KATHARINE MARIE BRADLEY

POVERTY AND PHILANTHROPY IN EAST LONDON 1918 – 1959: THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS AND THE URBAN WORKING CLASSES

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CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY BRITISH HISTORY
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between the university settlements and the East London communities through an analysis their key areas of work during the period: healthcare, youth work, juvenile courts, adult education and the arts.

The university settlements, which brought young graduates to live and work in impoverished areas, had a fundamental influence of the development of the welfare state. This occurred through their alumni going on to enter the Civil Service and politics, and through the settlements’ ability to powerfully convey the practical experience of voluntary work in the East End to policy makers. The period 1918 – 1959 marks a significant phase in this relationship, with the economic depression, the Second World War and formative welfare state having a significant impact upon the settlements and the communities around them.

This thesis draws together the history of these charities with an exploration of the complex networking relationships between local and national politicians, philanthropists, social researchers and the voluntary sector in the period. This thesis argues that work on the ground, an influential dissemination network and the settlements’ experience of both enabled them to influence the formation of national social policy in the period. It examines these issues in the period in which state welfare was expanding far beyond its limited pre-1914 role.

The thesis aims to examine the relationship of the changing role of the state with the activities of these major voluntary organisations, and argues that this was a two-way relationship throughout the period. Hence the settlements made a major contribution to evolving ideas of the role of the state and of the nature of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship during the formative period of the modern ‘welfare state’.
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INTRODUCTION

East London has long posed problems for official social policy makers and for the voluntary sector. On the surface, there is no apparent reason why it should continue to be such a deprived area today – it is adjacent to the City of London, and its transport links are excellent, which in theory would provide countless opportunities for both residents and business. The borough of Tower Hamlets, which constitutes most of what is regarded as the ‘East End’,¹ is endowed with numerous social, cultural and educational opportunities that other areas or towns might envy. It has an internationally famous art gallery, street markets that attract thousands of tourists and Londoners each weekend, five museums, two higher education establishments (Queen Mary, University of London and London Metropolitan University) and a variety of medical schools, several public libraries, and a wealth of historical architecture. Its hospital, the Royal London, is one of the major hospitals of the United Kingdom: it provides an emergency helicopter ambulance service to the whole of London, and has Europe’s largest Accident and Emergency department.² Countless artists of international reputation live in the area, including Spitalfields residents Gilbert and George and Tracy Emin. The London Docklands have been regenerated in the last few decades, and are now home to Canary Wharf, a business district that rivals the City of London. For the last twenty years, the area has been the (loose) inspiration for

¹ ‘East End’ is the term traditionally used to refer to the current day borough of Tower Hamlets – the areas of (parts of) Aldgate, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, Wapping, Shadwell, Ratcliffe, Stepney, Mile End, and Limehouse, with parts of Bow and Shoreditch. Its western boundary is Bishopsgate and the Tower of London, its eastern is the River Lea, and the northern boundary follows the Regent’s Canal. This area was originally made up of a number of hamlets on the side of the City of London wall. This geographical description of the ‘East End’ was appropriate until the later nineteenth century, when the growth of industry past the Lea extended the expansion of London eastwards. Until 1884, the ‘East End’ had been part of London (the county of Middlesex) with the remaining areas being part of the county of Essex. The creation of the County Borough of West Ham – the area immediately adjacent to the River Lea – brought this more eastern suburb into London (now part of London Borough of Newham). The introduction of numbered postal districts in 1917 is a useful way of assessing what by the start of the period was considered East London in administrative terms. The E postal areas, which extended by 1917 a good 11–15 miles, included a number of more impoverished areas – the South West Ham area, including Canning Town, Plaistow and Silvertown – as well as more affluent boroughs. In this thesis, the term ‘East London’ is normally used rather than ‘East End’. It is more historically and geographically accurate.

² See http://www.bartsandthelondon.org.uk/aboutus/our_history.asp, viewed 28 May 2005
the highly popular BBC soap opera, *EastEnders*. The East End has been a fruitful source of literary inspiration, and the setting for a recent bestseller, *Brick Lane* by Monica Ali. East Londoners are associated with nobly and stoically coping with the Blitz, and for being cheerful and co-operative under immense pressure. The area is not without its edgy, infamous side: the unsolved murders of several impoverished and disadvantaged female East London residents in 1888 remain a powerful attraction for tourists and would-be sleuths, as do the Kray brothers.

But this is only one facet of East London life. The area remains one of the poorest in the United Kingdom. Of the two present-day London boroughs covered by this thesis, Tower Hamlets has the fourth highest incidence of deprivation in England and Wales, and Newham the eleventh.³ It has been home to waves of immigrants, from the Huguenots to Jews from Eastern Europe, to most recently, Asian and African communities. It has also attracted migration from within the United Kingdom. Its status as a temporary home compounds its social problems. As one group becomes more successful and moves out to the suburbs, so another moves in, and the cycle of deprivation begins again. It also has a tendency to be a place where younger, more affluent people live for a few years, whilst studying or starting their careers. The latter is a recent phenomenon, but the East End has long been a transient place, with its communal complexion regularly changing and evolving. The East End is a place to move away and up from – for some people.

Many of the solutions put forward to the problems of deprived areas originated in the voluntary sector of the nineteenth century. Before the 1940s, most welfare services, whether in deprived areas or not, were delivered by the voluntary sector, with only the care of the destitute in the hands of local government. From the 1910s and 1920s, some of the practices and recommendations of the voluntary sector were absorbed into

the functions of the State. Following the establishment of the Welfare State from 1945, the responsibility for ensuring the well-being of British citizens appeared to be moved wholly to the State. In the 1980s, the Conservatives attempted to return some of these responsibilities back to the voluntary and private sectors. These were followed in the 1990s and 2000s by New Labour’s social inclusion programmes, which aim to support deprived communities through voluntary organisations using government funds. At the beginning of the twenty-first century as in the later nineteenth century, Britain has a ‘mixed economy of welfare’ through the content of the mix and the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector has changed over time. This evolution of the mixed economy of welfare through a period in which the role of the state in the combination was growing is a concern of this thesis. Certain social problems have endured and there are continuities in the modes of tackling them.

This changing role of the state and the voluntary sector in the twentieth century raises a number of questions that require attention by historians. We need to establish what the relationship is between the state and the voluntary sector, and how this has changed over time. We also need to consider how this changing role has affected the development of the concept of citizenship. We should explore how this relationship has impacted on – or been shaped itself by – questions of gender and class.

One of the forces involved in the processes outlined above is the settlement movement, which contributed ideologically and politically to the formation of the Welfare State. Toynbee Hall in particular was a hothouse for would-be administrators and politicians, including William Beveridge and Clement Attlee. By the early 1900s, members of the settlement movement were pressing for the government to take a more active role in the lives of its citizens, to provide a ‘safety net’ for those in need. The settlement movement pioneered many activities and services that are now taken for granted, several of which were taken over or adopted as templates by the state.
The main historical problem on which this thesis focuses is an exploration of how the settlements functioned from 1918 to 1959, with particular emphases on how the voluntary settlements related to the gradual expansion of the social work of the state and how they sought to develop the concept of citizenship among the people of the East End. As will be discussed later in this Introduction, historians have focussed upon the earliest years of the settlement movement, usually in relation to the pioneering of services. These innovations have generally been seen either as brave attempts to effect social change, or as attempts to erode working class cultures. There is also a tendency for historians to see the settlement movement as a Victorian and Edwardian phenomenon, not as a vital part of British social democracy in the twentieth century. Present policy makers may have something to learn from the successes and failures of these past attempts.

Citizenship and the role of the State are intrinsically linked both as concepts and practice, along with the concepts of ‘community’ and being a ‘good neighbour’. In 1867, working class men received the vote in local elections, which allowed them to develop their political role in the community. Some working class men also received the vote in the national parliamentary elections, and the reforms of 1867 and 1884 also opened up opportunities in local government for women of all backgrounds. Yet, as Frank Smith noted in the early 1930s, the extension of these rights were not always openly welcomed, as some ‘[realized] that the Reform Act of 1867 had enfranchised a host of uneducated votes in this country’. The extension of the franchise was accompanied by the apparent need to prepare and educate the new voters for their responsibilities. This became part of the remit of the university settlements when they were established from the 1880s onwards, along with their work to relieve poverty.

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There is a need for greater exploration of the way in which this relationship changed after 1918 when the vote was granted to all men over 21 and most women over the age of 30, after universal female suffrage in 1928, and the establishment of the Welfare State from 1945. All have had impacts on perceptions of British citizenship and on the state’s responsibilities to its neediest members. All have impacted upon how the voluntary sector – and the East London settlements are a case study of this – has related both to the state and to the people it seeks to serve. The emphasis on the period 1918 to 1959 is the first step in unpacking and exploring these issues, and it will provide a foundation for future research into these relationships in the more recent period.

THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS

On Christmas Eve, 1884, CH Grinling opened the doors to a not-quite finished building on Commercial Street in East London. Grinling, a graduate of Hertford College, Oxford, was the first person to stay in the building, as the other would-be residents had not yet arrived, and the leader of this particular venture was ensconced in a neighbouring vicarage. This empty building, in the process of being completed, was to be Grinling’s home for almost a year, until September 1885.

Grinling was officially the first resident of Toynbee Hall, the first of the ‘university settlements’ (though not the first settlement to open its doors). His arrival at the settlement marked the end of the first phase of a project to raise funds for the construction of a building as a base for social work in the East End. The project had been in progress since December 1883, when a curate named Samuel Augustus Barnett (1844 – 1913) had presented a paper in the rooms of a student named Cosmo

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6 For all dramatis personae, please see appendix three for more details
Lang at St. John’s College, Oxford. Barnett had spoken of the need to recruit young men from the universities to come to undertake social work in the deprived urban areas. The proposal was immediately seized upon, and shortly committees were at work in Oxford, Cambridge and London to raise funds to put Barnett’s idea into action. The young men would not only undertake voluntary social work in their spare time, but they would live amongst the people they sought to help. Barnett’s idea was that these privileged young men should become neighbours to the poor, to learn in depth about the lives of the Disraeli’s ‘other nation’. This was a radical departure in mid to late Victorian philanthropy: Barnett was advocating that those who sought to help the unprivileged should understand them and, ultimately, to be neighbours to them.

Barnett’s university settlement prompted imitations across London and the other major cities in the United Kingdom. Some settlements, notably the Liverpool and Manchester University settlements were secular, whilst others used Christian (and later Jewish) principles to inform their work. Until the post-1945 period, most settlements hosted residents of one gender, although men’s settlements often had a strong cohort of female non-residential volunteers. Women’s settlements were also numerous, and have proven to be some of the most enduring. Women’s settlements had an important role to play in helping women to further careers in social work, medicine and local government at a time when opportunities for women outside the home were limited. The other two settlements discussed in detail in this thesis –

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9 Barnett, p. 307. See also *The Universities Settlement in East London: First Annual Report, 1885* (BRC/AR/1885)

10 See Chapter Two, the Nutrition Research Survey p. 80 onwards, for an example of this.
Mansfield House University Settlement (1891) and its sister, the Canning Town Women’s Settlement (1892) – provide examples of settlements with a religious outlook, yet without a missionary purpose, and also of a women’s settlement. Mansfield House was set up by graduates of Mansfield College, Oxford, and their work was informed by their Congregationalist beliefs. Canning Town Women’s Settlement (CTWS hereafter) was separate from Mansfield House, but shared members of Council with the men’s settlement. It drew support from Milton Mount College, a school for the daughters of Congregationalist ministers. Although these two settlements had a religious basis, membership of a Congregationalist chapel was not compulsory. Both were based on multiple sites in the West Ham/Canning Town area, a predominantly working class area, built on the industries that had developed along the Thames and the Lea during the nineteenth century.

Toynbee Hall, in its earliest years, attracted an enormous amount of attention both from within the United Kingdom and abroad. The Barnetts attracted media interest on a level comparable with late twentieth and early twenty-first century public figures. The Toynbee Hall archives hold a series of newspaper scrapbooks from the period 1884 to 1907 that demonstrate that the Barnetts’ work was reported across Europe and the United States. In addition to commentaries and notices of forthcoming events at the settlement being reported, the Barnetts attained such a status in British society that even their departures on holiday were reported in the Pall Mall Gazette and a number of national newspapers. Not all of this coverage was positive, but it provides us with an insight into the importance which this project achieved.\(^{11}\) The level of media attention lessened in the twentieth century, but the settlement and the movement as a whole still attracted media interest in the UK and abroad. So much so that on the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Toynbee Hall (Christmas Eve 1934), Jane Addams, the founder of Hull-House in Chicago, and Helen Hall, of the American National Federation of Settlements, exchanged radio greetings across the Atlantic with

\(^{11}\) BRC/TH/EPH Newspaper Scrapbooks, c.1880 – c.1907
Jimmy Mallon, the Warden of Toynbee Hall and Margaret Bondfield, a Labour MP. The exchange was broadcast on a BBC radio news bulletin.¹²

Toynbee Hall welcomed many visitors from across the world. These visits often resulted in the adoption of the Barnetts’ practices in other countries. The ‘settlement idea’ spread particularly rapidly in the United States. Most large American cities soon had at least one settlement house, the most famous being Hull-House, Chicago and Henry Street, New York. Whilst this thesis does not draw comparisons between the work of settlements in different countries, Hull-House was one of the settlements in the US which had a specific impact upon British juvenile court reform and policy from the early 1900s (see Chapter Three).

The settlements before 1918 undertook a wide range of work. Toynbee Hall was particularly involved in the provision of liberal arts adult education courses, and helped found the Workers’ Education Association in 1903 as well as providing its own courses alongside those of the University Extension scheme. Both Toynbee Hall and the CTWS had branches of the Children’s Country Holiday Fund (CCHF), which had been founded by Henrietta Barnett to enable children from deprived families in urban areas to visit the countryside to recuperate from illness. Both settlements also had branches of the Metropolitan Association for the Befriending of Young Servants (MABYS), also founded by Henrietta Barnett, to help young domestic servants by placing them with suitable employers and providing them with moral support. The CTWS also undertook a wide range of activities relating to the health of women and children, including taking over the running of a nearby Medical Mission, and providing facilities for disabled children: they founded one of the first specialist schools for disabled children. All of the settlements ran a variety of clubs, from girls’ and boys’ clubs to adult clubs that appealed to particular interests, such as art or

economics. Toynbee Hall also founded the Whitechapel Art Gallery (1901), which grew out of the annual art exhibitions held by Henrietta Barnett each Easter.

Mansfield House is credited with pioneering legal aid. A young lawyer in residence at the settlement, Frank Tillyard, began offering his services free to the local population; the idea was also developed at Toynbee Hall, arising in that instance from settlers’ work with tenants’ defence committees.

The early period (1884 – 1914/8) is well covered by historians, but the movement as a whole becomes more interesting after 1918, but this has been less studied. Firstly, some of the objectives of the settlement movement had developed as they wished.

The Trades Boards Act of 1909 regulated a number of trades, including clothing which in East London had been a notorious ‘sweated’ trade employing mainly women. The 1911 National Insurance Act allowed protection from unemployment and illness to men and women working in certain industries, whilst the Maternity and Child Welfare Act 1918 provided for the health and welfare needs of mothers and young children. Most important was the 1918 Representation of the People Act, which introduced universal male and limited female suffrage. For the first time, the university settlements were not dealing with deprived people, but with deprived citizens. The British state was also gradually beginning to take on responsibility for certain areas of its citizens’ lives, particularly in regard to the right to support during unemployment and women’s health during one of the most vulnerable times in their lives. From 1918 until the Second World War, the settlements adapted to this new situation, and to an increasing level of state involvement in the voluntary sector. Their concerns were not only with providing services for the poor, but with enabling the poor to make full use of rights and responsibilities now accorded to them as citizens.

**BEING A CITIZEN**

There have been a number of discussions about the role citizenship played in the opinions of those working for or connected to the settlements. For example, Julia
Parker argued that prominent economists, theorists and policy makers, from TH Green and Canon Barnett to RH Tawney and William Beveridge, put the concept of economics – or more specifically work – in their perception of citizenship.\(^\text{13}\) Beveridge’s welfare state, she argued, provided Britons with a citizenship that was balanced on the duties, rights and responsibilities of the citizen to work, as well as for the state to ensure that work was available.\(^\text{14}\)

Yet, as Parker and others have argued, work was a major issue in the formulation of modern British citizenship, but not the sole issue. Tawney was keen to educate the British worker, partly for his or her own mental elevation but also so that the worker could participate fully in society.\(^\text{15}\) Mutual aid and co-operation were examples of non-political citizenship practised by the working classes for the working classes.\(^\text{16}\) Jonathan Rose has explored many of the reading groups and literary practices of the working classes in Britain, whereby the autodidact could meet other autodidacts to improve (usually) his knowledge and understanding of the world around him.\(^\text{17}\) These were essential lifelines for those with an interest in furthering their education prior to the educational reforms that allowed greater numbers of Britons to access free education, either through schooling in childhood, or later in life. Friendly Societies provided a wide range of benefits to their members, from help with funeral costs to accessing medical care.

TH Marshall’s views on citizenship and social class were widely seen, both at the time and since, as being highly influential in mid-twentieth century political thought. Education held a key role in his argument. From the nineteenth century onwards, not only did the individual have the right to be educated, it was also their duty to educate

\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 145 – 6
\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 130 - 139
\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 13
themselves. Marshall’s view of citizenship was not based on financial equality, but on an equality of status. He wrote:

> Citizenship is a status bestowed upon those who are full members of a community. All those who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what the rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed.

Marshall attempted to reconcile the inequalities of advanced capitalist societies and the concept of citizenship. Whilst citizens were equal in terms of their ability to vote and their rights and duties, there would be disparities between the opportunities open to them. The rights and duties of the citizen, therefore, were part of a contract binding the individual to participation within society. Marshall outlined the mechanics of citizenship, whilst Beveridge and his blueprint for the Welfare State located the duties and responsibilities in ‘work’: whilst these rights and duties bind the individual to the nation, they do not necessarily bind the individual to society and community. Central to Beveridge’s view of citizenship was that individuals should behave altruistically towards their neighbours as well as to the state. In practice, as this thesis will demonstrate, citizenship could be about expanding the ways in which the individual could engage with his or her society. Citizenship was not just about the right to vote – it also concerned the individual’s right to make decisions in all areas of his or her life. Its danger – or advantage – to the political system was that the acquisition of the vote allowed the individual to demand representation and action on issues of concern to them. Therefore, the extension of the franchise to all men and women had the potential to introduce a new range of concerns into the political system.

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19 Ibid., p. 53
20 Ibid., p. 18
21 Parker, p. 146
When an adult is allowed to vote, one is acknowledging in principle that their opinions, their hopes and their views are of equal weighting to every other member of society. Regardless of other inequalities, at that moment the individual has no more or no less right than any other to participate in the democratic process, and thereby assert their personal choices in the running of their nation. Hence, all debates about the extension of the franchise have been accompanied by discussions of how to prepare potential voters for their responsibilities. This was of particular importance in the years around 1918 as for the first time the United Kingdom had a mass electorate, the majority of whom had not had any experience of direct participation in national elections. Many had a local vote, and non-voters had been able to participate in elections since the eighteenth century. Many organisations with an interest in the well being of the working classes and of women of all backgrounds had to find some way of helping these groups engage with the political process. The franchise effectively meant that working class communities could for the first time elect politicians to represent their interests, and there was the potential for these new voters to effect beneficial social change themselves through the political process. For charities like the university settlements, this was an opportunity to begin to affect the types of social change they had been campaigning for: for local people to be actively involved in local government, and for central government to be more responsive to the needs of the poor.

In terms of social work in the East End, the period 1918 to 1959 was one of change and readjustment. Certain aspects of the settlements’ programmes – namely club work of various kinds, education and legal advice – remained relatively similar to that of their pre-1918 counterparts, yet there were distinct innovations especially in the areas of health, the arts and juvenile justice. The work, particularly at Toynbee Hall, but also at CTWS and Mansfield House, was focussed upon citizenship. In the period 1918 – 1959, the settlements’ concept of citizenship was centred upon allowing the
underprivileged to engage fully with all aspects of life. This was achievable both through legislation and helping the working classes to be confident in accessing education, the arts, health and ultimately civic leadership. To achieve this, the settlements had to provide opportunities for their communities to explore the possibilities on offer. This philosophy can be seen in the extract below:

But even the remarkable expansion of Settlements throughout the civilized world is no adequate measure of the spread of Settlement ideas. We have seen how in England they have infiltrated all political parties and are embodied in social legislation which has given wider opportunities for the enjoyment of life […] There is hardly any educated class and no community life [in the East End]. The London boroughs have signally failed to awaken the civic loyalty for the cultivation of which Toynbee Hall has so persistently striven.

To use the time-worn expression, Toynbee Hall and its fellow Settlements form oases in this desert. Their main function is to supply the intellectual life and the communal spirit in which the neighbourhood, taken as a whole, is so conspicuously deficient. Hardly less important is the investigation of social problems with a view to the formulation of appropriate measures for their remedy. Education, civic leadership, social research – in short, the very functions for which Settlements were founded in 1884.22

This view of citizenship was also based upon the particular type of interactions between settlement residents and staff and the local community.

The settlements were unusual in requiring their volunteers to live on site, and to become neighbours to the people they worked for. Their view of citizenship was not a one-way process: it was built upon working and social relationships, and the young residents often developed a desire to continue to serve these communities once they had left the settlements.

The settlements were also unique, particularly in the period 1918 – 1959, in maintaining strong links between their alumni and current residents. With a number of highly successful and prominent alumni, as well as supporters of the settlements, working in the Civil Service, government and education, these charities could

22 Pimlott, p. 225
command attention at the highest levels. Their work on the ground was promoted by these people and organisations, and new findings and approaches could be transmitted easily to policy makers. This degree of networking also brought former residents back to the East End to address the current residents in ‘at homes’ or to chair committees relating to activities or projects. It also allowed prominent members of society to become actively involved in the work of the settlements, and to allow East Londoners to access some of the benefits of life others took for granted. The most tangible expressions of this relationship will be discussed through an analysis of a nutrition research project, the development of adult education classes, the opening of a professional theatre and the functions of the juvenile court in this thesis.

Citizenship was far from being a purely political phenomenon. Although it was linked to the right to vote, as well as the legal right to belong to and remain within a nation-state, it was also connected with the attainment of adulthood or ‘majority’ of the individual. Adulthood was not purely a matter of reaching a certain age; it was also about being able to direct one’s own life and to manage one’s affairs as well as those of one’s family. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, citizenship became inextricably linked with economics. The New Poor Law of 1834 stripped the pauper of all his or her rights as an adult as a punishment for and a deterrent against absolving one’s responsibility to look after oneself. The Charity Organisation Society (COS), whilst a voluntary and not a legal body, used a case-work, investigative approach to determine the extent to which impoverished families should be given aid. Aid largely went to those families who, whilst not necessarily able to work, demonstrated their willingness to be sober, thrifty and industrious. Those who failed this test were liable to be denied aid.

The university settlements existed to expand the notion of citizenship. In their earliest years, they aimed to bring the cream of the middle and upper class graduates to live in
the impoverished areas of British cities so they could put their talents to use in these communities. Most significantly, rather than simply ‘doing good’ by handing out alms or advice, these young people were exhorted to learn from their neighbours. The members of the poor communities were to learn from the examples of the settlement residents. The settlements, like many other voluntary organisations set up in or operating during the late nineteenth century, had as their direct purpose the alleviation of both acute and relative poverty. The settlements’ innovation, however, was not merely to respond to poverty as a social and economic fact, but to attempt to understand it and thereby take steps to eradicate it. On the most basic level, a young graduate who had an appreciation of the conditions in which East End families lived, for example, could do much good after his or her term in the settlements if only by being able to explode concepts of the ‘feckless’ poor whilst chatting around the dinner table.

On other levels, the experience of living in the East End or other major urban centres of deprivation inspired some former settlers to take an active role in the formation of social policy. It inspired some to change careers, as in the case of William Beveridge; it inspired others to develop a political conscience, as in the case of Clement Attlee. Beveridge arrived at Toynbee Hall after deciding against a career in the Bar, and whilst he did not remain in the voluntary sector, he nonetheless applied his early interest in unemployment from his settlement days when he joined the Civil Service.²³ Attlee had been politically uninvolved, with occasional Conservative tendencies whilst at Oxford. Following a visit to the Haileybury Guild in Limehouse, two residencies at Toynbee Hall and further stays in Limehouse undertaking social work before fighting in World War One, Attlee joined the Independent Labour Party in 1908,²⁴ firstly becoming Mayor of Stepney in 1919, then MP for Limehouse from 1922, and finally the Prime Minister whose governments between 1945 – 51 implemented the post-war

Welfare State. Living and working in settlements influenced the conception and practice of citizenship of these young ambitious graduates. The settlements also had the potential to influence the perceptions and experiences of East Londoners.

Although the social research undertaken by the settlements could and did have impacts upon public policy, most of their impact lay in allowing the underprivileged the opportunity not only to seek help for problems, but also to extend their range of choices. The type of social work practised by the settlements focussed on need in a wide variety of forms. In some cases, they imaginatively addressed not only material poverty, but also the relative cultural or social poverty that may exclude an individual from a fuller participation in society as much as illness, unemployment and inadequate income.

Quite simply, much of the work that they had undertaken before the Second World War became part of the remit of the state. As Pat Thane has noted, before 1914 the British state was compact and concentrated upon certain key functions, delegating certain activities, notably social welfare responsibilities, to local government or the voluntary sector. This approach allowed women to become active participants in the development of the welfare state; and also provided the opportunity for voluntary organisations in which women often played a large role to become major providers or facilitators of welfare in their communities. Expertise gained from such work also enabled the more prominent settlements to have their views heard at the levels of national government. The post-war Welfare State posed a more centralised and state controlled challenge to this relationship, and it may have seemed that the efforts of the settlements to achieve change had resulted in their being effectively put out of business. It became difficult or impossible for certain settlement activities to continue, as discussed in this thesis.

25 See Kenneth Harris, Attlee
Yet the voluntary sector was not under complete attack after World War Two. Beveridge, as cited above, and Attlee in particular saw the voluntary sector and, more particularly, individual voluntary action as vital to the maintenance of a free society. Part of this argument was that the voluntary sector was better able than the state to identify and meet emergent needs. The British welfare state was therefore, in the minds of Beveridge and Attlee at least, a universal safety-net rather than an all-encompassing and controlling state. This view was not necessarily shared by all Britons.

The settlements provided an intellectual and social network that facilitated the development of Beveridgean citizenship. The settlements, Toynbee Hall in particular, brought the main theorists together, either through annual meetings of alumni or through social events; it also brought these people into contact with the urban working classes, and with the next generation of young graduates. During the Wardenship of Mallon (1919 – 1954), these links extended even further into the House of Lords. Yet this conception of citizenship was firmly grounded in reality and in its meanings for the individual and the community. The activities of Mallon and his associates, their campaigns and field work, were directly attuned to the needs of the local community. Emily Abel argued that the settlements before 1914 catered only for the needs of a deviant few in the East End, who were, as she expresses it, Arnoldian in their outlook.27 This is not borne out by data from the period 1918 – 1959, and Abel’s conclusions for the pre-1914 period is questionable, not least as it was based on a small sample of documents from the period. The work of the settlements reached out to a large section of the East London community, through the arts, education, welfare work, including the juvenile courts and healthcare, and through the provision of clubs. Abel argues that the settlements ‘saw themselves regenerating the community by

inculcating what they believed were higher ideals’, but the reality, certainly in the period 1918 – 1959, was that the East London community was highly capable of mediating which areas or ideals they wanted to appropriate. Furthermore, the interaction between the settler and the East Londoner was not about the transmission of values in the manner of a hypodermic injection – there were far more complex relationships at work.

