SOME REFLECTIONS ON MY RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

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I was fortunate enough to spend almost all of my working years in the field of adult education. Having been trained as an historian and having more by good luck than by clever planning found myself in a series of stimulating settings in that field, I frequently had an urge to write about adult education, its nature and its history, and about some of the issues involved in its development.

After completing the course work on my master’s degree in history (and completing a teacher training year) at the University of British Columbia, I went to work in Ottawa briefly for the National Research Council. I then moved back to UBC, joining the staff of the Extension Department, where I worked from 1954 to 1974, with an interlude of almost three years as assistant to the President of the University. I became Director of the Extension Department in 1967 and was in that position for seven years. In 1974, I transferred to a faculty teaching position in the Faculty of Education, where I joined the Department of Adult Education. I retired from UBC in 1992.

With respect to the subject of this paper—my research and writing during these years—I should point out that although I was in the field of adult education for 38 years before I retired, the two halves of that time were very different in terms of opportunities to do scholarly work. In the Extension Department, although my boss during the early years, Dr. John Friesen, was very supportive of my writing projects, my primary responsibilities were program planning and administration. It was only after I moved to a faculty position in mid career that I could devote time to research and writing as a part of my regular responsibilities. As I review the record, this shift in my situation was apparent in the nature of my research and publications.

I wish to point out as well that things would undoubtedly have worked out very differently for me, and my relationship with the field as a whole, if I had not become a colleague of John Friesen. He was one of the first Canadians to have earned a doctoral degree in the adult education field, had
broad experience and was a nationally known figure in the field when he recruited me in 1954. I was 26 at the time. John’s philosophical views of adult education and its role in people’s lives strongly influenced my development. From the very beginning of our association, he saw to it that I had opportunities to get to know leading figures in the field and he made it possible for me to play an active part in adult education organizations, provincial and national.

Before I entered the field of adult education, I had several opportunities to do some writing. One of my colleagues at the NRC, who had a part time appointment at the University of Ottawa as well, was a specialist in Latin American studies who did book reviews for a publication called the *Inter-American Review of Bibliography*. As French was his first language, he asked me if I would share the task with him, writing book reviews of Canadian books published in English. As a result, I read a large number of non-fiction books about Canadian affairs and reviewed them for the journal.

Later, when I first joined the UBC Extension Department, I was in charge of a program area called Citizenship Affairs and organized adult education programs which dealt with public and international affairs. At that time, the Department served as the B.C. office for a well known national radio-based program called “Citizen’s Forum”. This program involved a weekly radio broadcast on public affairs, designed for local listening groups which met in people’s homes to listen and then discuss each week’s topic. At the end of the evening, a group secretary sent a summary of the group’s opinions on the subject to the provincial office. There I received the reports and summarized them. The final few minutes of the broadcast each week were given over to the Provincial Secretary, who had a few minutes to report back to all the groups in the province a summary of the opinions on the previous week’s topic. I performed this task for two or three years and found it challenging to prepare a script which did the job successfully in the brief time available.

A few years after I joined the Extension Department, we established a program entitled Living Room Learning, a local name for what were termed “study discussion programs.” These typically involved people joining a group to study a topic of interest. The students received a package of readings on the subject and each week were assigned a section of the readings relating to that week’s topic, which they were to read before the meeting. The program was funded by an American foundation and the initial course materials were American in outlook. We decided at U.B.C. to create some Canadian courses. I agreed to prepare a course on “Canada and World
Affairs” that involved a series of ten weekly meetings. I prepared a volume of readings, some of which I wrote, as well as a ten page Leader’s Guide. The whole package was some 160 pages in length (1961d).

Some Themes

As I reflect on my research and writing during my active years as a practitioner and professor of adult education, I see that they took place in the period when adult education “arrived,” both in Canada and internationally. In those years it grew from a somewhat marginal activity to one with wide recognition in all aspects of society. Adult education, continuing education and lifelong learning have become so widely accepted that they have become everybody’s business, not just the concern of a few specialists. My efforts as a historian have been concerned with both the pioneer years of the field and with its growth and adaptation.

I discovered that adult education was indeed the “invisible giant” of the educational scene. The activity was so widely dispersed in terms of its sponsorship, and was so marginal in most of its institutional settings, that few people realized its extent and importance, and its story was little known. I regretted this, especially as I discovered that Canada had such an impressive series of accomplishments in the field. This became all the more regrettable when university training courses for adult educators were introduced in various places in the late 1950s and the only texts available were ones written in the United States which made little or no mention of Canadian contributions. All of this inspired me to do what I could to add to the efforts of Corbett, Kidd and other pioneers in telling the Canadian story.

One doesn’t enter a new field with such a grand design, however. At first, things come along one at a time, and for various reasons. It was only later that I held out hope of producing a more comprehensive treatment of the field in this country.

In re-examining my work for the purposes of this article, I have been led to reflect on the themes which have run through my efforts. I list them here, recognizing that they are somewhat untidy and overlapping in character. But as I think about them, I do see reasons why I was interested in the writing and research that I undertook. I was trained as an historian before I became engaged in adult education, so as I began to realize the true nature of the work I had fallen into, my natural inclination was to try to understand its nature and to learn the means by which it had come to its current state.
1. To contribute to our knowledge of the development and character of adult education in Canada and British Columbia.

2. To place the story of adult education in this country in the context of other related developments in society.

3. To describe what I saw to be a transition in adult education in Canada from what had been a social movement to an emerging profession, and to explore the significance and effects of that change.

4. To explore the interlocking relationship between the national and provincial dimensions of the field.

5. To examine the influence, most notably beginning in the 1970s, of international dimensions of the field on developments in Canada.

6. To examine the strategic role of the Canadian Association for Adult Education as it both influenced the development of the field and reflected the changing nature of the country.

7. To tell the story of the great people who have contributed to the field and of the outstanding pioneering programs which have served our society so well, and which in some cases have been adopted for use in other countries.

8. To examine the evolution of public policy in Canada and the provinces with respect to adult education. This is all the more important in Canada, where in this, as in other fields of activity, government has played such a prominent part in our national development.

