their stores of knowledge and enjoyment, as it is that the university should foster researches into the properties of radium or the causes and cure of swamp fever.³³

While the abstract possibility of institutional engagement in public service and public relations work that had been demonstrated in places like Wisconsin and Saskatchewan may have influenced the University of Toronto, the concrete reasons why the University of Toronto established an extension department in 1920 were rooted—as they had been in the 1890s—in political, financial, and competitive pressures.

The key political event that pressured the University of Toronto to expand its

services to a broader range of citizens was the 1919 election of a provincial government dominated by the United Farmers of Ontario. In his institutional history, Friedland argued that “many members of the United Farmers viewed the University as an elite institution governed by an elite Toronto-based board.”³⁴ Furthermore, Friedland claimed that “Falconer deeply believed that Toronto had a role to play outside the ivory tower, and with the election of the United Farmers in 1919 there was a practical need to demonstrate its commitment.”³⁵ Falconer’s biographer, James Greenlee, shared Friedland’s interpretation of the politics behind the establishment of the Department of University Extension and Publicity. Greenlee wrote that prior to 1920 the University of Toronto had a reputation as “a rich man’s haven, aloof from the mundane but pressing problems of everyday life.”³⁶ Greenlee added that urban unrest following the First World War and the election of the United Farmers meant that the university “could ill afford a reputation for ivory-tower isolation and class indifference” and that “urgent necessity sharpened sincere commitment and impelled Falconer to reach out to a broader constituency.”³⁷

By 1920, the University of Toronto depended more heavily upon financial resources from the provincial government than it had in 1890. The election of Premier James Whitney in 1905 and the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto in 1906 led to a more stable funding mechanism through which the university received funds from taxation revenues.³⁸ However, such arrangements did not ensure the university’s financial sustainability, and by the late 1910s, the institution depended on provincial governments to cover operating deficits in the order of nearly one million dollars annually.³⁹ Falconer regularly lobbied the provincial government for additional support. As early as 1911, he had compared the budget of the University of Toronto with that of American universities with major extension programs (for example, Ohio and Wisconsin) and noted that the University of Toronto received far less public support than did those universities.⁴⁰ In 1921, Falconer explicitly linked extension work with a claim to greater public support:

I cannot but refer to the effect in retarding the development of the University which has been produced by our uncertainty as to what financial support can be relied upon. The staff are anxious as to their own future, it is difficult to make offers to men who are called to fill vacancies, and the youth of the country in attendance are not getting all that with some reasonable and reliable annual increase we should offer them. Nor can the University reach out through its extension to meet the opportunities which have been so splendidly manifested by Mr. Dunlop even in the first year of his work. His report shows what lies to our own hand to do if only we have the financial means.⁴¹

Financial considerations were clearly part of Falconer’s rationale in the establishment of an extension department.

Political and economic pressures were sharpened by the intensifying competition represented by the growing success of the part-time BA program at Queen’s. The nature of this competitive pressure changed substantially between 1910 and 1920.

Queen's established a summer school in 1910, which by 1919 was enrolling over a hundred and twenty students annually—in addition to nearly four hundred students enrolling in extramural study.⁴² The relative success of the Queen's part-time BA program notably contrasted with the ongoing low enrolments in the Teachers' Course at Toronto. Administrators in Toronto were aware of the loss of potential enrollees to Queen's, as demonstrated in the following passage from Abbott's 1911 report:

The attendance on these courses for teachers is disappointingly small, considering the number of teachers in the city public schools. The number taking such work, however, in the University of Toronto does not by any means represent those on the staff of the public schools who are proceeding toward the Bachelor's degree. The extra-mural courses of Queen's University continue to attract a considerable number of the men.⁴³

Competition from Queen's, in the marketplace for part-time BA students, was a key factor in the establishment of an extension department at the University of Toronto. In its early years, the work of that department was largely oriented towards part-time study opportunities for schoolteachers. The *Bulletin of the Department of University Extension* for 1923–24 contained fourteen pages dedicated to promoting courses for teachers, and less than one page dedicated to “other types of extension service.”⁴⁴ Indeed, the preoccupation of the university with its part-time program for schoolteachers explains why Dunlop was hired: he was perfectly positioned to work with such a clientele, having served as a schoolteacher for a decade and as a school principal for six years, having earned a BA in 1912 from Queen's through a combination of extramural and summer session study and having served as the business manager and editor of *The School*—a University of Toronto professional journal for teachers—between 1913 and 1920.⁴⁵

Professional Practice: Building Programs

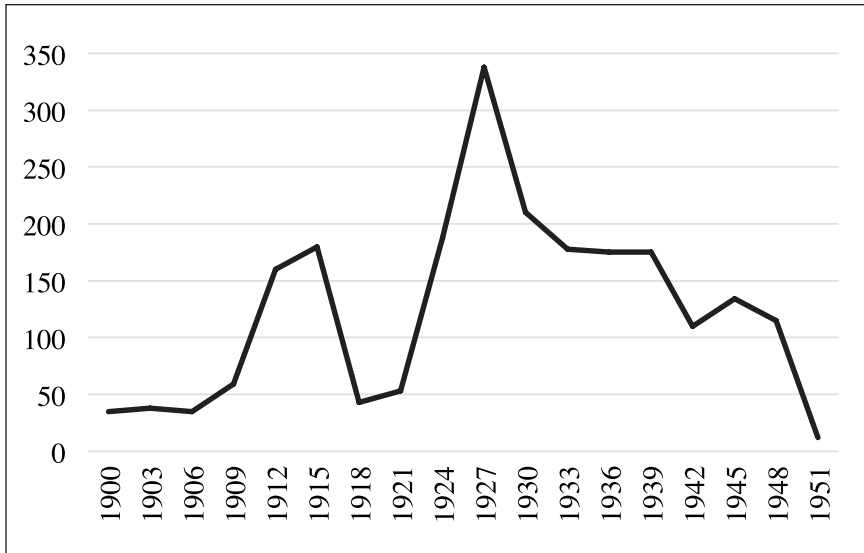
Dunlop's top priority when arriving as director was to grow enrolments in the part-time degree-completion pathway. He assertively marketed the Teachers' Course and lobbied government officials to grant more recognition to higher education credentials in hiring and remunerating teachers and educational administrators. In 1920, the University of Toronto distributed 15,000 copies of an eight-page booklet entitled *Announcement of Extension Courses for Teachers*. In 1921, the university distributed 20,000 copies of a sixteen-page booklet entitled *The Teachers' Course for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts*. In 1925, Dunlop reported that