In addition to ‘working on the ground’, the experience of former settlers as well as of those still active, led to the creation of a network of individuals with broadly similar attitudes towards welfare. This group, which included non-settlers, worked hard across a number of fields to ensure at least minor reforms; many, settlers in particular, became convinced that state welfare was ultimately the only effective method of dealing with poverty. Certainly Beveridge’s early study of unemployment led him to the perception that lack of work was not an individual’s fault, but the result of structural factors outside his or her control. The limited capacity of the voluntary sector to reach all those in need convinced many, including in the end Canon Barnett himself, that only the state had the capacity to effect substantial change. This was a view held by an increasing number of reformers during the interwar years. The privations of the Great Depression followed by state control of hospitals and the effective management of rationing during World War Two enabled the public to appreciate the possibilities and advantages of state involvement. However, Beveridge’s social insurance and allied services proposals assumed the retention of a strong voluntary sector. This was intended to act as a medium through which citizens could exert their duties and responsibilities to their communities and to themselves. In William Beveridge’s view the state should provide only for basic needs – a safety net. If people wanted more they should provide it for themselves, preferably through non-profit mutual institutions, such as Friendly Societies. Beveridge also believed that the state could continue to innovate by learning from the experiments of the voluntary

28 Ibid., p. 200
sector. Many post-1945 reforms, such as the introduction of legal aid, had their antecedents in services provided by the settlements, such as free legal advice services. The Youth Service, founded in 1943, was a branch of government, but was built upon the experience of voluntary youth organisations and delivered its services through the voluntary sector.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY OF VICTORIAN PHILANTHROPY: THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT**

The first historical account of a settlement and the movement as a whole was Werner Picht’s study of Toynbee Hall, published in 1914. This is a useful primary source as it provides not only an account of the founding but also a snapshot of the settlement at that time. In the 1930s, JAR Pimlott, then a resident of Toynbee Hall, was commissioned to write a history of the settlement for its 50th anniversary in 1934. This remains one of the best historical accounts of the settlement movement. Pimlott’s book is rich in detail, and particularly strong in its use of residents’ reminiscences. His account of the work of the settlements in the 1930s is particularly valuable, as many of the papers from the 1930s were damaged or destroyed by the bomb which hit the settlement in 1941. More recently, Emily Klein Abel’s 1969 PhD thesis explores the first thirty years of the settlement, but her discussion is somewhat marred by a heavily Marxian interpretation of the settlement’s work. Davis, Meacham and Koven have all taken more sophisticated approaches to the history of settlements, looking respectively at issues of reform, community and identity. Briggs and Macartney’s 1984 centenary history of Toynbee Hall is a pedestrian account of the

29 Werner Picht, *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement*, (London: Bell, 1914)
30 JAR Pimlott, *op cit.*
31 Emily Klein Abel, ‘Canon Barnett and the First Thirty Years of Toynbee Hall’, Unpublished University of London PhD, 1969
settlement’s history, although its greatest strength lies in its account of the Victorian period.\textsuperscript{35}

The history of the settlement movement in Britain as a whole remains under-researched. Histories of individual settlements exist, most recently by Jon Glasby\textsuperscript{36} on the Birmingham settlements and this author on Bede House in Bermondsey.\textsuperscript{37} Mandy Ashworth’s 1984 study of Oxford House provides a good brief introduction to the history of the settlement, and makes excellent use of oral history interviews with former staff, volunteers and club members.\textsuperscript{38} Whilst more recent histories relate the settlements to their local and national contexts, and use a variety of methods, most histories concentrate on linear accounts of the settlement in question, typically recounting lists of significance dates. Jeffs and Gilchrist’s\textsuperscript{39} collected volume on the settlements is useful for social policy researchers, but does not have a significant historical dimension. Mark Freeman has undertaken much needed research on the development and role of the educational settlements,\textsuperscript{40} whilst Nigel Scotland is currently working on a national study of the settlements in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{41} Also in progress is an international comparison of the settlement movement, by Bradley et al, focussing on the United Kingdom, the United States, Europe and Japan.\textsuperscript{42} Martha Vicinus’ comparative study of British women’s settlements remains

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\textsuperscript{35} Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, \textit{Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years}, (London: Routledge, 1984)

\textsuperscript{36} Jon Glasby, \textit{Poverty and Opportunity: One Hundred Years of the Birmingham Settlement}, (Studley: Brewin, 1999)


\textsuperscript{39} Tony Jeffs and Ruth Gilchrist eds., \textit{Settlements, Social Change and Community Action}, (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001)

\textsuperscript{40} Mark Freeman, “‘No finer school than a settlement’: the development of the educational settlement movement’, \textit{History of Education}, 2002, vol. 31 (3), 245 – 262

\textsuperscript{41} Nigel Scotland, \textit{Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Mission Settlements in Late Victorian Britain}, (London: I.B. Tauris, forthcoming 2006/7)

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the most important work on women’s experiences of settlements, although Katharine Bentley Beauman’s 1996 study of the London women’s settlements is also useful.

There has been little work on the period after 1918 as a whole, and especially on links between the changing relationship between the voluntary sector and the state after the First World War. The settlements began to influence policy makers’ ideas about the potential role of the state before 1918, and as these ideas were gradually implemented from the early twentieth century onwards, they had an impact upon the settlements’ work. My research therefore complements much of the work on the Victorian and Edwardian settlements by extending the field of study up to the 1950s, but furthers it by considering the specific kinds of relationships the settlements came to have with the state.

**SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY**

The focus of this thesis is on the contribution of the settlements to the development of ideas and practice of citizenship in the period when mass democracy was newly established. Universal suffrage for males over the age of 21 and for most women over thirty was achieved for the first time in 1918. Women received the vote on the same terms as men in 1928. Although there had been extensions to the franchise in 1834, 1867 and 1884, this was the first time that the views of all adults had in principle equal weight in Parliament. This thesis explores the nature of the relationship between mass democracy and a particular kind of voluntary action, and how a particular type of charity acted not only as a buffer between the individual and the state, but also as an advocate for the rights of the underprivileged. This thesis will also make a tentative exploration of how, despite Beveridge’s insistence upon a strong voluntary sector as

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an essential factor in a free society\textsuperscript{46}, the period 1945 – 65 saw a crisis of purpose for the university settlements.

In this thesis, I touch upon the negotiations of the voluntary sector with this ‘brave new world’ before 1959. This discussion is limited to the East London settlements, with principal reference to Toynbee Hall, Canning Town Women’s Settlement and Mansfield House. There are other references, where appropriate, to Oxford House, Bede House and Hull-House, Chicago.

There are a number of reasons for my emphasis on East London. Firstly, the East End was seen in the Victorian period as particularly degenerate and needy, although its problems were by no means unique in Britain. The East End was variously a place of pity and a place of fear, heightened by its location directly on the eastern border of the wealthy City of London. The area had attracted attention from missions and other voluntary organisations for several decades before the opening of the first two university settlements in 1884 in Whitechapel and Bethnal Green. The contrast between the City and its desperately poor neighbour brought voluntary and later state action to the East End.

The university settlements are of particular interest as they were innovative approaches to philanthropy that emerged in the East End. Toynbee Hall in particular adopted a secular, non-partisan stance in its voluntary work. It accepted residents of all political and religious persuasions, with the idea that religious missions were ultimately more concerned with conversion than with ‘neighbourliness’. The settlements were initially experiments in a new form of philanthropy, which required a significantly greater commitment on the part of the individual. The residents were to live in the East End and, whilst they may have been in employment or training elsewhere in London, they

were immersed in the local culture in their spare time. Missions were not dissimilar in requiring charity workers to live in the area of the mission, but were based upon their abandoning ‘normal’ life in favour of devoted service. The settlements provided a base both for living and voluntary work to young men and women for whom their settlement work was only a part of their life. This meant that whilst the young residents were developing their careers, they gained an understanding of social problems at first hand. They were not charity workers exclusively involved in work in an impoverished area, and they were not policy makers with minimal experience of social problems. These young people bridged the gap between the rich and the poor, and many were able to make a distinctive contribution to the formation of British social policy and social justice.

The thesis is divided into four parts: health; club work; juvenile delinquency; and the arts and education. These have been chosen as distinct, yet complementary aspects of the work of the various settlements. They are also the most public types of work, in which the settlements focused upon the needs of groups in contrast to more direct welfare work dealing with individual cases. They were also the areas of work in which the settlements’ concept of citizenship could be most broadly explored. Each chapter commences by introducing the historical contexts in which these areas of work were undertaken and the relevant historical literature. Certain important parts of the settlements’ work in this period are not covered, principally legal advice. This is because few records relating to legal advice and advocacy work have survived, though Diana Leats’ history of the Poor Man’s Lawyer Service at Toynbee Hall is a good introduction to this work. Legal advice at the settlements from the 1890s onwards at the settlements acquires more coherent meaning when studied alongside developments such as the Citizens’ Advice Bureau and with the advent of the Welfare State, state-based Legal Aid. Full justice cannot be done to this subject within a timescale of 1918

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47 Diana Leats, *One Hundred Years of the Poor Man’s Lawyer, 1898 – 1998*, (London: Toynbee Hall, 1998)
– 1959, when a more appropriate and substantial study would cover from circa 1890 to the present, geographical areas other than East London and other providers of legal advice and advocacy. The subject requires a separate study. These activities, like the expansion of care for the elderly, increased from the 1950s, in response to the problems or areas of need exposed by the Welfare State and post-war reconstruction.

Research projects, study weeks and fundraising are touched upon where relevant. This reflects the part of the focus of this thesis upon the interactions between the working class users of settlements, the organisations and broader policy issues, rather than looking necessarily at the ways in which the settlements publicised themselves.

This thesis has relied heavily on primary source documents generated by the settlements in the course of their daily work. These include annual reports, minute books, letters, scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, published publicity materials and other ephemera. Also treated as primary sources are historical accounts of the settlements published before 1959 and written by people closely involved in their work. Hence Basil Henries’ *Indiscretions of a Magistrate* (1950) and JAR Pimlott’s *Toynbee Hall* (1935) are included. Whilst these are on the borderline between primary sources and interpretative secondary sources, their proximity to the events studied in this thesis and the authors’ personal involvement render them appropriate as primary sources. Furthermore, Pimlott’s history of the settlement at its fiftieth anniversary has immense value as a primary source for interpreting how the settlement saw its role in the wider world at that time.

One significant problem with the primary sources used is that only a limited amount survived. In the case of Toynbee Hall, the Warden’s Lodge was bombed during the Blitz, destroying it entirely. Jimmy Mallon, the Warden at the time, kept some papers relating to the settlement in his Lodge, including an autobiography he was writing. The bomb also destroyed certain items pre-dating the 1940s that would have been kept
in the Warden’s Office, such as financial accounts and previous Wardens’ letters, so there is a further gap. Fortunately, a substantial amount of papers relating to the pre-1941 period were stored elsewhere in the settlement, and have recently been recovered from storage due to the renovation and conservation of the archives at Toynbee Hall. Mansfield House and Canning Town Women’s Settlement have more complete sets of records, as is the case with Oxford House. The records of Oxford House have been available at Tower Hamlets Local History Library for some time. The papers of Mansfield House and Canning Town Women’s Settlement have only recently been made available through the Newham Local Studies and Archives department, many of the items having been recovered from attics and basements.

This demonstrates some of the problems of using sources relating to these types of charities. Their location within poorer communities close to the docks made them vulnerable to bombing in the Second World War – as is the case with Toynbee Hall. As all had residential workers, this combination of working or volunteering and living in the same place made it easy for items to be incorporated within an individual’s papers when he or she left the settlement. It is not uncommon for settlement archivists to receive key administrative papers following the deaths of former volunteers or staff, whose relatives return items when sorting through papers. For example, Toynbee Hall’s Second World War ration book was given to me to return to the settlement during an oral history interview in 2003.

Furthermore, many records that would be of use to the historian were either not kept or were destroyed. For example, records relating to clubs have not survived, with a few exceptions such as the club minute books at Mansfield House. This makes it particularly difficult to plot changes over time, or to make assertions about the types of people using clubs and the frequency of use. This type of absence makes the task of properly assessing the community’s use of and reaction to the settlements much harder. For this reason I have, where possible, made use of oral history testimony and
correspondence to compare with surviving historical documents. I have conducted interviews or been in contact with five people who used, worked or lived at the settlements in the period in question.

The majority of the papers relating to the Juvenile Court at Toynbee Hall are restricted under the seventy-year closure rule, and exempt from the Freedom of Information Act 2000. The London Metropolitan Archives, where these papers are held, have restricted access to the collection as a whole. It would be desirable to look at the papers relating to cases during the period in which Henriques was Chairman of the Magistrates at the Court (1936 – 1955) but this is not possible at present. However, certain other documents relating to cases proceeding at the court are available in the public realm for consultation. The study of juvenile delinquency undertaken in the late 1930s by Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes was based upon a broader, comparative study of delinquency across the country, but also has detailed statistics relating to the Toynbee Hall court. Carr-Saunders and his colleagues also introduced ‘value-added’ data to their findings that would be onerous to obtain over sixty years later, such as the distance from which children lived from playgrounds or clubs. This study was published as a book, and Mannheim’s research papers into juvenile delinquency are available at the LSE archives.

The methodological approach of this thesis has been to compare and contrast quantitative material with qualitative. This is useful when comparing the actual impact of an activity with its reported success, such as in the cases of the Canning Town Women’s Settlement Hospital and the nutrition survey discussed in Chapter Two. The quantitative data, usually found in minutes and annual reports, is particularly useful for gauging trends over time. This is important in organisations like settlements, where there have been times of rapid institutional change, often

influenced by the departure or arrival of an individual. The qualitative data, which includes ephemera and histories of the settlements written within the period 1918–1959, is essential for analysing the ways in which the settlements presented themselves to the outside world, and what they saw as being the most important aspects and impacts of their work. In terms of more theoretical approaches, I have avoided applying a Marxist or Marxian critique of the settlements’ work. Until relatively recently, this has been the predominant mode of assessing the university settlements, and notably Toynbee Hall.\footnote{Marxian analyses include Emily Klein Abel (op cit), and also parts of Briggs and Macartney’s \textit{Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years}.} This approach interprets the settlements as instruments attempting to ward off class warfare through social reform. The settlements undoubtedly brought together people of widely-varying backgrounds, but class is by no means the only form of analysis we can apply. Gender is crucial, as is the use of settlements by individuals across or at different points in their life-cycle. An approach which attempts to take all of these aspects into consideration can yield a more fruitful account of the settlements’ work, which was also affected by developments beyond the settlements, such as the extension of the franchise and the introduction, after 1945, of a state welfare system. It should also be emphasised that the Marxist interpretation has not been tested beyond 1914, and is unlikely, given the variables mentioned above, to provide an accurate or satisfying analysis of the period 1918–1959.

The thesis will begin with an account of the settlements’ work in relation to healthcare. This first chapter will explore the work of the Canning Town Women’s Settlement Hospital, and how it, along with the South West Ham Health Society, provided much needed services to the women and children of the area. This chapter will also look at how the hospital and health society were areas of work in which the settlement negotiated the increasing involvement of the state in medical work. This chapter will also look at how hospital savings clubs were used by the settlements and
their users as methods of providing support in difficult times. It also includes a discussion of a research project into nutrition, and the development of homes outside London for individuals to recover from illness and, later, the impact of the Blitz. This chapter will explore these in relation to how the settlements helped to provide basic rights for their users, and also how this work often built on existing forms of working class philanthropy and local organisation.

The second chapter discusses the role of settlement clubs in the local community. It investigates at clubs at Oxford House and Mansfield House, and in the latter case, how the clubs were used to develop confidence and skills amongst boys’ club members. The role of girls’ clubs is also considered, as is the Scout and Guide movement. The chapter concludes with a discussion of adult clubs and classes. Clubs were often a direct means of helping children, young people and adults develop confidence in themselves, and empowering them to feel capable of taking responsibility for their community.

The third chapter will focus on work in relation to the juvenile court at Toynbee Hall. This looks at how the settlement movement as a whole was concerned with rehabilitating children at risk of ‘falling out’ of society, and the methods they took to provide alternatives for these young people. It also explores how the settlement negotiated working closely with the state to provide this service, and how the removal of the court exposes some of the problems voluntary organisations experienced in their relationship with a rapidly expanding state.

The fourth and final chapter explores the role of arts and education in the East End. It discusses the impact of the Whitechapel Art Gallery, University Extension and Toynbee Hall classes in providing opportunities for East Londoners to expand their horizons if they wished – at a time when 98% of the English and Welsh population had no access to the universities. It also examines the opening of the Toynbee Hall
theatre, and how a range of people from the arts were enlisted to help with the development of a professional theatre for use by East Londoners.

In conclusion, the thesis will look at how all these elements came together as methods of promoting the rights of these newly-enfranchised citizens, and argue that the work of the settlements in this period demonstrates how the voluntary sector promoted its users’ rights during a time of change in the provision of services and state involvement. It will also argue that this form of community-based service has both provided a template for more recent regeneration projects, and that the relationship of the voluntary sector to the state after 1960 requires a more systematic investigation.

Where reference is made to settlements other than Toynbee Hall, Mansfield House, CTWS or Oxford House, a brief history of that settlement can be found in Appendix One. Appendix Two contains a map providing the present-day locations of East London settlements, whilst Appendix Three supplies an alphabetical list of people referred to in the course of the thesis, in addition to information in footnotes.
CHAPTER ONE: HEALTH

INTRODUCTION

Of all the programmes of work instigated or carried out by the university settlements between 1918 and 1959, or indeed earlier, health-related work is the least regarded and the least explored. Yet, as the settlements themselves recognised, little social change could be achieved without the basics of good (or at least tolerable) health. Healthcare was therefore a fundamental element of the settlements’ programme as a first step in allowing local people to explore the possibilities of the world around them and to develop as citizens. It also one of the areas in which the relationship between gender and the settlements can be fully explored. Therefore, it is appropriate to begin this thesis with a consideration of the ways in which the settlements in this study catered for basic health needs.

Male and female settlers approached healthcare in very different ways. Whilst men’s settlements tended to provide classes in first aid or savings clubs to help finance medical treatment, women’s settlements provided clinics and medical services. This in part reflected the fact that between 1911 and 1947 men, women and children had varying access to healthcare provided or paid for by the state. From 1911, an increasing number of men were able to access health insurance and hence free care and other services through their employment in an approved occupation. However, this insurance did not extend to their children, and there was no provision for wives other than a maternity benefit, unless the women were also employed in an insurable occupation.

The differing approaches were also due to the varying influences of life cycle and gender upon health. Children of both genders were vulnerable in their early years, particularly in impoverished and over-crowded areas, but male infants were more susceptible than females. Children with disabilities were at risk of their parents being
unable to afford specialist equipment or treatment for them. Women’s settlements across the United Kingdom tended to have some form of provision for these two groups. The Passmore Edwards (now Mary Ward) Settlement near St. Pancras in London\textsuperscript{50} pioneered the earliest branches of the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Aid Association (ICCAA), and this spread rapidly. Of the settlements studied in this thesis, both Toynbee Hall and Canning Town Women’s Settlement housed branches of the ICCAA. Some women’s settlements were also able to provide infant welfare clinics, or other services to women, such as Mothers’ Meetings and Mothers’ Unions. Whether in paid employment or not, married women had significant, specific health needs. Pregnancy was a dangerous time for women of all ages. Although the actual period of gestation could run smoothly, the physical strain of carrying and delivering a baby could have a serious long as well as short term impact upon a woman’s health – especially if the woman did not have good health in the first place. These health problems did not always diminish after the woman ceased to give birth or following the menopause. For these reasons, the staff, residents and volunteers of the Canning Town Women’s Settlement (CTWS) found it essential to establish and maintain a voluntary women’s hospital.

As with the approaches taken by the men’s settlements, the CTWS and their hospital was a response to local conditions. The neighbourhoods of Canning Town and Silvertown, the southern-most parts of the borough of West Ham, still suffered heavily from poverty and over-crowding in the early 1930s.\textsuperscript{51} On the other hand, the London docks, which were the principal employers of men in the area,\textsuperscript{52} had greatly improved since the 1880s and 1890s. Firstly, mechanisation and changes in procedures made the industry less physically dangerous. Secondly, the introduction of registration cards

\textsuperscript{50} Please refer to Appendices One and Two for brief histories of all settlements and partner organisations referred to in this thesis.
\textsuperscript{51} Hubert Llewellyn Smith et al. \textit{New Survey of London Life and Labour, Volume III, Survey of Social Conditions (1) Eastern Area (Text)} (London: PS King, 1932), Borough Summary of West Ham, p. 409
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., p. 409
to control labour flow on the docks made it easier for existing dockers to find work (and therefore to have a more regular source of income). Registration also enabled dockers to access unemployment and health insurance under the terms of the 1911 National Insurance Act. As conditions in the docks improved, so Mansfield House University Settlement could offer different services to men through its clubs, such as Hospital Letter Societies. But as poverty and deprivation remained, the Canning Town Women’s Settlement still needed to provide services for women who would not otherwise be able to access them, and to ensure that state developments in healthcare reached these women.

The Canning Town Women’s Settlement began their work with the local Medical Mission in 1892, and by 1918 this had developed into a hospital providing comprehensive medical facilities. They also organised parties of children and women to recuperate at the seaside or in the country at the homes of the settlements’ supporters. Whilst the hospital itself was unique among settlement activities, sending women and children on such breaks had already become a staple of the settlements’ programmes. The Barnettts had begun sending children in need away in 1877. In 1884, they formalised this activity in the form of an organisation known as the ‘Country Holidays Fund to Provide Fresh Air for Ailing London Children’. In 1886, the organisation became known as the Children’s Country Holiday Fund (CCHF). The CCHF adapted over the years to include children who were otherwise in reasonable health, but for whom a break in the countryside was a respite from the pressures of the urban environment.

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55 Hospital Letter Societies, discussed later in this chapter, were mutual aid schemes that helped members to insure themselves against the costs of hospital stays and to buy equipment. Hospital Sunday and Hospital Saturday Societies or Schemes were similar organisations based on weekly collections at workplaces or after church or chapel.
The Barnettts were extremely concerned about the impact of the city upon the working classes. They believed, as did many late Victorian and Edwardian social reformers, that the stresses and ugliness of the urban environment were detrimental to all, not least to poor and sick children. Breaks in the fresh country air and open spaces were seen as solutions to or at least methods of alleviating the consequences of poverty and overcrowding. The residents of Toynbee Hall were also active in improving conditions for those who could not escape from the urban environment. They joined local sanitary committees and organised tenants’ defence leagues to help achieve improved sanitation, hygiene and housing in the area.

The Barnettts not only attacked the effects of heavy industry, poor housing and poor planning, they also provided other means by which health in the area could be improved. They allowed Toynbee Hall to become the home of a branch of the St John Ambulance, and set up classes in first aid and home nursing. As mentioned earlier, Mansfield House Settlement operated a hospital letter society alongside the other savings clubs it ran for the benefit of its neighbours. Toynbee Hall did not organise its own settlement hospital letter or saving society, but it did host a branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters, one of the largest friendly societies. Hospital savings clubs had grown out of church or workplace collections, and the male settlements’ adoption of the practice replicated or complemented this.

Whilst these activities continued well after 1918, there were innovations or changes in practice. Canning Town Women’s Settlement was forced to sell its hospital in the early 1920s, as the settlement could not continue to raise the funds needed to run a hospital. However, their membership of the South West Ham Health Society allowed them to ensure that the neediest groups in the area received the healthcare they needed. Toynbee Hall had long had a tradition of working on or assisting with research into social conditions, beginning with providing residents as researchers for Charles
Booth’s survey of London life and labour in the 1880s and 1890s. Mallon had supported a number of research projects during his Wardenship, but he was keen to develop a study into nutrition. This was closely connected with the late 1930s interest in nutrition and health, and concerns about widespread malnutrition. The research projects that grew out of this included Marjory Spring Rice’s *Working Class Wives* and Seebohm Rowntree’s updated *The Human Needs of Labour*. This Toynbee Hall research began with collecting the testimony of local housewives for Rowntree’s *The Human Needs of Labour*. As Mallon and his colleagues became more interested in this topic, their findings found their way into discussions in the House of Lords and in committee rooms across the country. With the outbreak of the Second World War, Oxford House and Toynbee Hall branched out into care including providing convalescent homes for children and families following the lead of women’s settlements like Canning Town. The early influence of Henrietta Barnett at Toynbee Hall meant that the settlement had some activities that served the needs of needy children and women. However, this was a radical departure for Oxford House, which had traditionally catered for men only.

These healthcare activities were not always about attempting to deal with needs that would otherwise be neglected. They often drew upon working class traditions of philanthropy and organisation, for example where they continued or worked alongside friendly societies. Friendly societies and other types of locally organised savings clubs operated on the premise that the small contributions of the group cumulatively provided a safety net for those in need. Although the settlements ran other types of healthcare and related services, all were based on the assumption that the weakest members of the community – often the ill, the elderly, the disabled, mothers and

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57 See appendix three – Ernest Aves and Hubert Llewellyn Smith were among the Toynbee Hall residents who collected data or wrote chapters for Booth’s survey.
children – needed the support and protection of those who could either deliver or fund these activities on the assumption that all members and their families would be in need at some time. The settlements drew upon existing working class structures of citizenship and mutuality, and helped to ensure that the responsibility for organising certain of these activities passed to the state when appropriate.

**HEALTHCARE, WELFARE AND CITIZENSHIP TO 1959**

Good health is essential for social participation, yet it is not always associated with discussions of citizenship. Unlike the responsibilities that are conventionally allied with being a citizen, such as paying taxes or voting or being considerate to other people, access to healthcare has become a ‘right’ since 1948, though people assume that they have a responsibility to pay through National Insurance contributions and tax. Before the introduction of the National Health Service, healthcare was available to those who could afford it, either by outright payment or through insurance schemes. Those who could not had to resort to charity or the poor relief. However, through the first half of the twentieth century, health gradually came to be seen as the right of the individual and the responsibility of the state. This was prompted by the aftermath of the Boer War, but also by the impact of investigations such as Working Class Wives, the popularity of Marie Stopes’s publications, and the growth of medical expertise. Part of this concern was founded in fears about the degeneration of Britain and its empire. Good mothering, or bringing up healthy children, was seen as intrinsic to the development of good citizens, and it was increasingly seen that this was best achieved by the state.

However, health-related social work was by no means a new phenomenon in the early twentieth century, as the following selected examples show. Investigations into and reforms of sanitary provision began in the mid-nineteenth century, following outbreaks of typhoid fever. Edwin Chadwick’s *The Sanitary Condition of the

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60 Ibid., p. 13 – 14
Labouring Population (1842) sparked a wave of investigations into the effects of overcrowded burial grounds, cesspools, sewers and water supply. The cholera outbreak of 1848 led to the Public Health Act of the same year, which aimed to introduce common practice in sanitation. In towns and cities, overcrowding and poverty could compound the problems of sanitation. Octavia Hill and Henrietta Barnett were also part of the movement to increase public spaces, so that the working classes could enjoy fresh air and space to roam freely. Rachel and Margaret McMillan pioneered work into the health of slum school children, first in Bradford and then in South East and East London. Rachel McMillan was an advocate of promoting children’s health in schools through free school meals and medical examinations. Her sister Margaret and Fred Jowett, then the Labour MP for Bradford, played an important role in persuading the Liberal Government to pass the 1906 Provision of School Meals Act. As mentioned earlier, the Boer War of 1899–1902 further highlighted the severe deficiencies in the health of the working classes and gave impetus to demands to increase and improve access to care. Sanitation and careful town planning to provide open spaces and keep industrial and residential areas separate were beyond the power of the individual citizen, requiring at least some involvement of local government. Likewise for school meals to achieve truly effective social change, it was necessary for the programme to be widely implemented. From these examples we can see the beginnings of the recognition of the role the state could play in the delivery of healthcare.

The National Health Service Act of 1948 radically changed many Britons’ ability to access healthcare, but it was not the only piece of legislation to address this issue. Both the Old and New Poor Law (Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834) provided medical care, but this was limited to the destitute. It was not until 1885 that poor law infirmaries could treat patients who were not paupers. Although a variety of

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voluntary hospitals providing for the poor were established, especially during the later nineteenth century, large scale access to health care did not become available before the passing of the National Insurance Act in 1911. This was one of a number of pieces of social reform legislation passed between 1906 and the outbreak of the First World War. The National Insurance Act introduced both unemployment and health insurance, for which contributions were paid out of a worker’s wages and supplemented by employers and the state. Whilst unemployment benefit only reached 2.75 million men working in certain industries, including iron and steel, health insurance was available to most male workers earning under £160 a year. Women working in occupations covered by the 1911 Act were also eligible, but were a minority of women. The scheme was administered by approved societies, mainly trade unions and friendly societies (one of which is discussed later in this chapter) and allowed access to a doctor, but not hospital admission, except for tuberculosis. Sick pay of 10 shillings a week was available, but there was no coverage for family members, apart from a maternity grant. Hospital care was available in voluntary hospitals, which were partly funded by the approved societies and partly from voluntary donations and from individuals and institutions, including from 1897, the Prince of Wales Hospital Fund for London (later the King’s Fund). Voluntary hospitals were more numerous in London than elsewhere, so the King’s Fund was established to provide additional support.

In terms of the evolution of British citizenship, the National Health Service turned a privilege into a responsibility of the state. Despite the problems and difficulties the NHS faced in its earliest years, the principle underlying the system was that the state should provide universal standards in healthcare so that all Britons could benefit equally. Ultimately, this grew out of the brave efforts of the voluntary hospitals and

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other providers of healthcare and related services in making medical aid as widely available as possible; it was also recognition of their limitations.

In addition, healthcare has been in Britain and many other countries a method by which women can participate more fully in society. The right to train and practise as a medical doctor was one of the most bitterly fought campaigns of the women’s rights movement in the nineteenth century, and was achieved some decades before the granting of female suffrage on equal terms to male. Although women were able to become doctors, they were largely there on sufferance. Most women working in healthcare were nurses.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY OF HEALTH CARE AND WELFARE, 1834 – 1959**

There have been a number of studies of healthcare before the advent of the National Health Service. David Owen and Brian Abel-Smith both produced significant surveys of different aspects of health services, both concluding that state intervention was ultimately inevitable. Geoffrey Rivett’s *The Development of the London Hospital System 1823 - 1982* examined the developing structure of the hospital system within the London area, and provides a useful complement to Prochaska’s work on the funding of hospitals in *Philanthropy and the Hospitals of London*, a history of the King’s Fund. More recently, Keir Waddington has undertaken a further study of voluntary hospital funding in London, which concludes that the King’s Fund attempted to address the need for public and state assistance without removing the hospital system from the voluntary sector. Waddington also argues that, by 1898, the

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64 Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman to qualify as a doctor in the US in the 1850s. She inspired Elizabeth Garrett, later Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, to train to become the first female British doctor. Garrett succeeded in 1865, and established the first women-run hospital in 1872. Garrett Anderson was also the first British female mayor, being elected in Aldeburgh, Suffolk, in 1908. She was also a leading supporter of women’s suffrage and feminism. See Jo Manton, *Elizabeth Garrett Anderson*, (London: Methuen, 1965), Elizabeth Crawford, *Enterprising Women: The Garretts and their Circle*, (London: Francis Boutle, 2002), as well as June Purvis and Sandra Stanley Hotton, *Votes for Women*, (New York: Routledge, 1999).


voluntary hospital sector could not avoid state intervention in the longer-term.\textsuperscript{67} However, other historians – including Cherry and Gorsky et al – have examined the position of the voluntary hospitals up to the Second World War and have concluded that the sector was much stronger than Waddington, Owen and Abel-Smith have argued.\textsuperscript{68} But although the funding position of the hospitals themselves may not have been as critical as once thought, radical changes in medicine posed further challenges. Advances in scientific knowledge and their application in pharmacology and surgery had the potential to eradicate a number of diseases. For example, penicillin, discovered in 1929 by Alexander Fleming, was a ‘wonder drug’ that could effectively and rapidly treat bacterial infections. However, Fleming could not mass-produce the drug, and until Florey and Chain, British scientists working in the US during World War Two, found a way of producing it industrially,\textsuperscript{69} it was beyond the financial capabilities of most doctors and hospitals.

