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'No finer school than a Settlement': the development of the educational settlement movement

The history of the settlement movement in Britain has attracted the interest of a varied group of historians.[1] However, almost all have focused on the social settlements, giving a disproportionate share of their attention to Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, the first such institution, founded in 1884 under the wardenship of Canon Samuel Barnett. In other words, they have followed the definition of a settlement used by the first historian of English settlements, Werner Picht, who declared in 1914 that '[a] Settlement is a colony of members of the upper classes, formed in a poor neighbourhood, with the double purpose of getting to know the local conditions of life from personal observation, and of helping where help is needed.'[2] Leaving aside the implied restriction of settlement work to 'members of the upper classes', this definition suggests, firstly, that a settlement had to be residential, and, secondly, that its focus was social. Moreover, the majority of the early settlements were associated with universities or Oxbridge colleges (although Barnett himself was a Wadham man, Toynbee Hall's closest links were with Balliol). However, there was a group of settlements, the first founded in 1909, which, although they often had formal or informal links to universities, did not grow out of them, and which were non-residential and had an educational rather than a social focus. Whereas the early settlements developed from educational institutions and fulfilled a social role, the educational settlements grew from religious endeavour and concentrated on the provision of education for adults. Confederated into the Educational Settlements

Association (ESA) from 1920, and later known as educational centres, these settlements have attracted little attention from historians and have even more rarely been integrated into the history of the settlement movement. Historians of adult education have often referred briefly to these settlements as one of the many results of the post-first world war expansion of adult education provision;[3] and, like the social settlements, some educational settlements have produced their own institutional histories;[4] but with the exception of a brief and selective survey by A. J. Allaway forty years ago, no history has been written of these institutions.[5] The neglect is epitomized by the recent *History of Modern British Adult Education*, edited by Roger Fieldhouse and others, in which educational settlements, beyond a few incidental references, are treated to only three pages of text, with only two mentioned by name, and only two sources cited for the pre-1945 period.[6]

This article describes the establishment of the educational settlements, and how they differed from the better known social settlements, and in particular how the emphasis on education and non-residence marked them out from the older institutions. It examines the influence of members of the Religious Society of Friends – the Quakers – on the establishment and direction of the settlements, and their relationships with other Quaker and non-Quaker educational initiatives. It explores the educational and social ethos of the educational settlements, and how this changed during the first 15 years or so of their existence; and also the relationship between the settlements and other adult education providers such as the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). It also examines the governance of educational settlements, and how this came to be a source of conflict between the pioneers and the students who attended courses in them, and how the actual practices and environment of the settlements differed from the ideas of their originators. It shows how the early

intentions of the Quaker pioneers of the settlements were modified following the experience of running the settlements and meeting their students' needs; and shows how the settlements' lack of resources limited the wider impact they were able to make. Nevertheless, it will be suggested that these institutions provided a model of a non-residential type of settlement that came to characterize the settlement movement as a whole as it developed in the 1930s and after the second world war. Finally, at a time in which the history of settlements is beginning to receive more like the attention it deserves among both historians and social policy specialists,[7] some further avenues of inquiry into the history of educational settlements will be identified.

I

Whereas the early social settlements were concentrated in London, the movement gradually spreading to other cities, the impetus to the development of educational settlements came largely from the north, and in particular from Yorkshire. In 1935 no less than 29 of the 44 institutions affiliated to the British Association of Residential Settlements (BARS) were in London, whereas of the 32 represented by the ESA only five were in the capital.[8] If Frederick Denison, the early martyr to the idea and practice of 'slumming', was the inspiration behind Toynbee Hall and its imitators, John Wilhelm Rowntree was the no less powerful spirit behind the educational settlements. The Rowntree family of York were among the most vocal, enthusiastic and wealthy supporters of the development of educational settlements, reflecting their Quaker background and practical involvement in adult education stretching back over half a century. The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust (JRCT), established in 1904, was directly associated with the establishment of the first two

such settlements, and in the interwar period was the main financial supporter of the ESA. The Rowntrees, together with the Cadbury family, also supported the Woodbrooke 'Settlement', a Quaker college in Birmingham established in 1903, inspired by John Wilhelm (who died in 1905), at which members and non-members of the Society of Friends could come into residence and engage in Bible study, Church history, social study and social work. Woodbrooke was a residential college – the term 'settlement', usually applied to it in its early years, was misleading – and it was quickly realised that only a few Quakers had the independent means, or were recipients of scholarships provided by the JRCT, to enable them to attend it; and thus the Woodbrooke Extension Committee (WEC) was established in 1907 following a conference that agreed that 'it seemed essential that something should be done to bring the Woodbrooke influences down to the country', such as the provision of itinerant lecturers to reach those who could not afford the time or the money to spend a term or a year at the college.[9]

Between them the WEC and the Yorkshire 1905 Committee were responsible for the development of the first educational settlements. The 1905 Committee, later the Yorkshire Friends Service Committee, was established after John Wilhelm Rowntree's death to promote social service, and above all educational service, among Quakers in Yorkshire. The Committee encouraged a range of educational activities, all underpinned by the concept of education through personal guidance. Thus Ernest Taylor, the Committee's energetic secretary, organized 'Tea-Table Talks' in Friends' homes, designed to bring 'peripheral' young Quakers more fully into the social service fold;[10] there was impressive structure in place for the dissemination of lecturers and literature – a network of over forty 'Local Helpers' had been established by 1907;[11] and the Committee was actively involved in the organisation of

'settlements', in this case short-term residential courses, and pioneered 'Quaker tramps', where groups of Quakers combined recreational walking with devotional meetings, and gained spiritual sustenance for their social service.[12] By 1913 the Committee was involved in 'Visitation arrangements, Lecture Courses, Study Circles, Sunday Evening Addresses, Children's School Work, and Settlements'.[13] Quakers in Yorkshire and elsewhere already had a strong presence in the adult school movement; but in the 1900s it was increasingly felt that some sort of permanent premises were required if the educational projects of the Society of Friends were to be realised. Ernest Taylor, recognising the inaccessibility of Woodbrooke to the majority of Quakers and non-Quakers alike, suggested in 1908 'a less costly School, with different Lectures, held in a largely populated district over a considerable time, to which men and women might come either to board for a few days or simply to attend the evening Lectures … The evening Lecture tickets should be cheap and should embrace a common meal.'[14] It was a short step from this project to the development of a permanent settlement, and in 1909 a joint committee of Leeds Monthly Meeting and the 1905 Committee, encouraged by the success of the temporary 'settlements', established the Swarthmore Settlement in Leeds, under the wardenship of Gerald K. Hibbert and the sub-wardenship of Maurice Rowntree.