9. To identify outstanding philosophical, professional and academic contributions which Canadians have made to the field.

**Books and Monographs**

The balance of this review of my published material will be dealt with according to its subject matter, but because of their scope, it seems appropriate first to consider my books and monographs as a group. In the case of the books, they involved a bringing together of much of what I had learned in writing the other pieces.

Dr. Roby Kidd, one of the giants in the development of adult education in Canada, was a great promoter of the growth of other people in the field. The first attempt to pull together the story of adult education in this country was his *Adult Education in Canada*, (1950). When he began thinking about a successor volume, dealing with the 1960s, he approached me and asked me to co-edit the volume with him, having noted my interest in the history of the field. The result was *Coming of Age* (Kidd & Selman, 1978), which was a collection of articles that had appeared during the 1960s, mostly in *Food For*
Thought, the journal published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE). I wrote an introduction and some other bits. It was an honour to have my name appear with Roby’s as co-editor.

As the years went by, I hoped that I could publish a volume on the nature and history of the field in Canada, but that goal seemed to fade as time passed. By the late 1980s my retirement was looming and I saw that if I was ever going to do such a thing, I had better get on with it. I decided that it should be a book not only about adult education in this country, but also on the social foundations of the field in Canada. Such a book was still not available for graduate students and others who were interested in the field. As I came to terms with the task, I saw that I was not likely to complete it on my own and I looked around for someone who could work with me. I was absolutely delighted when my first choice as co-author, Paul Dampier, whom I had come to know and admire in the previous few years, agreed to take it on. He had come out of the YMCA, as had so many people in the field (including Roby Kidd), and was a person of broad experience and sympathies. The result of this teamwork was *The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada* (Selman & Dampier, 1991), a substantial volume of over 300 pages, which was published by Thompson Educational Publishing of Toronto. We each wrote half of the volume, my chapters being: Definitions and Boundaries, Functions and Philosophy, The Canadian Movement in Context, Adult Education as Discipline and Vocation, The Contemporary Scene and Future Prospects, and Accessing the Literature. One aspect of this project which I remember fondly took place as follows: I was no expert, to say the least, on the philosophical dimensions of the field, but I drafted the chapter on that subject anyway. My son, Mark Selman, had completed his doctoral program in educational philosophy, so I tried my draft chapter out on him. He was the soul of tact, but he gently let me know that the draft would not do, and volunteered to help me with it. In the end, he rewrote the thing completely and we put his name in the text as the author of the chapter.

The *Foundations* text was a best seller, by the standards applied to such books, and before the end of the decade, a second edition was requested by the publisher. The task involved both updating the material throughout and also responding to two major deficiencies in the first volume which had been brought to our attention—the story of adult education in Quebec and French-speaking Canada, and what some saw as insufficient attention given to the role of women in the field. Paul Dampier had now moved on to other duties and was not in a position to work on the revisions. I turned instead to
Michael Cooke, who was completely at home in French and had many useful contacts in Quebec. I also felt that his philosophical approach to the field was consistent with what I was hoping for. I was delighted when he agreed to work with me and Mark Selman on producing the revisions and additions. We found experts to take on the additional chapters required (Vince Greason, Shauna Butterwick, D'Arcy Martin and Tammy Dewar). Mark Selman made some revisions to his chapter, and Michael and I looked after the other revisions. The second edition appeared late in the decade (Selman, Cooke, Selman & Dampier, 1998). It has been a source of satisfaction to me that the two editions of the book seem to have filled the place we had in mind for them. They have provided a Canadian perspective on the field and have been used extensively in university courses as well as providing a reference on the field for other interested persons.

I was aware while working on Foundations that there was not enough space there to do justice to what I had come to think of as the central tradition of Canadian adult education: education for citizenship, in the broadest sense. Included in this category were such outstanding Canadian projects as Frontier College, the Antigonish Movement, Farm Radio Forum and Citizen’s Forum, the work of the National Film Board, including the film circuits of the early years, and Challenge for Change, as well as other programs. Just before my retirement, therefore, I turned to producing a book on these topics, which was published under the title, Citizenship and the Adult Education Movement in Canada (Selman, 1991).

My next book had a surprising history. After I retired, I decided to write an account, largely for my children, of my career in adult education. I wanted them to have some idea of why I was so often an absentee father! After I produced copies for them, word got around to a few people outside the family that the account existed. After reading the text, Dr. Jack Blaney, a former colleague at U.B.C. and by then the President of Simon Fraser University, insisted that it should be published and said that he could find a few dollars to help with the project. It was subsequently published jointly by the U.B.C. Centre for Continuing Education and the International Council for Adult Education under the title, Felt Along the Heart (Selman, 1994).

A few years after I retired, I approached Keith Thompson, who had published Foundations, proposing to pull together a number of my monographs and articles which had been published over the years in various places and which I thought might deserve to be made more accessible to those in the field. I was pleased that he agreed to do this. The result was a substantial volume of some 450 pages entitled Adult Education in Canada:
Historical Essays (Selman, 1995). The book is almost evenly divided between papers having to do with the national aspects of the field and those dealing with the field in British Columbia. It includes a number of my historical monographs, combined with articles which seemed appropriate.

Along with these six published books, I should mention four book-length manuscripts which I never published, but which I drew upon in subsequent work. The first was my master’s thesis at U.B.C. (Selman, 1963), which was a history of Extension and Adult Education services provided by U.B.C. from its founding in 1915 to 1955. Writing that thesis was an introduction to the pleasures of working with primary sources, an activity that I have always enjoyed and of which I have done a great deal. In this case, many of the sources I was dealing with were smellier than most! They had been stored in the basement of a campus building which had caught fire several years earlier and whose lower area had been flooded by the firemen. My thesis may have been "musty" in more ways than one.