Recently historians have placed greater emphasis on the relationship between the patient and the healthcare system, and the broader social and political significance of the hospital and its staff. Lara Marks has produced a significant body of research into the social aspects of medicine in East London, in Model Mothers (1994)\textsuperscript{70} and Metropolitan Maternity (1996)\textsuperscript{71}. Model Mothers in particular explores the relationship between the patient and the service, through examining the anxieties Jewish women felt and negotiated whilst dealing with a predominantly Protestant health profession. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel’s edited work, Mothers of a New

\textsuperscript{70} Lara Marks, Model Mothers: Jewish Mothers and Maternity Provision in East London 1870 – 1939, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994)
\textsuperscript{71} Lara Marks, Metropolitan Maternity: Maternal and Infant Welfare Services in Early Twentieth Century London, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996)
World and their earlier article, ‘Womanly Duties’ draw out the complex relationship between healthcare provision for women and the development of welfare states in the twentieth century.  

**WOMEN’S SETTLEMENTS AND MEDICAL RELIEF WORK**

The women’s settlements were often deeply involved in providing medical care to the local population, in the form of infant welfare clinics or even hospitals, as was the case with the CTWS. Women’s settlements had proliferated rapidly in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1938, of the 25 London settlements affiliated to the British Association of Residential Settlements (BARS), 18 had female Wardens. Eleven of those settlements were women’s settlements: Bishop Creighton House, Fulham; Brady Clubs, Stepney; Canning Town Women’s Settlement, West Ham; Dame Colet House, Stepney; Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, Lambeth; Katherine Low, Battersea; St. Hilda’s East, Bethnal Green; St. Margaret’s House, Bethnal Green; Talbot Settlement, Camberwell; Time and Talents, Southwark; and Women’s University Settlement, Blackfriars. Although women’s settlements did not always have prominent public profiles, they were more numerous than male-dominated settlements and they worked in some of the most deprived areas in London.

There were numerous similarities in the work undertaken at each women’s settlement. A large number were involved in work relating to the Invalid Children’s Aid Association, including the Women’s University Settlement who took over all ICAA cases in the Southwark area in 1892. Time and Talents Settlement took over the

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74 See appendix one for further information on each settlement mentioned
work of the London County Council Children’s Care Committee for a local school in 1921. This involved casework with families to enable teachers to understand the needs of children with learning difficulties or problems at home. The women at Time and Talents also helped working parents by taking children to clinics, or finding funds to pay for spectacles or dental treatment. Lady Margaret Hall Settlement was one of the first organisations to train hospital almoners, alongside developing a social work training programme that would eventually be incorporated into the work of the London School of Economics. Each women’s settlement had its own priorities based on need in their area, but work to promote the health and well-being of women and children was common to all.

The men’s settlements, on the other hand, tended to concentrate on non-medical forms of health-related provision, such as Hospital Saturday Funds or first aid classes, whilst the women’s were more focussed on direct medical care. Not only did the women’s settlements provide medical services, they incorporated health education into other activities. This was true of most of the women’s settlements operating in the East End before the 1950s. Girls’ clubs provided opportunities to instruct girls in good hygiene and health; mothers’ groups brought women together, and could provide moral support and friendship to counteract some of the isolation new mothers or those confined at home with small children may have felt. These were all methods of creating sub-groups or micro-communities to provide members with mutual support. These ‘self-help’ methods were not dissimilar to the formation of working class reading and education groups or even small-scale trade unions in the early to mid-nineteenth century, although these were established by working class men, not by settlement residents. Some of the knowledge imparted and learnt in these groups had to come from the more experienced, for example, club leaders or older girls assisting with the

77 ‘History of Lady Margaret Hall Settlement’, www.lmhs.org.uk/about.php, viewed 13 April 2005
groups, as well as health workers and midwives. But the result was the same – the girls and women learned new skills that could help them to manage their present or future lives more efficiently and helped build their confidence. Although middle and upper class women could empower themselves through setting up these types of health work, participation in these groups could build a similar sense of belonging and confidence amongst the working class participants.

Canning Town Women’s Settlement had from its inception a very strong emphasis on medical and health work. In its foundation year, 1892, it offered help to the local Medical mission and provided nursing lessons through its girls’ clubs. The settlement went on to offer CCHF trips and excursions – mothers as well as children being sent away to convalesce. The following year, they set up mothers’ meetings at the request of the Medical Mission, who viewed these activities as a matter of urgency. The same year, 1893, saw the establishment of the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Society (ICCS) and a Woman’s Sick Benefit Society. The CTWS took over the running of the Medical Mission in 1893 and by 1895 had set up a specialist school for disabled children. The Medical Mission became the Canning Town Women’s Settlement Hospital in 1894, although it was frequently referred to as the Medical Mission Hospital until the First World War. It will be referred to as the CTWS Hospital or CTWSH in this chapter. These earliest activities established the foundations of the settlement’s work.

CTWS was the first, but not the only, settlement to run its own hospital. In 1898, Margaret Sewell and Eleanor Powell from the Women’s University Settlement pointed out that:

Canning Town supports medical sharing-out clubs, a medical mission, and a hospital with resident lady doctors and several nurses. These ventures

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78 Dr. Spence Galbraith, *Invalid and Crippled Children’s Hospital*, sheet from Galbraith’s personal papers, Royal London Hospital Archives and Museum
sprang from the special needs of the district, and are not likely to be imitated elsewhere.  

But how ‘special’ were these ‘special needs of the district’? As will be mentioned later, hospital provision in the borough of West Ham was increasing, with the opening of the West Ham Dispensary. It may be, however, that the area lacked inexpensive treatment for women by women doctors (or any doctor) at this stage. By 1918, the Princess Marie Louise Settlement in Bermondsey also ran a hospital, having converted its club room into a hospital for servicemen during the war. This led to calls to convert the settlement into a hospital for children after the war, as services in the area were lacking, despite its proximity to Guy’s Hospital. Despite a campaign in 1918–9 to raise funds for the children’s hospital, the plan came to nothing and the hospital was converted back into a club room. Similarly, in the late 1890s, the Robert Browning Settlement in Walworth also worked with a medical mission, and the Women’s University Settlement helped to manage a dispensary for sick women and children. This suggests that the health needs of working class women and children were generally underprovided for, and that the variations in services provided by settlements reflected primarily the individual combinations of workers at each institution, their personal drives and capabilities and the financial and administrative capacity of those settlements to organise relief.

The CTWSH provided women and children with free medical advice on Mondays and Fridays, whilst the rest of the week was devoted to outpatient work and home visiting. The CTWSH also acted as a vital fall-back for doctors working in the area,

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82 Sewell and Powell, p. 92
83 ‘A Settlement Hospital’, p. 160
who would try to get chronic patients admitted to the hospital. By 1918, the CTWSH was offering both major and minor surgery, employing women surgeons and anaesthetists, and running a dispensary which was used on average 600 times per week. This was no small enterprise. Whilst it obviously dealt with a certain amount of need, after the end of World War One, Mrs Parker Crane, then Warden, and staff attached to the settlement began to voice concerns.

At a meeting of the CTWS Executive Committee in 1919, a Doctor Watkin discussed how the settlement’s priorities had changed over time with regard to the needs in the district:

> [the original aims of the CTWS were] that we were [...] to make a difference in (a) the religious and (b) the social condition of the people – the social including mind and body. In the early days the need of the body had been very urgent, but that the work of a Hospital was now so specialized that it was no longer possible for the settlement to undertake it.

However, since the early 1890s, medical provision in the borough of West Ham had improved, with the opening of more hospitals in the area. The County Borough of West Ham had only been created out of the County of Essex in 1884–5, and with it the responsibility for healthcare in the rapidly growing area had been transferred to the Town Hall in Stratford. In time, the Queen Mary Hospital for Women and Children in Plaistow had opened, as had the St. Mary’s Hospital on West Ham Lane in Stratford. On one level, provision for women and children in the area had improved, insofar as there were more hospitals in the area. Dr. Watkin’s reported comments suggest that she did recognise that whilst need was possibly better satisfied in the West Ham of the 1910s, the cost of maintaining a hospital at affordable prices was rising beyond the reach of the settlement. The CTWS had begun by ‘patching up’ the women and children of Canning Town, and now they were providing a serious medical service as well as auxiliary and complementary services. The question now was whether or not

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84 'A Settlement Hospital', p. 161
85 Newham Local Studies and Archives: Canning Town Women’s Settlement Executive Committee Minutes 5 December 1919. From here, this body of papers will be referred to as Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC and the date of the meeting.
they could satisfy needs in the area, and in particular if they could keep up with the latest medical and technological developments, let alone with other service providers. The CTWS executive, it appears, began to see their role not as providing direct healthcare but rather as a complementary service to other healthcare providers.

The difficulty of interpreting the withdrawal from healthcare provision by the settlement lies in understanding why such a serious activity was so readily given up. It appears that, following the immediate impact of the First World War, the settlement could not justify the cost and burden of the hospital, and ran it as a going but reduced concern until it found a buyer, the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Society, in 1924. Until recently, historians viewed the interwar period as a time of crisis in the voluntary hospital sector. Owen, in particular, argued that voluntary subscriptions and donations were less forthcoming in the immediate aftermath of war. Recent research suggests that this does not appear to be entirely the case. As mentioned earlier, the major crisis in funding for the settlement movement came not, as might be expected, during the war, but in the later 1930s, when many of the movement’s earliest and most devoted supporters died and it was faced with having to appeal not only to a younger generation, but to a different constituency, in a different environment. This trend is relevant insofar as we are dealing with a settlement hospital. Insofar as we are examining a voluntary hospital, the recent work by Steven Cherry and Gorsky, Mohan and Powell suggests that the funding situation in the sector as a whole was

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86 Dr. Galbraith’s history of the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Hospital refers to the ICCS being established in 1914 by Dr. Lilian Simpson and not in 1893 (see Royal London papers). The CTWS’ ICCS had become the Invalid Children’s Aid Association (it is referred to under both names in the CTWS Executive Committee minutes), and according to Galbraith it moved to the north of the borough in 1914. If Galbraith is to be believed, the two were separate organisations, but from the minutes it seems that Simpson’s ICCS was very closely connected to the CTWS.


88 Owen, p. 528


not as critical as it may have appeared. It appears that rather than sources of funding disappearing, hospital finances diversified during the period 1918 to 1939 in response to a dip in traditional forms of funding, such as donations, shortly after World War One.  

This is true of the settlement movement also – from relying on donations, covenants and membership subscriptions, the settlements began to explore other forms of fundraising, from Alexandra Rose Days to BBC radio broadcasts and other media appeals. As Cherry argues, doctors in the immediate post-war period supported the continuance of the voluntary hospital sector, and their opinions, as ‘heroes’ of the war, attracted public support. Support for the voluntary sector was bolstered by the medical profession’s efforts during the war. The introduction and expansion of forms of private health insurance also had a positive effect on hospitals, as it came in time to form a significant part of their annual income.

At CTWS, the reports given by hospital staff to the Executive Committee demonstrate clearly the demand for the hospital’s services. The dispensary reports record that in December 1918 400 patients attended the dispensary; in March 1919, 821, April 1919, 605 and in May 1919 a high of 1005 patients. The data in the table below refers to in-patient use of the hospital:

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91 Gorsky et al, p. 534
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Patients admitted</th>
<th>Major surgical operations</th>
<th>Minor surgical operations</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 1918</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1918</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1919</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1919</td>
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<td>No data</td>
<td>No data</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1919</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1919</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1919</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.1: CTWS Hospital admissions, surgical operations and deaths, 1918–9 (Newham Local Studies and Archives, CTWS EC minutes, December 1918 – June 1919).

Dispensary prescriptions, consultations and minor operations were markedly higher in March and May, with a fall in April. Arguably, in the first three months after the Armistice there might have been a general ‘feel-good’ factor as the psychological stresses and strains of war were removed, and women and children could look forward to the return of family members from the armed forces, as well as the end of rationing and of the possibility of aerial bombardment. The rise in minor operations correlates with the removal of local women from war work, and the rise in the number of women attending the CTWS demobilization club. This suggests that the demands of war work and of managing home and family – and of course, the increased wages attached to war work – may have discouraged women from seeking help for medical problems. Alternatively, it is possible that women paid for medical services whilst they were receiving higher wartime wages – particularly as some would still have been in war-related work in 1919. They may have had access to medical services at their workplace. As the reports do not provide further details about the operations, it is difficult to be more precise about this trend. It suggests that during the war the CTWS hospital had either concentrated on dealing with acute and chronic cases due to exigency, or that local women had not prioritised spending time and money on their health. Possibly, the experience of working alongside and chatting with women from other backgrounds encouraged women to be less accepting of medical problems. What had been a residue of minor cases developed into a rush of women seeking
medical treatment. The Maternal and Child Welfare Act of 1918 may also have prompted women to attend to their health by providing new opportunities for them to do so, as well as enabling funding for these new activities to be arranged by the settlements and other service providers.

This Act provided government funding for the following: health visiting; infant welfare clinics; food and milk for pregnant mothers, infants and young children; trained midwives; doctors to assist midwives in emergencies; nurses for paediatric and pregnancy-related illness; hospitalisation for illnesses related to pregnancy and childbirth; maternity homes; convalescent homes; homes for infants with malnutrition and similar illnesses; accommodation and assistance for the children of widows, deserted and unmarried women; day nurseries and home helps. The Maternal and Child Welfare Act allowed the Local Government Board to fund up to 50% of local authority health care expenditure on pregnant or nursing mothers and children up to 5 years old. Lara Marks has found that local government expenditure on the provision outlined by the Maternal and Child Welfare Act varied greatly from borough to borough, but in her study of Woolwich, Stepney, Hampstead and Kensington she found that the poorer boroughs – Woolwich and Stepney – spent far more than the richer boroughs on maternal and child welfare. Marks also found a correlation between strong local Labour Party ties and trade unionism with higher expenditure on child and maternal welfare, but the answer is probably more economic than purely political. The poorer boroughs suffered from greater levels of deprivation; with largely working class electorates after 1918, higher levels of spending would correlate with addressing voters’ concerns.

94 Ibid., p. 169
95 Ibid., p. 170
96 Ibid., p. 159
97 Ibid., p. 159
Throughout the period of this study, there were improvements in the healthcare available to women nationally and locally. This is explored more fully in the following discussion of the South West Ham Health Society. The extent of women’s health and welfare work in Labour or left-wing areas of London was far from accidental. Before 1914, Sylvia Pankhurst’s East London Federation of Suffragettes had combined a powerful, left-wing campaign for women’s suffrage with health and welfare work amongst the local women. As is mentioned later, the Women’s Co-operative Guild and the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies co-operated with the South West Ham Health Society in 1918 to ensure that the Maternal and Child Welfare Bill was implemented in West Ham. These were areas in which women could legitimately involve themselves in policy formation and implementation. The interactions between women’s political organisations, their male counterparts and reforms affecting women produced fruitful results for local women. Although male organisations may have focussed their attention on the needs of male workers, they could not ignore the fact that men also had families.

The Maternal and Child Welfare Act of 1918 also presented new opportunities for the CTWS hospital in the form of grants. This was a welcome development at a time when their funding from the King Edward’s Hospital Fund was threatened. The King’s Fund had not been satisfied with the hospital’s management of its finances since 1915, and this was exacerbated by a series of emergency applications made by the hospital to help it out of its debt. Therefore, the CTWS Executive Committee had looked at the possibility of holding flag days and bazaars to help fund their medical work. Later in 1918, a sub-committee was appointed to work solely on applying for the grants facilitated by the Maternity and Child Welfare Act. This suggests that the purpose and aims of the hospital were beginning to drift from the settlement’s original intentions, and that the Executive Committee was attempting to

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98 London Metropolitan Archives, A/KE/250/7 Invalid and Crippled Children’s Society Hospital, formerly Canning Town Women’s Settlement and Hospital, 1898 – 1929.
99 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 18 September 1918
change its activities to fit the priorities of funders. In the earlier period it had been a
general women’s and children’s hospital,\(^{100}\) providing an additional service to that of
local GPs as well as both major and minor surgical operations, whereas in the late
1910s and early 1920s its remit was changing. From being a women’s hospital in
1918, by 1924 it had evolved into a hospital catering for the needs of disabled children
with its transfer from CTWS to ICCS management.\(^{101}\)

It appears that the hospital’s debt was crippling, curtailing its activities and also those
of the settlement as a whole. For example, in March 1919 it was reported to the
Executive Committee that a children’s ward was urgently needed, ‘as the patients were
often greatly disturbed by crying infants,’ but the request was vetoed until the debt
could be reduced. By November 1919, Mrs Parker Crane, then Warden, questioned
the policy of the settlement and the apparently disproportionate spending on the
hospital:

> As the Settlement had a wider constituency than the Hospital – She
thought that the work suffered through hampering conditions, that a great
amount of labour was devoted to studying economy.\(^{102}\)

In other words, the hospital held back the other activities of the settlement by
absorbing money and incurring debts. Its financial problems distracted the
administrative staff from other duties, rather than dealing with the pressing task of
finding new donors to support the work of the settlement as a whole. At the same
meeting, Miss Sharples, a member of the Executive Committee,\(^{103}\) echoed the notion
of the hospital’s suffocating effect on the settlement’s other work by alluding to
opposition on these very grounds to the founding of the hospital in the first place.

\(^{100}\) Galbraith, ibid.
\(^{101}\) Ibid.
\(^{102}\) Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 18 December 1918
\(^{103}\) All subsequent references are to members of the Executive Committee of the settlement.
The medical staff were in attendance to present reports to the Committee. Where biographical
detail is known, this is included in Appendix Three.
The turning point for the future of the CTWS Hospital came with the Executive Committee meeting of 5 December 1919, at which it was resolved to abandon the hospital work, but to maintain it as a going concern until other arrangements could be made. Dr. Murray Leslie argued that only a ‘little extra effort’ was needed with fundraising, and that the hospital was on a sounder financial basis than others. However, the settlements in general were experiencing a downturn. Earlier in the year Mansfield House Settlement had had to launch an appeal to decorate their Fairbairn Boys’ Club to its pre-war standards.\textsuperscript{104} This suggested that funds were not readily available for such capital projects. Whilst the voluntary hospital sector may have been stronger than previously thought, this evidence suggests that the settlements themselves were under financial strain.

At the meeting of 5 December, Mrs Milne raised the question of how the settlement should continue to maintain its responsibility for the hospital. Dr. Watkin, as quoted above, mentioned the need to concentrate more fully upon the mind rather than the body. The Executive Committee suggested that the ‘London School’\textsuperscript{105} should be approached to take over the hospital work; but also that the Executive should work on obtaining grants and encouraging residents to visit discharged patients. Although the hospital’s debt threatened the settlement, the importance of the work – both to the settlement staff and the local women and children – meant that the hospital could not be left to wind down. The hospital took a lesser place on the agenda of the Executive Committee until 1922. In the meantime, much of the settlement’s activity was based on the problems of unemployment and industrial unrest in the area, and on supporting the local women through the economic crisis.

\textsuperscript{104} Newham Local Studies and Archives, \textit{Mansfield House Magazine}, Vol. XXVI No. 4 July and August 1919, p. 41

\textsuperscript{105} In the EC minutes ‘London School’ is recorded; I suspect the secretary was referring to Elizabeth Garrett Anderson’s London School of Medicine for Women. It is highly likely that this school had provided most of the CTWSH’s doctors. However, on a more local level, they could equally be referring to the [Royal] London Hospital, Whitechapel, which was and continues to be a teaching hospital. There was also a Royal London School of Nursing based at the Whitechapel hospital. This is not clear in the minutes.
By October 1922, Catherine Towers, previously the Sub-Warden of CTWS (and also Warden of Toynbee Hall’s Poplar Women’s Settlement in the First World War\(^{106}\)), had taken over as Warden, and the hospital returned to the top of the Settlement’s agenda. The hospital had been put up for sale, but Queen Mary’s Hospital, Plaistow, a local women’s hospital, had rejected an offer to buy it. The Invalid and Crippled Children’s Society (ICCS) agreed to take it over, and in the course of 1923, they reopened it as a children’s hospital. A suitable conclusion to the problem of running a hospital whilst attempting to fund other activities had been reached. Whilst some staff regretted that the hospital had been taken out of the hands of medical women, the ICCS had strong links with the settlement, and could be said to be continuing the work of the CTWS. Indeed, at the turn of the century, Rebecca Cheetham and the CTWS had worked hard to set up a school for disabled children in the borough of West Ham, and the settlement continued to have strong links with the ICCS. The financial problems lay not so much with the hospital itself, as with the settlement. Running the hospital at such a cost could not be borne at the expense of other activities. Other activities were not necessarily running at a loss, but funds that could be allocated to them were spent on the hospital as its needs were immediate. There is little surviving information about the hospital after 1918, and most concentrates on the issues studied above, hence it is difficult to assess how the hospital was being used by the women of West Ham. Certainly, medical facilities in the area for women had been improving since the CTWS hospital had been established. Therefore, the need to address the medical needs of the women of West Ham was less pressing, whereas the need to provide other forms of support was growing, particularly since the franchise for women had been partially achieved in 1918. Local women had better access to healthcare due to the passing of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act, which increased the range of services available to them, and also the growth in the number of healthcare providers in the area. The financial crisis at the hospital was linked to

\(^{106}\) Note that when Toynbee worked in Poplar, (1915 – 6) the two sites were referred to as Toynbee Hall, Poplar and Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel. The women’s settlement was called Toynbee Hall, Poplar Women’s Settlement. I have reordered the title for clarity.
difficulties in the settlement movement as a whole. The CTWS Hospital had pioneered a service, but the settlement was finding it harder to maintain the service, especially when there were newer, larger providers with better resources.

The Queen Mary’s Hospital had opened in 1861 as the West Ham Dispensary, and by 1890 had become the West Ham and Eastern General Hospital. It was extended in 1895, and by 1917 received a Royal Charter and began operating under the name of Queen Mary’s Hospital, Plaistow. It was run as an acute hospital until the early 1970s when it was merged with Newham General Hospital. Queen Mary’s Hospital was specialising in women’s health by the 1930s, when Daisy Parsons, then Mayor of West Ham and a former CTWS club girl, was one of its proudest supporters. Queen Mary’s had also started as a voluntary hospital, and became the main women’s hospital in the area – hence CTWS approaching it to take over its medical work. This may also help to explain why the CTWS were finding it increasingly hard to raise money for their hospital – they were competing with an organisation devoted solely to medical work and with better resources. As it was still very difficult in the 1920s for women to enter the medical profession, women-only organisations like CTWS might have found it harder to recruit staff. Also, the Maternity and Child Welfare Act gave more power to local authorities to provide the kinds of services CTWS had been offering, resulting in a general, borough-wide growth of services. Through the involvement of many of the CTWS and Mansfield House staff in the South West Ham Health Society and Infant Welfare Clinic (SWHHS) the settlement developed services throughout the borough. The SWHHS was a voluntary body that reported to the local council, made recommendations, and where necessary, found funding to set up healthcare projects. The Executive Committee minutes are reticent in recording the debates about the hospital, but the surviving material suggests that there were many passionate debates about the hospital. That it had been necessary was not in doubt;

107 Newham Local Studies and Archives: Daisy Parsons Papers (various ephemera, not catalogued). Various invites and notes from period 1930s – 1950s; see esp. items from 1936 – 7
nor was its value in the future. The question was, as appears to have been acknowledged by both Parker Crane and Towers, whether the settlement was the most suitable base for a hospital. It had achieved its aims in promoting and pioneering women’s healthcare in the borough, and now the CTWS had newer, broader, priorities in seeking to ensure that the women of the area could assert themselves in other parts of their lives. The settlement also had other means of promoting women’s health care through the South West Ham Health Society.

The CTWS/ICCS hospital continued for many years after its sale, until it, like the Queen Mary, was subsumed within the local health authority in 1948. The only surviving evidence to show the continuation of this hospital, however, comes from a very brief reference to ‘The Saint’ ward in the papers of The Saint Fan Club. The creator of The Saint, Leslie Charteris, set up a philanthropic adjunct to the fan club, which, before the nationalisation of the hospitals, devoted its efforts to sponsoring a ward of eight beds at the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Hospital in East London. In 1948, The Saint Club took up instead support of a Stepney youth club, the Arbour Youth Centre, which it still continues.

The CTWS had stopped duplicating a service that had become available elsewhere, on a larger scale, and with better resources. They sponsored instead the development of a

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108 ‘The Saint’ was a series of novels and later radio and television programmes, comic strips and films based on the character of Simon Templar, ‘The Saint’. Templar was a man of independent wealth, who aimed to combat injustice during his adventures. The creator of the Saint, Leslie Charteris (1907 – 1993), wrote around 50 books on the character of Simon Templar.


110 Unfortunately, neither the Barts and the London Hospital Archives or Newham Local Studies Library have any records pertaining to this hospital. One possible reason is that the hospital was transferred into a special unit on the reorganisation of the West Ham local health authority, and its records not maintained.
service that was not necessarily available elsewhere in the borough. The CTWS hospital had identified and pioneered a need that others now fulfilled.

**THE SOUTH WEST HAM HEALTH SOCIETY**

The staff, volunteers and friends of both Canning Town Women’s Settlement and Mansfield House Settlement were highly active in the South West Ham Health Society and Infant Welfare Centre (hereafter referred to as SWHHS). It is not clear when this society started, but it was in existence for some years before 1918. The Society was independent of both Mansfield House and Canning Town Women’s Settlement, but the Warden of Mansfield House was appointed as Chair of the Society, apparently as a condition of being Warden. The Warden of the women’s settlement was also automatically appointed a member. In 1920, the society had representatives from the Invalid Kitchen (at CTWS), the Invalid Children’s Society (also at CTWS), the Charity Organisation Society, the Baptist Tabernacle, the School for Mothers (part of the SWHHS Infant Welfare Clinic provision), the Salvation Army, the Co-operative Society, the medical profession, local churches and the borough council, including the Mayor of West Ham.  

The aim of the SWHHS was to promote the health and welfare of mothers and children in the South West Ham area. It achieved this in a number of ways, from providing an infant welfare clinic and both ante and postnatal services to mothers, from pioneering new developments in healthcare to lobbying the Borough Council on health matters. It was essentially a pressure and action group promoting the rights of the needy – often women and children – after 1918.

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111 Newham Local Studies and Archives, Aston-Mansfield Archives, Box 22/1 South West Ham Health Society Minute Book 1918 – 1952, list of general committee members 1920

112 Newham Local Studies and Archives, Aston-Mansfield Archives ‘South West Ham Health Society Annual Meeting’, newspaper clipping, inserted in South West Ham Health Society Minute Book 1918 – 1952. This minute book will now be referred to as SWHHS and the date of the meeting will follow.
In early 1918, the principal concern of the society was to establish a day nursery in West Ham. This day nursery was intended to be open to all mothers of young children, but in order to try to obtain funds the society narrowed its focus to women working in the munitions sector. The society began its campaign with a conference on day nurseries. This conference, held in March 1918, resolved to send a delegation to the West Ham Public Health Committee to put forward the case for day nurseries, and additionally to launch a campaign on the matter.\textsuperscript{113} The Public Health Committee considered the matter, but referred it to the Medical Officer of Health.\textsuperscript{114} The campaign was strengthened in the summer of 1918 by the inclusion in the Maternity and Child Welfare Bill of a clause permitting the funding by the Local Government Board.\textsuperscript{115} The National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies and the Women’s Cooperative Guild joined the campaign in the autumn of 1918, again holding a conference to focus their action to achieve implementation of the Maternal and Child Welfare Bill.\textsuperscript{116} The NUWSS had started a South West Ham branch in early 1918, and shortly after, approached the health society to co-opt one of their members onto the NUWSS board.\textsuperscript{117} The autumn conference led firstly to participants urging the Borough of West Ham to implement all of the requirements of the Maternal and Child Welfare Bill, especially those related to day nurseries and crèches,\textsuperscript{118} secondly to the establishment of a committee dedicated to working on the Maternity and Child Welfare proposals and ensuring their implementation.\textsuperscript{119}

The subsequent development of nurseries in West Ham is not clear from the papers of the SWHSS, although it is noted in the minutes that a small nursery was started at Lees Hall.\textsuperscript{120} The welfare sub-committee of the SWHHS (housed at CTWS) oversaw the nursery. CTWS opened a further nursery at the Wellington Centre later in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{113} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 27 February 1918 and 27 March 1918
\item \textsuperscript{114} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 24 April 1918
\item \textsuperscript{115} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 31 July 1918
\item \textsuperscript{116} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 26 September 1918
\item \textsuperscript{117} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 29 May 1918
\item \textsuperscript{118} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 23 October 1918
\item \textsuperscript{119} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 27 November 1918
\item \textsuperscript{120} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 26 February 1919
\end{itemize}
1920s, which catered specifically for children on the new estate nearby. It is likely, given that the council offered grants and funding for healthcare initiatives to the voluntary sector, that this was also the case with nurseries and crèches. Rather than establishing a nursery department within the education sector, the council chose to deliver its childcare provision through existing agencies. This made sense. Women in neighbouring streets would already be familiar with the settlements’ nurseries, and the settlement workers would be alert to the needs of the area – the times women began and finished work, their lunchtimes and peak working periods in the year. Other members of the family might already be attending clubs at the settlement. It was a relatively simple way of encouraging and enabling women to participate further in society, according to their own needs.