In the same year, under the guidance of Arnold Rowntree, a settlement was opened at St. Mary's in York, not growing directly from the Society of Friends but involving many of its members. The warden was Richard Westrope, a Methodist-turned-Quaker, and the sub-warden Wilfrid Crosland, a socialist Quaker and former secretary of the Yorkshire Adult School Union. The curriculum in the early years was distinctively religious in content, as was also the case at Leeds, but at both settlements it soon broadened, encouraged by the use of the premises for WEA and university

extension courses, and the settlements soon came to embrace courses on international relations, economics, literature, history, science and nature, and so on; and to spawn dramatic and musical societies which brought them a higher profile in their cities. Five years later, in 1914, another educational settlement was opened, Beechcroft in Birkenhead, again under Quaker auspices, and perhaps even more typical of the Quaker educational ethos. Its founder, Horace Fleming, believed it to have been the first truly educational settlement, recognising the claims of Swarthmore and St. Mary's but arguing that the breadth of the curriculum at Beechcroft from its inception made it a more genuine 'community centre of adult education'.[15] Like its predecessors, Beechcroft grew out of the local adult school movement, but it was also formed under the influence of the WEA and other educational bodies. Originally in Fleming's own home, it was intended from the start to create the atmosphere of 'fellowship' that lay at the heart of the educational settlement ethos. After the first world war, more such settlements were established, including the Walthamstow Settlement, which grew from a Friends' Mission and was associated with the (Quaker) Bedford Institute; the Folk House in Bristol; a settlement in Plymouth, also called Swarthmore, instigated by the Society of Friends and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); and Bensham Grove in Gateshead, which was unusual in having a female warden (Miss Lettice Jowitt) and a residential element. In addition, the Mary Ward Settlement, formerly the Passmore Edwards Settlement, one of the oldest social settlements, eventually joined the ESA after giving over most of its activities to education when Horace Fleming left Beechcroft to take on the wardenship; while soon after the first world war the controversial Sheffield settlement, headed by Arnold Freeman, abandoned residence and turned itself into a mainly educational foundation.[16] The ESA as a whole gained recognition from the

Board of Education from 1924, when it became one of the few 'Responsible Bodies' entitled to state financial support under the Adult Education Regulations.

There was a great variety of educational settlements, each with a distinctively local element, but one thing that most had in common was that they grew from the adult school movement; and as far as possible the ethos of the adult schools was transmitted to the new institutions. Like the adult schools, the new settlements were open to both Friends and non-Friends, but, growing as they did from Quaker social concern, were conceived as contributing to the fostering of what one Quaker historian has called 'those omnipresent magic words, "Fellowship" and "Service"'.[17] The pre-war pioneers of educational settlements were keen to emphasize the links between the new institutions and the adult schools: Arnold Rowntree, speaking at the official opening of the St. Mary's settlement, pointed out that its establishment did not mean 'any break in connection with the past history of the Adult School Movement', but was rather 'only the necessary growth and extension of the activities of that movement'.[18] Such an extension was necessary because of the changing demands among working-class consumers of adult education. The spread of near-universal elementary education meant that fewer adults needed the basic training in the 'three Rs' that the adult schools provided; and, more importantly, a rapidly secularising society exhibited less desire for Bible study. It was difficult to attract students to an outwardly religious establishment such as an adult school, especially given the broad curricula and less patrician environment available from providers like the WEA. It was also increasingly difficult to recruit teachers for the adult schools from among Friends. As David Rubinstein has explained, '[t]he [adult school] movement's decline, despite attempts to make it more egalitarian, undoubtedly owed much to the weakening of the kind of religious conviction which led to philanthropic/education

work, and rise of more democratic forms of adult education.'[19] Hence Joseph

Rowntree was especially hopeful that the settlements might come to do the work of

churches and chapels, where attendance was decreasing, in shaping 'the spiritual

fellowships of the future'.[20] He was particularly interested in discovering '[a]ny

evidence that the Settlements were meeting the deeper needs of men and women who

had ceased to attend places of worship'.[21] Rowntree admired the social settlements –

at one time he arranged and subsidized the circulation of Henrietta Barnett's

biography of her husband[22] – and saw in the establishment of new settlements under

the auspices of existing Quaker educational bodies a means of cementing and

strengthening the place of Quakerism in adult education provision.

Although most of the settlements discarded many of the trappings of their

denominational heritage very quickly, many in the interwar period still viewed them

as central planks in the educational structure of the Society of Friends. Horace

Fleming, having spent a year a Woodbrooke researching the history and condition of

adult education and other Quaker work, saw the settlements as occupying an essential

bridging position between the adult schools and the Quaker Meeting. Fleming

identified three stages of adult education: the first stage was the adult school, 'where

the individual self is thawed out from the ice block of instincts, prejudices and habits

of the mass'; the second the settlements, 'where the self flows through self-effort into

identity, gains a soul and desires to express it'; and the third and final stage the

Meeting, 'where the individual self [feels] the need for expansion into the worship of

the highest'.[23] Each of these stages entailed a different, and developing, expression of

fellowship, while the institutional permanence of each of the three bodies (in contrast

to the temporary influence of the mission worker or the itinerant teacher) contributed

to the wider 'leavening of the local community life'.[24] This link to the community –

as well as the internal structures of the Society of Friends – illustrates the importance of the ideal of settlement, if not of residence, in a specific locality. John Wilhelm Rowntree had envisaged his 'Quaker settlement' as having a 'social wing', which would serve as 'an outlet for practical Christianity',[25] and although this was intended to be subordinate to the Biblical scholarship for which his settlement was to be established, it reflected the importance of active citizenship to the Quaker community. Woodbrooke never really developed this 'social wing', although from 1908 onwards students had the opportunity of taking a diploma in social study, and Fleming recommended in 1928 that an educational settlement be established in Birmingham which would serve Rowntree's purpose.[26] (Birmingham already had a social settlement, the Women's Settlement, founded in 1899.)[27] The idea of the 'social wing' was already a feature of existing elements of Quaker adult educational institutions. As Edward Grubb pointed out in 1917, adult schools had long served a social function of sorts – '[e]very real Adult School gathers other activities round it than the Sunday morning or afternoon lesson: Savings Funds, Libraries, Temperance Societies, Sick Clubs, and the like'[28] – but the establishment of settlements went one step further than this by endowing adult education with what one historian has called 'both a home and a spirit'.[29]