I forget what got me started on the search, but my next major research job was a look into the origins and early history of adult education in British Columbia. Again I was working mainly with primary sources, such as the files of various organizations, interviews with a wide variety of people, the annual reports of government departments, and most of all, the microfilmed files of a number of newspapers published in the province. Even the boomtown of Barkerville, which flourished for ten years or so beginning in the mid-1860s, had a newspaper from its earliest days. I produced a volume which told the story of the early years, deciding to terminate the study at the outbreak of the First World War, 1914 (Selman, 1971a). I had enough copies produced so I could place them in some of the key libraries in the province. The manuscript was not in fit condition for publication, but it was a valuable resource and I drew on it a great deal in some of my later work.

In the mid-1980s, I decided that it would be useful to pull together a number of pieces I had published concerning both the national and provincial aspects of the field. I assembled two volumes of some of what I thought were the more interesting items and made a few copies of each. They were entitled Papers on Adult Education in Canada (Selman, 1985a) and Papers on Adult Education in British Columbia (Selman, 1985b). Some of these items were published in later years, but some were not, and it was useful to have them assembled in this way. Again, I made bound copies available in several libraries.

In addition to these books and book-length manuscripts, I wrote some 14 monographs which were published. As I have said, a great deal of my
research was based on primary sources and this work frequently produced documents which were longer than any of the journals would print as articles. I therefore had to find other avenues for publication.

In my first few years in the Extension Department, I continued in my efforts to be well informed about some aspects of international affairs, particularly the United Nations system and Canadian foreign policy. I did a great deal of public speaking in those years about such things and I was very active in the United Nations Association, both locally and nationally. In the early 1960s I teamed up with two school teachers who were interested in teaching about the United Nations. I organized three seminars for teachers and afterwards, in order to make some of the ideas available to others, I wrote a monograph on *Teaching about the United Nations*, which was published by our department (Selman, 1962).

Shortly after I finished my thesis on U.B.C.’s Extension work, I was asked by the CAAE to produce a greatly shortened version of the thesis and also to extend the coverage of the study up to the present time. This proved to be a more arduous task than I had thought, especially the extension of the coverage to 1965, but I was glad to have the chance to have it published for a national audience (Selman, 1966a).

I published several monographs over the following years about the evolution of various aspects of adult education in B.C. The earliest was a study of the several organizations of adult educators which had come into being from 1953 to 1962 (Selman, 1969a). The next was coauthored with my colleague, Jack Blaney, and had to do with the role of the university in the continuing education of professionals (Selman & Blaney, 1970). Just before I became Director of the Extension Department in 1967, the university had drastically slashed its budget for the Department and it had to become largely self-supporting out of student fees. A great deal of my effort as Director was devoted to making a sensible adjustment to our altered circumstances. But the adjustment was a difficult and extensive one, and it took a lot out of all concerned (and cost some staff their jobs). The year after I switched over to teaching, I wrote a study entitled *A Decade of Transition*, in which I presented the story as I saw it (Selman, 1975a). In the same year I drew on my unpublished history of the pioneer years of adult education in the province and wrote my longest monograph yet, a history of adult education in Vancouver before 1914 (Selman, 1975b). Two years later, drawing in part on the same source, I published a chronology of the history of adult education in the province, bringing the outline up to the present time (Selman, 1977a). And finally in this series of papers about B.C., I presented
in some detail the story of the British Columbia Division of the CAAE (Selman, 1980a).

I purposely left one paper out of the foregoing account of my monographs about B.C. I did so because it led directly onto topics I took up later. After I joined the Faculty of Education, I had my summers free to take on research tasks which interested me. In the summer of 1975, having learned a few intriguing things about adult education in the province during the depression years of the 1930s, I decided to do a thorough study of the subject. What I found made a deep impression on me from two points of view, both of which I was subsequently to follow up. The first was my discovery that the newly elected provincial government in 1933 had deliberately chosen various forms of adult education as a major thrust in its attempt to improve "the morale of the people" (a phrase which they frequently used at the time). The other was my realization of how active and effective the government's leadership had been in those years in the field of adult education. I published my original findings about adult education in B.C. during the great depression (Selman, 1976a). The ideas generated as a result of doing that study led me to several other pieces of work, which I will deal with later.

The other major subject I pursued by means of three substantial monographs was the story of the origins and evolution of the CAAE from its founding in 1935 until 1970, the period during which the organization provided strong leadership for adult education, both nationally and, to some extent, provincially. The study was organized around the periods in office of the three outstanding Directors of the organization. The founding Director was Ned Corbett, who held that position from 1935 until 1951. He was followed by Dr. Roby Kidd, the first professionally-trained man in the position, who served from 1951 to 1961. He was followed in turn by Dr. Alan Thomas, who stayed until 1970. I wrote monographs about each of these periods (Selman, 1981; Selman, 1982a; Selman, 1985c). Again my chief sources were the records of the association and the journals which it published, plus interviews with a number of people who had something to contribute. All this was a deeply absorbing subject for me. I had met Corbett a few times in his later years and was a close friend of both of his successors. I had been an active member (and for two years the president) of the association during the latter years of Kidd's tenure and throughout Thomas's decade. I also was particularly interested in the professionalization of the field, especially from 1950 on, and the CAAE had in many ways been an active agent in that development.
There were three other monographs. In 1982 I was one of four researchers who did a study of how Canadians learned about the services available from agencies of the federal government. Each of us did studies within our own region, and we then published our results through the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, where Alan Thomas, who had organized the study, was based (Thomas, Selman, MacKeracher & MacNeil, 1982). One of the most interesting studies I undertook during these years was detailed research on the advocacy efforts carried out by the adult education organizations in B.C. The substantial account of this research was published by PACE, the Pacific Association for Continuing Education (1988c). And finally, I published a monograph under the title *The Invisible Giant*, which contained my attempt at a comprehensive history of adult education in British Columbia (Selman, 1988a). I had hoped to write a book-length treatment of the subject before I retired, but I came to realize that much more work was required to do that than I was going to be able to complete.

The History of Adult Education—National

When I consider those of my writings which were concerned with a national perspective on the field, I think at once of the two editions of *Foundations* (Selman & Dampier, 1991; Selman, Cooke, Selman & Dampier, 1998), the volume about citizenship education as the central tradition of adult education in this country (1991a), the book on adult education in the 1960s, which I edited with Roby Kidd (Kidd & Selman, 1978), and most recently, my book of historical essays, half of which was concerned with the national picture (1995). All of these were mentioned in the previous section. The other things that come to mind at once are the series of monographs on the history of the CAAE (1981, 1982a, 1985c), as they also had a great deal to say about the evolution of the field. I also think of the article published soon after I had completed the previous series which identified the 1950s as the “pivotal decade” in the development of the field in Canada (1987b). The balance of this section will be concerned largely with article-length publications.