the new arrangements which the University has made with the Department of Education so as to provide a means by which those who hold the Pass B.A. degree may proceed to an Inspector's Certificate or to a Specialist's Certificate have already done much and will do more to make our Teachers' Course popular with the teachers of Ontario.⁴⁶

Dunlop's marketing and lobbying efforts succeeded in expanding the numbers of adults working towards degrees on a part-time basis at the University of Toronto. In the 1920s and 1930s respectively, an average of 288 and 684 students per year enrolled part-time through evening courses and/or summer session courses. While enrolments dropped off during the Second World War (to a low of 375 students in 1943), annual average enrolment rebounded to 800 between 1947 and 1953. Between 1920 and 1951, 962 people graduated with a BA from the University of Toronto through studying part-time in the Teachers' Course, an average of over thirty per year.⁴⁷

The Extension Lecture series was the other program that Dunlop inherited in 1920. Figure 1 shows the number of extension lectures offered between 1900 and 1951.

Figure 1
Annual number of Extension Lectures, 1900–1951.



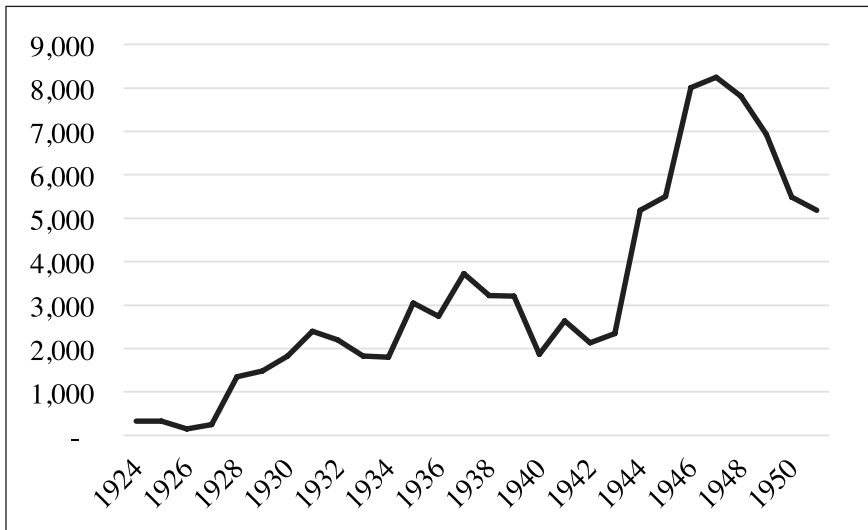
Source: *Annual Reports* of the University of Toronto.⁴⁸

Although the University of Toronto did not consistently report the number of people attending extension lectures, estimated annual attendance was about ten thousand in the peak prior to the First World War, and about thirty thousand both in the peak prior to the Great Depression and in the plateau between 1936 and 1939. The first major growth spurt resulted from the 1909 establishment of the University Extension Committee with Abbott as secretary. The second resulted from the 1920 appointment of Dunlop as director of extension. Abbott and Dunlop worked to recruit University of Toronto professors willing to deliver lectures at locations around Ontario, and to solicit requests for such lectures from local organizations—organizations that

included service clubs, community clubs, business clubs, religious organizations, school organizations, and scientific associations. The organizations chose lecturers and topics from a list provided by the university, and paid lecturers' travel expenses and a small honorarium. Dunlop terminated the extension lecture service in the early 1950s, due partly to the difficulty of recruiting faculty members, whose intramural workloads had grown significantly with increasing undergraduate enrolments, and partly to the growing popularity of radio.

While the Teachers' Course and Extension Lectures grew from the foundation laid by Abbott prior to 1920, Dunlop introduced four new initiatives which over several decades became important forms of adult education at the University of Toronto. First, beginning in 1920, the university delivered "Evening Tutorial Classes" during fall and winter semesters. Participants in such courses would meet one evening per week, usually in a classroom on campus, in courses that typically started in October and lasted twenty weeks. The courses involved no prerequisites or examinations, and no certificates were granted. In the 1920s, the University of Toronto offered around five such courses each year; in the 1930s and 1940s, it offered an average of nearly thirty such courses annually. Figure 2 documents the annual number of students enrolled in these non-credit courses.

Figure 2
Number of students enrolled in Evening Tutorial Classes, 1924–1951.



Source: *Annual Reports* of the University of Toronto.

While some courses varied each year, and many were offered for only one or two years, the most popular courses were offered consistently (often with multiple course sections) throughout the 1930s and 1940s: English diction; public speaking;

psychology; interior decorating; journalism; English literature; languages (primarily French and Spanish); English composition; music appreciation; and international relations. In addition to these “general” topics, courses were offered each year in economics, accounting, industrial organization, and other “business” topics.