II

Although viewed by their founders as outgrowths of the adult school movement, the bodies with which the educational settlements were most naturally compared were the older social settlements, and between the two types of institution there were clear and marked distinctions, reflected in the fact that there was no joint

meeting of the councils of the ESA and the BARS until 1939, and only two settlements (Mary Ward and Toynbee Hall) were affiliated to both.[30] The distinction is complicated by the sometimes very striking differences between the educational settlements themselves, which although combined into an Association from 1920, differed greatly in aims, governance and effectiveness. Moreover, the social settlements, to varying degrees, themselves served an educational function.[31] The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, reporting in 1919, described education provision at Toynbee Hall, the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Oxford House, the Canning Town Women's Settlement, the Bermondsey Settlement, Mansfield House, the Browning Settlement, Birmingham Women's Settlement, the Bristol University Settlement, the Victoria Settlement in Liverpool and the Sheffield Neighbour Guild Settlement.[32] At Toynbee Hall, for example, university extension and tutorial courses were held, as well as a programme of WEA classes, and the curriculum for 1913-14 ranged from industrial history through home nursing and Esperanto to nineteenth-century English literature, not to mention flourishing drama, art and natural history societies.[33] At the Browning Settlement in Walworth, university extension work had proved less popular, but a wide range of non-vocational courses were taught in connection with the adult schools and the 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoon' movement; while the Bermondsey Settlement had an attached Educational Institute at which 600 students were enrolled during the 1912-13 academic year.[34]

Nevertheless, none of these settlements had as their *raison-d'être* the provision of adult education, which was only one part, and usually a subsidiary one, of the settlement's activity. As A. J. Allaway explained,

Settlements, such as Toynbee Hall … had educational programmes that were as comprehensive as could be imagined … But these settlements were, of course, far more than educational centres: they engaged in social welfare work on a grand scale. The name "settlement", by which Toynbee Hall and other similar ventures were known, was intended to convey the idea that they were places which, among other things, housed settlers: men who had come, even if only temporarily, to live in poor districts in order to remedy "the habitual condition of this mass of humanity…"[35]

Toynbee Hall, for example, was an important recruiting ground for researchers to work on Charles Booth's survey of *Life and Labour of the People in London*;[36] and in 1903 residents were represented on the London County Council, the London School Board and Stepney Borough Council, some were active in the Charity Organisation Society, the Mansion House Unemployed Scheme and the Prisoners' Aid Society, while others were carrying out 'Economic Inquiries'.[37] As well as involvement in boys' clubs and social activities for men and women, residents undertook social investigations published under the settlement's auspices.[38] Moreover, the educational work of these settlements was viewed within a broader context of social reform. As Basil Yeaxlee, secretary of the ESA, explained, whereas the bodies with which he was associated concentrated on educational work, the social settlements were 'constituted on the more general principle of social science'.[39] (For this reason, the educational settlement was not as restricted in location as the social settlement: almost by definition, the social settlement needed to be in a more or less deprived area, where some kind of social inquiry and social service could be carried on by the residents,

whereas the educational settlement needed only to be within reasonable walking distance of those whose needs it was intended to meet.)

Residence, in the early years of the movement, was seen as essential for the practical realisation of this broader conception of what the social settlement could and should do. Whereas Toynbee Hall accommodated 20 men in 1914, and even the the smaller settlements four or five,[40] the educational settlements (sometimes after brief but unsuccessful attempts at providing short-term residential courses) usually housed only the warden and sub-warden.[41] This distinction was important: when the German observer Werner Picht compiled his list of British settlements in 1914, he did not include the non-residential ones.[42] Residence enabled settlers to engage in what Horace Fleming called 'social investigation and social amelioration',[43] and was intended also to facilitate the cross-class 'connection' that Samuel Barnett wanted to promote;[44] but it also had arguably negative implications for the diffusion of mutual social knowledge. As Standish Meacham has pointed out, the early social settlements were 'established on the basis of hierarchy',[45] and the Oxbridge-inspired physical shape and surroundings and more intangible 'atmosphere' of Toynbee Hall 'encouraged a kind of theater that could … only serve to impede connection'.[46] R. H. Tawney, an early pioneer of the Workers' Educational Association, found that the WEA gave him the kind of intensive personal contact with the working classes that he had failed to obtain at Toynbee Hall.[47] The undergraduates at the settlement swapped their college 'scouts' for Cockney servants, and, although living in a working-class district, did not necessarily interact with their working-class fellows on terms of particular cordiality, let alone equality. This in turn had implications for settlement governance: the social settlements were largely patrician in spirit and undemocratic in structure, whereas the educational settlements, unencumbered by residence and its

associated social implications, were freer to develop on at least outwardly 'democratic' lines. From the adult schools they inherited the concept of 'membership', less class-specific than 'residence'; and although in practice the involvement of students in shaping settlement policy was limited, and although the definition of 'membership' was unclear,[48] the educational settlements were in a better position to foster a sense of settlement identity among the population of their local area than were the residential institutions.

From a practical point of view, the establishment of a residential presence depended on the availability of resources to construct or procure large enough premises to house settlers, and by the availability either of funds to pay them or of men and women of independent means who were able to devote their whole time to residence at a settlement. The early settlements enjoyed the patronage of their parent colleges, and undergraduates of independent means were able to stay for an average period of over two years during the first thirty years of Toynbee Hall's existence.[49] A salary of £250 was set aside for the warden, but before the outbreak of the first world war it had never been taken. It was recognized by the pioneers of educational settlements that they were unlikely to enjoy these advantages: thus Arnold Rowntree told his fellow Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trustees that he hoped the new venture at Leeds would enable well-meaning people to gain 'some of the advantages of institutional life without actually entering into residence at a Settlement'.[50] Swarthmore did attempt to organize some residential courses in its first years, but the residential accommodation was quickly converted into classrooms: even this short-lived residential element, involving mostly working men staying for a short period only, hardly fulfilled the functions of a true residential settlement.[51] George Currie Martin, an employee of the JRCT and a historian of the adult school movement,

recalled that the residential settlement was 'very expensive in building and equipment, and demanded University people as residents, so … [it was] felt that something along simpler lines should be attempted'.[52] Indeed, Joseph Rowntree warned that there should be an element of 'self-sacrifice' in the educational settlements, believing that 'whilst Settlements should be homelike they should not emphasise comfort';[53] and this simplicity of surroundings, partly necessary and partly encouraged, may have had a less alienating effect on the local population than the Oxonian grandeur of a settlement like Toynbee Hall.