Educating parents was a key part of the Society’s work. Towards the end of the First World War, Councillor Streiner made available a large quantity of dried milk that the settlement sold very cheaply to parents attending their clinics, since fresh cows’ milk was unsuitable for babies and young children, but dried cows’ milk was. Dried milk, however, was a convenient, economical alternative to cows’ that could be stored for long periods without refrigeration. 43 infants’ deaths from diarrhoea in the month before added further impetus to the need to make the dried milk available. 121 Streiner’s offer was enthusiastically seized upon by the Society, and it was being sold by the infant welfare centre and through the National Kitchens.

The society also participated regularly in National Baby Weeks. 122 Detailed information about local participation in the baby weeks – such as programmes or promotional posters – have not survived, but the accounts of the meetings demonstrate

121 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 26 September 1918
that alongside handing out information about child and maternal health the society supported local baby shows and other local events. These were not limited to the work of CTWS. For example, on 4 July 1918 a baby show was held in West Ham Park. The Given-Wilson Institute organised the event in conjunction with the National Baby Week Council (the West Ham branch was an adjunct of the SWHHS\textsuperscript{123}). The Given-Wilson Institute had been running baby shows for 22 years, but were happy at the intervention of the National Baby Week Council in promoting “mother culture”. Mr Black, of the National Baby Week Council, was reported as saying,

\begin{quote}
[T]he baby stood for the most wonderful possibilities. It was in its earliest years that the mother had most to do with the baby, and it was in those years, up to the age of four or five, that the foundations of character as well as health were laid. The National Baby Week Council had been chosen to encourage and help those who did not know all that should be known, and also to help make the towns and the country such that babies would have a fair chance.

[...] 

There was a Bill now before Parliament to make it easier for places like West Ham to provide maternity and welfare centres and all sorts of things to help save the life and strengthen the mother both before the child was born and up to the time when it was five years old.\textsuperscript{124}
\end{quote}

The Mayoress, Mrs Thorne (the wife of Will Thorne, then Labour MP for Plaistow), also ‘congratulated the mothers, and hoped the children would grow up to be good boys and girls and noble men and women – a great asset to the nation and a credit to themselves and their parents.’\textsuperscript{125} Such work was useful in attracting local attention, as well as giving parents something to look forward to and get involved in. It integrated into local civic life something hitherto seen as purely ‘domestic’, while rewarding best practice in parenting. Black and Mrs Thorne also made explicit the link between the responsibility of the mother and other agencies in ensuring that the child’s future was the best possible. They were advocating investment in the early lives of children that would benefit the nation as a whole. Whilst the daily work of the Infant Welfare Clinic concentrated on mothers’ and babies’ health, the message sent to the wider

\textsuperscript{123} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS, 26 September 1918.  
\textsuperscript{124} ‘Plaistow’s Babies, Mayoress at Prize Distribution’, \textit{Stratford Express}, 6 July 1918, p.5  
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
public through events such as National Baby Week was clear. The clinics were not just concerned with babies’ physical development: they were helping to create healthy and happy young citizens, and future workers and soldiers and mothers.

Around 1918, the society also ran a ‘School for Mothers’. Although the school was run by the SWHHS, it was funded by the Board of Guardians before its transfer to the Ministry of Health in 1919 following the Maternity and Child Welfare Act. By the spring of 1919, the work with the school for mothers and the infant welfare clinic attached to it had increased to such an extent that it was necessary for the society to employ an assistant superintendent to help with the work.

The infant welfare clinic at Lees Hall was the principal concern of the society for many years. Besides helping mothers, it had doctors on hand to undertake obstetric work and to provide antenatal and postnatal checks. It provided home visits to mothers as well as offering them the opportunity to attend the clinic. The clinic attendance reports include figures for ‘special’ cases. Further information on these is not included in the minutes, with the exception of the figures for April 1918, when a case of venereal disease is mentioned. It is possible that the clinic offered the women who attended other services not directly related to pregnancy and childbirth – such as advice and treatment on sexually transmitted diseases, miscarriage, birth control and even abortion. As abortion was illegal at the time, the clinic would not have been able to perform these operations, but it may have helped women who had gynaecological problems following illegal so-called, ‘back street’ abortions. Venereal cases had to be reported to the public authorities hence their inclusion in the statistics, but labelling the cases as ‘special’ may have been a way of concealing other types of work undertaken by the staff. Certainly assisting women post-abortion would have been within their remit, insofar as preventing post-operative infections was concerned.

126 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 22 October 1919
127 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 26 June 1918
128 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 30 April 1919
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*Figure 1.2 – Total attendances at the Infant Welfare Clinic, January to May 1918 Data: Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 27 February, 27 March, 24 April, 29 May and 26 June 1918*
Figure 1.3: Total postnatal checks carried out by the Infant Welfare Centre, January to May 1918

Although most of the clinic’s work appears to have been with postnatal women, it branched out into other areas. In 1921, the society became aware of the need to extend dental care to mothers and children under five. To this end, they liaised with the Infant Welfare Clinics in North Islington, North Kensington and Willesden to explore the feasibility of purchasing equipment and other necessary considerations. The society also wrote to the Ministry of Health to investigate potential funding for this.¹²⁹ The dental clinic proved not to be financially feasible as the set-up costs were prohibitive,¹³⁰ but the society tentatively enquired of the council whether the Infant Welfare Centre mothers could attend their clinic. This request was refused.¹³¹

Unfortunately, there is an unexplained gap in the minutes of the society, as the next records are for June 1930. This makes it difficult to assess the subsequent work to secure dental care for mothers and young children. However, in 1939, the Fairbairn Club (the Mansfield House Settlement Boys’ Club) set up a dental clinic, which was run pro bono by a dentist. The clinic mothers were welcome to attend it if vacancies were available.¹³²

¹²⁹ Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 20 March 1921
¹³⁰ Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 18 May 1921
¹³¹ Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 18 May 1921 and 19 Oct 1921
¹³² Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 4 July 1939
Dental care in West Ham became a problem to which SWHHS paid increasing attention during the Second World War, before the establishment of the National Health Service. Whilst children under 5 and those in school had improved access to dentists, according to the minutes the main group who had problems accessing dental care were boys and girls aged between 14 and 18.\textsuperscript{133} Mothers were another important group, but they had more opportunities than the young working people. Although mothers were the focus of the Society, or rather of the trust as it was by the 1940s, the SWHHS had a broader commitment to the promotion of health in the area, hence their support for obtaining dental services for young people in the 14 – 18 age group.\textsuperscript{134}

The greatest challenge to the SWHHS was finding a solution to a funding problem created by the Local Government Act of 1929. A change in the financial structure of local government meant that substantial grants from the Ministry of Health were stopped, and the grants given under the Local Government Act fell short of what was needed to run the clinic and services. In the year ending 31 March 1930, the Infant Welfare Clinic was already running at a deficit of £36, and this would increase with agreed annual rises in the superintendents’ salaries of £10 each per annum. The Honorary Treasurer, Mrs Watkin, felt that she could no longer meet the financial position of the clinics. Initially, the committee resolved to stop any grant-earning work (which would attract local authority contributions, thereby worsening this problem), especially where it was being done elsewhere in the borough. The society’s solution was to stop all work and to concentrate on those needs that were not being addressed. As they saw them, these needs were educating fathers, sending mothers away on recuperative breaks and supplying mothers with dentures. To reflect this change in their work, the society changed its name from ‘The South West Ham Health Society and Infant Welfare Centre’ to ‘The South West Ham Health and Infant Welfare Society’.\textsuperscript{135} However, the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee on the

\textsuperscript{133} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 5 March 1947
\textsuperscript{134} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 5 March 1947
\textsuperscript{135} Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 18 June 1930
Borough Council did not want the Infant Welfare Clinic to close, and a solution to this problem was found. The Infant Welfare Clinic gave up one of its assistant superintendents, replacing her with one of the Borough’s own health visitors. By a happy coincidence, one of the clinic’s superintendents left to join the Borough service at this time, and was commissioned to continue working at the clinic. 136

Several attempts were made to educate fathers in childcare. In the autumn of 1938 a series of lectures for fathers was planned, 137 and about two years later there were plans to revive the fathers’ committee. 138 Little is mentioned about the actual work of the fathers’ committee, but in keeping with the rest of the work undertaken by the SWHHS, it is probable that they provided fathers with training in helping to look after children. However, neither project developed as successfully as other projects run by the SWHHS, such as the dental schemes. Although men were keen to learn first aid and home nursing skills, as evidenced by the popularity of the St. John Ambulance classes at Toynbee Hall, childcare apparently was less popular. The parenting classes were likely to have had stronger appeal to younger or first time parents, rather than those who already had experience of childbirth and childrearing, and so demographic factors would also have played a part. In the absence of documentary evidence on the subject, it is difficult to speculate further.

The South West Ham Health and Infant Welfare Society continued well into the 1950s. Its role had been to guide the development of women’s healthcare and rights, and whilst the advent of the post World War Two Welfare State could not have been predicted in 1918, the society assisted with the transition to a ‘welfarist’ state. It enabled the development of systems, infrastructure and expertise on which the National Health Service could build after 1948. Through the Second World War the

136 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 16 June 1931
137 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 14 June 1938
138 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 8 May 1940
society did not cancel a single clinic, although the numbers attending fell. The society did not, however, receive any state subsidies for its work – it remained a voluntary organisation throughout the war.

Immunisation became an important part of the programme during the war, but otherwise the work of the society did not change fundamentally. They were helped by many gifts from across the globe as well as closer to home: the Canadian Red Cross regularly sent gifts to the society, as did the Cape Town Britain’s Babies Club. One of the fathers distempered two of the rooms and the passageway in the clinic in his spare time, as a token of thanks for the help his wife and children had received.

The establishment of the National Health Service from 1948 gradually changed the work of the society. In the first few years of the NHS, the society’s infant welfare and antenatal services were co-ordinated with those provided by the local health committees. They were funded, at least in part, by the local health authorities. Their services – toddlers’ clinics, ante, neo and postnatal care, dental clinics, sunlight treatment, vaccinations, immunisations and home visits – continued until 1953. From 1953, there is a seven year gap in the records of the society. From 1960 onwards, the society no longer catered for mothers and young children, but for the social needs of disabled children. The process of transferring the mothers’ and babies’ provision to the NHS is therefore not clear, but the society adapted its work in response. As the National Health Service established itself in the 1950s, and ran the kinds of services the South West Ham Health Society had delivered, so the society concentrated upon a group whose needs were not being served.

139 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 9 November 1944
140 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 23 July 1942
141 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 29 July 1943
142 Newham Local Studies and Archives: SWHHS 11 February 1948
143 Newham Local Studies and Archives, Aston-Mansfield Box 23/5 South West Ham Children’s Welfare Society Trustees Minutes, 24 November 1948
144 Newham Local Studies and Archives, Aston-Mansfield Box 22/1 SWHHS 14 September 1953
145 Newham Local Studies and Archives, Aston-Mansfield Box 22/2 South West Ham Children’s Welfare Society, Minutes 29 April 1960 onwards, 4 November 1960
The CTWS hospital’s transition to a children’s hospital occurred at around the same time that many of the CTWS managers were lobbying within the SWHHS for the Borough to implement many of the provisions of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act. Although many of the hospital staff were reluctant to see the hospital close, its transition was part of an increasing tendency to press for centralisation of medical services in the borough. The CTWS hospital and SWHHS were complementary organisations, not only because they were often managed by the same people. The CTWS Warden, and a number of her staff working on healthcare were co-opted onto the SWHHS; they were also able to participate in decision-making about the hospital as members of the CTWS executive committee.

The CTWS and SWHHS never intended to be the sole providers of medical care for women and children in the South West Ham area. They pioneered services that were later taken over by the borough council or other agencies. This was certainly the case with the settlement’s commitment to the care of disabled children, from the opening of the first school for disabled pupils in the 1890s through to the transfer and eventual sale of the CTWS hospital to the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Society. By the 1920s, West Ham had other general women’s hospitals, Queen Mary’s and St. Mary’s Hospital for Women and Children in Plaistow. The need to cater for children (especially disabled children) had already been identified by the settlement hospital before the First World War, and ultimately the hospital responded to the specific needs of children with orthopaedic problems. In the case of the SWHHS, the Local Government Act of 1929 forced them to concentrate their efforts on services that were not provided elsewhere. The settlement hospitals and their medical societies led the way in the provision of certain types of healthcare that were later taken on by other agencies – first the Borough Council and later the National Health Service. Perhaps most importantly, they were key agencies in putting women’s needs firmly on the local political agenda.
THE MANSFIELD HOUSE HOSPITAL LETTER SOCIETY

Hospital Letter Societies, Hospital Saturday Funds and similar schemes had long been organised by settlements, trade unions or workplaces as a means of allowing working people access to healthcare. Hospital Saturday Funds had grown out of weekly collections from workmen in the 1870s. These funds both supported the voluntary hospital sector and provided members with assurance against hospitalisation. They were an important resource for the members, for whom hospitalisation could be very costly. Like National Insurance, these funds provided mainly for men in regular work. The Hospital Letter Society provided another important health service that complemented the other services in the area, from voluntary hospitals. It helped local people save for medical treatment, including hospitalisation, as well as for spectacles, orthopaedic and other equipment. Some used hospital letter societies to supplement their National Insurance payments; others – such as those not working in insured industries and those with children – relied upon these smaller schemes. What follows examines the work of the Hospital Letter Society as it operated at Mansfield House, and how it was used by its members.

The Hospital Letter Society (HLS) at Mansfield House began before the First World War, and folded in 1931 when it was unable to secure a secretary to maintain its business. The Warden of the settlement was President of the HLS. He was helped by around 10 to 15 committee members. The majority of the committee members were women, unusually for a men’s settlement. The Hospital Letter Society members’ records have not survived, but it is likely that many were recruited from the Mansfield House clubs, as well as through door-to-door agents. David Vincent comments that burial insurance collectors before 1914 used collections through trade unions and workplaces to reach male contributors, whilst door-to-door collections attracted

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146 Newham Local Studies and Archives, Mansfield House Hospital Letter Society Minute Book, AGM 14 January 1931 (from here referred to as MHHLS)
women and home workers. This is probably true of the Mansfield House Society, but as the recruitment came through the clubs it is likely that there were more male than female members. The Mansfield House HLS provided grants to hospitals, to the Mansfield House settlement, to individuals and paid also invoices from local opticians and hospitals.

The Hospital Letter Society regularly carried a balance forward to the following financial year, indicating that, on the whole, the society’s funds were secure and stable throughout the period. The same is not true, however, of its membership. In 1925, the society had 350 members on its books, a year later only 198. Members may have been cancelling their memberships in order to spend the money on more pressing needs. One of the society’s proposals in December 1926 to recover members was to write to those more than 12 weeks in arrears to encourage renewal of their subscriptions. This suggests that lapses of more than 3 months had become relatively normal, and also that conditions had improved sufficiently in the area to warrant the hope that members would renew their membership. Despite this, membership did not rise to its previous levels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Optical</td>
<td>£55 4s 8d</td>
<td>£38 11s 0d</td>
<td>£26 4s 0d</td>
<td>£28 19s 6d</td>
<td>£19 4s 0d</td>
<td>£13 11s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgical</td>
<td>£6 17s 0d</td>
<td>£5 0s 0d</td>
<td>£3 2s 0d</td>
<td>£2 9s 6d</td>
<td>£6 13s 9d</td>
<td>£4 1s 0d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1.4: Expenditure on Optical Aid and Surgical Aid, 1925 – 1930 (Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH HLS 7 December 1925, 6 December 1926, 5 December 1927, 19 December 1928, 7 January 1930 and 14 January 1931)*

148 Newham Local Studies and Archives MH HLS 7 December 1925
149 Newham Local Studies and Archives MH HLS 6 December 1926
150 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH HLS 6 December 1926
151 The financial year of the society changed in 1926 from a January to December year to an October to December year. Therefore, these figures are for a nine month rather than a twelve month period. See MH HLS 7 December 1925
152 These are the only available years – papers prior to 1925 have not survived, and the society folded in 1931.
Table 1.4 demonstrates that, with the exception of 1929, when there was a rise in grants for surgical equipment (not specified) there was a steady decline in claims. Along with other evidence, such as comments on the declining membership and the continual carrying forward of a balance each financial year, this suggests that claims decreased in line with the membership decline. The decline was sharpest after 1926. Despite efforts to avert this, the decline continued. It may be that those members who were not in work but who still needed medical insurance, especially for costly equipment and dental or ophthalmic treatment – housewives, children and the elderly – continued to make payments. It does not appear that the decline was linked specifically to industrial disputes, but rather to the emergence of alternative schemes and other forms of provision.

The surgical payments were not for operations – but rather for equipment such as prostheses, ear trumpets, leg irons and trusses. Details of the equipment obtained by members were not given in the minutes, but inferences can be made from the companies grants to whom were made. Surgical equipment was obtained from two companies or charities – the Royal Surgical Aid Society and Krohne and Seseman. The Royal Surgical Aid Society was founded in 1862 and until 1952 specialised in providing the equipment listed above for those who could not afford to buy them. Krohne and Seseman supplied orthopaedic equipment as well as oxygen for hospital anaesthetists. These were all significant pieces of equipment that could last a long time if cared for.

\[153\] The Royal Surgical Aid Society is now known as AgeCare; information from http://www.patient.co.uk/showdoc.asp?doc=26739271, viewed 16 March 2004. Once the National Health Service provided this equipment, the charity began to run care homes for those whose income or age disqualified them from local authority homes.

\[154\] Krohne and Seseman was founded in 1860 by Charles William Krohne and Henry Frederick Seseman, who were half-brothers. Their premises were adjacent to the London Hospital in Whitechapel. Equipment was made here and also supplied and fitted. Both Krohne and Seseman were interested in anaesthesia, the former inventing a chloroform inhaler and the latter the double spray bellows. The company also distributed oxygen cylinders for the British Oxygen Company Limited, and later became part of Cox Surgical. Cox Surgical now make and supply agricultural surgical equipment. Information taken from sub fonds description http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search2?coll_id=6107&inst_id=26, viewed 16 March 2004. Krohne’s archives are held at the Association of Anaesthetists of Great Britain and Ireland.
The Society’s minutes do not provide any suggestions as to why there was a decline in claims for spectacles, as the main use of the Hospital Letter Society was for the purchase of spectacles. At least four times, sometimes six times, the amount was spent on spectacles and optical care than on surgical equipment. The payments were to what appear to be opticians or optical equipment companies, suggesting that the members may have been tested at hospital or by a doctor, and then referred with a prescription for spectacles. Members of the Hospital Letter Society were happy to use it as a means of obtaining spectacles – it was probably a very cost effective way of doing this, spreading the payments across the year. At the end of 1925, the Society carried forward a balance of £124 11s and 1d; a year later, this had fallen to £76 2s 7d, and this trend continued. As fewer paid in, so fewer made claims. 

Members of the Hospital Letter Fund were not necessarily claiming for operations, but obtaining cash and equipment for post-operative, long-term treatment. Although in 1925 there was a claim from Victoria Park Hospital for some, unspecified, in-patient treatment, it seems that the members used other schemes if they required hospital treatment or used voluntary hospitals. In 1925, the Hospital Letter Society set up a branch of the Hospital Savings Association (HSA). The Hospital Savings Association was founded in 1922 to help fund the hospitals and to allow members to save for potential hospitalisation. This appears to have been a more satisfactory scheme than the Hospital Letter Society’s provision for equipment, and as the HSA scheme grew, it may have attracted members away from schemes such as the Hospital Letter Society. A stay in hospital could be costly, not least if it prevented the family’s main breadwinner from earning; and such devices as artificial limbs and ear trumpets were one-off purchases, for adults at least. The HSA scheme may therefore have had more appeal. The HSA was an approved society.

155 MHHLS 18 December 1924 and 6 December 1926
156 MHHLS 18 December 1924
157 http://www.hsa.co.uk/about/default.asp viewed 16 March 2004
Another function of the Hospital Letter Society was awarding grants to hospitals and charities. The society gave Mansfield House five guineas (£5 5s 0d) each year, as well as two guineas, on average, to the Hospital Saturday Fund. This suggests that the Letter Society was helping to subsidise other funds supporting hospitalisation. Grants were also made to the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Society – who were running the Balaam Street Children’s Hospital (see page 59). These were not always grants to the charity itself – on two occasions they appear to have helped individual children, presumably to buy equipment following operations.\(^{158}\) By 1931, the society had started to arrange ‘socials’. These do not appear to be fundraising events, but purely social events for members and perhaps for those using Mansfield House more broadly. The society gave grants to the socials rather than obtaining any money from them.\(^{159}\)

The statistics from the Hospital Letter Society suggest that from 1925 the HSA overtook it as a scheme for obtaining medical benefits – it could not compete in size or financial strength with an approved society. It was, however, useful for obtaining equipment and spectacles especially for those not eligible to join an approved society, and crucially, for members, its finances were healthy. It also functioned as a grant making body, albeit on a small scale. The Hospital Letter Society could only continue if it offered the benefits that members wanted. Industrial depression may have contributed to the decline in the membership and subsequently in payments each year – with workers making compulsory payments for sickness benefits to approved societies, why would they pay twice to a scheme that could not offer as much through its core benefits?

The key contribution of the Hospital Letter Society was that it provided access to medical care, thereby easing pain and disability, and allowing its members to return to

\(^{158}\) MHHLS 5 December 1927 and 19 December 1928  
\(^{159}\) MHHLS 5 December 1927, 7 January 1930 and 14 January 1931
a fuller participation in society. Its services were aimed more at men than at women, mainly due to the nature of approved society or hospital letter society collections and provision. Men could also more easily afford to contribute provided they were in regular work.

**TOYNBEE HALL AND THE ST JOHN AMBULANCE**

Toynbee Hall had long had connections with the St. John Ambulance, and ran first aid and domestic nursing classes. In the Victorian and Edwardian periods the first aid classes were segregated by gender, though men’s and women’s courses were identical. The only difference was that the women’s first aid course included, as part of the final lecture, a section on ‘special instruction […] given in preparing bedding, &c., for patient, before the arrival of the surgeon’. A course in home nursing was run for men as well as woman, and all candidates were required to complete a course in first aid. In 1906, Dr. S. Osborn, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, taught both the women’s and men’s home nursing course. First Aid in the same period was delivered by Dr. W.J. Galt MB BCh, also a surgeon. Women received equal instruction with their male counterparts, and they were taught by male rather than female practitioners.

The St John Ambulance connection at Toynbee Hall continued well into the 1950s. Members of the public or friends of the trainees were often conscripted to act as models for the classes. The courses on offer remained largely the same until 1938, when they are mentioned in the Annual Report.\(^{160}\) Two brigades were based at the settlement, Brigade No. 7 (Toynbee Hall) Division, which at this time had 31 male members who took courses in First Aid with the St. John Ambulance after completing the Toynbee Hall courses.\(^{161}\) The author of the report noted, tantalisingly, ‘For domestic reasons many also take classes in Home Nursing.’\(^{162}\) The following comment on the second group, Brigade No. 66 (Toynbee Hall) Division, is more


\(^{161}\) Ibid., pp. 39 – 40

\(^{162}\) Ibid. p. 40
interesting still: ‘It is surprising that fewer women than men attend classes in Home Nursing’. The author commented that such courses in First Aid and Home Nursing were necessary for women – yet did not explain this gender difference. That men should obtain first aid qualifications is not surprising in itself – it would certainly have been an advantage for those who wished to develop their skills and gain promotion at work – but their interest in Home Nursing is intriguing.

The Toynbee Hall archives do not contain any evidence on the background of those attending the courses, who may or may not have come from the local area. This does, however, suggest that there was a constituency of men who were caring for sick relatives, whether elderly relatives or sick wives or small children, and this may reflect demographic realities. Men who remained bachelors living in the family home may have cared for elderly and infirm parents; equally fathers of young children may have taken on some of the nursing in the home if the mother was herself ill or dead, or if they had sickly children. Unemployed men may have taken over caring duties from their wives or female relatives if they were in work. The evidence does not suggest, that there was a large demand in the area for this training. It may be that such courses were few and men travelled a distance to attend them, and also that the location – at a known centre for adult education – made such ‘womanly’ courses more palatable to men. For both men and women, home nursing could to be overwhelming and isolating, so opportunities to improve one’s skills and receive support would have been welcomed. This would have been important especially for those unable to afford the regular support of a nurse or doctor to advise on long-term, palliative treatment at home.

**THE NUTRITION RESEARCH PROJECT, 1935 – 1938**

In the mid to late 1930s, Jimmy Mallon, Warden of Toynbee Hall and his Sub-Warden, Jo Hodgkinson, became increasingly interested in research into nutrition and malnutrition. Mallon, in particular, had been drawn into a number of research projects

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163 Ibid., p. 40
and institutions, whose work largely concentrated upon unemployment and access to financial services. This involvement of Mallon in research, either on his own initiative or at the behest of others, has not been previously recognised. Asa Briggs correctly noted that Mallon was not himself a researcher, but he omitted to mention that Mallon had a highly significant role in providing information for investigators such as Seebohm Rowntree and Members of the House of Lords, notably Viscount Astor.\(^{164}\)

The motivation for commencing the nutrition project is unclear, but it seems that a combination of the British Association of Residential Settlements (BARS) members’ own projects, their own participation in or assistance with other organisations’ work on nutrition, and politicians’ interest in the matter were powerful stimuli. Nutrition and malnutrition had become matters of great interest to social workers and social researchers in the 1930s. Interest was fuelled by Seebohm Rowntree’s calculations of family budgets, particularly in *The Human Needs of Labour*, of which an updated version was published in 1937. Mallon himself had explored similar aspects of poverty in *Poverty Today and Yesterday* (1930) which he co-wrote with Edward Lascelles. Although *Poverty Today and Yesterday* was essentially a general introduction to the problems of poverty for the lay reader rather than a detailed analysis, Mallon tackled, as he had in *Women in Industry*, the issue of working class expenditure. Mallon, like Rowntree in his later studies, was sympathetic to the notion that the working classes should have a living wage, i.e. an income that provided for more than the basics. This was not surprising in a man who ran an organisation that provided, amongst other things, a liberal education programme at a relatively low cost. And, as with his predecessors, the Barnettts, Mallon understood that man did not live by bread alone – he needed further stimuli.

\(^{164}\) Asa Briggs, ‘James Joseph Mallon’ *Dictionary of National Biography*. Unfortunately this element of Mallon’s work is not drawn out in *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years*. 
In the spring and summer of 1936, Mallon and Hodgkinson began to seek advice – and most importantly funding – for a research project into nutrition. There were two influences behind this. Firstly, Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith’s *New Survey of London Life and Labour* was complete. Llewellyn Smith had worked on Charles Booth’s investigation of London life and labour whilst a young man living at Toynbee Hall, and had then played an important role in developing the collection of official statistics as a civil servant at the Board of Trade, and was now head of a successive research project to Booth’s based at the London School of Economics. Secondly, Cosmo Lang, then Archbishop of Canterbury had recently become Chair of the Toynbee Hall Council, and he called during the 1935 Jubilee for the establishment of a research centre at the settlement.  

One of Mallon’s first points of call was Sir David Munro, then head of the Medical Research Council. Mallon proposed that Toynbee Hall and its affiliates could produce a detailed and comprehensive study of poverty in the East London area. Mallon also asked advice from David Hughes on a suitable physician to advise the project. Hughes was then a resident of Toynbee Hall (see appendix three), and worked with Mallon and Hodgkinson on the design and possible implementation of this proposed research project.

One of Hughes’ first steps was to contact Professor Edward Provan Cathcart of Glasgow University for advice on the project; Cathcart and Hughes corresponded during September 1936. Cathcart was an eminent nutritionist who had carried out many studies of nutrition and health in urban areas and the health of infantrymen in World War One. In 1936, he chaired the Department of Health for Scotland’s Committee on Scottish Health Services. This committee advocated a national health

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165 BRC/EDU/EPH Jubilee file press clippings
166 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Letter Mallon to Munro, 16 July 1936
167 See [http://www.elliottsimpson.com/history/aberdeen2rowett.html](http://www.elliottsimpson.com/history/aberdeen2rowett.html) and [http://www.gla.ac.uk/ibls/NBS/phygla.htm](http://www.gla.ac.uk/ibls/NBS/phygla.htm)
policy. Its recommendation was that improvement in diet was necessary to promote better health.\textsuperscript{168} During the 1930s, medical researchers were developing knowledge of how nutrition was essential to health, although their findings were not well known. Cathcart suggested that data on dietary conditions might not be easily available or particularly reliable, but he did suggest that the Toynbee Hall project concentrate upon household management, including the consumption of gas, coal, beer and cigarettes as these had not been widely investigated.\textsuperscript{169} Hughes commented to Hodgkinson that Cathcart had remarked ‘that the collecting of information about dietary conditions is a woman’s job’.\textsuperscript{170} This phrase is ambiguous in both Hughes’ letter to Hodgkinson and in the original from Cathcart as it is not clear from the context whether or not Cathcart is praising women researchers or being derogatory. Yet, women had the best access to other women through their work as health visitors. Margery Spring Rice’s health survey, \textit{Working Class Wives} (1939),\textsuperscript{171} had used exclusively female expertise in collecting data. Whether it was offhand or intentional, the comment had results.