Second, in the late 1920s, Dunlop began coordinating evening course offerings so that instruction in economics, finance, accounting, and commercial law would enable students to prepare for professional examinations organized by external agencies. The university provided instruction, and external associations controlled the examinations and granted professional designations to those passing them. Collaboration with professional associations expanded in the early 1930s to include correspondence courses in which students from across Canada took University of Toronto courses in preparation for examinations leading to professional designations. By the late 1940s, the annual number of students enrolled in correspondence courses had increased to over two thousand, and in 1952, eight associations enrolled students in such courses: Canadian Credit Institute; Certified Public Accountants Association of Ontario; Life Underwriters' Association of Canada; International Accountants and Executives Corporation of Canada; Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants; Chartered Institute of Secretaries; Insurance Institute of Ontario; and Investment Dealers Association of Canada.⁴⁹

Third, in the late 1930s, Dunlop developed a University of Toronto credential for part-time students taking evening courses in business. In the second half of the 1930s, such courses regularly included those in economics, accounting, industrial organization, advertising, purchasing, and mercantile law. In 1938–39, the University of Toronto offered a ten-week evening course in marketing, in which over four hundred people enrolled. Dunlop wrote:

That a greater service can be rendered to young men and women in the business world was clearly demonstrated by the success of the class in marketing. Already discussions have taken place in a meeting of the Committee on University Extension, looking toward a development of the facilities for instruction in subjects of value to those seeking to make successful careers for themselves in business.⁵⁰

In 1939, the University of Toronto Senate authorized a Certificate in Business. This credential was awarded to students completing six courses over three years of study, with classes held two nights per week from October to April. While enrolments initially grew slowly due to wartime conditions, the annual number of graduates from the Certificate in Business program grew to thirty-seven in 1955 and to ninety-five in 1960.

Dunlop's fourth initiative was to supervise the development and delivery of four full-time, employment-oriented programs of study leading to diplomas granted by the University of Toronto. Programs in occupational therapy and physiotherapy were established in 1926 and 1929; both were two-year programs of study admitting women who had completed high school matriculation, and both were transferred to

the Faculty of Medicine in 1950. Average annual combined enrolment in these two programs was 61 in the 1930s and 233 in the 1940s. A program in teaching and hospital administration for graduate nurses was established in 1928 and transferred to the School of Nursing in 1933. It was a one-year program of study admitting women under the age of thirty-five who possessed high school matriculation and professional training in nursing. Average enrolment over the five years during which this program was administered by Extension was nineteen students. A program in tourism management was established in 1945 and transferred to Ryerson Institute of Technology in 1952. This two-year program was designed primarily for veterans of the Second World War and enrolled an annual average of 151 students in the seven years that it was administered by Extension.

Through these initiatives—part-time degree-completion pathways; public lectures; non-credit evening courses; distance education courses; certificate programs in business; and full-time, employment-oriented programs leading to credentials awarded following one or two years of study—Dunlop not only built extension at the University of Toronto into a large and diverse provider of adult education; he also employed virtually all of the major strategies subsequently used by universities across Canada to proactively engage adult learners. The only other major adult education strategy subsequently employed widely by Canadian universities—“continuing professional education”—was also developed at the University of Toronto in the 1930s and 1940s. Dunlop played a role in developing such programs in several cases, but the lead administrators worked in faculties and the schools of medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, nursing, and social work. This synopsis of Dunlop’s extension programming highlights the fact that current approaches of Canadian universities to the provision of adult education reflect programmatic forms developed during Dunlop’s tenure at the University of Toronto.

Discourse: Positioning Adult Education within the University

While guiding the development and delivery of university-based programs was Dunlop’s most compelling contribution to the history of adult education in Canada, he also employed distinctive ways of talking about such work. Since Dunlop was well known across Canada, and since he held leadership positions in provincial and national adult education organizations, his discourse surely influenced the way his contemporaries conceptualized adult education. Here, I outline key aspects of Dunlop’s discourse, locate that discourse within its socio-historical context, and explain its position vis-à-vis the genealogy of discourses of university extension in Canada.

Dunlop regularly wrote that meeting the needs of adult learners was the fundamental mission of university extension. Reflecting on the relationship between the university and the broader community, Dunlop wrote that

interest is the basis of education and it is gratifying to realise that so many thousands of adult men and women are anxious for a glimpse into the sphere of higher learning. To meet the needs of such men and women, to give adults

who require it a “second chance,” to enable others to improve their academic and professional status—such is the chief function of University Extension.⁵¹

If meeting adults’ needs was the *raison d’être* for university extension in Dunlop’s view, then a focus on cost-recovery was central to the business model through which he argued that such work should be undertaken. Soon after beginning his work as director, Dunlop reported that cost-recovery was important to the summer session and non-credit evening courses. He wrote that “fees received cover the cost of tuition” for evening courses, and he noted that “fees from summer session students in Arts now almost meet the expenditures for the salaries of the instructional staff: within two or three years the summer session will probably be self-sustaining financially.”⁵² In the shadow of the Great Depression, Dunlop wrote:

Properly carried on, university extension courses cover their own cost, apart probably from “overhead,” except when instruction is provided for workmen and women and for farmers, who cannot, under present conditions, be expected to pay the full cost of the service provided for them.⁵³

Dunlop’s description of the cost-recovery nature of extension work is strikingly contemporary—including his observations about the direct and indirect costs of instruction and his identification of populations from whom costs cannot be recovered.

Dunlop argued that meeting needs on a cost-recovery basis was the job of university extension; doing so, he regularly claimed, required constant innovation and sensitivity to changing demands. In 1926, he wrote “in university extension service no year is the same as any other year. While this year one phase of the work may be the most popular of all, next year it will probably be an entirely different form of service that will be most in demand. The public taste varies from year to year and it is necessary always to provide something new.”⁵⁴ Dunlop stressed the impact of innovation in adult education. Describing the creation of the diploma program for graduate nurses, Dunlop wrote, “the establishment of this course has been the beginning of a new epoch in the progress of nursing in Ontario.”⁵⁵ Describing a customized training venture, Dunlop wrote that

a new feature this year and one which, it is hoped, may mark the beginning of a new movement and of a new bond between the University and the business world was the establishment of evening classes in Industrial Chemistry, Physics, French, and Psychology for the employees of Lever Brothers, the Swift Canadian Company, and Canada Packers.⁵⁶

For thirty years, Dunlop’s annual reports consistently stressed the importance of innovation to university extension.