Nevertheless, 'connection' was important to the pioneers of the educational settlements, just as it was to the Quaker adult school teachers, who saw home visitation of scholars as a central aspect of their work.[54] This social aspect of the adult school was paralleled in the conception of the settlement as a homely environment, where freedom of expression went hand-in-hand with spiritual guidance in a supportive and unintimidating environment. Just as the residents of Toynbee Hall were engaged in the 'search for community', Horace Fleming believed that the educational settlement played a role in re-establishing community relationships:

> The Settlement, in drawing together larger numbers of the sundered units of humanity and reconciling them into a community, is providing in our modern complex society facilities for growth similar to those created by the family in simpler forms of social organisation. The same qualities of sympathy, tolerance, understanding and comradeship are induced, and in group activities values are discovered which include the welfare of others. These community groups, in providing a stand against the disintegrating forces of modern life, are comparable to the family group in primitive times.[55]

The aim, then, was to provide a collegial, even a familial environment, where the work of education in its truest and most general sense could be carried on. In some cases, as at Beechcroft in its earliest years, the settlement was literally in somebody's home; this was the epitome of the connective spirit of education that bodies like the Yorkshire 1905 Committee sought to promote. Thus a conference of Quaker extension secretaries held at Colwyn Bay in 1912 discussed the idea of the 'House Settlement', and it was explained that

> The idea would be for some Friend and his wife or sister to take a house
> conveniently situated, and keep one or two rooms at liberty for evening callers,
> taking care, however, that these rooms remain homelike. The host or hostess
> would entertain simply those who came, perhaps sometimes introducing a friend
> who wanted to tell a fresh experience, or discuss a living problem, or ask a vital
> question. Gradually there might grow up continuous teaching work, but not so
> much as to overshadow the ministry of the host and hostess in their own home.
> The quality of the personal service rendered would be the first thing.[56]

The key word, used repeatedly by all educational settlement propagandists, was 'fellowship'. As J. F. C. Harrison has remarked, this was a word frequently used in adult school circles, and translated to the settlements, but 'it is difficult to determine exactly what this meant to a majority of the students';[57] nevertheless, the idea permeated the whole movement and was central to the conception of education that lay behind it. For example, Basil Yeaxlee saw the value of the settlements as lying in their 'bringing into fruitful fellowship men and women of the most diverse views,

interests and circumstances', and seeking 'to foster an education which is indeed spirit and life', all under the overarching idea of 'freedom and fellowship'.[58] The intangible 'spirit' of adult education which was supposedly fostered in these 'homes' evoked metaphors that stressed the familial characteristics of the settlements and the idea that in the common room and in friendly intercourse the religious and social sensitivities of the individual could be moulded and channelled in the direction of social and religious service. Indeed, the common room was central to the idea of the settlement (the ESA's journal was entitled *The Common Room*), envisaged as the nucleus of a social centre that enabled fellowship to be grafted onto education. Although in practice the common room tended to be unattractively decorated, poorly heated, too small and not frequented by more than a small minority of members,[59] there were some exceptions, notably the café at the Folk House, Bristol, voluntarily staffed by members and serving as a comparatively pleasant centre for social intercourse.[60]

III

Although 'fellowship' was a key word of the educational settlement movement, 'leadership' was no less important; and Joseph Rowntree and his contemporaries saw in the development of courses in such subjects as economics and 'civics' a key role for the settlements in fostering a spirit of citizenship and in the training of voluntary workers for future social service.[61] Like the social settlement, the educational settlement was viewed as a civic centre, where citizenship and training for social leadership could be actively pursued. Fleming declared in 1929 that '[f]or a knowledge of human, industrial, and civic problems, there is no finer

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school than a Settlement',[62] and hoped that yet more Quakers might be drawn into the movement. He remembered that in Birkenhead 'though the Settlement dates only from the outbreak of war, the dynamic effect of the student community has resulted in the revolutionising of the housing conditions, and the changing of the composition of the civic Council'.[63] Here, settlement students and workers, many of whom had a long-standing interest in housing issues, were closely involved in the establishment of a Housing Inquiry Committee in 1922, which undertook careful investigation of slum housing and a variety of propagandist work.[64] Other educational settlements followed the lead of Toynbee Hall and worked on social surveys: residents at Bensham Grove, for example, assisted with Dr. Henry Mess's *Social Survey of Tyneside*, and the warden was a member of the Survey Committee.[65] Others had branches of the League of Nations Union or the Left Book Club, or, in the case of the settlements at Plymouth and Bristol, were closely associated with the Youth Hostels Association.[66] In engaging in activities like this the educational settlements were following the lead of the social settlements; and in some respects they tended, during the interwar years, to adopt more of the characteristics of their Victorian predecessors. This was viewed by some in the movement as a dangerous tendency: as W. E. Williams, secretary of the British Institute of Adult Education, pointed out in a report presented to the JRCT in 1938, the use of the term 'settlement' represented 'a subtle encouragement … to adhere, at least in part, to the motives which engendered the activity of the social settlements which sprang up in the 19th century'.[67] These institutions, which were, according to Williams, outmoded and in most cases merely 'a poignant historical monument',[68] suffered from both the lack of a clear focus and the air of condescension with which people associated the settlement concept.

Williams made a clear distinction between educational settlements of the 'purest' type, such as those at Leeds, York, Plymouth, Walthamstow and Wilmslow, which were in effect 'People's Colleges' engaging in no social work and offering no special encouragement to extra-curricular activities beyond the merely social and common-room-based, and those which 'have an eye to the imperfections of society' and engaged in wider activities, such as Bensham Grove and Beechcroft.[69] It was questionable, in the 1930s, whether the work of social amelioration that these settlements tried to engage in was most appropriately or efficiently done by settlements, and Williams advised the JRCT and the ESA to abandon completely this conception of the settlement idea, which was confusing and possibly alienating, and to revert to the purely educational model that was being applied successfully elsewhere at the residential colleges affiliated to the ESA, for example at Fircroft in Birmingham and Avoncroft in the vale of Evesham.[70] Although the miners' distress during the strike of 1926, and later the depression of the 1930s, encouraged an expansion of educational settlements into the 'Special Areas', especially South Wales, where several settlements worked in both the relief of distress and the provision of training and social opportunities for the unemployed, these were special and hopefully temporary initiatives; and in any case the funding for these projects came not from the JRCT (which could never have afforded it) but from the Pilgrim Trust and from the state in the form of the Special Areas Commissioners. Arguably, indeed, the very breadth and diversity of the roles assumed by the educational settlements contributed to their downfall: lacking a clear focus, they often resembled the social settlements in the vagueness of their aim of 'neighbourliness or just "being there"'.[71] From early in their history, the wider social role adopted by many of the educational settlements was a cause for concern: for example, the influential 'Guildhouse report' of 1924

(prepared by a committee of the British Institute of Adult Education chaired by Harold Laski) pointed to the importance of keeping education at the centre of the settlements' activities, warning that '[t]he College must not be lost in the club, nor the class in the common-room'.[72]