Further work related to the CAAE was carried out from time to time. In the latter years of the 1950s, there was considerable attention given at the provincial level to the possible creation of organizations which would be related to the national organization. I was active in meetings of provincial representatives and had two articles published, one entitled “Western Variations on the Theme” (Selman, 1957a) and one on “CAAE Organizations in Western Canada” (Selman, 1959a). When I was well along
with my major study of the history of the CAAE, I wrote two articles arising from that work, both historical in their approach (Selman, 1982b; Selman, 1983a). Two other articles which dealt in part with the CAAE in its early days were of particular interest to me. In “Yesterday Speaks to Today” (Selman, 1991b), I took some material out of the first journal published by the CAAE in the mid-1930s and attempted to explain its relevance to the era in which I wrote, many decades later. The other article was about “Early Adult Education Associations” (Selman, 1992), organizations which had existed in six provinces back in the 1930s and early 1940s (alongside the CAAE), but had all disappeared by the end of the Second World War. The latter article was fun to prepare, in that little snippets of information had to be gathered from all sorts of places.

I wrote a number of articles which had to do with university extension/continuing education work. That sector of the field had organized itself by the mid-1950s and much of my work was published in their newsletter and subsequently in their juried journal. The earliest article was based on a survey I had completed of programs being conducted by extension departments on international affairs (Selman, 1957b). The 1960s was a period of rapid expansion in the number of universities in Canada, and I wrote one of a series published by the CAAE entitled “Open Letter to a New University”, about extension work (Selman, 1964a). The approach of the 1970s prompted me to write “The Next Decade in University Extension” (Selman, 1968), and in 1970, Jack Blaney and I wrote a monograph on the university’s role in the emerging field of continuing education for the professions (Selman & Blaney, 1970). The university continuing education journal invited me to contribute to their series on “What Future for University Continuing Education Units” (Selman, 1973a). Shortly after I left extension work, I wrote an article on “The Programmer and Power” which discussed the role of the university extension worker (Selman, 1976). Thereafter I gave less attention to university extension matters, in view of the fact I was no longer “one of them.”

In the mid-1970s, I was drawn to thinking about the nature of adult education in Canada. I had written an article about adult education for women a little earlier (Selman, 1967), and, as I have mentioned, Blaney and I wrote about the continuing education of professionals (Selman & Blaney, 1970).

In 1973 I wrote an article pointing out the need for an organization in Canada for the promotion of the study of adult education (Selman, 1973b), and the following year I wrote one calling for the national university
extension body (then called CADESS) to organize and publish a volume on 
university extension in Canada (Selman, 1974a). In the same year I wrote an 
article, “Concerning the History of Adult Education in Canada”, which 
promoted the study of our considerable accomplishments in that field 
(Selman, 1974b). In the following year, as a small contribution to that effort, 
I conducted a modest survey of what a number of prominent adult educators 
across Canada considered to be our greatest accomplishments (Selman, 
1975c), and three years later wrote “Some Notes on our Evolution,” as a 
further effort in that direction (Selman, 1978a).

Beginning in the mid-1980s, I returned to some consideration of the adult 
education organizations in Canada. I have already mentioned two articles I 
wrote at the time about the CAAE (1982a, 1983). A little later I published 
what I considered to be a significant piece entitled “Adult Educators and 
their Organizations: Specialization or Balkanization” (Selman, 1988b). In 
this article I attempted to do two things. One was to outline the history (or at 
least the foundation) of the national organizations in the field, as well as the 
ones in British Columbia (meant to be illustrative of the various provincial 
bodies). The other was to examine the impact on the field of the relative 
weakening of the comprehensive or “umbrella” organizations (such as the 
CAAE and the corresponding provincial organizations), and the shifting 
emphasis towards more specialized groups. What did our communities lose 
and gain by these developments and what should we give thought to in that 
connection? I thought that the information contained in the piece was useful, 
and that perhaps the issues raised were worth bringing to the attention of the 
field.

I returned to a more general view of the field after that. The Canadian 
Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) had recently been 
founded and was now planning a juried journal. Having written about the 
need for such a development in the past, I welcomed the new journal and 
approached its editor with the suggestion that I write a major article. This 
having been agreed to, I did the research which resulted in “The Fifties: 
Pivotal Decade in Canadian Adult Education” (Selman, 1987a), which 
appeared as the lead article in the first issue of the journal. This idea had 
resulted from my research for articles about Roby Kidd’s contributions to the 
education of adult educators (Selman, 1983) and his period as Director of the 
CAAE during the 1950s (Selman, 1982a), during which I had become aware 
of Kidd’s influence on the promotion of the academic study of the field. I had 
also recently written two chapters for inclusion in a book edited by Nancy 
Cochrane about Kidd’s contributions (Selman, 1986a; Selman, 1986b).
Still attempting to examine the field as a whole, I wrote an article in 1989 which caused more than the usual reaction. It was called “The Enemies of Adult Education”, and made the argument that adult education’s problems in gaining adequate resources and recognition were due not only to our failure to make the case for our work, but also, at least equally, to the fact that the powers that be saw all too clearly the full results of providing the opportunities which adult education and lifelong learning held out to society—and they didn’t like what they saw (Selman, 1989a). There were those who did not accept that argument. The following year I wrote an article which examined the nature of what were then being termed the “New Social Movements” and looked at the implications for adult education in relation to their work (Selman, 1990a).

I returned to focus on adult education for citizenship at this time, too. In connection with my teaching, as I examined the “big stories” in adult education in Canada, I was repeatedly impressed with the fact that Canada’s most prominent contributions to the field—and the projects which had most frequently been adapted for use in other countries—were mostly in the field of education for citizenship, broadly defined. I had focused on this matter in a chapter for a monograph on education for citizenship (Selman, 1983b), dealt with it in the writing of Foundations, and examined it at some length in Citizenship and the Adult Education Movement in Canada (Selman, 1991).