Dunlop considered innovation to be a fundamental characteristic of service to adult learners. He also wrote about employing a process of incubation to integrate

programs for the core academic faculties of the University of Toronto. Dunlop described this incubation function in 1927.

The Course in Occupational Therapy which has been in operation during this year has fully justified the expectations of those interested. This course was assumed by this department as an experiment so that, should there not be much demand for it, it could easily be discontinued; and, if it should prove a success, it might be handed over in a few years to some other department of the University with which it may be more logically related.⁵⁷

As noted in the previous section of this article, Dunlop successfully incubated four diploma programs that were subsequently transferred into other schools, faculties, or universities. The process of academic incubation was not limited to developing new credentials. In 1937, Dunlop reflected on the incubation role of his department in the continuing professional education of nurses:

As in former years, short refresher courses have been conducted in co-operation with the School of Nursing. There have been three of these courses and all have been well attended. The School of Nursing now wishes to carry on this activity under its own auspices without the assistance of this department and there seems to be no good reason why that should not be the procedure in the future.⁵⁸

In 1941, Dunlop speculated about the future implications of his recently developed program in business: "New though the certificate course in Business is, it is already flourishing and is filling a definite need. Perhaps it is the beginning of a School of Administration of the future."⁵⁹ This conjecture turned out to be prescient: the University of Toronto established an Institute of Business Administration in 1950.

If delivering innovative and cost-recovery programs to meet the needs of learners and incubate new initiatives for the University of Toronto were the core work of university extension, then how did Dunlop measure the success of such work? He focused on growth in enrolments, and he occasionally commented on socio-economic impact and friend-raising for the university. All of Dunlop's annual reports contained enrolment statistics, and most of them contained observations regarding growth. For example, in 1924, Dunlop wrote "more this year than ever before has the Department of University Extension been asked to serve the people of Ontario. Instruction has been arranged for 2,560 students."⁶⁰ For another example, in 1936, Dunlop wrote "since... 1920, there has not been one session in which there... has not been an increase in the number of adult men and women taking continuous courses involving serious and sustained study."⁶¹ Dunlop's consistent focus on celebrating enrolment growth corresponded to his views about the purpose of university extension: if adult education work was about meeting learners' needs, then counting the number of learners whose needs had been addressed was a logical way to measure success.

Although enrolment growth represented Dunlop's key metric, he also highlighted the role of adult education programs in serving society and the university. Dunlop argued that extension programs produced positive labour market outcomes for graduates and performed a public service. Of the occupational therapy program, Dunlop wrote that "this course has not only opened a new, useful, and remunerative career for young women but has also filled an urgent need in the mental hospitals of the province."⁶² After the occupational therapy and physiotherapy programs had been operating for about a decade, Dunlop wrote that "the young women who graduate in these courses are well qualified to render an important public service and they are also equipped to earn a reasonably good living."⁶³

Dunlop regularly commented upon the career pathways of graduates from the Teachers' Course. While producing positive labour market outcomes and providing qualified personnel to fill important roles were indicators that extension programs served society, Dunlop highlighted the process of friend-raising as a means through which such programs served the University of Toronto. In 1936, he argued that "through extension and publicity the University supplies education and news; at the same time it makes thousands of friends."⁶⁴ Commenting on his work as chair of the Canadian Legion Educational Services for Central Ontario from 1939 through 1946, Dunlop wrote that "the co-operation which has existed during the war years... has produced golden opinions among service men and women, many of whom feel that this University offers almost anything that a veteran may desire."⁶⁵

In his three decades as extension director, Dunlop disseminated a distinctive discourse of university-based adult education—focused on meeting needs, recovering costs, innovating, incubating programs, and measuring success through enrolments, labour market outcomes, and friend-raising. Doing so represented more than simply adopting market-oriented vocabulary to describe his work; it represented the construction of a coherent discourse—a set of assumptions and claims about the purposes, nature, and outcomes of university extension that influenced the way others thought about the domain. While a comprehensive genealogy⁶⁶ of the discourse of university extension is beyond the scope of this article, I conclude this section with an analysis of the significance of Dunlop's language for the history of the field. My analysis is rooted in the work of Michel Foucault, whose key insight was to link discourse with power. Foucault used the term "regime of truth" to explain how various types of discourses gain credence in various social contexts, and argued that "truth" was "linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it."⁶⁷ Rather than assess the truthfulness of Dunlop's claims about the purposes, nature, and outcomes of university extension, my analysis focuses on linking Dunlop's claims with the socio-economic relations that underpinned and were supported by such claims, and on highlighting the genealogical importance of those claims vis-à-vis the broader evolution of discourses about university extension in Canada.

Placed in its socio-historical context, Dunlop's work at the University of Toronto contributed to the rise of a Canadian middle class. The major programming initiatives he developed helped produce the foundations of middle-class privilege in two ways.

Four such programs—the part-time BA for schoolteachers, the professional designations and certificate programs for business managers, and the full-time vocational programs in health care—awarded credentials that provided access to privileged, middle-class forms of employment. The other two program—extension lectures and evening tutorial classes—offered leisure activities through which middle-class people could mark themselves as culturally distinct from their less privileged compatriots.⁶⁸ As such, Dunlop's discourse of university extension should be interpreted as rooted in, and contributing to, the construction of social class relations in which higher education plays a central role in producing and justifying the privileges of the middle class. In short, Dunlop constructed a discourse through which institutions such as the University of Toronto could legitimate their work in facilitating emerging forms of social class inequality in an increasingly urbanized and capitalist society.