IV

The idea of patronage implied by the adoption and retention of the term 'settlement' – various alternatives, including 'Folk House', 'Guildhouse' or even just 'House', were sometimes used, but 'Settlement' persisted throughout the interwar period – was reflected in the conflicts that arose within many educational settlements over their internal governance. For all the rhetoric of 'citizenship', 'democracy' and 'fellowship', the governance of the settlements, at least in their early years, was in the hands of their patrician founders rather than their 'members'. For example, St. Mary's was governed by a Committee, on which the students had no elected representatives until 1920, when the Students' Association was established with an entitlement to send four representatives to the governing body. The Students' Association, as well contributing to the sense of corporate life in and around the settlement (for example by publishing the settlement magazine), advanced the interests of all types of settlement student, although as there was an annual membership fee of a shilling it only included, in the early 1920s, about a quarter of the student body.[73] In 1923 a new constitution was agreed, in which the interests of the students and the paymasters were equalized on the Committee to the extent that the Students' Association directly elected 20 members, the four officers of the settlement (the warden, the sub-warden, the treasurer and the secretary) sat *ex-officio*,

and 16 further members were co-opted from other interested bodies. At Beechcroft a Council was established in 1917, consisting of representatives of the University of Liverpool, the local education authority, the Birkenhead Trades and Labour Council, the WEA and the Mersey District Adult School Union and other interested bodies, but it was an advisory council only until 1924, when Horace Fleming retired from the wardenship.[74] From 1921 the Students' Association was entitled to appoint three members to the Council. As Fleming later recalled, this arrangement 'provided a satisfactory method whereby the Council was kept in touch with the wishes of students';[75] but it ultimately gave those students only a limited degree of control over the settlement's activities.

Fleming, whose commitment to the democratisation of settlements remained equivocal, feared that the establishment of a Council and 'the emergence of the settlement as a public institution' would mean 'the institutionalizing of its work'.[76] Such an institutionalisation of the settlement's activities would compromise the spirit of 'fellowship', a development which must be guarded against even at the expense of giving the 'members' of the settlement a full democratic say in its organisation. As the extension secretaries' conference, quoted above, implicitly recognized, the establishment of a continuous programme of educational activity in a single building might 'overshadow' the very spirit of 'fellowship' they were anxious to promote. Indeed, wherever there was a building, and wherever a sense of settlement identity was actively encouraged by the founders and the wardens, conflicts were likely to arise over the governance of the institution. Thus at St. Mary's the Students' Association repeatedly clashed with the Executive Committee, perhaps most notably when they protested at the methods used to appoint the new housekeepers in 1925, an appointment over which they felt they should have a say.[77] In 1921 Ernest Taylor,

chairman of the Executive Committee, had ruled that the students at the settlement had no automatic right to know the salaries paid to the warden and sub-warden;[78] and concern was expressed in 1923 that the propagandist activities of the Plebs League, inside and outside St. Mary's, had succeeded in 'shaking the faith of students in the Settlement itself'.[79] This settlement in particular was tainted with the suspicion that financial reliance on the Rowntree family prevented it from developing along truly democratic lines. The WEA in York was especially suspicious: as A. J. Peacock has explained, '[t]he Settlement was [established] to help the adult school movement, and the adult schools were equated with middle-class concepts and attitudes on fundamental social issues'.[80] Thus although WEA tutorial courses were held at St. Mary's from 1912, the settlement never managed wholly to free itself from 'the prejudice which exists against it, based on the idea that it is capitalist in origin and control'.[81]

The relationship between the ESA and the WEA remained uneasy throughout the interwar period; indeed, in Leeds the long connection between the WEA and the Swarthmore settlement was ended after the second world war.[82] WEA students were not attracted to the settlement as a place of study; and from the settlements' point of view, WEA classes, although held on settlement premises, were not thought to contribute to the spirit of fellowship that the settlements existed to promote. W. E. Williams, reporting to the JRCT in 1938, suggested that it should be made clear to the WEA and other outside bodies that 'if they remain impervious to the notion of the Common Room they should be excluded from the Settlement altogether';[83] while in terms of the curriculum, there was a marked divide between the WEA students with their taste for economics, industrial history and other subjects on the one hand, and the settlement students with their preference for 'aesthetics' (literature, music, art and

drama) on the other.[84] Matters were not helped by the dependence of the settlements

on voluntary or poorly-paid tutors and lecturers, who only taught at the settlement

when they were available; this resulted in a poorly unified and inconsistent

curriculum. There was little unity among the students either: when the Students'

Association tried to instigate a course on 'Civics' in 1925, it failed to attract the

interest of the body of students as a whole, and had to be abandoned.[85] There were

clear practical limits to democratic control when it came to the organisation of a

curriculum: as Williams asserted, 'It is the function of Settlement leadership to

persuade students to adopt a programme which has been thought out by an authority

more competent and more aware of the difficulties and objectives than any student-

body can possibly be'.[86]

The failure of the common room to act as a unifying body was representative

of the inability of most educational settlements to develop, and adhere to, a clearly

delineated range of activities, and hence of their failure to achieve what was expected

of them by their founders. As Williams put it, 'there is often revealed in the

Settlement a neglect of the activities which the Common Room symbolises, a very

inadequate attempt to cross-sectionalise the interests of the Settlement, to weld its

rivalries of activity, to disperse differences of outlook and preoccupation in a sense of

fundamental unity'.[87] For example, the development of drama and musical activities

often took settlement members away from educational work, and created a faction –

'a sort of Settlement *Samurai*'[88] – that had little to do with the rest of the institution's

work. These groups also sometimes acquired a distinctive political identity: at St.

Mary's the representatives of the Settlement Community Players at first refused to

meet John Hughes, the new warden, in 1921, and appeared to resent the right reserved

to the warden in their group's constitution to veto any play they might choose to

perform, 'so that the good name of the Settlement is maintained'.[89] In many

settlements, the religious content of the curriculum, or perhaps rather the religious

atmosphere that sometimes pervaded the institution, was the target for criticism: one

settlement was described as 'an Adult School dolled up',[90] while the warden of

Swarthmore Hall, Plymouth, ambiguously admitted that the involvement of Quakers

in the foundation of his settlement had both 'its dangers and its advantages'.[91]

<p style="text-align:center">V</p>

During the post-first world war years the Quakers' central position in the

sphere of adult education was becoming harder to maintain, as the competition of

other bodies and the rapid spread of the educational settlement model outpaced the

advances a small (and not expanding) religious denomination could itself make. As a

movement which had grown out of existing Quaker endeavours, and was partly

designed to spread the gospel of Quakerism and recruit new members to the Society,

the settlements were seen to be failing. They certainly did nothing to increase the

membership of adult schools, which fell from a peak of 113 789 in 1910 to less than

50 000 by the end of the 1920s and 33 301 in 1938.[92] They also did little to

strengthen Quaker Meetings, and this was a particular source of concern to some

members of the Society. As early as 1912 Stephen Rowntree reminded the JRCT of

'the importance of seeking the direct benefit of the Society', believing that '[w]e harp

too much on the indirect influence of the Society and the Adult School movement'.[93]