I turned from time to time, especially in the later years, to the subject of public policy and its impact on adult education. Writing my monograph on adult education during the depression years of the 1930s (Selman, 1976a) had left a deep impression on me, and it led me to write an article comparing the response of the field in the 1930s to its response to the depression of the late 1970s and early 1980s (Selman, 1983c). I related what seemed to be a relative lack of response in the later period to the professionalization of the field in the interim. I had an opportunity to return to this subject shortly before I retired, when I took part in a seminar at Syracuse University and subsequently was invited to contribute a chapter to a book they were assembling. My chapter was entitled “The Morale of the People” and was largely an examination of how the government of B.C. had during the 1930s utilized adult education as one of its strategies for helping people cope with the circumstances of the times (Selman, 1990b).

Of the several other articles falling under this heading which I have not yet mentioned here, I found two particularly interesting. The first was one I co-authored with my U.B.C. colleague Jindra Kulich. The English title of the article describes the field as being “Between Social Movement and
Profession.” The article was published first in German in the *International Yearbook of Adult Education* published in Cologne (Selman & Kulich, 1980a). I will provide a little more detail on this in the section on international dimensions, below. We then published a slightly shorter version in the British journal *Studies in Adult Education* (Selman & Kulich, 1980c). Writing this study was a very stimulating way of trying to identify the gains and possible losses from this transition.

The second article was entitled, “1972: Year of Affirmation” (Selman, 1989b). I pointed out that in that year there had been three significant publications which had had an impact on Canadian adult education: the report of the commissions on the future of education in Ontario and Alberta, both of which gave unaccustomed prominence to adult education, and the UNESCO publication, *Learning to Be*, which did the same at the international level. I found the detailed consideration of those three documents, as well as others, and the bringing together of national and international thinking to be of considerable interest.

The History of Adult Education—British Columbia

There are approximately forty items to be considered in this area. To help me with the selection and organization of the material, I have referred to two of my books, the collection of pieces I bound in an unpublished volume in 1985, *Papers on Adult Education in British Columbia* (Selman, 1985b), and *Adult Education in Canada: Historical Essays* (Selman, 1995), approximately half of which is devoted to work about the provincial scene. The second of these was assembled after my active work in the field was completed, and in that sense may be seen as a final selection of what I, if not the reader, felt were among the more interesting of my efforts. I divided the items—several of which were monographs when first published—into three sections, “General History,” “The Early Years,” and “The Great Depression.”

I took particular pleasure in re-publishing the first item, *The Invisible Giant*. As I explained earlier, I wrote this piece only after giving up on writing a book on the subject, but this document is to my knowledge still the only attempt at a comprehensive history of the field in any of the provinces (Selman, 1988a). It was published by the U.B.C. Centre for Continuing Education Occasional Papers series. Quite a few of my earlier writings were called upon in preparing the manuscript, from my master’s thesis on university extension (Selman, 1963) to Adult Basic Education in the ‘80s, (Selman, 1982c).
Another major item in the B.C. section was a study of government’s leadership role in adult education. I first examined the period 1933-1939, this part being based largely on my monograph on the depression years (Selman, 1976a). I then looked at the period 1976-1983, during which the government had again given impressive leadership. The original version of the second part had been included as a chapter in a volume of papers published by PACE (Selman, 1984). Whereas my study of the 1930s had been based largely on historical records, I had been an active participant in much of the later period.

The full text of the earlier monograph on the depression (Selman, 1976a) was included as well. I had a particular interest in what I had learned during the research for that study. For one thing, there were persons in the government in the 1930s who had an advanced view of the potential role of adult learning in the lives of people. The constant references in the documents and reports of the time to the “morale of the people” were indicative of a belief that the act of learning, almost regardless of the content of what was being learned, could have a beneficial impact of the human spirit. There was a view of adult learning (as distinct from adult education) which was emerging when I wrote the piece, but which was revealed to have been in the minds of some leaders back in the 1930s. There was also an indication of a willingness on the part of government to enter into productive relationships with the voluntary sector.

The paper which appeared alongside the previous one was a fresh look at the same depression years which I wrote some fifteen years later (Selman, 1990b). That paper had a rather unexpected origin. I had taken a great deal of interest in the preservation of the records of adult education organizations, and in the late 1980s I had been invited to an international seminar on that same subject at Syracuse University (mentioned earlier). Somehow, those discussions led to the planning of a book about what they termed “breaking new ground,” by which they meant, in part, the provision of learning opportunities for groups in the population who had not been well served. I offered to contribute a section based on my research on the depression years. This having been agreed to, I re-examined my earlier study and in its new version, entitled it “The Morale of the People,” (1990b).

In the other section of the book devoted to developments in British Columbia, I included four quite varied pieces, all based on my research into the early years of adult education in the province. I had prepared a separate article for publication soon after I completed the overall study. It was a history of adult education activity in the gold mining boom town of
Barkerville during its heyday in the mid-1860s and in the following decade. It was fun doing the work on the early newspapers. I supplemented that source with a few published histories of the town and was quite pleased that the journal *B.C. Studies* agreed to publish it (Selman, 1971b). It was the first of my writings about adult education which had been accepted for publication in a journal outside the field. I also found it quite revealing that there was so much adult education activity in what was a rather rough and ready boom town, more noted for its saloons than for cultural or educational activity.

I also included in this section my monograph on the history of adult education in Vancouver prior to 1914, which had been published originally 20 years earlier (Selman, 1975b). It was based on the research on the early years of the field which I had gathered mainly from newspapers, and contained a great deal of previously-unpublished material. The research was somewhat laborious. Although there were indexes to some of the newspapers, they had been prepared before the contemporary understanding of adult education had developed, and most of what I was looking for was not easily findable. I therefore had to read my way through the back files of the newspapers, making my own notes as I went. Although there was, I was sure, much more to be learned on the subject, I was pleased with what I produced.