Comparing Dunlop's discourse with institutional mission statements generated by large extension departments from Canadian universities operating in less urban and less capitalist environments provides a brief way to illustrate the genealogical importance of Dunlop's discursive regime of truth regarding university extension.⁶⁹ Until the 1950s or 1960s, Alberta and Saskatchewan were predominantly characterized by "mercantilist" rather than "capitalist" forms of social relations, since many people in those provinces earned a living by independently producing and selling commodities (for example, wheat and beef) rather than working for wages. Dunlop's focus on meeting needs and producing labour market outcomes contrasts sharply with the contemporaneous messages communicated by the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Alberta. From 1941 to 1964 (with a minor change in 1954), for example, the University of Saskatchewan calendar claimed that

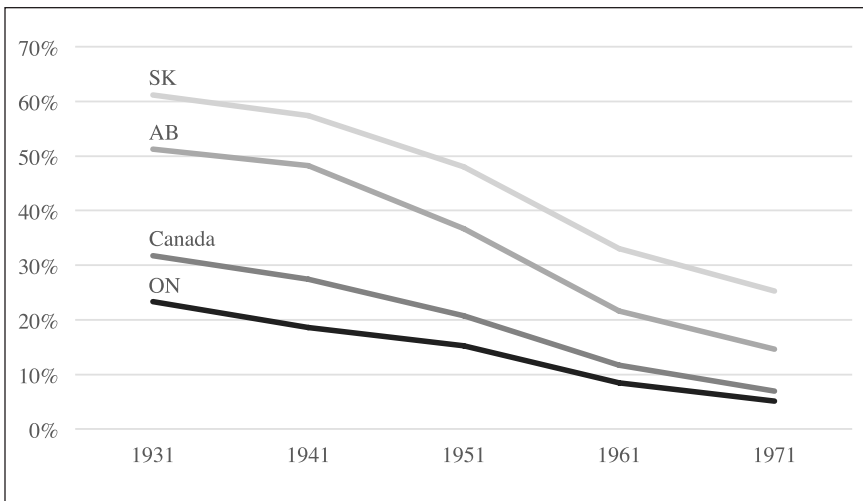
the aims of the Extension Department are to assist in making available to the members of farm communities in Saskatchewan all useable information, from all reliable sources, about farm questions, homemaking and rural life; to encourage the practical application and use of such information; and to promote the development of a sound rural economy, and a wholesome and attractive rural civilization.⁷⁰

From 1945 through 1968 (with a minor change in 1953), the University of Alberta calendar asserted that the "purpose of the Department of Extension is to bring the facilities of the University within the reach of every citizen of the province. To this end it cooperates with individuals and organizations in projects which advance the social, economic and cultural standards of the community." These mission statements position university extension as fostering social progress rather than meeting individual needs. Importantly, these extension units later adopted mission statements that aligned closely with Dunlop's discourse. From 1965 through 1976, the University of Saskatchewan stated that the primary objective of its Extension Division was "to provide continuing education to the volunteer learner, who, through personal interest or the demands of vocation, requires the kinds of knowledge available from university sources." From 1973 through 2000 (with minor changes in 1976 and 1986), the

University of Alberta claimed that “the Faculty of Extension serves as a link between the University and the people of the province who need access to the information and expertise of the University in order to solve practical problems and to further personal and professional growth and interests.” These later mission statements position university extension, as had Dunlop, as enabling individual adults to meet needs relating to both their personal and professional interests.

Dunlop’s regime of truth did not drive the evolution of discourses of university extension in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Rather, evolving social class relations gave Dunlop’s discourse of extension substantial appeal, first at the University of Toronto and later at provincial universities in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Dunlop’s distinctive claim was that university extension existed to meet the needs of adults through innovative educational programming. Such a claim makes sense when adults must work in wage labour markets where knowledge and credentials give some individuals a competitive advantage over others. As Figure 3 highlights, such conditions emerged earlier in Ontario than in Alberta or Saskatchewan. By documenting the declining proportion of the total population living on farms, Figure 3 provides a crude indication of the differential timing of a socio-economic transition that took place in all three provinces—a transition that involved large numbers of people moving to towns and cities and being employed in wage labour.

Figure 3
Farm population as a percentage of the total population, 1931–1971



Source: *Historical Statistics of Canada*.⁷¹

Dunlop’s discourse of university extension was rooted in, and helped legitimate, the University of Toronto’s role in constructing social class relations in which higher education is central to producing and justifying middle-class privilege. Such discourse

was not adopted by universities in Alberta and Saskatchewan during Dunlop's lifetime, because those provinces were still dominated by mercantilist social class relations in which most people resided in rural areas and made a living by producing and selling commodities. In later decades, once more Albertans and Saskatchewanians had moved to cities where they supported themselves through wage labour, the provincial universities adopted ways of talking about university extension that Dunlop had developed—under parallel circumstances and for parallel purposes—decades earlier.

Postscript: Support for Adult Education after Dunlop

During Dunlop's tenure as director of extension at the University of Toronto, the three presidents for whom he worked each expressed a strong commitment to the adult education movement. In 1921, President Falconer wrote that "Mr. Dunlop, who was placed in charge of the Departments of Extension and Publicity, presents a full and very satisfactory report showing what a field of usefulness is opening up to the University in various directions beyond its borders.... The people young and old want education."⁷² The next year, Falconer praised the expansion of extension work and claimed that "this rapid development is a proof that here, as in the leading Universities of Britain and America, recognition has been made of the duty to support not only adult education but to give partial academic privileges to those who are unable to secure them intramurally."⁷³ In the subsequent decade, Falconer regularly commented on growth and innovation in extension work.