When Stephen again told the trustees in 1916 that settlement work 'was not doing

much in the way of direct benefit to the Society of Friends and its Meetings for

worship', the others disagreed, feeling that ' the indirect benefit to the Society,

<p style="text-align:center">23</p>

particularly from places like the Swarthmore Settlement, was very considerable. It was also considered that while the relation of this work to the Society must not be lost sight of, yet its aims were much wider than denominational ones.'[94] When Arnold Rowntree told the trustees in 1919 that settlements 'should vary in type, be catholic in character, and should try to influence leaders of thought, especially in the labour movement', and outlined his vision of cooperation with the WEA, the YMCA and the National Adult School Union, Stephen again questioned 'whether this work is to be Quaker work, and definitely for the strengthening of Quakerism', suggesting that the development of state adult educational initiatives and the WEA might relieve settlements of the need to pursue the general educational aims that Arnold envisaged.[95] His desire for a 'distinctively Quaker' education in the new settlements did not materialize: although the early curricula at Swarthmore and, to a lesser extent, St. Mary's were dominated by Bible study and other religious subjects – Gerald Hibbert remembered that Swarthmore was 'definitely (though not narrowly) a Quaker organisation at the start'[96] – the war and post-war years saw a rapid diversification.

This was partly due to the war itself, which encouraged a demand from students for teaching in subjects such as international relations, and also stimulated some of the settlements to take on a more political role. Fleming remembered that the circumstances of Beechcroft's foundation in 1914 meant that '[e]very person coming to the Settlement seemed interested in the political and economic causes of the War, and wished to know more about the social conditions of the belligerents': this prompted a curriculum with a substantial content of European history, geography and politics.[97] At St. Mary's the students' interest in international relations spilled over into the organisation of less narrowly educational activities, including the organisation of anti-war lectures and the hosting of discussion groups held under the auspices of

the Council for the Study of International Relations, a body also supported by the JRCT and promoted by Norman Angell and Arnold Rowntree among others. These activities gave a flavour of internationalism to educational settlement work, which was less apparent in the activities of the social settlements; and after the war in 1919 Joseph Rowntree circulated a memorandum to the JRCT in which he outlined his expectation that 'the spiritual fellowships of the future will be shaped by the experience of Settlements with their elasticity of methods, their spirit of brotherhood, their frank discussion of social home questions, together with a widening of the mental horizon which will secure the spread of the international spirit'.[98] Acting in this spirit, and responding to the demand engendered by the war, Woodbrooke appointed H. G. Alexander as 'Lecturer on International Questions' in 1919. The religious dimension was largely effaced by the end of the war, and the programme at most settlements was very broad. Thus at St. Mary's the spring term of 1922 opened with a 'dramatic recital', and the weekly courses were a 'discussion circle' on Sundays, an 'expression class', industrial history and poetry on Mondays; WEA English literature and economics and industrial history classes, plus a French class on Tuesdays; a world history course and women's afternoon lectures on Wednesdays; psychology, a WEA 'social philosophy' course, an art class and French literature on Thursdays; and on Fridays courses in architecture, German and Esperanto. There was not a single Biblical or religious history element in the curriculum, which was supplemented by a drama society, an orchestral society and a 'Madrigal and Glee Society'.[99] In the autumn term of 1923 there was a single course on New Testament literature.[100]

In an increasingly secular post-war world the role of religious adult education was diminished; and the new consumers of adult education, provided for by the WEA,

university extension classes and increasingly by local education authorities, demanded subjects like history, economics and literature, as well as more vocational classes designed to improve their labour market position. Ernest Champness, later President of the National Adult School Union, writing in 1941, discerned 'an alteration in the attitude of men and women to religion, which has not tended to aid Adult School work',[101] and the same was true of explicitly Quaker influence in the settlements. Indeed, what many viewed as one of the strengths of Quakerism – the disinclination of its adherents to evangelize or to propagandize their sect – actually weakened its profile in the institutions that members of the Society had done so much to create.[102] Attempts after the first world war to open up avenues of co-operation with other providers of adult education arose at least in part as a response to the need to save the settlements from redundancy, as well as from a genuine desire for improved coordination of the activities of different bodies. Perhaps the greatest challenge came from the rapid development in the 1930s of the community centres movement, which came to acquire large-scale statutory and local authority support, and offered premises for both recreational and educational activity, with none of the religious overtones that still frequently pervaded the ESA and its settlements. This threat was such that at a national level W. E. Williams in 1938 saw the only real hope for the educational settlements as lying in their reinvention as 'People's Colleges', existing primarily to supply premises for WEA and other courses.[103] The ESA was represented on the National Council of Social Service's Community Centres and Associations Committee, and devoted considerable thought to its relationship with the new centres, one council member declaring in 1938 that 'the tides were [now] moving for community education', and that the ESA should follow them.[104] Ultimately, however, the ESA's lack of financial support ensured that it would remain,

institutionally, a bit player on the stage of adult education. Although a 'Responsible Body', it was never able to attract more than a token level of support from the Board of Education; and the settlements remained hampered by their excessive dependence on Rowntree money (the JRCT supplied about a third of the ESA's total income in this period) and their inability to win financial support from any other large trusts except in the specific context of work in the Special Areas.

VI

Nevertheless, the educational settlements, and the idea of the non-residential centre where education or other public services could be obtained, exercised an influence beyond the sphere of education; and it can be argued that this supplied the model that was coming to be adopted by the older social settlements in this period. Residence was becoming unfashionable due its patronising connotations and somewhat 'Victorian' air; and it was also recognized, for example by the historian of Toynbee Hall J. A. R. Pimlott in 1935, that fewer university men were now in a position to devote a portion of their lives to full-time voluntary work. In addition, many of the functions served by residents in 1884 had by the 1930s been taken over by the state; and better transport, the expansion of social and educational services provided by local authorities, and improvements in the physical and social environment of London and other large towns appeared to have eroded the need for permanent residence in a district.[105] The social settlements were becoming 'neighbourhood centres', 'centres of many kinds of social work in which the residents share but in which large numbers of non-residential workers co-operate'.[106] Adult education, an area of social service which had for many decades been seen by those

who worked in it as an incidental facilitator of 'connection', but did not involve continuous residence, provided one inspiration which the social settlements could follow in their necessary search for an altered focus of operations. Thus despite the absence of institutional links between the BARS and ESA, and threats in the 1930s by Toynbee Hall to withdraw from the latter,[107] the educational settlements appear to have had an informal influence on the older institutions as they moved further away from their original functions. By the 1960s the residence component of settlement work had been largely discarded,[108] and settlements had in many cases transmuted into 'social action centres', delivering access to professionalized social services and social work to deprived communities. The educational settlements themselves were increasingly squeezed between the new and well-supported community centres movement on the one hand and the competition of WEA and local authority provided classes on the other, but as pioneering ventures in the establishment of institutional and non-residential adult education and other services they deserve notice as distinctive and sometimes influential players in the field.