The two other items I included in this section were, in a sense, parallel studies, in that they relied on material from my unpublished book on the pre-1914 period and were of article rather than monograph length. One was on the origins and activities of the Mechanics' Institutes in the province during the declining years of that movement (Selman, 1971c). The other had to do with the origins of the publicly sponsored evening class activities in several B.C. communities before 1914 (1971a). I wrote these two articles when I learned that the CAAE was experiencing a bad patch in its fortunes and that its journal was being published for a year or so under the leadership of Roby Kidd with help from other volunteers. I offered both of these articles, which appeared in successive issues of *Continuous Learning*.

I was quite active in some of the provincial and national organizations of adult educators, especially during my years in extension work from 1954 to 1974, and I did quite a lot of writing about these bodies. I have referred in the previous section to articles I wrote on "Western Variations on the Theme" (1957a) and "CAAE Organizations in Western Canada" (1959). I had also written one devoted to the B.C. scene, "Mind Meets Mind in British Columbia" (1955), which described the early existence of the B.C. Adult
Education Council, beginning in late '54. Approximately ten years later, a further round of organizational development took place in B.C. and I produced a monograph entitled "Toward Co-operation: Development of a Provincial Voice for Adult Education in B.C." (1969a). I had been heavily involved in many of these organizations and felt I was in a better position than anyone else, perhaps, to tell the story. A further decade on, I realized that we were coming up on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the first organization of adult educators back in 1954, and so I wrote "1954 to 1979: Twenty Five Years of Adult Education Organizations in B.C." (1979), which was published by PACE. The following year, I wrote a history of monograph length of one of the B. C. organizations, the B. C. Division of the CAAE, which had functioned from 1961 to 1971 when the field was rapidly expanding and became increasingly specialized. I found it an absorbing study and was pleased that PACE agreed to publish it as an Occasional Paper (1980). I returned to examine the adult education organizations one last time in 1988, but from a different point of view. I undertook a substantial study of the advocacy efforts which had been made by the various adult education organizations in the province over the years. The report was 51 pages in length and was published in a volume of papers by PACE (1988c).

Having worked in the Extension Department/Center for Continuing Education for twenty years before switching over to teaching, I was of course interested in its history and development. My Masters thesis was devoted to the history of extension work at U.B.C (Selman, 1963). Before I completed my thesis, the Department celebrated its 25th anniversary and I was called upon to write a number of different pieces for publication in various places. I had at least three articles published in one year (Selman, 1961b; Selman, 1961c; Selman, 1961d) and other pieces in 1964 (Selman, 1964b) and 1966. The last of these was published as a pamphlet by the CAAE and covered the period 1915 to 1965 (Selman, 1966a). I left the Center in 1974, and a year later, I wrote "Decade of Transition" (the 1960s), during which the university had drastically cut its financial support for the Center, with profound effects on the unit's program and functions (Selman, 1975a). The publication did not change anything, I don't suppose, but I was pleased to be able to tell the story as I saw it. The budget cuts had taken place during the few years I was away from the center, but when I resumed as Director in 1967, I joined my colleagues in picking up the pieces and adjusting to the changes. I had another chance to comment on those things on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Center. The four men who had been Directors over the
years were invited to write an article on their reflections, which were published by the Center (1976c).

There were a few other publications which deserve mention. My colleague Jindra Kulich and I had an opportunity to write an article for a Scottish journal about the nature of the field in the province (Selman & Kulich, 1974). In the same year, I wrote a short piece which pointed out that there had been government support for some adult education activity in the colonial period, before the province existed (Selman, 1974b). I also published a chronology of adult education in the province, which was published as a monograph (Selman, 1977a), and in the same year, I wrote an article on what I termed “B.C.’s Unique Contributions” to the field (Selman, 1977b).

My publications about the field in the province after that have already been mentioned in one connection or another. It remains to point out that my autobiographical volume, Felt Along the Heart (Selman, 1994), had a great deal to say about adult education in B.C.

**International Dimension**

During my university training I took a number of courses on international relations. When I joined the Extension Department in 1954, that was one of my areas of programming responsibility. I continued to read and study about such matters and did quite a lot of public speaking about the United Nations and current international relations and crises. I was active in the U.N. Association, serving as president of the Vancouver Branch and vice president of the national organization. My first two publications in the area were 1957c, a “review article” about contemporary world affairs which was published in the CAAE’s journal (1957), and the results of a survey of programs on international affairs being offered by university extension departments across the country (1957b). Perhaps the final publication arising from my study and speaking about such things was a paper I was invited to give to the Council on World Affairs of Anchorage, Alaska, in October of 1959, which they subsequently published (1959b). I was appointed to the Canadian Commission for UNESCO when it was founded in 1957, at first as a representative of the U.N. Association and/or the CAAE, and subsequently in a personal capacity, and I began to study international co-operation in the field of education, publishing an article on the subject in the journal of the UNESCO Commission (1966b).

My connections with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO led to several opportunities. I published an article in the Commission’s journal in
1966 on aspects of international co-operation in our field (1966b). In 1972, I was named to the Canadian delegation to the UNESCO World Conference on Adult Education in Tokyo. When I returned, I wrote an article on my “Impressions” (1972), and I was pleased to find that the professional journal in India picked up the article and reprinted it (1973c). I was invited two years later by the International Council for Adult Education to act as Rapporteur for the first international conference of representatives of national adult education organizations, which was held in London. The Council published my report (1974c).

In 1974 the CAAE offered a tour to China for adult educators in Canada who were interested in activities in our field in that country, which my wife and I went on. Afterwards I wrote “There are Only Four Dogs in China,” which was published in the International Council’s journal (1974d). A decade later the International Council and the Chinese authorities sponsored a meeting in Shanghai designed to brief Chinese adult educators and their government on research on the field which had been carried out in other countries (while the Chinese were distracted by their Cultural Revolution). I was pleased to be asked to give the opening paper at the meeting. The proceedings, including my paper on “Adult Education: An Awakening Force,” were subsequently published (1987b).