Support for adult education was an integral theme in the annual reports of Falconer's successor, Henry Cody. In 1936, he wrote "I believe that the great next forward step in the world of knowledge will be taken in the field of adult education.... I believe that this University will continue to take a leading part in developing and supporting all sound schemes of adult education."⁷⁴ In 1939, Cody wrote that "one of the most notable developments in recent years is the growth of various forms of university extension and adult education. In this development our university has taken a significant part. Education is now regarded not as an achievement completed when we leave school or college; but as a process continuing as long as life."⁷⁵

The third president with whom Dunlop worked was Sidney Smith. In Smith's annual reports, one finds an interesting evolution in which he begins his tenure by expressing enthusiastic support for adult education, and then, following Dunlop's departure in 1951, shifts to restricting the range and scope of extension work. In 1949, Smith wrote that

the programmes of the Department of University Extension, to invoke an understatement, are not the least important of the University. The demand for adult education will grow rather than diminish. The University, through extension courses, can discharge a duty to its shareholders, the general public. The Department provides an important link between the University and the community which is a benefit to both.⁷⁶

In the final year of Dunlop's tenure as director, Smith wrote "Adult education in its manifold forms has a clear call on the resources of the University."⁷⁷

By the mid-1950s, in contrast, Smith's annual reports regularly highlighted the need to limit adult education activity at the University of Toronto. In 1954, he wrote "a university should not undertake, for academic credit, courses that can be provided as well or better elsewhere."⁷⁸ In 1956, he stated

we must not flag in our service to our community through extension courses. There is, however, a need for critical evaluation of those courses.... The philosophy of extension work on this continent has been tinged with the sentiment that anything goes, so long as it pays. It would be desirable, I believe, to leave the frivolous courses to other agencies.⁷⁹

In his final annual report as president, Smith emphasized the need to restrict extension work considering increasing intramural demands: "there is also the effect on an extension programme of the size of the university's intramural enrolment. If the extension department relies primarily on the university staff for its teachers, only a limited number of courses can be conducted without affecting adversely the teaching and research capacity of the staff."⁸⁰

Smith's declining support for adult education at the University of Toronto cannot be attributed solely to the departure of Dunlop as director of extension. While Dunlop likely did influence the level of support expressed by Falconer, Cody, and Smith to the adult education movement,⁸¹ one should also note the shifting contexts within which they conceptualized the place of adult education within the overall mandate of the university. In the prologue to this article, I explained the factors that influenced the growing engagement of the University of Toronto in extension work between 1890 and 1920. Here, I briefly identify two factors that contextualize Smith's reduced commitment to such work in the 1950s: enrolment growth and the increasing importance of research and graduate studies. When the Department of University Extension and Publicity was established in 1920, the University of Toronto had conferred fewer than 500 degrees in each of the preceding two years. When Dunlop left the university in 1951, it had conferred more than 4,500 degrees in each of the preceding two years.⁸² Each year, from 1954 through 1957, Smith wrote extensively about the "crisis of numbers" associated with rising enrolments.⁸³ Reducing the investment of faculty members' time and other resources in extension work was a logical response to pressures to serve more intramural students. Commitment to extension work seemed even less attractive given Smith's increasing emphasis on research and graduate education. By 1950, Smith was working hard to position the University of Toronto as a "national university," and he highlighted the importance of research as a criterion with which to judge the extent to which the university "permeates all aspects of the national life of Canada, commercial, industrial, governmental, social, and cultural."⁸⁴ A growing focus on research and graduate education softened Smith's support for the competing priority of university extension.

Adult education lost further lustre to presidential eyes under Smith's successor. Claude Bissell wrote virtually nothing favourable in his annual reports regarding extension, adult education, lifelong learning, or continuing education during his dozen years as president. In 1959, he stated that the Department of Extension would need to change because it was "approaching a new era, when its aims will no longer be remedial and philanthropic," and in 1960, he stated "the University exists primarily for the student who is able to devote his full time to his studies, and we are determined to keep it so."⁸⁵ In 1969, Bissell convened a Presidential Advisory Committee on Extension whose conclusions resulted in the early 1970s in the closure of the Division of University Extension and its partial replacement by a School of Continuing Studies, serving part-time students in non-credit study, and Woodsworth College, serving part-time students seeking degrees. These developments should be understood in the context of increasing enrolments, pressures for greater research productivity, and the proliferation of post-secondary institutions in Ontario—a proliferation that had begun during Smith's tenure as president but rapidly expanded during Bissell's tenure. When the University of Toronto established the Department of Extension in 1920, there were only a handful of other post-secondary institutions in Ontario. The 1940s and 1950s witnessed the establishment of universities such as Carleton, Ryerson (now Toronto Metropolitan University), Waterloo, and York, while in the 1960s, over twenty colleges emerged in Ontario.⁸⁶ The existence of such institutions enabled Smith, and especially Bissell, to argue that the University of Toronto should focus on higher education and research and leave other institutions to address the work of adult education.

Conclusions

This article has described an important era of university extension in Toronto through narrating the accomplishments of an under-studied educationalist. William Dunlop built one of the largest and most influential adult education programs in Canadian history. He was an early adopter of discourses that shaped the domain of university-based adult education. He sustained enthusiastic support from three presidents of Canada's largest university for the adult education movement. For these reasons, Dunlop merits recognition as a leading figure in the history of adult education in Canada.

Analytically, this article has explained the political-economic roots of extension work at the University of Toronto and outlined the genealogical importance of Dunlop's discourse of university extension vis-à-vis subsequent discourses. Through studying Dunlop's career, this article has provided insight into the socio-historical origins and impact of university extension in Canada. I have argued that the University of Toronto engaged in university extension due to historically specific political-economic factors, along with competitive pressure represented by the extramural program of Queen's University. Furthermore, I have argued that Dunlop's discursive regime of truth regarding university extension—and the subsequent adoption of that regime by other universities—must be understood in light of the evolution of social

class relations in Canada and the role of universities in facilitating that evolution. In short, rather than accept the rhetoric of university leaders—rhetoric exemplified by Dunlop's plumbing metaphor—that the university extension movement was about the democratization of higher education, scholars of the history of education should recognize that the engagement of universities in extension work was rooted in those institutions' material struggles for resources, and was implicated in the broader role of universities in the development of new forms of social class relations in Canada.