When commissioned to collect data on the cost of living in East London for the Ministry of Labour in 1936, Mallon’s task force included two men in a team of nine.\textsuperscript{172} Of the seven women who volunteered to collect the data, one – Edith Ramsay – was a noted social worker resident in a Toynbee-owned block of flats; Alice Lascelles was the daughter of Edward Lascelles, Mallon’s collaborator on his \textit{Poverty} book; Mallon’s wife Stella was drawn in, as were the wives of a Toynbee Hall resident and a member of Council, Mrs Stewart and Mrs EP Hitchcock. All formed part of a community of ‘Toynbee women’ who carried out such ‘women’s work’ as collecting data. As will be mentioned later, Mallon also included women’s settlement staff in his team of researchers. At this point, women had not become full residents at Toynbee Hall, though they could live with their husbands at the settlement. Edith Ramsay lived

\textsuperscript{169} BRC/JJM/Nutrition/9a
\textsuperscript{170} BRC/JJM/Nutrition/9b
\textsuperscript{171} Margery Spring Rice, \textit{Working Class Wives: their health and conditions}, (London; Virago, 1981)
\textsuperscript{172} BRC/JJM/Cost of Living A and BRC/JJM/Cost of Living B files
in the ‘neighbours’ building rather than in the main blocks. Women did not become ‘full residents’ until the 1960s. Yet Mallon was keen to use the expertise of the women to strengthen the project. Despite the restrictions on women’s involvement in the life of Toynbee Hall, Mallon had been a feminist since his earliest work during the late 1910s on women’s employment. It was also not the first time he had collaborated with women on research and pressure projects, the first known instance being with Mary Macarthur on their work to promote the trades boards.\textsuperscript{173}

**SEEBOHM ROWNTREE AND THE HUMAN NEEDS OF LABOUR (1937)**

Around the same time, in late 1936, Mallon and Hodgkinson were collecting data on the price of food in East London on behalf of Seebohm Rowntree.\textsuperscript{174} The data, which they collected from Canning Town Women’s Settlements, the LCC Public Assistance Committee, the Bishopsgate Unemployment Assistance Board, St. Hilda’s East and St. Margaret’s House,\textsuperscript{175} was used by Rowntree in *The Human Needs of Labour*.\textsuperscript{176} Again, they followed Cathcart’s advice about using women to collect data about domestic matters. Mallon and Hodgkinson were given a questionnaire which they forwarded to their colleagues at the other settlements.\textsuperscript{177} This asked for information about expenditure on a range of basic foodstuffs, from bread and potatoes to scrap beef and scrag end of mutton. Their collaborators used a variety of techniques for eliciting their results. At CTWS, Catherine Towers passed the list onto a local woman who was renowned for being a shrewd shopper;\textsuperscript{178} the London County Council Public Assistance Committee based their list on outdoor relief scales: ‘the prices which they quoted were obtained from shops where relief coupons are exchanged for goods’.\textsuperscript{179} The LCC PAC figures were therefore based on the amounts claimants could

\textsuperscript{174} BRC/JJM/Nutrition/1 (Tennant, 10 December 1936)
\textsuperscript{175} BRC/JJM/Nutrition/1 (Tennant, 10 December 1936)
\textsuperscript{177} BRC/JJM/Nutrition/
\textsuperscript{178} BRC/JJM/Nutrition/
\textsuperscript{179} BRC/JJM/Nutrition/1 (Tennant, 10 December 1936)
realistically expect to receive. St. Margaret’s House (see appendix one) consulted their mothers’ club. GT Kelly, the Warden wrote:

They are 70 quite typical poorer East End housewives and they were quite unanimous in their replies. Practically everyone replied without a moment’s hesitation. One felt anew how much even ½ d means to them and how expert they are in their job of buying in spite of the criticisms of the other experts.  

Gertrude May Truscott, the Deaconess of St. Hilda’s East got her statistics from the Women’s Fellowship:

There were 48 members present. All of them live in this neighbourhood and I kept a special ear open for the remarks of two of the very poorest who were sitting in the front row just beside my feet.

I hope that the result is what Seebohm Rowntree requires. It seemed to me to be more satisfactory than for us to go out and look at prices without knowing whether the women would actually buy at those prices.

F.G. Clarke, the district officer and his assistant Williams of the Bishopsgate UAB decided to research the prices for themselves, visiting Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and the local street markets as they had no official data to use. Both found it a very interesting experience.

The following table shows the prices that the settlements and the government agencies presented to Mallon and Hodgkinson:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>St Margaret’s House</th>
<th>CTWS</th>
<th>LCC PAC</th>
<th>Bishopsgate UAB</th>
<th>St Hilda’s East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breast of mutton</td>
<td>Imported 3 ½d; English 4 ½d</td>
<td>6d per lb (English)</td>
<td>4 ½ d lb</td>
<td>3d – 5d lb</td>
<td>English 5 ½ d lb; Imported 3 ½ d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minced beef</td>
<td>6 – 8d per lb</td>
<td>8d per lb</td>
<td>6 – 8d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>8d lb English; 6d lb Imported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shin of beef</td>
<td>6 – 8d per lb</td>
<td>8 – 10d lb</td>
<td>10d</td>
<td>4d – 6d lb</td>
<td>10d + 8d lb English; 6d lb Imported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liver</td>
<td>Ox liver 8d per lb</td>
<td>1/- lb</td>
<td>1s 8d</td>
<td>10d lb</td>
<td>Sheep 1 ½ lb; Bullocks foreign, 1s 8d; Bullocks, English, 1s 2d and 1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sausages – beef</td>
<td>4d upwards</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>6 – 8d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>Streaky 8d per lb, 1s 2d, 1s 4d</td>
<td>1s 2d</td>
<td>1s 2d</td>
<td>8d – 1/½ lb</td>
<td>1s 2d or 1s 4d Danish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese</td>
<td>8d per lb</td>
<td>7d lb</td>
<td>10d lb</td>
<td>7d – 8d lb</td>
<td>8 – 10d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>3 ½ d pint</td>
<td>3 ½ d pint</td>
<td>3 ½ d pint</td>
<td>3 ½ d pint</td>
<td>3 ½ d pint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White sugar</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>4 ½ d 2lb loaf</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>8d quarter</td>
<td>8 ½ d 4lb loaf</td>
<td>4 ½ d 2lb loaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1d lb (3 ½ d for 4 lbs)</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>¾ d – 1d lb</td>
<td>5 – 6 for 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oatmeal – medium</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d – 3 ½ d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarine</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>4 – 6d lb</td>
<td>5d lb</td>
<td>5d – 7d lb</td>
<td>4d lb cooking, 6d – 8d eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dripping</td>
<td>6 – 8d lb</td>
<td>5d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>5d – 6d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suet – beef</td>
<td>8d lb</td>
<td>1 ½ d 2oz, 1s lb</td>
<td>8d lb</td>
<td>7d – 8d lb</td>
<td>1s lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>2d lb</td>
<td>8d quarter</td>
<td>5d for 3lbs</td>
<td>5 ½ for 3lb s.r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jam</td>
<td>6 ½ d (2lb plum)</td>
<td>7 ½ d – 2lb mixed</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>10d per 2lbs</td>
<td>8d for 2lb plum, 11d for 2lb best plum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treacle</td>
<td>4 ½ d lb</td>
<td>7 ½ d 2lb tin</td>
<td>5 ½ d lb</td>
<td>7d – 7 ½ d per 2lbs</td>
<td>4 ½ d lb jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>1/- lb</td>
<td>4d ½ lb</td>
<td>1s 8d</td>
<td>11d to 1½ lb</td>
<td>4 ½ d ½ lb tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>3d – 4d lb</td>
<td>2 – 4d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas (dried)</td>
<td>3d lb (dried)</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>2d – 3d lb</td>
<td>4 – 5d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lentils</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sago</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>3 ½ d lb</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>4 – 6d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>2d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>2 – 4d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>8d lb</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>4d – 4 ½ d lb</td>
<td>4 – 6d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currants</td>
<td>5d – 6d lb</td>
<td>4d – 6d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>5d – 6d lb</td>
<td>6 – 8d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1 ½ d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1 ½ d 2 lbs</td>
<td>1 ½ d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1 ½ d 2lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples</td>
<td>2 ½ d for 2lbs</td>
<td>1 ½ d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>2d cooking, 4d eating</td>
<td>1d lb cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrings</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>3 – 4d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kippers</td>
<td>2d lb</td>
<td>3d for 4</td>
<td>8d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>3 ½ d for ½ lb</td>
<td>4d ½ lb</td>
<td>1s 8d</td>
<td>1s 6d – 1s 8d lb</td>
<td>4 ½ d ½ lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>2d 3lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watercress</td>
<td>1d bundle</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td>5d lb</td>
<td>6d – 8d lb (seasonal)</td>
<td>1d bundle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

182 Of these first three foodstuffs, Truscott noted that ‘no-one seemed to buy it’, Truscott to Mallon, as above.

183 Truscott commented that few of the women seemed to use oatmeal.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lettuce</td>
<td>3d</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>2d each</td>
<td>2d – 4d each (seasonal)</td>
<td>None that week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>6d lb</td>
<td></td>
<td>2d upwards</td>
<td>6 – 8d lb average</td>
<td>5d – 6d lb (Nov/Dec price)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 – 6d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl barley</td>
<td>3d lb</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>4d lb</td>
<td>2 ½ d lb</td>
<td>1 ½ d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrots</td>
<td>1d</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 ½ d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
<td>1d lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baking soda¹⁸⁴</td>
<td>¼ d</td>
<td></td>
<td>1d (for two people)</td>
<td>1d a packet</td>
<td>2d per head per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mustard</td>
<td>1d</td>
<td>2d (for two people)</td>
<td>2d tin</td>
<td>2d per head per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>2d ½ oz (two weeks)</td>
<td>1d (for two people)</td>
<td>2d oz</td>
<td>2d per head per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1d per lump</td>
<td>1d (for two people)</td>
<td>1d a packet</td>
<td>2d per head per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vinegar</td>
<td>1 ½ d pint</td>
<td>1d (for two people)</td>
<td>2 ½ d pint</td>
<td>2d per head per week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1.5: Food Prices, November 1936 (Collated from survey returns in BRC/JJM/Nutrition file)**

The women attending the Fellowship provided Truscott with detailed information, including the availability of cheaper, imported alternatives for breast of mutton, minced beef and shin of beef. Their comments on usage of certain items – like oatmeal – and how items were normally purchased – cocoa, they noted, was normally bought by the tin, rather than by the pound – give a greater insight into working class household budgets than the official figures provided by the LCC PAC. They frequently provided price ranges for certain items, and gave not general figures for ‘luxury’ items like jam, but made distinctions between ‘standard’ plum jam and ‘best’ plum jam. This suggests that women would balance their food budget against the family’s needs in a particular week, and on a good week, perhaps opt for the slightly better cut of meat or for British produce. In a harder week, they would purchase cheaper alternatives. This suggests that many women were careful and shrewd shoppers, who had intimate knowledge of the best places to get foodstuffs at suitable prices – the standard market price was not necessarily the price at which they bought.

¹⁸⁴ These quantities are given on weekly basis
¹⁸⁵ Truscott noted that the women laughed at the notion of having to give weekly figures on the consumption of baking soda, mustard, pepper, salt and vinegar. The St. Margaret’s House women had also found the notion of weekly allowances for these items amusing, it being recorded that a pint of vinegar could last a week or two months depending on your taste!
This was one of the requirements stipulated by Tennant to Mallon and Hodgkinson. They asked their data collectors to bear in mind that ‘it will therefore be necessary to obtain prices from the kind of local shop with which the wife of such a workman [on low wages] would trade.’ The prices were obtained by the settlements and agencies in a specific week. They show a range of prices across East London, with some in the Canning Town/Plaistow area being slightly higher than those in the Whitechapel/Bethnal Green area.

During the week of the survey, Peter Tennant of the British Association for Labour Legislation (BALL) wrote to Mallon and Hodgkinson inviting them to join a committee to promote the findings of a survey into nutrition BALL were to undertake. Tennant wrote that he had obtained help from eminent scientists but needed to enlist the help – and public support – of Dr. Scott-Williamson and Professor Stapledon (see appendix two). Tennant suggested that the survey would examine the medical and physical impact of malnutrition, as well as its social aspects, evidence of malnutrition, its consequences for maternal and infant mortality, experiments in distressed areas, schools, the role of the housewife, the role of agriculture, distribution, transportation and economic policy, the psychological aspects of malnutrition, and, finally, the international dimension. It was to be a wide-ranging and demanding study, and it would require publicity – and action – to justify the pains taken. May Tennant, Peter’s mother, undertook to write to Mallon, an old friend of hers, on 19 November 1936 to solicit his help. Mallon could not help directly due to his own commitments, but he suggested that Hodgkinson do so instead. Mallon wrote, ‘He has

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186 BRC/Nutrition/Letters to ET Kelly, W Clarke, C Towers, Deaconess Truscott, HW Bryant and R Parmely, from Mallon, 24 November 1936
187 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Peter Tennant to Jo Hodgkinson, 23 November 1936
188 May Tennant was a factory inspector as well as a key figure in the campaigns to promote and improve women’s participation in the workforce, hence her friendship with Mallon. She was also a friend of Violet Markham, who was also a key figure in the settlement movement, and another long-standing friend of Mallon’s. See Serena Kelly, “Tennant, Margery Mary Edith Josephine Pia (1869-1946)” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36457 (accessed December 3, 2004).
189 BRC/JJM/Nutrition May Tennant to Jimmy Mallon, 19 November 1936
the merit of knowing Dr. Scott-Williamson and having already had to do with certain enquiries with nutritional aspects in this part of London’. Very little is known about Hodgkinson. He appears to have gone on to write a book about the early history of the theatre in Manchester, a reflection of his earlier passions for literature and drama (see Chapters Two and Four, also Appendix Four). He had arrived at Toynbee in the 1930s from the Liverpool University Settlement, whence he received high commendations. As there is no further evidence to suggest that Toynbee Hall had worked on earlier nutrition surveys, it is possible that his connection with Scott-Williamson of the Peckham Centre dated from his Liverpool days. Mrs Neville Smith (‘Lady Denman’s 2nd in command at the Women’s Institute’) recommended Hodgkinson as a possible contact through whom Tennant could reach the Workers’ Educational Association. At this point, the letters relating to the BALL survey dry up until the early months of 1937 when there was an exchange of letters between Mallon, Viscount Astor and Lord Strabolgi, as is discussed later on page 90.

In December 1936 and January 1937 there was a flurry of interest in nutrition from other BARS members. Eric Mawson wrote to Mallon to comment that the BARS Executive was discussing the possibility of malnutrition as a conference topic, and had been in touch with the Ministry of Health to obtain a questionnaire; that a Dietetics Study Group at Durham House Settlement, Durham (see appendix one), was ready to commence nutrition research. In late January 1937, Grace Drysdale of the Edinburgh University Settlement enquired about the survey at Toynbee Hall, expressing an interest in pursuing her own. Hodgkinson replied that the Toynbee Hall research project had not settled on any particular line of enquiry, and [presumably following Cathcart’s advice of the previous autumn] was trying to avoid duplicating other studies. Hodgkinson commented in his letter that ‘the difficulty about Nutrition

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190 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Jimmy Mallon to Peter Tennant, 20 November 1936
192 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Peter Tennant to Jo Hodgkinson, 27 December 1936
193 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Eric Mawson to Jimmy Mallon, 7 December 1936
is that no-one quite knows what it all means and certainly none of the experts can agree on any standard of measure for the problem’. His letter further suggested that Toynbee was interested in pursuing research into the consumption of milk. Drysdale noted that she was about to start a survey of 60 families in the Craigmillar area of Edinburgh. RH Wyatt, Warden of the University Settlement in Manchester also enquired about progress at Toynbee, as his settlement was about to survey 500 families in the Ancoats slum clearance area, and wished to have David Hughes’ advice on their questionnaire. Toynbee Hall had stimulated interest in the field, yet their own research into nutrition appears not to have taken place. The reason may lie in Mallon’s considerable responsibilities – besides his work as Warden, he was appointed a Governor of the BBC in January 1937 – as well as Hodgkinson’s. Hodgkinson was heavily involved in the opening and running of the ‘New Block’, the theatre and juvenile court block that had been constructed to the south of the original Toynbee building.

From March 1937, the paper trail dwindles. Peter Tennant wrote to Hodgkinson enclosing the minutes of the BALL Nutrition Enquiry Committee. This meeting on 15 March 1937 had established two further committees – a political committee, which included the Archbishop of York, Field-Marshal Lord Milne, Lord Passfield, Lady Hall, two MPs, Hodgkinson, Duncan Sandys and HJ Tennant, and a scientific committee, which included Eleanor Rathbone, Dr McGonigle, Professor Stapledon and Mrs Neville Smith. Beveridge and Lord Astor were also added to give weight to the survey. Thereafter Toynbee Hall influence appears to wane. There are no further surviving letters between Hodgkinson, Mallon and Tennant.

194 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Jo Hodgkinson to Grace Drysdale, 21 January 1937
195 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Grace Drysdale to Jo Hodgkinson, 21 January 1937
196 BALL archives for the mid to late 1930s appear not to have survived. However, the minutes of the Executive Committee for 1940 – 1945 are housed at the LSE Archives, reference GB 0097 COLL MISC 0818.
Lord Astor, whose connection with the settlement movement included founding (and financing) the Virginia House Settlement in Plymouth and also the Astor Institute, had entered into a discussion with Mallon on how best to organise a debate on the Report of the Advisory Committee on Nutrition to the Ministry of Health, and to conscript a Labour Peer to debate this with Astor. Astor wrote:

Too many of my Tory Peers are concerned in keeping up the price of food for the benefit of agriculture and indirectly land owners to be useful in a Nutrition debate and cheaper food.

When we have a debate, Labour Peers fail us if the price of food is being pushed up by a Marketing Board or Scheme. They think that anything called National Planning must be sound even if it leads to dear food.

Rowntree’s book – *Human Needs of Labour* – brings out that people of this country should have cheap food. Do try and get some Labour Peer to talk intelligently.

Toynbee Hall did not, as far as the records show, undertake their own research project, but Mallon, Hodgkinson, Hughes and their colleagues at the women’s settlements in particular contributed to a key national debate. Food had become a key area of interest for social reformers, at a time when understanding of the relationship between poverty, poor diet and ill health was expanding. It was not just that people could not afford ‘luxuries’ such as spectacles or fillings in their teeth or even panel doctors, but that an impoverished diet could create the problems which required much attention.

Whilst the letters between Mallon, Hodgkinson and others are interesting, the richest material on this issue is the questionnaires from the women’s settlements, the scribbled notes recording the women’s comments on the food items and the weekly budgets, the asides that show the reality of feeding oneself and one’s family on a limited budget. The middle class women investigators extracted valuable information by stepping beyond the limits of the questionnaire and engaging in a dialogue with

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197 BRC/BARS/Virginia House files
198 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Waldorf Astor to Jimmy Mallon, 29 April 1937 and attached papers
199 BRC/JJM/Nutrition Waldorf Astor to Jimmy Mallon, 29 April 1937
their subjects about their lives. All the women involved in the survey were talented and able in their own right, and Mallon allowed them the opportunity to undertake this work. They collected data that engaged with national concerns. They contributed to understanding the women they worked for and lived with as neighbours. These female (and male) researchers shopped in the same markets as the women whose lives they were investigating. The Warden of St. Hilda’s listened to what the women had to say about the lists presented to them; Catherine Towers of CTWS gave the list to a women’s club member. The researchers tried their best to empathise with the women whose daily lives and shopping habits they were investigating.

**THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

The Second World War and the Blitz, in particular, placed enormous new demands upon the settlements, whatever their previous specialisms. Although Oxford House had been involved with a day nursery in 1920 and 1921,\(^\text{200}\) it was not until after the outbreak of hostilities in 1940 that another nursery returned to the Bethnal Green settlement. This was acquired by University House along with accommodation for those who had been bombed out of their homes.\(^\text{201}\) In 1941, it expanded to its full capacity and provided a nursery school with two qualified teachers.\(^\text{202}\) By March 1941, the settlement was, as it had been in the First World War, a haven for those local residents who believed that it was structurally strong and therefore resistant to bombs, and it threw open its doors to those who wished to shelter. It also provided for all the basic human requirements, from sleeping accommodation to washing facilities to meals.\(^\text{203}\) As war work began to encroach further, Oxford House was registered as an Emergency Rest and Feeding Centre. The settlement was used as an evacuation centre in 1940,\(^\text{204}\) and like Toynbee Hall, it branched for the first time into running

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\(^{201}\) Ibid., p. 102

\(^{202}\) Ibid., p. 103

\(^{203}\) *The Oxford House in Bethnal Green*, p. 105

\(^{204}\) Ibid., p. 106
convalescent or rest homes in the countryside for adults who needed to ‘recover from hard work, illness or shock.’ In October 1940, the settlement took over a house in Parc Llwdiarth, near Welshpool:

There we immediately opened a hostel to which we sent old men and women, mothers, babies and children to recover from the shock of devastated homes and to make plans afresh for the future. They have formed a happy little company and taught us much about the problem of evacuation and transfer from town to country.

The author of The Oxford House in Bethnal Green noted that adults had greater difficulty in adjusting to life in the countryside than children, hence Oxford House soon scaled down the enterprise, using the hostel more for holidays away from the stresses of London by 1942. This accounted for half of the hostel’s work, whilst the other half was used essentially to accommodate young children, giving city mothers a break from their children or the opportunity to do war work. The adults would have moved out by 1941, and the scheme developed into a series of boarding schools in Mid Wales for children from Bethnal Green. The newcomers had swamped the small, rural, local schools and they could not adapt to being taught in Welsh. The settlement also opened two further country retreats at Aldenham and at Hoddesdon, both in Hertfordshire. These were more accessible from Bethnal Green, and were used more for allowing adults breaks from the wartime city than for children’s country holidays.

Toynbee Hall opened a house in Sussex, Bottingdean near Midhurst, which had been loaned to them free of charge by Admiral and Mrs. Brodie. This was supported by the Lord Mayor’s Fund and the American Relief Fund. The home accommodated over 1,000 people from all backgrounds from the Stepney area.

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205 Ibid., p. 107
206 Ibid., p. 107
207 Ibid., pp. 107 – 111
208 Ibid., pp. 109 – 110
209 Ibid., p 111
The spirit of the house, in which Jew and Gentile mingled, was truly remarkable. The residents were of every type and condition: widows whose husbands had been killed in the Middle East, mothers whose sons were missing in Malaya, working girls for whom air raids were too much, and the actually injured. Under the admirable guidance of the Matron, the minds of the harried community were directed away from their own misfortunes to the misfortunes of others and to the help which even the bereaved and injured might bestow. Toynbee Hall and Stepney owe much to Admiral and Mrs. Brodie.  

This was the first time that Toynbee Hall had moved into anything resembling psychological or psychiatric counselling. It set the example for later experiments sponsored by Toynbee Hall such as the Her Majesty’s Prison Grendon Outpost for recently released prisoners established in the late 1960s and accommodating young adults freshly out of care in the 1970s.

The end of the war did not mark the end of the ‘Toynbee Hall’ rest home. A second home, Park House, was opened in Camberley, Surrey. Edith Ramsay was one of the many administrators involved in allocating places to elderly people. This ran from c. 1947 to 1949 when it was taken over by Joseph Atkinson of the Fellowship Houses Trust. For reasons that are not entirely clear, the home appears to have been very short-lived, and never achieved – under Toynbee management at least – its full quota of residents. One can surmise from the surviving Park House Papers, which mainly concern building work and legal documents, that Toynbee was overstretched. The settlement’s immediate concern was with rebuilding its bomb-damaged site.

An application form for Park House described the ‘Toynbee Hall Rest Home’ thus:

PARK HOUSE is situated in the village of Blackwater about 1 mile from Camberley. There are 14 acres of garden and meadowland. It is intended to be a Rest Home for Stepney people and those who belong to Toynbee organisations like the Veterans’ Club, Midhurst Club and Thursday Club, who are elderly or in need of a short period of rest and recuperation.
As work was being carried out on the property, residents (no more than eight at this time) were expected to make their own beds and to help with preparing meals and washing up. Board and accommodation cost £2 per week, with the possibility of some rooms being offered at a charge of 50/- per week. Supplementary pensioners who were also members of a Toynbee Club could obtain rooms for £1 per week. Travel to the home was extra; and all fees had to be paid at Toynbee Hall in advance of travel. Would-be visitors were also required to be certified as not suffering from ‘any infectious or contagious’ disease (though as the form had to be supplied 10 days before departure this was not foolproof), and not in need of ‘nursing attention’.

A series of letters and notes between Edith Ramsay, McNulty (the sub-Warden at the time) and a hospital almoner give an insight into the admissions procedure for Park House.

In April 1949, the Almoner of the New End Hospital in Hampstead, a Miss Cales, approached Edith Ramsay to decide whether a patient – a Mrs H, 63 – should be admitted to a hostel in Worthing. Mrs H had been staying at an Old Ladies’ Hostel, but found herself the youngest member there: ‘the sight of these old souls (There are no single rooms) is very depressing. So much so that the Matron and Doctor of the Home have suggested that Mrs H is having a little drink on the quiet’. Mrs H, Miss Cales related, had not enjoyed eating her meals with the other women, and had withdrawn. Her health prevented her from working as a housekeeper or similar, but she needed to be in a different care environment. Ramsay’s first course of action was to forward the letter to McNulty, as she did not feel that Mrs H was suitable for the Worthing home. McNulty’s reply was that the building work was not completed – so Mrs H could not go down there at the time – but that when it was finished he would be in touch. It is not known if Mrs H did go to Park House. Notes left for McNulty and Ramsay detail other cases where club members or local women had approached the
settlement to provide them with a break. It would appear that at this time, Ramsay was acting as an almoner or case worker, and McNulty administrated the financial and logistical side of the operation.

Canning Town Women’s Settlement had been organising convalescent breaks outside London since the 1890s. This appears to have grown out of both their medical work and their involvement with CCHF. The homes were populated by children as well as women, and were often used by the club camps. In the 1920s and 1930s, the settlement was given the use of two homes, one at Pagham, near Bognor Regis and Danbury, near Chelmsford in Essex. The latter was used primarily for convalescent women and their children, whilst the former was also used for girls’ club camps. Pagham was opened in 1924 and was partly financed by visitors’ fees. The Executive Committee noted that ‘altogether it seemed an ideal place for families in need of a holiday, & for the Girls’ Clubs’. It opened in April 1924. It was an immediate success: the boys’ club spent two weeks there in June, and 80 – 90 girls from the clubs spent a week there the following month. At the same time, Danbury was accommodating six to seven people on average. By the end of the season, Pagham had accommodated 200 people and it closed for the winter. Pagham was used until the house was pulled down in July 1938. A further house – Firbank, on the South Coast – had been in use since 1930, thanks to the generosity of Arthur Du Cros of the Dunlop Tyre Company.

Whilst the CTWS had been running convalescent homes since the early 1920s, it took the outbreak of hostilities to encourage the men’s settlements to become more involved in this type of work. Unfortunately, more detailed records for the CTWS

214 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 8 February 1924 (Special Meeting)
215 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 25 April 1924
216 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 27 June 1924 and 25 July 1924
217 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 24 October 1924
218 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 25 May 1938
219 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC April 1930 and September 1930
homes do not exist, and we have to rely on the minutes of the Executive Committee, although we can make inferences from the later Park House papers on the ways in which guests were admitted to the houses. The country houses were more than ‘mere’ holidays for the women and children involved – they involved a substantial break, away from the stresses and strains of city life and family. For both Oxford House and Toynbee Hall, particularly the former, it was a move away from the more masculine activities they had long espoused. Rather than providing escape only for male members of the family to clubs, they began to provide respite for other, female and child, members of the family. At Toynbee Hall, it was the first real opportunity after the retirement of Henrietta Barnett for a woman to become heavily involved in the management of any activity. Edith Ramsay, one of the earliest female members of the council, was an exceptional social worker, and her expertise meant that she had a key role in the running of Park House. Oxford House, however, was still the preserve of Anglican men, and women were only reluctantly admitted.

Having established themselves as major social centres in the area, the settlements were the logical choice for co-ordinating relief. They were used by the local government agencies to co-ordinate local level work. When the Blitz hit the East End, it focussed the settlements’ attention on the psychological needs of the people, and particularly on the need of women for respite from the demands of family, war work, stress due to the absence of male relatives and nightly bombing and rationing. This demonstrated a growing awareness on the part of the (male) settlements that health and well-being were not just matters of the body – the health of the mind and the removal of stress were also important.
CONCLUSION

Healthcare at the settlements established a series of relationships between the settlers, the state and the individual. It brought certain groups of people – such as women and children, the elderly, carers and would-be first aiders – into contact with settlement workers and medical staff. In addition to care, the settlements ensured that those excluded from society through poor health and related issues could be made to feel that they were not alone in their problems and that solutions were possible. Through the settlements being based in the heart of local communities, they could reach out to more isolated groups.