UNESCO was very active in the 1970s on work related to adult education. Their statement on the subject, Learning to Be, was published in 1972 and was of interest to many of us in Canada. The Tokyo conference which I attended in 1972 had called upon the international body to produce a statement of norms and standards for the guidance of member states, and these recommendations appeared in print several years later. The Canadian Commission for UNESCO contracted with the English and French language national adult education organizations to hold a series of seminars in several centers in Canada to bring the Recommendations to the attention of Canadians. I wrote two articles about the document as well, one being published in British Columbia (1977c) and the other in the CAAE journal (1977d) of which I was the editor at the time.

In 1979, I was invited to do a consulting job at the University of Melbourne, Australia. This was timed so I could take part as well in their national conference on the UNESCO Recommendations. While I was there, I gave two lectures on adult education in Canada (1978b; 1978c). The following year I was invited to contribute an article to the annual survey of the field which was published in the United States. My piece dealt with the activities of international organizations (Selman, 1980b). In the same year,
thanks to Jindra Kulich’s contacts in Germany, he and I had an opportunity to contribute an article (in German), to the International Yearbook of Adult Education which was published in Köln. I have already referred above to this article, “Between Social Movement and Profession”.

The Nature of the Field and of the Profession
I have given what seems to be a surprising amount of attention over the years to the changing nature and professional concerns of the field. Perhaps this was in part because the field became markedly more professionalized after I entered it, something to which I was very sensitive because of my personal history. I entered the field with no specific preparation for it (in fact I had never heard of it, to the best of my recollection), but wound up spending the last 18 of my working years teaching at the university in a program providing professional training for those in such work.

Within days of my reporting for work at the Extension Department of U.B.C. in September of 1954, I was able to attend the first provincial conference on adult education which had ever been held in B.C. Out of this came the formation of the "Adult Education Council of British Columbia". I was shortly thereafter assigned by John Friesen to serve as the part time executive secretary of this body. It held semi-annual conferences for the following ten years or so, on each of which I wrote substantial reports for circulation to the participants. I was thus in on the ground floor of the formation of the first such provincial organization in Canada, and as a result was in a position to play an active part in parallel developments in other provinces. Among my earliest publications in the field were accounts of organizational efforts in B.C. and the other Western provinces in creating such provincial bodies (“Minds Meets Mind in B.C.” (Selman, 1955), “Western Variations” (Selman, 1957), and “CAAE Organizations in Western Canada” (Selman, 1959a)). As a result of meetings with groups and educators in other provinces, I had an opportunity to learn about the varying philosophical points of view and general attitudes towards the field which were held by those working in it. I learned that these differences existed not only among the many organizations in the field, but even between educators in my own area, university extension. I was very conscious of this, for instance, when I was invited to write an article in a series being published by the CAAE under the title of “Open Letter to a New University” (Selman, 1964a) on other aspects of the changes in university extension.

In the early stages of the emerging women's movement, I wrote an article on adult education for women (Selman, 1967), and a few years later, when
continuing education in the professions was attracting new attention, a colleague and I wrote a monograph on the special responsibilities which universities had in that field (Selman & Blaney, 1970). My article on the continuing education of adult educators “A Learning and a Caring Profession” (Selman, 1969b), attracted some attention in the field, and I was pleased when the professional body in India reprinted the piece (Selman, 1970). I considered the article to be a significant one, in that it made the case for the field to retain its links with social development and not become remote from those concerns in its rush towards professionalism. I took whatever chances came my way in subsequent years, when writing items which were addressed to adult educators in universities and elsewhere, to avoid any narrow professional vision of their responsibilities and to ground their work in concern for the social and cultural development of their communities. Many articles could be cited in this connection, but a few examples will suffice: a piece which dealt with “The Next Decade in Extension” (Selman, 1968); an address to the founding conference of the Alberta adult education organization (Selman, 1969c); and a paper on “What Future for University Continuing Education?” (Selman, 1973a). A different kind of opportunity came along when a colleague in California and I were employed by the relatively new University of Lethbridge to advise it on its policies concerning extension work (Selman & Sheats, 1968).

I took several opportunities in the early 1970s to encourage the advancement of our knowledge of and literature about our field in Canada. One of these was an article which made the case for creating a new organization in the field devoted to the study and academic development of adult education (Selman, 1973b). The following year I appealed to the national body representing university extension to sponsor the publication of a volume on the history of that work in Canada (1974a). As part of promoting that cause, I undertook a modest research project at the time aimed at determining what programs or projects in the history of the field in Canada were most highly regarded by informed people in the field (1975c).

A relatively brief article which I wrote in 1973 attracted more attention than I thought it would. It contained a description of what I saw to be a new type of organization to serve adult learners throughout the community, what I called a “Local Learning Center.” The idea was to create a series of storefront operations designed to go to the people rather than requiring them to come to our institutions, and there to provide consultation services and information about educational services available, and also feedback to the programming agencies in interpreting community needs. A number of people...
commented on what a good idea it was, and some registered their surprise that an institutional-based person such as myself would come up with such a suggestion (1973d).

As noted above, the extension program of the University of British Columbia—which had been highly regarded for the breadth of its program and devotion to community service—was dealt a serious blow in the mid-Sixties when a new university president decided to slash financial support. This made it necessary for the department to abandon some admirable activities which could not “pay their way” financially and to take their lead from the cash register rather than from their view of the adult education needs they could best meet. This gave rise to my monograph, “Decade of Transition”, referred to above (1975a).

My involvement with UNESCO in the 1970s was prompted in part by the fact that at a time when in North America we were tending to become "program technicians" and turning our back on the social development functions of the field, the international community continued to value the former and argued for it powerfully. In an article I wrote some years later (1988) I focused on the year 1972 as a year of “affirmation” for adult education in this country and I made reference to the influence of the two UNESCO reports in this connection. (See also the section above on international dimensions).

My research and writing after I transferred to a faculty position in 1974 also reflected my concern for the condition of the adult education field. For example, the article “Between Social Movement and Profession” (1980c) written with Jindra Kulich got me thinking again about the matter of the impact of professionalism on the field. This led me to take a look in some depth at the strong influence which came from the CAAE over the years, and in my three monographs (1981; 1982a; 1985c) on the directors of the association a theme which runs strongly through the story is the increasing professionalism which was taking place and the efforts by each of these men to reconcile it with the social mission of the movement. In an article written near the end of that work, I refer to the organization as the "flexible servant" of the field (1982b), but at least in these years, the CAAE was a leader in the field, as well as its servant.