Notes

The author would like to acknowledge the financial support provided by the Insight Grant program of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the research upon which this article is based. Furthermore, he would like to acknowledge the very constructive and insightful suggestions provided by the peer reviewers and *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* editors on earlier versions of the article.

- 1 William Dunlop, "University Extension in Canada," *Child and Family Welfare* 10, no. 4 (1934): 24–28.
- 2 James Kidd, *Adult Education in the Canadian University* (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1956); James Kidd, ed., *Adult Education in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950).
- 3 Edward Corbett, *University Extension in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1952).
- 4 Two prominent historians of adult education mention Dunlop in overviews of the field. Gordon Selman, in *Adult Education in Canada: Historical Essays* (Toronto: Thompson, 1995), notes that Dunlop had a role in establishing the CAAE. Michael Welton, in *Unearthing Canada's Hidden Past: A Short History of Adult Education* (Toronto: Thompson, 2013), acknowledges Dunlop's roles in directing extension at the University of Toronto and in convening the meeting that led to the establishment of the CAAE. However, Welton's main comments about Dunlop are to label him a "social conservative" and an "empire builder." Dunlop also receives a cursory mention in two institutional histories of the University of Toronto: W. Stewart Wallace, *A History of the University of Toronto, 1827–1927* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1927); and Martin Friedland, *The University of Toronto: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- 5 Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today* (Toronto: Thompson, 1997); Scott MacAulay, "The Smokestack Leaned toward Capitalism: An Examination of the Middle Way Program of the Antigonish Movement," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2002): 43–67; and Michael Welton, *Little Mosie from the Margaree: A Biography of Moses Michael Coady* (Toronto: Thompson, 2001).
- 6 Barbara Cormack, *Beyond the Classroom: The First 60 Years of the University of Alberta Department of Extension* (Edmonton: Faculty of Extension, 1981); Scott McLean, *Reaching out into the World: A History of Extension at the University of Saskatchewan, 1910–2007* (Saskatoon: University Extension Press, 2007); 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, "University Extension and Social Change: Positioning a 'University of the People' in Saskatchewan," *Adult Education Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2007): 3–21; Scott McLean and Heather

- Rollwagen, "Progress, Public Health, and Power: Foucault and the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 45, no. 3 (2008): 225–45; Lorne Paul, *Extension at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1910–70: A History* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1979); 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. Note that universities were also involved in other well-known rural adult education initiatives such as Frontier College and the National Farm Radio Forum.
- 7 Statistics Canada, "Canada Goes Urban," *Canadian Megatrends*, Catalogue no. 11-630-X: 1–5.
 - 8 Published studies about urban initiatives focus on work at the University of British Columbia, whose Department of University Extension was established in 1936, and McGill University, whose Department of Extra-Mural Relations was established in 1928. 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 and Eric Damer, *Transformations: A History of UBC Continuing Studies* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2012); 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; Scott McLean, "Education for Freedom? Living Room Learning and the Liberal Arts of Government," *Adult Education Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2012): 159–79. For Ontario, see Michael Welton, "Dangerous Knowledge: Workers' Education in the Decades of Discord," *Studies in the Education of Adults* 23, no. 1 (1991): 24–40.
 - 9 The total number of degree-credit students enrolled at Canadian universities rose from 23,214 in 1920 to 68,595 in 1950 (Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada* [Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983], chart W340-438a). In these decades, hundreds of thousands of Canadians each year participated in university extension programs. See, for example, data reported by McLean, *Reaching out into the World*, and McLean and Damer, *Transformations*.
 - 10 The term friend-raising is used by university administrators as equivalent to 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.
 - 11 University College, Toronto, *Calendar for 1860–61*, 8–10.
 - 12 University College, *Calendar of University College, Toronto, for 1881–1882*, 45–50; University of Toronto, *Calendar of the University of Toronto for the Year 1891–92*, 12 and 194.
 - 13 University of Toronto, *Calendar of the University of Toronto for the Year 1893–94*, Appendix 43.
 - 14 John Burrows, *University Adult Education in London: A Century of Achievement* (London: University of London, 1976); Norman Jepson, *The Beginnings of English University Adult Education—Policy and Problems* (London: Michael Joseph, 1973).
 - 15 George James, "The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching," *University Extension* 1 (1892): 1–4.
 - 16 Thomas Adams, "University Extension in Canada and in England," *University Extension* 1 (1892): 337–43; T. J. MacLaughlin, "University Extension in Canada," *University Extension* 3 (1894): 309–17.
 - 17 Canadian University Extension Association, *Bulletin I* (Toronto: CUEA, 1892).