For the settlers and the medical staff they employed, 1918 – 1959 was a period in which the state began to encroach increasingly upon their voluntary health work. This could have a negative impact on the success of smaller initiatives such as the Hospital Letter Society, pushed out by larger schemes such as the HSA, or a largely positive one for the Infant Welfare Clinic. With the latter, the South West Ham Health Society provided a voluntary service part-funded by the local authorities, which became a template for later NHS services after 1948. Through being established in the community, these voluntary services increased trust in state health services when these were implemented after 1948. The efforts of the voluntary sector in developing home visits and clinics in the community were also replicated in the National Health Service, and remain a key element of NHS provision. Although the state encroached upon the work of the settlements, the relationship was part of the growing recognition that the voluntary sector could not ultimately provide wholly for the rights of citizens. The main example of this is the transfer of the CTWS Hospital to another charity, and later to the State. The settlement could not keep up with the technological demands of medicine. It could not manage a hospital within an organisation simultaneously running very different activities. It made sense for the settlement management to pass the hospital onto a specialist charity which could devote more of its time and resources to running such an institution. The case of the CTWS Hospital also demonstrates that
hospital management was by 1918 an increasingly professional and technical task, and illuminates more general, gradual trends in the medical sector to rationalising funds (such as the King’s Fund, mentioned at the start of the chapter) and later to the establishment of the National Health Service.

A study of healthcare at the settlements in the period 1918 to 1959 also demonstrates that there were still divisions between the social work of male and female staff and volunteers. This was the case until the Second World War. Men’s settlements were not uninvolved in healthcare, but rather than making clinics or even hospitals available to their users, they concentrated upon services such as Hospital Letter Societies or first-aid training for the workplace. This was a reflection of National Insurance provision at the time, but also legislation such as the Maternal and Child Welfare Act. It also indicated the specific needs of poorer women at certain points in their lifecycle, particularly during or after pregnancy.

Health was one arena in which the settlements worked ever more closely with local government and departments such as the Ministry of Health in the period 1918 to 1959. It demonstrates the changing relationships between the state and the voluntary sector, as outlined above, but it also reveals the way that, even as late as the 1940s, the settlements were still concerned with improving social conditions. By improving access to healthcare, the settlements could allow poorer people to play a larger role in civil society.
CHAPTER TWO: CLUB WORK

INTRODUCTION

The settlements ran a variety of clubs, some for children and young people, others for adults. They also supported clubs run by other organisations, such as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides. What was common to all clubs was that they promoted fellowship amongst members. The clubs were essentially small, self-contained communities, with a commonality of purpose. Members could join in order to meet others with similar interests, or to try new activities. They also provided the opportunity for members to take on organisational responsibility. They were an invaluable means of helping people of all ages develop new skills and interests and to take on responsibilities within the community.

Clubs also functioned to attempt to control the behaviour of children and young people. As will be discussed in the following section, as well as at greater length in Chapter Three, there were a series of scares about the delinquency of children and young people. These followed actual rises in youth crime, as in the First World War and perceived ones such as that after the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933. Those who joined clubs and social organisations were not necessarily the same children who were at risk of getting into trouble, but contemporaries saw clubs as instilling the young with the virtues of co-operation and responsibility needed for later life.

220 Cecil Leeson’s *The Child and the War, Being Notes on Juvenile Delinquency* (London: PS King, 1917) was commissioned by the Howard League during the war in response to a Home Office Memorandum of October 1916 which noted large rises in juvenile crime. In figures supplied for 1915-6, juvenile offences rose in London from 1304 to 2005, in Liverpool from 578 to 702 and in Birmingham from 248 to 402 (Leeson, p. 15).

221 AM Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim and EC Rhodes were assigned the project which was later published as *Young Offenders: An Enquiry into Juvenile Delinquency* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942) following a meeting on 28 January 1938 at the Home Office. This meeting of Chief Constables, magistrates, probation officers and delegates from the Department of Education and the Home Office agreed to instigate the study to answer media pressure about a rise in juvenile crime, whether or not this was indeed the case (Carr-Saunders et al, p. vii).
For both young people and adults, clubs could also provide entertainment at low cost and the opportunity to develop new skills and talents that might otherwise go unrecognised and unexplored. They could help to expand the horizons of their members. Unlike the activities discussed in Chapter One, clubs were not simply instruments of social work. It was however possible for club organisers to identify needs through getting to know their members and hearing conversations about common worries or the problems of families or individuals. Clubs provided members with relief from the urban environment and the pressures of poverty. They could also help support existing relationships in the community by giving groups of friends space to meet and enjoy shared interests, as well as to providing opportunities to make new friends. Clubs could be an easy way to make contacts in a new community – which was why the National Council of Girls’ Clubs had started a club for domestic servants in Stoke Newington in the early 1930s. Young servants in this period often came from outside London, and their spare time did not always coincide with the timing of evening clubs. Clubs could provide a number of services to members, some explicit and others more implicit.

**YOUTH WORK IN BRITAIN 1870 – 1959: THE BROADER HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

Youth work grew out of the concern to find constructive outlets for the energies of urban working class youth – boys more than girls, but not exclusively so. In the late nineteenth century, there were a number of ‘moral panics’ about young, urban, working class boys and their choice of entertainment. They began to be seen as delinquents who rejected the norms of so-called ‘civilised’ behaviour, and therefore posed challenge to society as a whole. At the same time, church reformers saw the need to fill young people’s leisure time with constructive activities to prevent them

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Youth work began, as Jeffs has argued, with a distinct emphasis on welfare work. Between the late nineteenth century and the First World War, it began to develop specialisms and to attempt to appeal to specific groups, tailoring its work to the needs of its client group.\textsuperscript{225}

Following the Education Acts of the 1870s, there was a succession of legislation and official investigations into the needs of young people between the early 1900s and the 1950s. The concerns about the nation’s health that had been raised by the Boer War surfaced in the report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904, which recommended more physical training for young people. The 1908 Children’s Act gave welfare agencies greater powers to work with children in need.\textsuperscript{226} From 1916 the Board of Education began to take a closer interest in leisure provision for young workers and encouraged Local Education Authorities to start Juvenile Organizations Committees. This was included in the Education Act of 1921, but by 1936, only six local authorities had full-time workers on their Juvenile Organizations Committees.\textsuperscript{227}

The need to address the so-called ‘youth problem’ continued through the 1930s. Unemployment, changing legal practices and the emergence of new media and leisure pursuits exacerbated existing concerns about youth. During the depression, around 150,000 people aged 14 – 17 were unemployed,\textsuperscript{228} although those who were employed also caused unease as they had money to spend. The 1933 Children and Young Persons Act ensured that more matters relating to children were put through the courts, giving rise, however erroneously, to the perception of increased juvenile delinquency.\textsuperscript{229} But the greatest concern in the early twentieth century was about young men entering ‘dead-end’ jobs because they were unskilled. These jobs offered

\textsuperscript{225} Jeffs, p. 156
\textsuperscript{226} Jeffs, p. 157
\textsuperscript{227} Brew, p. 21
\textsuperscript{228} Bill Osgerby, Youth in Britain since 1945, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 7 – 8
\textsuperscript{229} Ibid., p. 10
relatively high wages, at least for a young man with no responsibilities at the start of his working life. They offered little progression or opportunities to develop skills. Young men could find themselves out of a job when the next round of school-leavers joined the labour force and they were old enough to command an adult wage yet with few skills to help them find another job. As the table below shows, the fear of young men finding themselves in dead-end jobs was not unfounded. Although young men in ‘blind alley’ jobs were not the only members of youth organisations in 1931, they were nonetheless a significant proportion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Boys’ Brigade and Church Lads’ Brigade</th>
<th>Boy Scouts</th>
<th>Clubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaged in unskilled manual or “blind alley” work</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaged in skilled manual work</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaged in clerical work</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At School or in Professional or Technical Training</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 2.1: Occupations of boys in the sample aged 14 or over belonging to the Brigades, Scouts and Clubs, per 1,000, 1931. From Hubert Llewellyn Smith, New Survey of London Life and Labour Vol IX, Life and Labour, ‘Comparative figures relating to sample inquiry made in 1931 into ages, occupations and continued education of boys in Brigades, Scouts and Clubs’ pp. 193-4*

Young people caused concern when they were out of work. When they were in work, the type of work they undertook, how they chose to spend their money and time also worried adults. Young wage earners from the 1930s onwards were prolific cinema goers. In 1932, 64% of male and 65% of female apprentices in the Manchester area went to the cinema three times a week.230 The cinema was inexpensive, but it was a place where children and young people could avoid supervision by adults. In addition to concerns about young men and women being unchaperoned in these places,

educationalists and psychologists expressed fear about the impact on young minds of the realistic, exciting and absorbing images and fictions on offer. In the early twentieth century, the Chicago School of Sociology pioneered the ‘hypodermic needle’ model of mass communication. According to this model, cinema viewers passively accepted all that was presented to them as real and were incapable of forming their own reactions to or criticisms of the material. This model fell out of favour from the 1930s, but there was still great concern that children and young people could not differentiate between fiction and reality, and would emulate behaviour they had seen on the screen. Also many young wage-earners were believed to spend their money on fashionable clothes and dances and nightclubs. The latter raised worries that impressionable adolescents would fall prey to drink or vice, the former that young people were only concerned with immediate gratification of their desires rather than saving their earnings wisely. In reality, as Selina Todd’s work shows, many young people were helping to support their families with their earnings.\textsuperscript{231}

A cumulative effect of these social trends was to provoke anxiety about young working class people’s ability to vote wisely.\textsuperscript{232} From 1918, all young men were eligible to vote on reaching the age of 21, and this was extended to all young women at the same age in 1928. The need to ensure that all young people were aware of their responsibilities and duties to themselves and their community was of paramount importance. It was also essential to ensure that this process began as early as possible in the life cycle.

\textsuperscript{231} Selina Todd, ‘Poverty and Aspiration: Young Women’s Entry to Employment in Inter-War England’, \textit{Twentieth Century British History}, Vol. 15 (2) 2004, pp. 119 – 142, p. 130-1

\textsuperscript{232} Although misbehaviour was not confined to working class youth, concerns about middle or upper class youth were not raised as frequently. These young people came from social groups with longer histories of voting as well as settling down into positions of responsibility. They were also more likely to stay in education longer, and to derive their training in citizenship through the mores of the grammar or private school and university as preparation for their adult roles. Middle and upper class youth were also numerically smaller as a group. Smaller family sizes and greater familial income also ensured that children and young people could be more adequately supervised than those from working class homes.
There were a number of responses to these concerns. From 1935, the King George’s Jubilee Trust surveyed adolescents’ lives in every aspect, from their work through to their leisure pursuits, with the aim of improving services and conditions for young people. Much of the survey was carried out by A. E. Morgan, whose findings were published in *The Needs of Youth* and also in *Young Citizen*. A 1936 Report by the British Medical Association on the Health of the Adolescent looked at the provision in Czechoslovakia, Germany and Norway, and recommended the establishment of a National Fitness Council to promote sporting activities amongst British youth, but this was not implemented due to the war. Not all government-driven initiatives stopped with the war – as Brew noted, there was a raft of wartime memoranda on youth provision from Memorandum 1486 *In the Service of Youth* in November 1939 through to 1577 *The Registration of Youth* in December 1941. The Education Act of 1944 raised the school leaving age to 15 and introduced tripartite schooling. The Youth Service was also set up around the same time to cater for the leisure needs of young people who were no longer attending school. The state was gradually taking an ever greater role in the lives of young people, partly as a result of public pressure to cope with the ‘youth problem’, and partly because of the growing recognition that the state had the responsibility to ensure that its younger citizens had a ‘good’ start in life. A good start could be given through health and education; but providing young people with opportunities for constructive leisure was also important.

The issues of developing citizenship and community spirit amongst young people and attempting to prevent future juvenile delinquency continued after the Second World War. Osgerby argues that films like *Brighton Rock* and *The Blue Lamp* suggested that war was a major contributing factor in juvenile crime, and that the media emphasised younger, working class criminals – and particularly their taste for American clothes –

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234 A.E. Morgan, *Young Citizen*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1943)
235 Brew pp. 22 – 25
to create the sense that British culture had been degraded, stimulating juvenile
delinquency,\textsuperscript{236} despite the lack of evidence to corroborate this link between juvenile
crime and the cinema or evidence that juvenile crime was especially high. Although
youth work had been embraced by the state as well as by the settlements and other
organisations, ‘moral panics’ about the behaviour of young people from the 1950s
onwards ensured that, politically, youth work retained its importance. In theory, if not
necessarily in practice, youth work through the club or Scout or Guide company was
intended to curb the apparently criminal tendencies of youth as well as their sexual
behaviour.

Why was constructive leisure time so important to social reformers? In one respect,
the answer is simple. The processes of urbanisation and industrialisation had changed
the British social landscape, drawing people together in larger cities, and encouraging
a culture of consumption. For A.E. Morgan, these processes had resulted in a world of
automated, repetitive work for many Britons coupled with the passive leisure provided
by sports spectatorship and the cinema.\textsuperscript{237} Like Josephine Macalister Brew and Pearl
Jephcott, Morgan was convinced of the need to provide children and young people
with the citizenship skills they needed for future life. Macalister Brew was a
prominent writer on the training of youth workers and the conduct of youth clubs,\textsuperscript{238}
whilst Jephcott explored the experiences of young girls within the girls’ club.\textsuperscript{239}

The need to find positive role models for young urban boys and to get them off the
streets was strongly argued from the nineteenth century to the 1950s and beyond. Nor
were girls immune to attempts to take them away from apparently wandering
aimlessly around their district, as Morgan commented on the early formation of girls’
clubs.\textsuperscript{240} It is unlikely, however, that young people joined youth organisations in

\textsuperscript{236} Osgerby, pp. 11 – 12
\textsuperscript{237} A.E. Morgan, \textit{Young Citizen}, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1943), p. 83 – 4
\textsuperscript{238} Brew, \textit{In the Service of Youth}
\textsuperscript{239} Pearl Jephcott, \textit{Rising Twenty and Clubs for Girls}
\textsuperscript{240} Morgan, p. 119
order to prevent themselves becoming delinquents – they went because the clubs or organisations provided something for them. Successful clubs – those with strong, creative leadership, good facilities and a range of interesting activities – allowed young people the opportunity to do the things that interested them in their spare time, often making them feel part of a wider community. This was a mutual need – the young people wished to be entertained or instructed, whilst adults were happy that they were not getting up to mischief. The Guides and Scouts encouraged them to help others in the community. The boys’ and girls’ clubs at Mansfield House and CTWS, provided structured activities and it was likely that members of the child’s extended family and neighbours attended the club. The clubs could appeal to the ‘delinquent’ and non-delinquent young person alike. Whilst juvenile court magistrates often saw youth clubs as building moral fibre and strengthening character – discussed in Chapter Three – the clubs could offer ‘delinquent’ teenagers a safe refuge from problems at home, ‘bad’ company, and the friendship of other young people and of the club leaders.

Work with children and young people was common to most settlements. In 1951, the British Association of Residential Settlements sent a survey to 42 settlements. Of these, all had activities for children of school age or under and 34 had youth clubs or other provision for teenagers. The following statistics, taken from Morgan’s The

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241 Jephcott, *Clubs for Girls*, p. 28
Young Citizen, show the national membership of various youth organisations in the 1930s:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organisation</th>
<th>Members aged 14 – 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Boys’ Clubs</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys’ Brigade</td>
<td>68,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scout Association</td>
<td>102,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Lads’ Brigade</td>
<td>7,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Lads’ Brigade</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British National Cadet Corps</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Cadet Corps</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Defence Cadet Corps</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Girls’ Clubs</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ Brigade</td>
<td>6,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Girls’ Brigade</td>
<td>Less than 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl Guides</td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ Guildry</td>
<td>5,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Camp Fire Girls</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Girls’ Friendly Society</td>
<td>19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Women’s Christian Association</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Alliance of Women and Girls</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdd Gobaith Cymru</td>
<td>29,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Farmers’ Club</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Hostel Association</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Red Cross</td>
<td>17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Methodism Department</td>
<td>175,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights of Columba</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Federation of Cooperative Youth</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodcraft Folk</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior League of Nations Union</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.2: Members of Youth Organisations 1938 AE Morgan, The Young Citizen (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1943) p. 100 – 136

In the UK there were approximately 815,800 14 to 18 year old members of youth organisations in the last years before the war, some of whom may have joined more than one organisation or moved between them. In 1937, there were 3,500,000 adolescents aged between 14 and 18 in the UK population, of whom around a quarter

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243 Note that Morgan’s figures have been rounded up and represent approximate values only
could be said to be a member of at least one youth organisation.\textsuperscript{244} Even taking into account the uneven spread of youth clubs and organisations across the country, this was a significant proportion of young people. Some children and young people were simply uninterested in joining; for others there may have been obstacles such as having to travel long distances to get to clubs. These figures demonstrate that children and young people had, then as now, a desire to be active and involved in things and escape boredom. Young people are keen to belong to groups, gangs and wider communities, as part of learning how they fit into the world around them. Clubs and youth organisations therefore played an essential role in assisting children and young people to grow up.

These figures do not take into account other, more individualistic activities that children and young people participated in, such as theatre or musical groups and classes, less formal religious organisations, adult education classes, visits to libraries and galleries. However, the statistics for participation in youth organisations alone suggest that many children and young people were keen to get involved. Young people, whether they joined clubs or took the less approved options of joining gangs or going to dances, were demonstrating a desire to be sociable.

The settlement workers involved with the clubs and the young people who attended them had divergent opinions and motives for engaging in the work or attending the club. The relationship between the club organiser and the child or young adult was complicated and often difficult, possibly the most complex of all the relationships between settlers and the local people, not least because of an often significant age – and cultural – difference between the participants, as the adult club leaders attempted to win over and manage a large group of children or young people whose backgrounds and expectations differed considerably from theirs. The executive committee minutes of the CTWS in the later 1920s and 1930s are peppered with references to women

\textsuperscript{244} Morgan, p. 7
residents and volunteers finding boys’ clubs too unruly to handle. Often leaders had to sacrifice some niceties of behaviour amongst the children so that order could be maintained. Seth Koven mentions the example of an Oxford House resident in the Victorian period whose boys’ club was noted for being frequented by young men and boys incessantly smoking and loudly cursing, which was tolerated by the residents as a means of achieving other goals. Adult workers approached the clubs with their own vested interests and personal agendas, and their expectations of childhood and adolescence had the potential to make the club encounter one of the most loaded of all the settlement encounters. One former settlement resident, reminiscing about Bede House in the 1950s, noted that, for the young men of Bermondsey, boxing lessons with the trainee officers from the Greenwich Naval College were a great opportunity to see whether they could knock out the ‘posh’ boy. For the trainee officers, it was a means of getting used to managing a potentially hostile and difficult group of young men. The encounter could be tense but could also lead to understanding and sympathy.

**OXFORD HOUSE’S WEBBE INSTITUTE**

Youth clubs often had their own exclusive space for their work, and this helped forge the identity of the groups both at the settlement and in the local community. The youth club at Oxford House – the Webbe Institute – was a particularly good example of the benefits of a distinct base for youth work.

The Webbe was founded in 1880, before the establishment of the settlement, but, as Ashworth notes, it foundered relatively quickly. In 1888, following the death of Herbert Webbe, a prominent cricketer and East End youth worker, a new boys’ club was set up in his memory at the settlement. Young men under the age of 18 were generally eligible to join boys’ clubs – those over the age of 18 or in some cases not

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246 Sir George Vallings interview, Bede House Oral History Interview Transcripts, 2003
before the age of 21 could join adult clubs. In practice, most boys’ clubs members in the period were aged between 12 and 18, with activity peaking at age 16.\textsuperscript{247} It was immensely popular from the outset:

\textbf{The eventful night came, and Messrs. Henson and Hodgson proceeded to the Club, expecting to find, perhaps, some twenty or thirty lads waiting to join; but what was their astonishment and even dismay when they found a large crowd of boys climbing the railings and filling the garden in front of the house. The doors were opened at 7.30 and before ten minutes had passed, the office was swarming with lads of all ages and sizes eager to join; it was in vain to keep order, and all Mr. Hodgson’s time was fully occupied in taking down the names of those who joined and filling up their cards of membership. On the whole, the lads behaved very well, no damage being done, and at 10 o’clock the Club was closed, there were 100 members and it was decided to admit no more; but to keep a book for the names of those who wished to join when vacancies should occur.\textsuperscript{248}}

It clearly filled a need amongst the boys to have a space in which they could participate in the activities they wanted, and which was warm and safe. It was a place for them, not for adults or girls. The Webbe Institute was generally more successful than the men’s clubs.\textsuperscript{249} Although both boys’ and men’s club membership could fluctuate with the availability of work and income levels, it may be that adult membership was affected by factors such as family responsibilities. Unlike girls, boys were not generally expected to help at home, but adult males may have had to become more involved with the management of the home, particularly after childbirth or the illness or death of a spouse. The Webbe, like the Fairbairn Club at Mansfield House, functioned as a male space for boys and young men. Boys were able to participate in the activities that interested them, from bagatelle to boxing, without the interference of females. It was a space in which friends could meet up inexpensively in the warmth of the club; it was a part of the neighbourhood, a part of the space in which the boys lived. It was also fun. Its popularity was such that soon the younger sisters of the boys clamoured for their own club.

\textsuperscript{247} Brew, Morgan etc
\textsuperscript{248} Ashworth, p. 14
\textsuperscript{249} Ibid., p. 14
Oxford House did not admit girls or run clubs for girls until the outbreak of the Second World War, when providing activities for girls whose families had been bombed out became a priority. However, from the start girls were keen to join in the fun their brothers, cousins and friends were having at the Webbe, although their presence was not always welcome. This challenged the image presented by AE Morgan, who stated that girls wanted quiet, domestic pursuits.250 This suggests that there were possible differences between adults and their attempts to regulate youth behaviour, and children’s aspirations. The Girl Guides – who were essentially Boy Scouts repackaged to avoid offending adult perceptions of adolescent femininity – also belied this idea of girls wanting to be quiet. One respondent to Ashworth’s oral history of Oxford House commented that in the 1930s:

Outside the Webbe, there were lots of little girls sitting around on the steps saying, “Why can’t we have a girls’ club?”, and we felt rather sad. We were very chauvinistic, I think. Of course, the under fourteen year old boys had got no time for girls anyway, so they used to shoo their own sisters away.251

Girls were welcome, when they were a couple of years older, to join the boys at dances and parties, but not to join in with the regular activities. However, until the 1950s and 1960s, clubs and activities for girls and boys remained segregated.252

THE NORTHEY STREET SCHOOL CLUB AND TOYNBEE HALL

In 1935, JAR Pimlott commented that Toynbee Hall was ‘always […] primarily concerned with the adult and […] never specialized to the same extent as some Settlements in boys’ club work, though the residents usually include a number of enthusiastic workers amongst boys’.253 Despite this enthusiasm amongst the residents, a significant youth club programme as such did not develop, although this settlement had considerable involvement with the Scout and Guide movements.

251 Ashworth, p. 35
253 Pimlott, p. 249
Toynbee Hall chose to base its clubs on local schools, such as Northey Street in Limehouse, rather than developing a specialized building for the clubs. The rationale behind this was to provide a means by which children leaving school – mostly boys – could continue to receive some adult guidance and support, as well as to provide a social network. There was also an element of trying to encourage children to continue their education, and ultimately to participate in the adult education classes that were held at the settlement. In 1938, the author of the Annual Report noted that the early club work of this kind had anticipated the Evening Institutes\textsuperscript{254} by encouraging children to think about continuing their education after work. The clubs were held in school buildings after hours, but survival rates were low, as their running was sporadic throughout the interwar years. Most faded away, like the Caley Street, Highway and the Pell Street Clubs, after the First World War. Although these clubs were still active in the years following the Armistice,\textsuperscript{255} they folded by 1925. However, the Old Northeyites’ Club or the Northey Street Club, as it was also known, was one of the more successful.

The Old Northeyites’ Club was founded in 1891 by Cyril Jackson, but was run from 1898 by William Braithwaite after Jackson went to Australia (see appendix). Both Jackson and Braithwaite were former residents of Toynbee Hall, Jackson from 1885 to 1895, and Braithwaite from 1898 to 1903. Braithwaite moved to Toynbee Hall when he began work at the Inland Revenue in 1898, but was soon keen to get closer to the local community. In 1903 he moved with E. J. Urwick and JG Cloete to Stainsby Road in Poplar to achieve this.\textsuperscript{256} Urwick went on to edit \textit{Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities}, a study funded by the Toynbee Trust in 1908, which included articles from both Cloete and Braithwaite.\textsuperscript{257} Braithwaite had by then developed a reputation for

\textsuperscript{254} Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1935 – 8, p. 34
\textsuperscript{255} Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1920 – 1, p. 19
\textsuperscript{256} Pimlott, p. 100
\textsuperscript{257} Ibid., p. 104
considerable expertise in youth clubs,\textsuperscript{258} not to mention having become a prominent civil servant: by 1910, he was the Assistant Secretary to the Board of the Inland Revenue, and Personal Assistant to Lloyd George whilst he was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Braithwaite had a major role in the formulation of the National Insurance Act 1911.\textsuperscript{259} Between 1898 and 1902, he had set about rejuvenating the Northey Street Club, and attracted new members so successfully that he divided the group into a junior and senior section. In 1902, he set up a men’s club, which was still in existence in 1938. Braithwaite raised the considerable sum of £1,000 from his own pocket and through fundraising amongst his friends to purchase the lease of a house in Three Colt Street for the men’s club.\textsuperscript{260} Following the First World War, Braithwaite turned his attention to the needs of demobilized men. In addition to his other commitments, both to family as well as to his day job, Braithwaite continued to work at the Northey Street Club until 1937 when TWP Barrett, a resident of Charles Booth House from 1931,\textsuperscript{261} took over the running of the club.\textsuperscript{262} Braithwaite died in 1938, having continued with this punishing schedule almost until the end. The Second World War appears to have removed Braithwaite’s club from the historical record, as in the 1938 – 1946 Annual Report there is no record of the club having continued much beyond 1939 in association with Toynbee Hall, at least. Sir Henry Bunbury, who edited Braithwaite’s memoirs for publication in 1957, mentioned that the London Playing Fields Society had taken over the running of the Hainault playing fields.\textsuperscript{263}

Following Braithwaite’s death in 1938, one of his colleagues at Toynbee Hall, FE Douglas, wrote that despite Braithwaite’s considerable work on the National Insurance Act,

\textsuperscript{258} F.E. Douglas, ‘William John Braithwaite’, The Toynbee Outlook, the Journal of Toynbee Hall: A Review of Social Questions, Vol. 3 No. 9 (May 1938), pp. 11 – 12; p. 11
\textsuperscript{259} William Braithwaite, Lloyd George’s Ambulance Wagon, Being the Memoirs of William J. Braithwaite 1911 – 1912, (Bath: Chivers, 1970)
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid., p. 12
\textsuperscript{261} Pimlott, p. 45
\textsuperscript{262} Ibid., p. 35
\textsuperscript{263} Braithwaite, Lloyd George’s Ambulance Wagon, p. 14
he never forgot the needs of Limehouse, and how he was able within the space of a 24-hour day to find time to visit the club at all remains a mystery, though sometimes he had to call on one of his few assistants to take his place.

It was this superabundant energy that was one of his main characteristics – there was no place for slackness when he was there, whether in club, playing field or camp. The Approved Society and the Limehouse Co-operative Bank relied entirely upon him, as he had guided them since their foundation. One of the chief interests of his later years was the acquisition of a twelve acre playing field at Hainault for the benefit of Limehouse. He collected the money (giving liberally himself) and had the ground laid out, providing two large pavilions, an open air swimming bath and a number of football and cricket pitches. He arranged with the L.C.C., that the children of Limehouse schools could during the summer be transferred there one day a week for lessons.264

The author of the 1935–8 Annual Report commented that:

Braithwaite had an infectious enthusiasm and the gift of leadership. There was no room for slackness at the club, in camp, or on the playing fields. His distinguished financial ability, which proved so valuable to the nation through his work in the Civil Service, enabled him to run successfully for the Old Northeyites an Approved Society and a Co-operative Bank.265

Braithwaite’s eulogies presented him as a model of a good citizen and an example of service to others.

Another way of seeing Braithwaite’s work in Limehouse was as a case study or laboratory for the kinds of ideas and practices that were being debated in social policy circles at the time. Doubtless Braithwaite achieved a great deal of satisfaction from being able to help the people of Limehouse in concrete, practical ways, and the length of time he worked with the Northey Street Club would have meant that he had long-standing friendships and connections with the local people. The co-operative bank and approved society that he set up were not unusual in youth clubs, especially those run by the settlement movement – Mansfield House, for example, had a savings club as well as a Hospital Saturday Fund collection – but they appear also to reflect a desire on Braithwaite’s part to ensure that the local people participated in the kinds of

264 Ibid., p. 12
265 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1935–8, pp. 34 – 5
financial activities that the governments of the time were trying to encourage. In 1924, the savings club paid out £4,000 to members, and a similar amount was deposited with the Co-operative Bank.²⁶⁶ It is possible that Limehouse was in many ways a micro experiment in the larger projects Braithwaite was involved in. Such community-based savings schemes or ‘approved societies’ were a fundamental feature of the National Insurance Act. For Braithwaite, the community was the foundation from which welfare could be built. In his memoirs, he stated that his inspiration for supporting the Act came from his experiences of working with the COS and particularly with the boys’ clubs whilst resident at Toynbee Hall. He was principally concerned that the working classes should have a personal financial interest in such schemes. He wrote, ‘My own experience in boys’ club work was convincing to me that working people ought to pay something! It gave them a feeling of self-respect, and what cost nothing was not valued’.²⁶⁷ It was also a recognition of how important working class mutualism was to communities, and how valued the opportunity to ‘own’ one’s own future.