With the rapid growth of the various aspects of adult education in Canada, there seemed to be a general weakening of the "umbrella" organizations in the field, both nationally (the CAAE), and provincially. Various segments of the field, such as adult education in public educational institutions, were gaining a stronger sense of common interests. However,
the organizations which represented the field as a whole were losing strength. My article drawing attention to this phenomenon, "Specialization or Balkanization" (1988b), attracted some attention. I developed the examination of the phenomenon elsewhere as well (1990c).

There is one other article I wish to mention as it bears on this topic. In “The Enemies of Adult Education” (1989a), my argument was that adult educators' difficulty in getting financial and policy support for their work was due not merely to indifference to what we were doing, as we often assumed it to be, but also to a conscious resistance to the goals of our field. If we were the faithful and conforming servants of our sponsoring institutions, that caused no problem, but if we had goals of our own, then the world could see that clearly enough. Many of the holders of power and influence in society were not keen to see others empowered, by means of adult education or in other ways. The question I posed was, do adult educators have goals of our own, and if so, what resistance do they generate? My objective was to raise these and related questions as a means of encouraging us to examine the nature of the enterprise we were part of.

I could refer to others of my published papers which bear on the changing nature of the field over these years, but much of what I was trying to say was expressed in three books I published towards the end of my working years, the first edition of “The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada” (Selman & Dampier, 1991), and the “Citizenship and the Adult Education Movement in Canada” (1991a) and “Felt Along the Heart” (1994). I also republished some of the papers which bore on the subject in my “Adult Education in Canada: Historical Essays” (1995).

Concluding Comments
After this review of my research and writing, a few comments come to mind. The first is that I have been reminded of how fortunate I was to be able to get so much of my work published, in view of the fact that much of it was not on a subject or of a length which was acceptable to the journals in the field. The primary reason for this was that Jindra Kulich, who managed the publications of the U.B.C. Extension Department/Center for Continuing Education, was very supportive of the type of research I was doing, and was willing to publish my monographs in his series.

I think it was helpful too that as a result of my relatively wide experience, both as a practitioner and in the professional organizations of the field,
I was personally known to many of the editors who were the "gatekeepers" of the journals.

I also benefited from the timing of much of my work. During my most productive period not only was the field expanding rapidly, but there was a new professional spirit in the air, resulting in a readiness to entertain contributions to the field. That new professional thrust also supported an expansion in the number of journals with which material could be placed.

It is fair to say that my readiness to devote the time and effort to work on subjects—I think particularly of my numerous publications which relied on research based on primary and widely dispersed sources—meant that I was able to write about some subjects which had never been tackled before and therefore came as new contributions to the field.

And then there are "the breaks," verging on "dumb luck." One can think of plausible reasons why things happened the way they did, but in my case, at any rate, there is more to be said. A friend of mine, Dr. Walter Archer, happened to be carrying a copy of the text of what became the Foundations textbook Paul Dampier and I had written, and happened to be looking through it on the airplane, when the man sitting next to him asked what it was. That man happened to be Keith Thompson, the educational publisher, and as a result of that contact, Thompson Educational Publishing of Toronto published two of my books (1991a; 1995). A little bit of luck never hurts.

Post Retirement

As I have indicated, a few major projects concerning adult education carried over into the period after my retirement from the university, but after the decks were cleared, I turned to research and writing related to one of my longstanding interests: the Cromwell period of English history (roughly the first half of the 17th century). I developed an interest in Cromwell and his times when I was a young man and had read a great deal about the subject over the years. I had also bought quite a few books, so between my own library, the West Vancouver public library and interlibrary loan, I had quite a lot of resources at hand. My intention was to do some historical and biographical and perhaps fictional writing about the period, but as things turned out, I had a stroke in 1999, and as a result lost the ability to read at anything but a painfully slow pace. As a result, my work on Cromwell has fallen into two sections. In the earlier period I did historical and biographical writing, as planned, but since the stroke I have turned to writing novels.

I find the central character of the period, Oliver Cromwell himself, a fascinating subject and I have written three biographical volumes about the
man. The first is a general biography. The second is a more detailed biographical study of a particular five-year period in his life, 1649 to 1654, when he was at the height of his fortunes. The third is a biography designed for teenage readers. I also wrote a biography (perhaps a fictionalized biography is a more satisfactory description) of John Thurloe, who was Cromwell's Secretary of State in the 1650s. I also wrote two other books of a fictional kind about Cromwell and his circle. One contains a volume of letters (fictional) among Cromwell and his five closest associates, supposedly written to each other at various points in the period. The second was a series of sustained conversations among the six men which supposedly took place in heaven after the last of them had died, during which they reflected on the events of their lives and times. I found it very stimulating to try to put myself in the places of these six outstanding men and imagine how they would take part in these "heavenly conversations."

After I turned to novels, I began a series of adventure tales centering on the activities of a fictional government secret agent, Matthew Middleton. These tales move progressively through the 1650s and are set against the actual events of the period. At the point of writing, I have completed four of a planned series of six novels in this series.

I have not attempted to get any of these post-retirement writings published. I have enjoyed doing the work on them and have considered their completion to my own satisfaction as reward enough. In each case I have had just a few copies made, for my own use and so I could give copies to our children.

I found when I retired that after so many years of research and writing, I had come to enjoy such work, in another area of my choice. The effects of my stroke a few years ago were a worry in this connection, but I feel fortunate that I have been able to get on with it in a way that interests me.

In conclusion, I want to record my thanks to my friend and long-time colleague, Jindra Kulich. When I commented one day that I might not complete the bibliography which should accompany it because of problems with my sight, he volunteered to take on the task and we worked together on it. If it was not for his help, that useful addition to this paper would not have been possible.

If any reader wishes to have further information about any of the publications or issues dealt with in this article, feel free to contact me.

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