The educational settlements, then, although seen originally as outgrowths of the adult school movement and the existing Quaker college at Woodbrooke, and although perceived as one element in the hierarchy of Quaker adult education provision, soon became contested educational arenas and social spaces, often hosting organized class-based political activity and developing new sides to their work which went beyond the narrowly educational, and in turn had an impact on the activities of other adult education providers and other kinds of settlement. More histories might be written of the conflicting aims of those who established the institutions and those who became their clients. For both types of institution we remain too reliant on internal commissioned histories in which the narrative of benign institutional progress

is emphasized and the element of conflict downplayed. More critical examination of settlement governance will be able to tell us more about this movement and how it changed over time, and itself reflected economic, social and political change at a local and perhaps a national level. Similarly, we need more detailed examination of the ethos of the educational settlements. How far was the vision expounded by Horace Fleming at Beechcroft shared by other settlement pioneers, and how far were these ambitions reflected in the actual experience of the institutions? How far did non-residence really facilitate or impede 'connection'? Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, there is very little written on the settlement movement from the point of view of the recipients of its benevolence: this is partly due to the nature of the source material, but it would be interesting to have more studies of groups like the Students' Association at St. Mary's in York. In particular, how far did the students see themselves as consumers of an educational product, how far as members of a socio-educational club, and how far as engaged in a project of political and social reform, of which the educational aspects were secondary? More answers to these questions, and more studies of the theory and practice of the educational settlements, and of the ESA as a whole, will illuminate our understanding of both the history of the settlement movement and the wider history of adult education in the twentieth century.

[1] Werner Picht, *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1914); J. A. R Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress* (London: Dent, 1935); Asa Briggs & Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge, 1984); Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Jon Glasby (ed.), *'Back to the Future': The History of the Settlement Movement and Its Relevance for Organisations Today* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2000).

[2] Picht, *Toynbee Hall*, 1.

[3] See for example J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement* (London: Routledge, 1961), 311-12; Thomas Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962), 263-5, 277-8; John Lowe, *Adult Education in England and Wales: A Critical Survey* (London: Michael Joseph, 1970), 60-5.

[4] Arnold S. Rowntree, *Woodbrooke: Its History and Aims* (Birmingham: Robert Davis, 1923); Horace Fleming, *Beechcroft: The Story of the Birkenhead Settlement 1914-1924: An Experiment in Adult Education* (London: ESA, 1938); Swarthmore Centre, *An Experiment in Adult Education in the City of Leeds 1909-1949* (Leeds: Swarthmore Centre, 1949); William Hazelton, *Maes-yr-Haf 1927-1952: An Account of 25 Years of Work and Friendship in the Rhondda Valley* (Rhondda: Maes-yr-Haf Settlement Committee, 1952).

[5] A. J. Allaway, *The Educational Centres Movement: A Comprehensive Survey* (London: NIAE, 1961).

[6] Roger Fieldhouse and associates (eds.), *A History of Modern British Adult Education* (Leicester: NIACE, 1996), 261-3, mentioning Percival Guildhouse, Rugby, and Bristol Folk House, and citing Kelly, *History of Adult Education*, 261-5, and S. Stewart, J. Reynolds & K. T. Elsdon, *Adult Learning in Voluntary Organisations* (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, 1992); there are incidental references on pp. 49-50, 54, 81.

[7] For a recent book on settlements from a social policy perspective see Ruth Gilchrist & Tony Jeffs (eds.), *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action: Good Neighbours* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001).

[8] Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, appendix C, 278-82.

[9] 'Report of conference of Woodbrooke and summer school continuation committees', 12 July 1907, in Joseph Rowntree Foundation (hereafter JRF) JRCT93/VI/1 (d).

[10] J. Roland Whiting, *Ernest E. Taylor: Valiant for Truth* (London: Bannisdale Press, 1958), 52-3.

[11] Yorkshire 1905 Committee, memorandum, JRF JRCT93/VI/1 (a).

[12] For an account of the 'tramps' see Stephen Allott, *John Wilhelm Rowntree 1868-1905 and the Beginnings of Modern Quakerism* (York: Sessions, 1994), 110; A. Neave Brayshaw, 'Memorandum concerning the strength, weakness and prospects of the "tramp" movement', n. d., JRF JRCT93/VI/1 (c).

[13] 'The Yorkshire 1905 Committee, May 1913', inset in Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust (hereafter JRCT), minute book, no. 1, 119-20, JRCT offices, The Garden House, York.

14 'Suggestions for following up the work of lecture schools and the further organisation of the work of religious instruction in our Society', JRF JRCT93/VI/1 (d).

15 Fleming, *Beechcroft*, 14.

16 Allaway, *Educational Centres Movement*, 25n.

17 James Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters, Volume III: Whispers of Truth* (York: Sessions, 1978), 188.

18 'Educational work in York', JRF ROWN.FAM.L/93/3.

19 David Rubinstein, *Faithful to Ourselves and the Outside World: York Quakers during the Twentieth Century* (York: Sessions, 2001), 57.

20 'Joseph Rowntree and adult education', tyepscript of article, June 1925, JRF JR93/VIII/2.

21 Ibid.

22 [Luther Worstenholme,] 'Joseph Rowntree (1836-1925): a typescript memoir, and related papers', F10. (Each chapter of the memoir is page-numbered separately.)

23 Horace Fleming, 'Interim report on the Society of Friends, etc.', JRF JRCT93/VI/1 (e), 33.

24 Ibid., 33-4.

25 John Wilhelm Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses* (1906), 146.

26 Fleming, 'Interim report', appendix C.

27 Jonathan Glasby, *Poverty and Opportunity: 100 Years of the Birmingham Settlement* (Studley: Brewin, 1999).

28 Edward Grubb, *What Is Quakerism? An Exposition of the Leading Principles and Practices of the Society of Friends, as Based on the Experiences of 'The Inward Light'* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1917), 176-7.

[29] Kelly, *History of Adult Education*, 265.

[30] ESA council minutes, 8-9 January 1938, JRF JRCT93/IV/6; Michael Rose, '"A microcosm of cultivated society": education, the arts and the social settlements', unpublished paper, University of Manchester. The Mary Ward Settlement withdrew from the BARS in 1934.

[31] See R. A. Evans, 'The university and the city: the educational work of Toynbee Hall', *History of Education*. 11 (1982), 113-25; Brian Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1965), 78-85.