The Northey Street Club was successful because it rested upon the efforts and the charisma of one man over a number of years. It retained a connection with the main settlement purely through the efforts of Braithwaite. With youth clubs located at a distance from the main settlement, it was difficult to create a sense of corporate identity, associating the club with the broader work of the settlement. Crucially, unlike the clubs at Oxford and Mansfield Houses, the Toynbee Hall clubs lacked dedicated space on site or close to the settlement, or a larger club management structure for organising activities and raising money. More successful in this respect were the numerous Brownie, Guide, Cub, Scout and Ranger groups that were based on site at Toynbee Hall. The settlement could provide the groups with suitable space for

²⁶⁶ Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1925 p. 20
activities and for storing equipment, and be aware of any potential problems – such as lack of leaders or funding – and take action to remedy them.

**MANSFIELD HOUSE AND THE ‘BAIRNS**

One of the first activities at Mansfield House was the establishment of its boys’ club, Fairbairn House. Fairbairn House had its own club manager, and there was also a Fairbairn Scholar each year from Mansfield College, Oxford, who was expected to become fully involved in the life of the boys’ club. The First World War, however, gave added impetus to the settlement’s youth work. An article in the *Mansfield House Magazine* noted not only the perennial problems of the urban environment for children and young adults, but also the additional pressures of the conflict:

> This need always exists: homes are small and crowded; the streets are full of temptations; the music-halls and the cinemas are, to say the least of it, undesirable as nightly haunts; playing fields are hard to get at; and growing lads need an outlet for their energies, and above all they need friendly, wise leadership. Especially this is so in war-time. Fathers are away, or else working so hard that their families see little of them. Mothers are often working too. Elder brothers, a natural steadying influence, have joined up.  

The writer of this article was discussing the problems specific to Fairbairn House, but the comment was applicable to many young people from all backgrounds. The writer goes on to mention that many of the leaders and trainers of the boys’ clubs were former club members themselves. The writer – probably Alan Knott, the manager of the Fairbairn Club – went on to describe the atmosphere of the club:

> They [the former club members] have made an atmosphere, and in Fairbairn House the beginnings of gambling are soon checked, bullying is discouraged, a foul word is seldom heard, clear eyes look into clear eyes, and boys can grow up to be strong, healthy, clean-minded, helpful men. One can watch the progress. The newcomer is brought in by a pal; he is welcomed to the Club, and put in the friendly care of an older member; he is shown the glories of the place, the gym., the boxing room, the tennis

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268 Newham Local Studies and Archives: ‘The Need for Boys’ Clubs’, *Mansfield House Magazine*, XXV (3) March and April 1918, p. 160
The type of induction mentioned here – older, more established members showing newer ones around the club – pre-empts the development of peer-based training and education in youth work which became a prominent feature of youth work from the 1970s. This developed as a method of communicating important information to young people, as teenagers can be unwilling to listen to adults. This was essentially what happened at Fairbairn House. Allowing young people the opportunity to look after other young members, would have developed the existing member’s pride in their membership of the club and of community, and their sense of being perceived as a knowledgeable and responsible individual.

If the clubs were criticised in some quarters for attempting to instil moral fibre and to ‘elevate’ the members culturally, it is clear that boys attended the clubs primarily because they were good places to go with friends and family members. The only surviving address books for the men’s and boys’ clubs, for the years 1906 – 10, show that brothers often joined at the same time, and that younger brothers would follow their elder siblings into to the club when they reached the appropriate age. There is also evidence from the marginalia on the address books that the elder boys progressed to the men’s club on reaching the age of twenty-one. There were geographical clusters of boys’ addresses centring upon specific streets, suggesting that gangs of boys joined the club, or that a cohort of boys from the same year in school joined. Although this evidence relates to the period just before the start of this thesis, it is likely that these patterns continued beyond 1918, despite the impact of the war and conscription. This is corroborated by the testimony of one former member writing about his experiences in the clubs in the 1950s and 1960s.

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270 Estimated from entries of the boys’ dates of birth
271 Private information to author 5 February 2004
That there should be an element of ‘the rite of passage’ associated with club membership suggests that the clubs had acquired – and sustained – a certain status within the community, particularly given the close geographical concentration of the members. By the late 1930s, the National Federation of Boys’ Clubs insisted, as part of its terms of affiliation, that clubs for 18 – 25 year old males must have a ‘junior’ boys’ club attached to them and recruit members from that club.\(^{272}\) This had the effect of formalising and normalising the types of relationships mentioned above. The clubs were primarily congenial social venues, providing a variety of indoor games and sports that could be enjoyed alongside friends, neighbours and colleagues. They were also agencies for developing skills and provided opportunities to take up positions of leadership. Young men were able to guide others from similar backgrounds, and were not just dictated to by men of other classes and social backgrounds. Bernhard Baron Settlement in Stepney (see Appendix One) provided an extreme example of this type of relationship. Bernhard Baron Settlement had peopled its adult club from 1920 exclusively with former members of its youth clubs:

*These clubs are almost exclusively manned from those who were boys in the junior part of the settlement, and the grown-up members take an active part in the management of the boys’ clubs. Children of the Jewish community are attached to this place at an early age, and the tie once made binds them together. All the usual club activities are vigorously pursued under very favourable conditions, and the work rests on a definitely religious basis.*\(^{273}\)

Mansfield House was severely affected by the economic depression in the early 1920s. This had an enormously beneficial impact upon the club, as in August 1921, the boys were given more responsibility for managing their club as the settlement concentrated on securing general funding for the settlement as a whole. The Fairbairn Club was

\(^{272}\) Morgan, p. 103
divided into two parts: Athletics and Indoor Games. The Athletics side, which is the focus of the following discussion, and the larger of the two, was administered by a Sports/Finance Committee, staffed by representatives of all the athletics clubs held at Fairbairn.

The boys became responsible for the financial management of the club. They dedicated three evenings a week to activities which would yield funds and the remaining three to providing for the interests of all club members. The following table provides an example of the weekly Fairbairn House timetable, taken from the minutes of their meeting of 25 August 1921:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Whist Drives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Senior Gym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Junior Guild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Dances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 2.3: Fairbairn House Boys’ Club, Weekly Activities, as at 15 August 1921, Newham Local Studies and Archives: Mansfield House Fairbairn House Sports/Finance Committee Minutes August 1921 – July 1927*

The dances and whist drives were not only fundraising events, but part of the club members’ and their friends’ social calendar. These were opportunities to bring their ‘girls’ into the club. From the club manager’s point of view, this was an excellent way of keeping the 16 and 17 year old boys in the club by appealing to their primary interest. The fundraising element gave the boys invaluable experience of organising events, as well as business and financial skills. The boys on the committee in 1921 – 22 appear from the minutes to have been shrewd businessmen, dispatching one boy to investigate the viability of buying radio crystals in bulk, allocating the

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274 From here Newham Local Studies and Archives: Mansfield House Fairbairn House Sports/Finance Committee Minutes August 1921 – July 1927 will be referred to as Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH FHSFC

275 Brew, p.58

276 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MHFHSFC 21 September 1921 and 24 November 1921
profits from each dance to a particular area of the club’s activities and renting out Fairbairn Hall to other organisations. They had the business acumen to decide to cease the unprofitable Monday evening dances, and concentrate upon the Saturday dances, and they developed strategies to recover monies from members in arrears. The boys formed a sub-committee at their first meeting to take responsibility for advertising and printing. They distributed hand-bills publicising their events, and arranged for their dances to be advertised in the calendar printed inside the front cover of each edition of the Mansfield House Magazine.

The only tell-tale sign in the Sports and Finance Committee minutes that the minutes were not taken by a resident – such as Alan Knott, the Fairbairn House Manager – are the occasional misspellings and the approximations of names, and the occasional overambitious usage of formal English. Otherwise, the minutes were produced to the same formal standard as other official settlement documents, demonstrating the seriousness with which the boys and young men regarded their management role. The committee was not dominated, as one might expect, by the older, more experienced boys. All the Fairbairn sports clubs were represented. Smaller clubs, such as Swimming, were not subdivided by age, whilst the most popular, such as Cricket and Football, had Under-16 sections. Members of these junior sections elected a member to sit on the Committee, providing an opportunity for younger boys to be involved. Despite their probable guidance by Knott, the boys demonstrated a real maturity in their organisational activities.

277 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH FH/SFC: 1 September 1921 and all subsequent minutes in the series
278 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH FH/SFC: 6 October 1921, 23 February 1922, 23 March 1922, 27 April 1922
279 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH FH/SFC: 24 November 1921
280 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH FH/SFC: 23 February 1921
281 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH FH/SFC: 25 August 1921
282 Newham Local Studies and Archives: MH FH/SFC: 19 January 1921 mentions the need to obtain another batch of bills for the whist drives; it is the most detailed reference to the activities of the Advertising and Printing Sub-Committee
The benefits of these opportunities for leadership should not be understated. The boys developed solid skills in management and organisation, which they would have been unlikely to receive elsewhere, certainly not in elementary school and probably not in apprenticeships or factory jobs. Most young men in South West Ham could reasonably expect in this period to find employment on the docks, at the gas works, or in the riverside sugar refineries, rubber and marmalade factories. Building, rail and road transport were other options, whilst some could aspire to enter engineering at Stratford in the north of the borough. Some of these were ‘dead-end’ jobs, whilst some presented opportunities to develop skills and to progress. The management skills the boys were able to access through the club could provide the chance to do something different. For boys with ambitions to become involved with politics, trades unionism or even business, the firm grounding in committee management and minute taking would have been invaluable. On a psychological level, the boys and young men were being taken seriously, their thoughts and opinions were listened to by older men of higher social status – boosting their pride through opportunities that would not normally be presented to them in other areas of their lives. The Fairbairn boys and young men were fortunate that Knott, by all extant accounts, was a pleasant young man with a genuine feeling for the needs of young people, and allowed them to assert some autonomy.

For the boys, on the other hand, the clubs were part of their community, a good place to go – and the experience of running clubs, sitting on committees and organising dances just might offer them the chance to do something other than follow their fathers and elder brothers into the docks or the factories. Beyond using the clubs as a means of cheap entertainment, the boys could find something – whether respect or the chance to be responsible for an event or club – out of reach of their ordinary lives. Perhaps most importantly, it helped to build their confidence in themselves and their abilities.

Fairbairn Club continued more or less unchanged into the late 1950s and 1960s. The following verbatim account of life at Fairbairn House between 1958 and 1963 provides a useful insight into how the young men of West Ham used the clubs:

I was not a 'regular' attendee, using the club perhaps once or twice a week for a few years (approx. 1958 - 1963), almost always in a group with my friends. The building was very large, well built, imposing and very well suited for its purpose. It was set over several floors, and different activities took place in various rooms. We personally used the many snooker tables regularly, and later became very involved with table-tennis, though not in the sense that we joined teams or played Tournaments.

Both snooker and table-tennis had equipment that ranged from 'casual' (well used and abused) up to top-class standard that was set apart from the rest with 'limited access', for instance, when we became very proficient (and older) at table-tennis we normally used the 'tournament room' which was situated just off the entrance lobby. This was kept locked, was a large room equipped with a single top-class table and lighting, with provision for a small audience while still leaving a maximum amount of room for play around the table. You could only use the room with permission from 'high-up' and that we got quite easily once we proved we were seriously 'into' the game, and agreed to take responsibility for the room while using it.

There were many other activities going on that we saw (without taking part or too much notice) - gymnastics, boxing, basketball, football, less physical stuff like chess I believe was also present.

At one point a friend found out about a 'carpentry' class, situated at the very top of the building and we went to have a look, yes they had a carpentry shop. After talking to the 'tutor', we were asked if we would like to help with a club project, and this resulted in several of us, being taken out by mini-bus to High Beech (Epping) and spending a few evenings helping to construct a full-sized assault course for the use of those that had the opportunity to be offered a place on one of the 'weekend' breaks (underprivileged kids and teens, etc.) at the clubs site there.

For a while, my father was 'doorman' at Fairbairn House'. Checking and collecting the small 'subs' (a couple of penny's a week) from kids as they entered, I never knew how he got the job, but I believe he was just standing in for the regular guy who was off sick for a few months. I was shocked to see him there the first time and in any case neither I nor my friends got away without paying our subs.

This account suggests that there were a number of levels on which the boy or young man could engage with the activities at Fairbairn House. They could use the facilities.

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284 Private information to the author
to develop a particular interest or sport, such as the table-tennis mentioned here (there was within the club a structure for playing with more experienced boys), and later to participate in competitions. Alternatively, young men could explore the different sporting activities on offer or, as is suggested by this account, if their peer-group took an interest in a specific sport. For the respondent, snooker and table tennis were the particular interests of his group of friends, but others were highly popular. Boxing was particularly important across the boys’ clubs. Fairbairn House was not unusual amongst settlement clubs in producing a number of prize fighters – their club newspaper clippings book of the 1950s is dominated by articles relating to one young man who went on to a certain degree of fame in London. There is also evidence that whilst training in boxing could be provided by settlement residents, there was scope for local boxers to be involved with training the younger boys. This further reinforced the community aspect of the club, and, as was the case in the adult clubs, helped children to gain confidence by working with professionals. Football was another popular sport, though there were often difficulties for clubs in more urban areas to find the space to play or the money to transport members to open spaces like the Hackney Marshes. The physical nature of the boys’ club activities was highly emphasised in the youth work literature of the time. Boys were thought to need to release their energy through sporting activities. The release of energy was often valued over sporting prowess, as the priority of the club leaders was to channel adolescent male energy in this way, rather than allowing it to result in behaviours they found less acceptable.

This is a recurring theme in the literature about youth work in wartime, in peacetime, during economic depression and economic prosperity. It was as important in Knott’s writings as it was for Morgan in the 1930s and Brew in the 1940s. Boys, far more
than girls, were visible on the streets of East London and attracted attention and comment.

The lot of the East End boy is not a happy one. He is mentally vigorous. He possesses a genius for adventurous play, but is denied opportunities. His district is not furnished with playing grounds; he is too poor to provide apparatus for games. He is cut off from the country and natural things. In these circumstances much of what is healthy and fine in him decays or is deflected into wrong channels. He takes to the streets. He makes evil friends and imitates bad models. He loses any ambition he may have cherished and finally may have only one: the ambition to possess money without working for it. At this stage the boy is in grave danger, and what may have been an inherently strong and healthy character is marred.\footnote{288}

On page 117 I cited a similar account by Alan Knott, the manager of the Fairbairn Club. Knott wrote during the First World War, when male role models, both positive and negative, were more rarely encountered day-to-day by the boys. The author of the above account was writing in the months before the General Strike, when economic conditions in the area were worsening. However, similar accounts can be found from periods of economic improvement. Such comments were rarely made at the time about girls and young women, for whom, before the Second World War at least, the paramount issue in the minds of club leaders was whether or not they had appropriate homemaking skills. Morgan saw this attitude of the club leaders, partly shared by the girls themselves, as deriving from their high rates of participation in domestic service, and also a consequence of the influence of the women’s religious groups that had done much to bring girls into the world of the club.\footnote{289} It offered opportunities for girls to gain skills in homemaking for later life. Club leaders saw domestic service as an important occupation, due in part to the privileged backgrounds of some of the leaders and settlers. Henrietta Barnett had been responsible for establishing the Metropolitan Association for the Befriending of Young Servants (MABYS), which provided guidance and placements to young female domestic servants. Branches of MABYS could be found at most settlements, particularly women’s settlements. The Princess

\footnote{288 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1925 (published Jan 1926), p. 16}
\footnote{289 Morgan pp. 118 - 9}
Club in Bermondsey took this one step further, and before the First World War offered girls live-in training for domestic service. Girls were generally seen as less of a problem, and as requiring training and the funnelling of their energies through creative pursuits such as singing or art, though some physical recreation was also encouraged. Girls, it would seem, were assumed to spend their ‘leisure’ time in the home, or preparing for their own adult home; boys needed to be brought off the streets and into constructive leisure.

Girls’ clubs were as likely as boys’ clubs to be divided into sections by age, but in the case of boys’ clubs, there was thought to be a stronger need for this. Morgan suggests that, whilst mixing younger boys with older ones was frowned upon (possibly as the older boys might ‘corrupt’ the younger ones), leaders of girls’ clubs saw the mixing of ages or the inclusion of a group for much younger children as useful for training girls in caring for babies and small children. Successful boys’ clubs had dedicated buildings, a variety of activities, and a clear progression from the most junior clubs through to the men’s club.

From Bethnal Green to Plaistow via Limehouse, the fare on offer in the boys’ clubs did not significantly differ. Snooker, bagatelle, cards, chess and draughts could be found in all clubs, and there was usually provision of some kind for outdoor sports, such as football. Libraries could also be attached to clubs. Fairbairn had long had a library; in 1925, Sir Wyndham Deedes had set up a reading room and library at Oxford House which was popular amongst the young children. Information about the types of materials available to the children is largely unavailable, although an article on Deede’s library mentioned that one small boy had read Nicholas Nickleby three times

290 Bradley, Bringing People Together, p. 18
291 Pearl Jephcott, Clubs for Girls, Notes for New Helpers at Clubs, (London: Faber and Faber, 1943) pp. 32 - 33
292 Morgan pp. 120 - 121
293 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1925, p. 10
and was in desperate need of something else to stimulate his imagination. It is likely that the material on offer – which was probably donated by supporters of the settlement – consisted of versions of the classics, including the works of Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins and the popular adventure literature of the day.

There was very little difference between the men’s and boys’ clubs. The training on offer, particularly during times of high unemployment, may have been slightly broader in scope than the carpentry classes mentioned by my respondent, but it was unusual for boys and men to receive training in ‘home’ skills such as cooking, entertaining, childcare and health. The workshop at Canning Town Women’s Settlement, for example, enabled men to update skills in carpentry and similar trades to help them gain employment. The St John Ambulance home nursing classes for men at Toynbee Hall were always popular and at CTWS, members of the Wellington unemployed men’s club spent their time redecorating the children’s nursery and arranging day trips for them. Who these men were is a question that needs further exploration.

The pub had been a major part of life in East London for many years. In 1888 Whitechapel High Street was lined with public houses. The public house was more than a drinking den – it was also the place where one could join a friendly society, meet friends or fellow trade unionists. These activities were replicated in the club. Club work, particularly with men, was often intended to remove them from the temptations of the public house. By removing them from that environment, in theory men would bring more of their wages home to their wives and spend their time in more constructive pursuits.

294 Ibid., p. 10
The notion of the male as the breadwinner is central to the settlement view of citizenship. Nevertheless, it was perfectly acceptable for men and boys to remain outside the home, to spend their time in ‘pure’ leisure, in physical or indoor sports. It was felt that males had to burn off or channel their energy outwards through physical sports, and through constructive relaxation. Boys spent their leisure time outside the home, and were perceived by male settlers as being out in the world rather than existing in a smaller universe of home, school and possibly work as was expected of girls. During wartime, the clubs could provide role models for young men and boys, with their peacetime examples – fathers, elder brothers, schoolteachers, neighbours and older colleagues at work – serving in the army or engaged in war work.

Male settlers did not generally make provision for girls. CTWS, for example, ran both girls’ and (younger) boys’ clubs, but Mansfield House made no provision at Fairbairn for girls. Toynbee Hall was exceptional in its provision for girls as a result of Henrietta Barnett’s work and Mallon’s work with Mary Macarthur and the Women’s Industrial Council before the First World War (see Appendix Three). Regardless of the actual behaviour and desires of girls and boys in the East End, powerful gender norms were projected as ideals. For girls and young women, the constructive leisure provided was far less strenuous, and activities that would support their future roles as wives and mothers were common. Yet this was not the full picture. When women were in charge of girls’ leisure, their opportunities were broader than those offered by male settlers. McKibbin’s discussion of grammar school education in the same period suggests that the women in charge of girls’ grammar schools believed that their students should aspire as highly as their male counterparts.296 The women of the CTWS were often graduates of women’s colleges, pioneering women in the professions: it is highly probable that they attempted to transmit their values to the young club girls in a similar way to grammar school teachers and their pupils.

Although the university settlers and youth workers tended to suggest that boys were more in need of clubs than girls, girls were not more content to stay at home helping their mothers or participating in more individual, home-based forms of leisure as we have seen on page 116. Girls were desperate to get out and have their own clubs and groups. The girls of Bethnal Green pestered the staff of Oxford House for their own club for many years, but did not succeed until the Second World War and with the enlightened support of Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock. Scouting was a well-established activity at Toynbee Hall, and girls successfully campaigned for their own Guide Company in 1926. Henrietta Barnett had also been responsible for setting up activities such as the Girls’ Dinner Club. At Canning Town Women’s Settlement, the girls of West Ham and Plaistow were more fortunate in having access to the extensive club network established by the women settlers from the early 1890s. Where women were in control, the girls had access to a wider range of activities, and the girls could and did derive far more from their club than when male settlers were determining the agenda. Of all the youth organisations in Morgan’s survey of youth in 1938, the Girl Guides had the largest membership of 14 to 18 year olds, even exceeding that of the Scout Association. Young women and girls looked forward to opportunities to meet, to learn new skills and to try out a range of activities, from crafts, to public speaking, to dancing and camping. Girls as much as boys needed outlets for their energies and skills, and the clubs provided these in a safe, organised environment.

**THE GIRLS’ DINNER CLUB**

The Girls’ Dinner Club at Toynbee Hall was set up by Henrietta Barnett towards the end of the nineteenth century to help the many girls working in the local factories who lived at some distance from their workplaces. Rest areas were not always provided at work, and the girls were not usually able to go home for their midday break. Local cafés and cafeterias were too expensive, which left them with very few options. The
club was therefore a welcome innovation. In 1920–1, the Working Girls’ Lunch Club catered for about 100 local girls.\(^{297}\) By 1930, up to 200 girls used the club.\(^{298}\) Membership of the club varied according to local conditions of employment and unemployment,\(^{299}\) as is to be expected in a club which appealed to girls in employment. Toynbee provided facilities for the girls to have the lunches they brought in heated up, and to buy tea, butter, lemonade and other goods at cost price. Music and dancing were provided,\(^{300}\) and the residents often entertained the girls.\(^{301}\) Within a couple of years, a girls’ club had grown out of the dinner club, and singing and drill were available on one evening, and dancing, to which girls could bring boys, on another. Classes were attempted, but the club atmosphere did not encourage the girls to settle to study. In the summer, the girls were able to use the Toynbee tennis courts, and made trips to the local swimming baths.\(^{302}\) The evening club appears to have faded away by the start of the 1930s, but the Girls’ Dinner Club continued until the outbreak of war. During the construction of the new theatre block the girls’ club was temporarily housed at the Brady Girls’ Settlement in Hanbury Street.\(^{303}\) At Brady, however, rather than bringing their own lunches, the girls were able to buy a meal from the Brady canteen for 6d, including a cup of tea. At Toynbee Hall, the club cost 2d a week to attend, which helped to pay for a woman to cook and wash-up after the girls.\(^{304}\) By fulfilling a very practical need, the settlement was able to reach out to young girls and provide them with a space in which they could meet friends from other work places, make new friends and eat healthily and cheaply. The club provided support for girls at an important transitional stage of their lives when they were adjusting to new responsibilities at work.

\(^{297}\) TH AR 1920 – 1, p. 21
\(^{298}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1929 and 1930, p. 7
\(^{299}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1921 – 22, p. 26
\(^{300}\) Ibid., p. 26
\(^{301}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1920 – 1, p. 21
\(^{302}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1925, p. 16
\(^{303}\) Tower Hamlets Local Studies Library, Brady Girls’ Club, Newsletter 1937 (TBC)
\(^{304}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1935 – 8, p. 35
CANNING TOWN WOMEN’S SETTLEMENT AND THE GIRLS’ CLUBS

Girls’ club activities at CTWS can be dated back to February 1892, around a month after the settlement opened. By 1918, the girls’ clubs were going strong, despite the war. In the summer of 1918 the girls were competing in the East London Federation of Clubs competitions, performing a display as part of the National Organisation of Girls’ Clubs event at the People’s Palace in Mile End, as a result of which one team were successful in going through to the ‘Great Display’ at the Old Vic in the following May. In 1919, the Senior Club offered girls the opportunity to explore dramatics, first aid, cookery, singing, needlework and drill, whilst the Junior Girls were offered dramatics and singing. By the 1930s, the girls were also offered a Housekeeping class. Beauty and Keep Fit lessons were later included. At first sight, this appears to be a relatively limited range, concentrating, as with the Girls’ Dinner Club, on opportunities for girls to express themselves through the arts or to train in the domestic sciences. The emphasis on domestic training was in part a result of the belief that girls and women needed to acquire these skills in order to protect and improve the health of the nation. There is evidence that young women wanted to be trained in domestic skills to prepare them for married life and running their own homes.

Yet the dramatics mentioned were not ‘light’ – in that year, the Shakespearean Class performed a version of *Twelfth Night*, which was very well received. Within a couple of years, the Shakespeare section was granted independent status as a club, and took the girls from the area to Stratford-Upon-Avon for the Easter Weekend. Although some girls in the class may have gone on to the local grammar school, it is unlikely that many from the predominantly working class area of Plaistow would have stayed at school beyond the age of 14. They were also unlikely to have had previous

305 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS Committee Minutes, 2 March 1892
306 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 15 May 1918.
307 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 17 October 1919
308 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 22 October 1930
309 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 23 February 1938
310 Jephcott, p. 53
311 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 20 June 1919
312 Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 23 March 1923
experience of reading or performing Shakespeare at full-length – elementary school pupils were required to be able to read passages from Shakespeare, but not to study plays in greater depth.\textsuperscript{313} This is one of the many examples of CTWS attempting to broaden the horizons of girls from working class backgrounds.

The girls who attended the clubs at Canning Town were strongly encouraged to take pride in their achievements and to succeed at whatever they turned their hands to. To take one example, in 1921 the Senior Girls’ Club took an array of prizes at the East London Federation of Girls’ Clubs, with the Shield for General Excellence at the top of the list.\textsuperscript{314} The girls were also supported in their efforts to take responsibility, with the Seniors offering to run the Old Canning Town Club whilst one girl was keen to take the Sunday afternoon Bible Class.\textsuperscript{315} In 1930, the older club girls were running the Junior Club.\textsuperscript{316} Like their male counterparts at the Fairbairn, the girls were able to assert their authority and gain skills in the management of their club and related activities.

The girls also long had the opportunity to contribute paintings and art works to the annual Lees Hall art and crafts exhibitions, although in 1934 there was an attempt to extend this exhibition by introducing loans from art galleries.\textsuperscript{317} The settlement succeeded in obtaining loans from the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Tate Gallery.\textsuperscript{318} The exhibition which resulted included work from local people alongside

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\item \textsuperscript{313} The extent and quality of Shakespeare teaching varied widely. Jonathan Rose notes that by the early twentieth century Shakespeare was often taught as ‘tedious classroom drill’. Other pupils benefited from teachers who were passionate about literature. Jonathan Rose, \textit{The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes}, (London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 124 and pp. 156 – 163.
\item \textsuperscript{314} Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 27 May 1921. The General Excellence shield was awarded to the club with the greatest number of successes across the competitions.
\item \textsuperscript{315} Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 27 January 1922.
\item \textsuperscript{316} Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 22 October 1930.
\item \textsuperscript{317} The practice of borrowing art for use in clubs was pioneered by Hull-House, resulting in the opening of the Butler Art Gallery in 1891. This gallery was on the Hull-House campus in the Near West Side of Chicago, then a district with high immigration and poverty. The Barnetts attended the opening of the Butler Art Gallery, and ten years later opened the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Although encouraging the appreciation of art had been a key concern of both Henrietta Barnett and Octavia Hill, transatlantic influences in this form of work have not been fully explored.
\item \textsuperscript{318} Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 25 October 1934 and 23 January 1935.
\end{itemize}
the loaned items, and ‘several thousands of people had been admitted, including many children’.\textsuperscript{319} The girls who exhibited in 1935 must have achieved immense personal satisfaction from seeing their work not only on display, but next to art works from famous museums and galleries.

The Coronation of 1937 gave CTWS a further opportunity to encourage a sense of personal pride and self-worth. One girl from the club represented West Ham at the ceremony, and a further two girls signed the National Council of Girls’ Clubs’ Queen’s Book. This was also the year that a former CTWS club girl became the first female Mayor of West Ham – Daisy Parsons. Parsons worked as a domestic servant before joining the East London Federation of Suffragettes (ELFS), and was a member of the only deputation of working class women to H.H. Asquith, then the British Prime Minister, in 1914. Back in East London, she was heavily involved in the ELFS’ women’s health work. Her career as a suffragette, and her subsequent work as a Labour councillor in West Ham, was heartily supported by her husband. Parsons returned to CTWS in 1937 to address the settlement on her work during the year as mayor.\textsuperscript{320} Parsons’ papers do not provide any suggestions as to how she became interested in politics, but it is not unlikely that she had a first taste of committee work at the CTWS girls’ club. The Suffragettes were probably more of a formative influence on Parsons’ politics, but the CTWS was a starting point for her.

The Canning Town Women’s Settlement Girls’ Clubs were part of a larger network of clubs at the settlement, but they were some of the most prominent activities there. There appear to have been cases where, as at Mansfield House, girls would move in later years to become involved with the Co-operative Women’s Guild, the Townswomen’s Guild, the various Mother’s Meetings and similar adult women’s activities, or turn to the settlement during periods of unemployment, such as

\textsuperscript{319} Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 26 June 1935
\textsuperscript{320} Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 27 October 1937
immediately after World War One. The clubs did not offer an explicitly feminist programme as we may understand it today, but they offered working class girls the opportunity to excel in their chosen fields of activity and to take pride in their achievements. The girls also benefited from contact with a range of role models, from local women like Daisy Parsons to nationally well-known figures such as Margaret Bondfield,\textsuperscript{321} who addressed a mass meeting for the club girls in December 1924.\textsuperscript{322}

In this respect, the girls’ programme at CTWS was far superior to anything else provided for youth across the settlements in this study. There was no sense of the residents or youth workers being unwilling to support girls whose futures may not have extended much further than local factories, marriage and childrearing; on the contrary, the CTWS staff appeared to have had a wholesale commitment to supporting women, whatever their futures may have held. Whether those women were mothers in need of assistance through the infant welfare clinic, women doctors or nurses, or young girls in the area at a loose end, the settlement made the effort to enrich their lives.