- 18 MacLaughlin, "University Extension," 312, reported of the January 1892 meeting: "Here ended the whole business so far as that great association is concerned; not a meeting nor a move of any kind has since taken place."
- 19 University of Toronto, *Annual Report of the University of Toronto and University College for 1890–91* (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1892).
- 20 James Stuart, cited in Jepson, *Beginnings of English University Adult Education*, 80.
- 21 Robin Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 147–48.
- 22 Edward Dunlop, *The Development of Extension Education at Queen's University, 1889–1945* (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1981), 39–44.
- 23 George Grant, *The College: Report of the Principal to the Board of Trustees for the Year Ending April 25th, 1894* (Kingston: Queen's University, 1894).
- 24 Dunlop, *Development of Extension Education at Queen's*, 11–14.
- 25 Queen's University, *Calendar of Queen's College and University for the Year 1889–90* (Kingston: W. M. Bailie, 1889), 39.
- 26 George Grant, *The College: Report of the Principal to the Board of Trustees for the Year Ending May 1st, 1895* (Kingston: Queen's University, 1895).
- 27 From 1895 through 1914, the calendar published a list of the titles of the Saturday Public Lectures from the previous year, along with the names of each lecturer.
- 28 University of Toronto, *President's Report of the University of Toronto for the Year Ending June 30th, 1905* (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1906), 318. Note that subsequent references to annual reports of the president will be noted simply as *PR* followed by the year.
- 29 These figures, and all subsequent references to enrolment data, are compiled from information presented in the annual president's reports.
- 30 For a description of land-grant universities, see the website of the Association of Public & Land Grant Universities at <https://www.aplu.org/about-us/history-of-aplu/what-is-a-land-grant-university>.
- 31 George Woytanowitz, *University Extension: The Early Years in the United States, 1885–1915* (Iowa City: National University Extension Association, 1974), 150–51.
- 32 Theodore Shannon & Clarence Shoenfeld, *University Extension* (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1965), 14–15.
- 33 Walter Murray, *President's Report, 1908–09* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1909), 11–12.
- 34 Friedland, *University of Toronto*, 279.
- 35 Friedland, *University of Toronto*, 282.
- 36 James Greenlee, *Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 252.
- 37 Greenlee, *Sir Robert Falconer*, 253.
- 38 Friedland, *University of Toronto*, 197–209.
- 39 Friedland, *University of Toronto*, 279.
- 40 *PR*, 1911, 8–9.
- 41 *PR*, 1921, 11.
- 42 Queen's University, *Reports of Principal, Deans and Treasurer, Session 1918–19* (Kingston: Queen's University, 1919), 5.
- 43 *PR*, 1920, 23–24.
- 44 University of Toronto, *Bulletin of the Department of University Extension, 1923–24* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1923).
- 45 Roy Foley, *William James Dunlop: A Brief Biography* (Toronto: Canadian Masonic Research Association, 1965).
- 46 *PR*, 1925, 61.
- 47 *PR*, 1951, 83.

- 48 Note that data are from the president's reports. Given the fact that data are missing for a small number of years, I have based the chart on data from every third year from 1900 to 1951 — since there are no missing data from those years.
- 49 *PR*, 1952, 31–32.
- 50 *PR*, 1939, 102.
- 51 *PR*, 1938, 111.
- 52 *PR*, 1922, 65–66.
- 53 *PR*, 1936, 95.
- 54 *PR*, 1926, 69.
- 55 *PR*, 1929, 66.
- 56 *PR*, 1942, 43.
- 57 *PR*, 1927, 69.
- 58 *PR*, 1937, 97.
- 59 *PR*, 1941, 48.
- 60 *PR*, 1924, 64.
- 61 *PR*, 1936, 95.
- 62 *PR*, 1929, 66.
- 63 *PR*, 1937, 96.
- 64 *PR*, 1936, 98.
- 65 *PR*, 1946, 57.
- 66 Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 76–100. Note that my reading of Foucault's approach to genealogical analysis involves two key claims: (1) a genealogical approach draws attention to the political and socially-constructed nature of all claims to knowledge, rejecting the notion that ideas or ideals somehow evolve on their own or according to an inherently progressive logic; and (2) genealogical analysis allows one to recognize the arbitrary and changing nature of historical processes that are sometimes interpreted as normal and universal.
- 67 Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 131–33.
- 68 Note that the role of credentials and cultural distinction in social class reproduction is the focus of an extensive literature in the sociology of education. Much of this literature is inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1979/1984) and (with Jean-Claude Passeron), *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London: Sage, 1970/1990).
- 69 Note that a more complete genealogical analysis is available in Scott McLean, "Extending Resources, Fostering Progress, or Meeting Needs? University Extension and Continuing Education in Western Canada," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29, no. 1 (2008): 91–103.
- 70 Note that this and subsequent quotations from the academic calendars of the universities of Saskatchewan and Alberta reflect entries in those calendars over the range of years identified in the text.
- 71 Data for Figure 3 are derived from Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), charts A2-14 and M1-11. Note that in 1951, "farm population" was defined as "all persons living on a farm in a rural area" and that a "farm" was defined as "a holding on which agricultural operations are carried out" and which was either larger than three acres or produced agricultural products worth \$250 or more. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951*. Vol. 1: *Population, General Characteristics* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1953), xv.
- 72 *PR*, 1921, 9–11.
- 73 *PR*, 1922, 9.

74 *PR*, 1936, 16.

75 *PR*, 1939, 17.

76 *PR*, 1949, 21.

77 *PR*, 1951, 15.

78 *PR*, 1954, 27.

79 *PR*, 1956, 32.

80 *PR*, 1957, 26.

81 Both Cody and Smith wrote glowing reviews of Dunlop's work as director of extension. In *President's Reports*, Cody called Dunlop "wise and energetic" (1934, 10), "progressive and far-seeing" (1936, 15), and "resourceful and vigorous" (1940, 9). Upon Dunlop's retirement, Smith wrote: "He has been, and he is today, a pioneer on the frontiers of adult education. Throughout Ontario and indeed across the nation, he has been in very truth for the University an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary," *PR*, 1951, 20.

82 Data on degrees conferred are taken from the president's reports from the pertinent years.

83 See the opening pages of the president's reports for the years 1954 to 1963.

84 *PR*, 1950, 8.

85 *PR*, 1959, 8, and 1960, 2.

86 Information about universities in Ontario may be accessed through <https://www.ontariouniversitiesinfo.ca/universities>, while information about colleges may be found at <https://www.ontariocolleges.ca>.