[32] Ministry of Reconstruction: Adult Education Committee Final Report, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1919 [Cmd. 321], 226-33.

[33] Ibid., 227-8.

[34] Ibid., 229-30.

[35] Allaway, *Educational Centres Movement*, 7-8.

[36] David Englander & Rosemary O'Day (eds.), *Retrieved Riches: Social Investigation in Britain 1840-1914* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 21ff.

[37] Picht, *Toynbee Hall*, 36-7.

[38] Ibid., 88; Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 124-7. Examples include E. J. Urwick (ed.), *Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities* (London: Dent, 1904); C. B. Hawkins, *Norwich: A Social Study* (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1910).

[39] Basil A. Yeaxlee, *Lifelong Education: A Sketch of the Range and Significance of the Adult Education Movement* (London: Cassell, 1929), 85.

[40] Picht, *Toynbee Hall*, 235 and *passim*.

[41] Allaway, *Educational Centres Movement*, 10.

[42] Picht, *Toynbee Hall*, 209-45.

[43] Fleming, *Beechcroft*, 13.

[44] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 24-61.

[45] Ibid., 39.

[46] Ibid., 49.

[47] Rose, 'Microcosm', citing Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 171-81; Lawrence Goldman, 'Intellectuals and the English working class 1870-1945: the case of adult education', *History of Education*. 29 (2000), 294.

[48] See for example Taylor to Crosland, 18 April 1923, JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (e), on the new draft constitution of St. Mary's, in which Taylor queries what exactly was to be the definition of 'the members of the Settlement'.

[49] Picht, *Toynbee Hall*, 31-3.

[50] JRCT, minute book, no. 1, 59-60.

[51] Allaway, *Educational Centres Movement*, 10-11.

[52] G. Currie Martin, *The Adult School Movement: Its Origin and Development* (London: NASU, 1924), 351.

[53] JRCT, minute book, no. 1, 263.

[54] See for example Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1921), vol. 2, 956-8; Asa Briggs, *Social Thought and Social Action: A Study of the Work of Seebohm Rowntree* (London: Longman, 1961), 13; Allott, *John Wilhelm Rowntree*, 13-14.

[55] Horace Fleming, *The Lighted Mind: The Challenge of Adult Education to Quakerism* (London: Friends' Book Centre, 1929), 57.

[56] 'Report of conference of extension secretaries held at Colwyn Bay', 25-7 May 1912, JRF JRCT93/VI/1 (a).

[57] Harrison, *Learning and Living*, 307.

[58] Yeaxlee, *Lifelong Education*, 85, 115-16.

[59] W. E. Williams, 'The educational settlements: a report prepared for the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust', October 1938, JRF JRCT93/IV/2, 69, 78, 101,.

[60] *Common Room*, 28 (1932), 10.

[61] JRCT, minute book, no. 1, 180-1; Fleming, *Lighted Mind*, 58-9 and *passim*; Williams, 'Educational settlements', *passim*.

[62] Fleming, *Lighted Mind*, 58-9.

[63] Ibid., 58.

[64] Fleming, *Beechcroft*, 78-80.

[65] Henry A. Mess, *Industrial Tyneside: A Social Survey Made for the Bureau of Social Research for Tyneside* (London: Benn, 1928), 8; *Common Room*, 22 (1930), 4.

[66] Williams, 'Educational settlements', 36-7; *Common Room*, 27 (1932), 13; 28 (1932), 11.

[67] Williams, 'Educational settlements', 63-4.

[68] Ibid., preface.

[69] Ibid., 33-7, 58-61 and *passim*.

[70] Ibid., 115-18, 150, 151ff.

[71] Jenny Harrow, 'Morality, modernity and marking time: two centuries of development in the English settlements', in Glasby, *'Back to the Future'*, 14.

[72] Quoted in Williams, 'Educational settlements', 147.

[73] Hughes to Taylor, 15 May 1925, JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (e).

[74] Fleming, *Beechcroft*, 83-4.

[75] Ibid., 84.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Hughes to Taylor, 7 April 1925, JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (e).

[78] Crosland to Taylor, 23 December 1921, JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (e).

[79] 'Memorandum on democratic control of settlements', JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (d).

[80] A. J. Peacock, 'Adult education in York 1800-1947', in A. J. Peacock (ed.), *Essays in York History* (York: Sessions, 1997), 287.

[81] 'Memorandum on democratic control of settlements'.

[82] J. F. C. Harrison, *Workers' Education in Leeds: A History of the Leeds Branch of the Workers' Educational Association 1907-1957* (Leeds: WEA, 1957), 24-5.

[83] Williams, 'Educational settlements', 139.

[84] [St. Mary's], 'Report on autumn term [1921]', JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (d).

[85] Executive committee minutes, 26 November 1925, JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (c).

[86] Williams, 'Educational settlements', 74.

[87] Ibid., 69.

[88] Ibid., 68.

[89] Hughes to Taylor, 19 December 1921, Baines to Taylor, n. d., JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (e).

[90] Williams, 'Educational settlements', 118.

[91] *Common Room*, 27 (1932), 12.

[92] W. Arnold Hall, *The Adult School Movement in the Twentieth Century* (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, 1985), 213.

[93] JRCT, minute book, no. 1, 112-13.

[94] Ibid., 169.

[95] Ibid., 239-40.

[96] Quoted in Allaway, *Educational Centres Movement*, 10.

[97] Fleming, *Beechcroft*, 41.

[98] Joseph Rowntree, memorandum of 16 April 1919, inset in JRCT, minute book, no. 1, 241-2.

[99] St. Mary's Settlement, syllabus, spring term 1922, JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (a).

[100] St. Mary's Settlement, syllabus, autumn term 1923, JRF JRCT93/IV/3 (a).

[101] Ernest Champness, *Adult Schools: A Study in Pioneering* (Wallington: Religious Education Press, 1941), 68.

[102] See for example Fleming, 'Interim report', appendix E, JRF JRCT93/IV/1 (f).

[103] Williams, 'Educational settlements', 174-6.

[104] Ibid., 54, 105, 150-2, 166-71 ; ESA council minutes, 8-9 January 1938 (quoted), 8 January 1939; JRCT, 'Eighteenth annual report: adult education and settlements', 1938, JRF JRCT93/IV/5; Mark Freeman, 'Quaker service and the challenge of mass unemployment: the JRCT in the 1930s', unpublished paper, University of York (2001).

[105] Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 260-2.

[106] Ibid., 263, 261.

[107] ESA executive report to council, January 1935, JRF JRCT93/IV/6.

[108] Harrow, 'Morality, modernity and marking time', 13; Mark K. Smith, 'Settlements and social action centres', `http://www.infed.org/association/b-settl.htm`.