**SCOUTING AND GUIDING AT TOYNBEE HALL**

Many of the early leaders of the Scout Movement had connections with Toynbee Hall, indeed one of the first companies had been set up there in 1908. The first major company of Guides was established in 1926, although there is evidence of three Jewish Guide companies using Toynbee as their base during the First World War.\textsuperscript{323}

These companies did not run after the war, and it is likely that their connection with Toynbee only extended to renting or borrowing rooms. Scouting soon spread rapidly through the East End. Frequent mention is made of the Scouts in the *Toynbee Record* before the First World War, when it was an exciting innovation, and residents

\textsuperscript{321} Margaret Bondfield (1873 – 1953) was one of the first women to enter the House of Commons and in 1929 became the first female Cabinet Minister. In 1924, she was parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Labour. Bondfield was also a good friend of Jimmy Mallon, the Warden at Toynbee Hall. See Appendix Three for a fuller biographical note.

\textsuperscript{322} Newham Local Studies and Archives: CTWS EC 24 October and 19 December 1924 *Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1915 – 16*, p. 24
Theodore Lukis and Francis Fletcher Vane were heavily involved with these and similar groups. Lukis’ Patrol literally followed him to the Front in World War One, around eighty of the older scouts marching behind him to the local signing-up office on 1 September 1914. The young men’s military service on the Front is recorded alongside that of ‘Toynbee Men’ in the post-war Annual Reports.

Who were the Toynbee Hall Scouts and Guides? Although in recent years Scouting and Guiding have been associated with middle class children, this was not the case before 1950.

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324 Pimlott, p. 187
What is striking about this photograph, and is also evident from comments in the Girl Guide papers, is that not all the boys are wearing full uniform, despite the presence of a newspaper photographer for whom they would reasonably be expected to be in their best uniform. In the photograph, the boy standing directly to the rear of the Scout Leader is wearing an everyday, light-coloured shirt with the basic Scout paraphernalia – the scarf, woggle and cap – over it. His shorts are held up by what appears to be a length of string. Not all of the boys are wearing the uniform cap, and, judging by the quality of piping on some of the caps, some may have sewn it on themselves. Although it was and still is common for new members of companies not to wear uniform at their first meetings, it is unlikely that these boys are ‘raw recruits’, but rather were members who either could not afford the uniform or attend only sporadically. This visual documentation suggests strongly that Toynbee’s Scouts,
Cubs, Brownies and Guides were not the children of the upper working class or lower middle class, but from the immediate locality, for whom the pull of attending with friends or the image of the movement was greater than the financial practicalities of joining a movement with a relatively costly uniform.

The experience of scouting in the pioneer days of the movement before World War One appears to have been profound. Not only did the young men develop close relationships with their Scouters – for example, Lukis’ patrol followed him to join up in the First World War, such was their devotion to him and his standing as a role model – but this was reinforced through the experience of war. Even during the conflict, EC Blight, one of the Scoutmasters, attempted to establish a series of letters from himself and other Scouters that would be passed on to all the Toynbee Scouts in the armed services across their various postings in this way maintaining a network.\(^{325}\) Although they had been spread across platoons and battalions, the boys had joined up together.

Not all the Toynbee Scouts returned from the War. Private J Biggs, Corporal W Cushings, Gunner G Davis, Private Guy Forrest, Lieutenant Corporal JR Goodwin, Private W Hurley, Private GC Jones, Private J Nichols and Lieutenant J Wilson all lost their lives in the conflict.\(^{326}\) Lukis himself was the first of the Toynbee residents to die in the war, being wounded on the battlefield, then dying in hospital. He was carried off the battlefield by one of his former charges. For those who survived, their role model and many of their friends had been lost in the war. After the war, Lukis’ mother, Lady Lukis, set up an Old Scouts’ Club for the surviving Scouts, who were by now too old to be members of the Scout movement.\(^{327}\) This club, the Lukis Club, was open only to those who had been members of the original Scout troop, and in its early years offered these young men a focus for their grief and trauma, a place where they

\(^{325}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1925, p. 18
\(^{326}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1916 – 7, 1917 – 8, 1918 – 9 (Here on referred to as 1916 – 9), p. 7
\(^{327}\) Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1916 – 9, p. 11
could meet, reminisce and work through their experience. In time, the club members began to reach out to the younger Scouts by providing Scouters for the Toynbee Troop, and later developing an educational programme for themselves that explored issues of politics and economics. The settlement provided them with speakers and tutors for this. Inevitably the Lukis Club, with such limited membership, in time faded away as its members married and developed other commitments. It served its purpose admirably – it was never intended to be a long-standing institution. Louise Woodward’s study of mental health care between 1890 and 1939 found that dynamic psychiatry was pioneered in hospitals and asylums serving the wounded and traumatised in the First World War. Various forms of psychotherapy gained ground in the treatment of the ‘shell-shocked’, and, although it is unclear whether or not the club members participated in psychoanalytic therapies through the club, it was clearly a veterans’ support group for a still young and vulnerable group. Certainly it provided a forum for the young men to meet and share their experiences with their comrades, and, by allowing this externalisation of traumatic experiences, was a form of psychotherapeutic therapy. The Lukis Club members had marched with their Scouter to the signing-up office whilst in their late teens, and they came back to post-war London barely in their twenties. The war was traumatic for most involved in it, yet for those like the Scouts, who went with a keen sense of optimism and a sense of purpose inculcated through their later childhood, the experience may have been devastating. The Lukis Club was instrumental in aiding the path of these young men back into society.

At Toynbee Hall, scouting for boys and younger men grew throughout the interwar period. This was given additional impetus by the presence of the Lukis Club and the connection of Lady Lukis with the settlement, creating links with a pre-war pioneering

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328 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1925, p. 19
330 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1925, p. 19
tradition and also with a sense of the ultimate sacrifice. This was a very powerful paradigm in the earlier years at least. Scouting had a number of Scout heroes, many of whom had connections with the East End, such as Roland Phillipps, after whom Roland House Scout Settlement was named. Phillipps had been the owner of a painting, *The Pathfinder*, which has since become a major part of the iconography of the Scout Association. He had been a close friend of Baden-Powell, and devoted his life to his work with the East End Scouts. Following his death in the war, his mother commissioned the Pathfinder window, which still remains in Roland Phillipps’ parish church, St. Mary’s in Roch, Pembrokeshire.

*Picture 2.2: the Pathfinder Window, St. Mary’s Church, Roch*  

See [http://www.scouting.milestones.btinternet.co.uk/roland.htm](http://www.scouting.milestones.btinternet.co.uk/roland.htm) (viewed 14 March 2006)
The Pathfinder Window was part of the post-war iconography of Scouting in the East End. The window itself is in a parish church in a very small village in South West Wales, where Phillipps’ family had made their home in a Norman castle. Although some 300 miles from the East End, this image would become and remain famous within the Scout movement. Phillipps was closely connected with Oxford House, which had first brought him to the East End as a young Oxford graduate. Phillipps’ second memorial was the establishment of the Scouting settlement, Roland House on Stepney Green. Phillipps had bought the house prior to his involvement in the war, and in his will left it to the East London Scouts. The settlement continued in this location until it was sold in the 1960s to raise money for the East London Scouts. It is now privately owned. The settlement has since become the headquarters of the East London Scouts, and is housed in a modern building on Stepney a couple of minutes away from Roland House. These ‘heroes’ left space for the next generation to continue their work; they also left powerful examples for younger men and boys to emulate.

With such memorials established in the East End and the existence of veteran Scout groups, a vision of ‘heroic’ Scouting was beginning to emerge. For those too young to have participated in the war and with perhaps a limited understanding of the experience of war, this was a powerful and tempting means to align oneself with an image of heroic masculinity. It must have fired the imaginations of the young boys who joined the Scouts, and perhaps figured in the Scouting games the boys played. It would certainly have provided the boys with role models. Though Lukis and Phillipps, among others, were ‘gentlemen’ from highly privileged backgrounds, they were united with the young boys of the East End in their enthusiasm for Scouting. Success in the Scouting movement in later years may have had much to do with a person’s background, but in the immediate reality of the patrol and the troop, success was due to one’s ability to learn the techniques and practise the theory of being a Scout. In
order to gain respect amongst his peers and the Scouters, he needed to develop a peer-recognised set of skills.

From 1919 there were three troops based at the settlement – the Toynbee Troop, the 1st East London (the Jewish troop) and the 2nd City of London, which after moving to Toynbee, became the 9th Stepney. A troop of Sea Scouts was run by the son of one of the former residents. Each troop was at its full strength of 4 patrols (around 40 members in total), and pursued a mixture of Scouting games and tests back at base as well as exploring the countryside on camping expeditions. The 1st East London Wolf Cub pack for younger scouts was set up in 1920, and soon had 30 members. Due to a shortage of available Scoutmasters (despite residents and Lukis Club members helping), the Toynbee Troop and the 9th Stepney were amalgamated in 1920–1. Nevertheless their programme of activities continued, from putting on a play to learning first aid and gymnastics. The author of the Annual Report for 1920–1 noted sadly that only one or two of the Scouts from the former 9th Stepney had been able to purchase a uniform; however the boys did not appear to have enjoyed the Scouts any the less. They attended and participated in the activities that constituted being a Scout. All the Scout groups remained strong throughout the period.

Margaret Kendall’s correspondence files on the Toynbee Hall Brownies and Guides in the late 1930s show very clearly the functions of the movement at the settlement. On the one hand, the company and pack provided a regular activity for girls in the area that had structure, offered rewards and recognition in the form of badges and pennants and an annual camp to look forward to. On the other, it provided a vital method of reaching poorer families in the local community. Although the parents of the children may not have approached the settlement for help in other areas, the Guide leaders were

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332 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1916 – 19, p. 11
333 TH AR 1919 – 20, p. 14
334 TH AR 1920 – 21, p. 19
able to get to know the girls and their backgrounds and in doing so were able to provide assistance, however informally.

The Brownie and Girl Guide Promise that all members pledge on joining runs:

I promise that I will do my best
To do my duty to God
To serve the Queen
And to help other people
And to keep the Brownie/Girl Guide law

The movement encourages girls and young women to ‘do their best’ to strive to achieve things in life, from badges to participating in competitions and forming Guards of Honour at important social events. The badge system itself is an interesting method of encouraging girls to become achievers. Badges are worn on the uniform and so are on full display. The gaining of a certain number of badges results in the member obtaining a pennant or other badge in recognition of this success. The number of badges worn by Guides also informally denotes status, someone with a greater number is clearly more successful than other Guides. As badges were traditionally awarded at the opening ceremonies of meetings, the girl was rewarded and acknowledged for her work in front of her peers. The work for the badges did not always require a financial outlay, and improvisation of equipment was encouraged. The badges themselves have always been relatively inexpensive. The badges encouraged the development of skills in homemaking, childcare, first aid, camping, and other outdoor activities, such as orientation. There has long been a strong social motivation for Guides to participate in this activity, in order to keep up with their peers and to compete with other Guide patrols or Brownie sixes. Girls could achieve as individuals whilst at the same time working alongside others in a group.

Service was an essential part of the Guide and Scout movements. Brownies, Guides, Cubs and Scouts were all expected to be ready to ‘Lend a Hand’ to people in need

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335 Patrols and sixes are smaller teams working with the Company, encouraging girls to cooperate with each other.
without being asked. These small acts of kindness could include helping an elderly person to cross the road, carrying shopping or even guiding people through thick fog to their destination. An anonymous London Scout inspired the Chicago publisher, William Dickson Boyce, to found the Boy Scouts of America. On a trip to London in 1909, Boyce had lost his way in thick fog and was approached by a young boy with a lantern who took him to his destination. Boyce attempted to tip the boy, who refused and said, ‘No sir, I am a Scout. Scouts do not accept tips for Good Turns’.

Service had a number of connotations. It could suggest military service or voluntary service or even domestic service. Scouts and Guides were encouraged to be proactive in spotting need and dealing with it promptly and effectively, as in the case of the anonymous Scout and Boyce. The young people could also be called on to help with specific larger projects by other organisations – such as the stocking trails mentioned later in this chapter. Scouts and Guides were able to offer short-term help in the community, either individually or as part of a task force. Although some of the Brownies and Guides in this study were the recipients of service from other Guides, this did not mean that they were not undertaking service themselves. If raising funds or goods for charity was beyond the means of many girls and their families, the girls could nevertheless help the community and their families by being ready to ‘Lend a Hand’.

The centrality of service to the Scout and Guide movements made the children and young people aware of the needs of others. By being useful and feeling the gratitude of the people they helped, the Scout or Guide’s self-confidence grew. Helping their neighbours could also make the young people feel valued members of the community. By encouraging the young people to serve others, the Scout and Guide movements could also empower them through this training in citizenship.

This acceptance of an obligation to serve marks the difference between a Guide unit and a girls’ club. The latter did participate in community activities. There are many

336 Website of the Palos Verdes, CA Eagle Scouts, http://www.boyscouts.com/history.htm, viewed 19 April 2004,
references in the CTWS Executive Committee minutes to the girls’ participation in fundraising activities and their help with other clubs. Yet these activities were largely directed to the needs of the settlement – and the club – itself. Whilst a fundraising committee might take up a large part of club time, it would not have attracted the attention of all the girls or necessarily encroached upon other activities. In the case of CTWS, ‘service’ to the settlement and the local community was based upon local mores not a national set of guidelines and certainly not upon adherence to rules of membership. Girl Guides, on the other hand, were frequently called upon to participate in community efforts beyond the normal, social functions of the group. Girls’ clubs had an element of ‘service’, but it was neither their primary function nor a condition of joining. In an earlier discussion, the culture of achievement at the CTWS girls’ clubs was mentioned – although the girls worked in a supportive environment, they were by no means compelled to do so. Service there was optional.

Among the Guides at Toynbee Hall, it appears that the notion of service was somewhat turned upon its head, as the Guides and Brownies were themselves recipients of service. Toynbee Hall was the local headquarters of the movement, yet, from the extant letters, its Guide and Brownie companies appear to have been the recipients of ‘service’ as well as active proponents of it. Stepney was a strong area for Guiding in the late 1930s. Its nucleus was a small group of women based at Toynbee Hall, who assembled around the secretary of the time, Margaret Kendall, and had the full support of both Mallon and Hodgkinson. Kendall, a resident of Bermondsey, also had her own troop of Guides in South East London and appears to have been allowed to devote a significant part of her time to Guiding matters. Although, strictly a member of the administrative staff, she was able to participate in social work.

Both the Brownies and Guides benefited from the fundraising efforts of their fellow Guides. On various occasions second-hand uniforms and kit were donated by other

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337 BRC: JJM/GGB Letter Margaret Kendall to City and East London Observer, 3 May 1939
companies, such as the gift of uniforms and back copies of *The Guider* sent by Ms HE Naylor of the 16th Worthing Guides in the summer of 1936.\(^{338}\) Equally, the Ranger Company benefited in 1938 from the gift of tennis dresses from a member of the public.\(^{339}\) These gifts were extremely important to the company, as many members could not hope to afford new uniforms themselves. Funds were extremely tight.

‘Skipper’, or Miss Holman, the organiser of the Guide company, noted that the girls had a tendency to try to get things free of charge and their parents found it difficult to save for such things as summer camp. A personal letter to Kendall noted that one girl had decided at the last minute to join the camp of 1939, and Skipper was somewhat aggrieved that the young girl had thought it simply a matter of leaving a ‘few shillings on tick’, and did not bring the correct medical certificates and equipment. Skipper had been forced to turn her down. She commented to Kendall that although she felt hard-hearted, she could ill-afford to give the company funds to finance individual girls attending camp when the money could benefit the whole group.\(^{340}\) A flavour of the difficulties experienced in organising and funding camps – the highlight of the Guide year – can be seen in Kendall’s correspondence on behalf of her Bermondsey Company in arranging for local firms to transport the girls and their equipment to camp in the back of a lorry.\(^{341}\) No doubt sitting in the back of a lorry with their kit was an exciting event for the girls, but when one considers that other Guide and Brownie companies had the use of charabancs and even cars, it takes on a different significance.

Another example of this effort to help the Guides and Brownies at Toynbee Hall comes in the form of the annual Christmas stocking trails run by the Bedfordshire Guides. Each year, the Bedfordshire Guides collected various items, from children’s

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\(^{338}\) BRC/JJM/GGB Letter HE Naylor to Kendall, 16 August 1936  
\(^{339}\) BRC/JJM/GGB Letter A Winton to Kendall, 9 September 1938 and Letter Kendall to Winton, 3 December 1938  
\(^{340}\) BRC/JJM/GGB Letter Skipper to Kendall, 30 July 1939  
\(^{341}\) See BRC/JJM/GGB Letters Mallon to Griggs 13 June 1938 and Griggs to Kendall 24 June 1938, also correspondence Griggs and Kendall 17 June 1939, 19 June 1939 and 27 June 1939
toys to Christmas food, which were sent to organisations like Toynbee Hall. In 1938, the Bedford Guides adopted the practice of individually wrapping each stocking, in one year embroidering the name of the recipient on the stocking. Kendall wrote to the Bedfordshire Guider who organised the trail to note that the stockings were wonderful, and that she wished that the Bedfordshire Guides would be able to see the reaction of the girls at Toynbee Hall when they came to unwrap them. The gifts meant a lot to the girls and their families. These were treats that they may not otherwise have had, but they also helped the girls to develop a sense of community. The treat was shared among the girls, and was enjoyed due to other girls banding together on their behalf.

In previous years, cases of stockings and gifts had been sent to Toynbee Hall for Kendall and others to distribute. In 1936, Kendall had written to Miss Warland (the Bedford Guider) asking for 12 cases to be delivered to the Stepney area. She requested that three cases should be sent to Toynbee that could include toys, clothes and other items, another three to the Reverend HE Lury at St. Peter’s Church in Limehouse, to consist of toys and stockings for families, and a further two cases to Mary Hughes at the Dewdrop Inn on Vallence Road to distribute to families. Kendall also requested a box for the Providence Night Refuge on Crispin Street where the Sisters would be looking mostly for food and clothing, although Kendall noted, ‘They are in touch with some children’. Tower Hill RC School would also get a case, as would Miss Dolton of the Nursing Association, and finally Miss Scott, Warden of the Ratcliff Settlement in Limehouse. Kendall asked that, if there were any spare cases, one should be sent to her Guide company in Bermondsey. Unfortunately, Kendall’s letter arrived after the dispatch date, and Toynbee Hall had to distribute the cases themselves. The cases were dealt with by the Toynbee Guide Patrol Leaders, and items were sent to the Poplar District Nurse, the Chinese Church in Poplar and the Invalid Children’s Aid Association (whose Stepney branch was then based at Toynbee

342 BRC/JJM/GGB Letter Kendall to Hocking, 13 December 1938
343 BRC/JJM/GGB Letter Kendall to Miss F. Warland, 5 December 1936
344 BRC/JJM/GGB Letter Warland to Kendall, 7 December 1936
Hall). Stockings were also given to the families of Brownies, Guides and Scouts at Toynbee. Kendall commented that ‘Everyone was very much cheered and helped’, and asked Warland to ‘please thank everyone who participated in the trail. If any of them come to London for the Coronation I hope that they will let us know in good time and we will try to show them something of East London.’

The correspondence for the Christmas of 1937 shows more clearly this dual role of the Guide unit as a centre for social service and also as a recipient. Kendall asked a number of people – Edith Ramsay, the ICAA, Miss Reaverley, Dora the Brownie Guide leader and Miss Hickling – to compile lists of children who would benefit from a Christmas stocking. The lists gave the name and age of each child, and in all of the lists other than that for the Brownies, gave their addresses. The lists of the children’s names, ages and addresses cannot be reproduced as the file in question is subject to a 70 year closure, but figure 2.4 shows the geographical spread of the children in question.

The children, other than the Brownies, who came to Toynbee, were selected from the case files of the organisations or social workers involved in the scheme. The ICAA children were largely based within a five minute walk of Toynbee Hall, in the immediate Aldgate and Whitechapel area. Edith Ramsay’s cases were concentrated in the Ben Jonson Road area of Stepney, whilst Mrs Reaverley worked predominantly in Limehouse and Mile End, visiting also one child in Dagenham, Essex (not shown on map). Ben Jonson Road was the poorest area in Stepney, and Mile End and Limehouse, the former directly to the north and the latter directly to the south, also experienced extremes of poverty. Miss Hickling’s cases were situated to the north, in Globe Town. Although the addresses of the Brownies are not given, we may suppose that they lived within a similar radius of the settlement to the ICAA children. In addition to the more formal home visiting that the women were carrying

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345 BRC/JJM/GGB Letter Kendall to Warland, 1 January 1937
346 BRC/JJM/GGB Closed File – Letters, notes and other documents 11 December 1937
out, it appears that the contacts made with the Brownies and their families were another means of identifying need. It is not clear to what extent the Guiders were able to offer help to the parents, but it is reasonable to suggest that they could monitor the various family situations, and, if nothing else, offer a little help at Christmas.
Figure 2.4 – Geographical spread of recipients of stockings, Christmas 1937, collation from BRC/JJM/GGB Closed File
Scale: 1:50,000
Background map copyright Multimap – copyright notice p. 264
CLUBS FOR ADULTS

The settlements offered clubs to adults as well as to children and young people. There were two main types: the neighbourhood club and the interest-driven club.

Two examples of the neighbourhood club have already been described: the Webbe Institute and Fairbairn House. The adult clubs, especially men’s, did not significantly differ from those offered to children. The gender-specific activities of the men’s clubs were established quite early in the adolescent boys’ club. Many of the same activities were on offer to all age groups, the terms and conditions of membership were the same, and they appealed to the same catchment area. Both the boys’ and the men’s clubs took in groups of friends, people from the same street, school or workplace and members of the same family. The neighbourhood club created a social space which operated laterally, attracting new members and sustaining its networks through peer groupings, and vertically by extending through generations of the same families. It offered a wide range of activities. The motive for attending the club was not necessarily to assert an aspect of one’s identity or interest through a particular activity, but through affiliation to the community. Individuals attended a club like the Webbe, the Oxford House Club or the Fairbairn to interact with neighbours and friends. The locality was key to the club. Without the appropriation of the club by members of the community, the clubs could not hope to succeed.

Clubs for women, on the other hand, tended to appeal to inherent groups, like a mothers’ meeting or the Co-operative Women’s Group. Women were not necessarily seen by male settlers as having an existence external to their home. Unfortunately the records for the Co-operative Women’s Guild and Townswomen’s Guild at CTWS have not survived beyond mentions of their activities in the Executive Committee minutes, and pictures of women attending for specific events – one example being the visit of Eleanor Bock, the second female Mayor of West Ham, addressing the Townswomen’s Guild in 1938. The Women’s Co-operative Guild had functions
beyond the purely social. It had been a major force in bringing co-operation out of the ‘élite’ working class areas and into poorer ones, extending the benefits of co-operative retail to areas that needed it. Besides providing a ‘divvy’ or dividend and cheaper goods to its members and opportunities for social occasions, the Women’s Co-operative Guild allowed women to assert their political views and to become active within the co-operative movement and in politics more generally. They were also very active in promoting maternal and child welfare (see page 56).

Other opportunities for women at CTWS were provided by the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Sisterhood (and indeed the PSA Brotherhood), which offered a weekly programme of religious sermons, music and singing, as well as speeches from local personalities and labour leaders. Apart from the activities of those women prominent in the area, such as Rebecca Cheetham,¹⁴⁸ and later Catherine Towers of the CTWS, or Labour councillors such as Edith Kerrison, Daisy Parsons and Eleanor Bock, whose lectures were recorded in references to the PSA Sisterhood, we know very little from the CTWS archives about the actual participation of local women within the PSA or the other activities mentioned.

Some clubs promoted more specific interests. Those at Toynbee Hall were, of all the settlement clubs, the most interest-driven. This was partly due to the settlement’s commitment to adult education. The clubs had a complementary role within the education programme. The clubs, particularly the art club, the dramatic society and the Shakespeare society, in particular were avenues to further study for local people as well as opportunities for leisure pursuits. Those successful in the club had plenty of opportunities through the Toynbee Hall classes, the Workers’ Education Association tutorial classes or the University Extension programme to further develop their interest.

¹⁴⁸ Cheetham was the first Warden of the CTWS; see Appendix Three
Two of the longest running clubs at Toynbee Hall were the Art Club and the Shakespeare Society. The Art Club emerged from the Barnetts’ commitment to art for local people. In the 1870s, the Barnetts initiated an annual exhibition of art loaned from West End galleries in the school-rooms at St. Jude’s, and by the 1890s were campaigning heavily to provide the East End with a permanent home for art. In 1901, this resulted in the opening of the Whitechapel Art Gallery on Whitechapel High Street. Part of the founding remit of the Gallery was to encourage local art clubs to exhibit their art works alongside those of established artists, in some cases next to well-known masterpieces. The art club was therefore part of a larger campaign to encourage local people to express themselves through visual media, to aspire to achieve and display their talent publicly.

During the winter months, the Art Club was based in Toynbee Hall, where members participated in life-drawing classes. In the summer, they went on sketching trips. Members were not always able to commit much time to pursuing their hobby, but their skills were remarked upon by the numerous professional artists who assisted with the club. In 1921–2, it could call upon the services of Sir David Murray, Solomon J Solomon, John Collier, Geoffrey Brown and L Burleigh Brutel, who assessed and criticised members’ work. A prominent artist was usually the president of the club in the period before the Second World War. One of the highlights of the Art Club year was the annual exhibition, which was traditionally held at the Gallery, although in 1930 the exhibition was held at the Parsons’ Gallery on Oxford Street. The Art Club was for amateur artists, but it clearly aimed to increase access to the arts and to encourage people to develop ‘leisure’ skills as valuable pursuits in themselves.

349 Sir David Murray, RA (1849 – 1933), renowned Scottish landscape painter
350 Solomon J. Solomon, (1860 – 1927), trained at Royal Academy and École des Beaux Arts, Paris. Solomon was a firm believer in the social role of the artist and in the First World War, he and a number of British and French artists painted camouflage netting for the troops.
351 John Collier (1850 – 1934), English Classicist painter
The Shakespeare Society was also a creative force in the life of the settlement for many years. It was noted in the interwar years for providing the inspiration for JM Dent, originally a Spitalfields bookbinder who attended the Shakespeare Society for self-improvement, to move into publishing. Dent’s innovation in the 1890s was the publication of copies of classic literature at prices working class people could afford, starting with Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, which he had studied with the Society. Dent’s publishing house was an outstanding success, launching the popular ‘Everyman’ imprint of titles from 1906. Like the Art Club, it provided local people with the opportunity to participate in high-level artistic endeavour.

The Shakespeare Society meetings employed a mixture of critical analysis and debate alongside the dramatic reading of text. If the Shakespeare Society was somewhere between a drama group and a literature class, the Toynbee Dramatic Society provided the opportunity to participate in productions. This society was run for much of the interwar years on a shoe-string, with members often paying their own travel expenses and occasionally production costs as well. The society toured the East End with their productions, helping to raise money for charities. By 1938, Jo Hodgkinson, the sub-Warden, was running it and implementing an extensive production schedule.

Members of the club were often deeply involved in the work. For example, Peggy Mellwen, wrote a play that went into production between 1935 and 1937. The students were able to benefit from talks and lectures by leading theatrical personalities, for example, in 1936 by Sidney Carroll, Kenneth Barnes, Val Gielgud, Tyrone Guthrie, Michael St. Denis and Irene Vanbrugh.

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353 Sir Kenneth Ralph Barnes, (1878 – 1957) dramatist.
354 Val Gielgud, (1900 – 1981), playwright and (radio) producer, brother of John Gielgud, actor
355 Tyrone Guthrie, (b.d), director, manager of Old Vic Theatre
356 Michel St. Denis, (1897 – 1971), actor, director, teacher
357 Irene Vanbrugh, (1872 – 1949), actress
During the 1930s, the emphasis on the arts at the settlements increased. Jo Hodgkinson was particularly devoted to the arts, contributing to the education programme at Toynbee Hall as well as to the construction of the education block which began after 1935. In 1938 Hodgkinson wrote:

East London is full of such enthusiasms [music and drama]; there are hundreds of amateur societies contending in many cases with most discouraging conditions and lacking expert assistance or advice but full of zeal and animation. In this most cosmopolitan people there is remarkable talent and unaffected sincerity; and, here and there, the more daring spirits break away from convention and with a striking treatment of new or old material fling a challenge to the fainthearted.

[...] It is not too much to claim that in this new theatre there is a possibility of the Renaissance of music and drama in East London which will bring with it beauty and grace and happiness and lift up the hearts of the people.\textsuperscript{358}

As with the Barnetts’ thoughts on providing ‘uplifting’ art for the people in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, it is possible to take issue with Hodgkinson’s aim to elevate the people of East London through drama. But, aside from subjective value judgements on what exactly makes ‘good’ art and for whom this art is ‘good’, the point of Hodgkinson’s argument is clearly that the local people wanted and needed a medium through which to express their creativity and to enjoy music and drama in production, and they could possess real talent which would otherwise go unrecognised. East London was relatively impoverished in terms of venues for ‘serious’ drama. The Hackney Empire, Wilton’s Music Hall and other theatres provided popular musical and dramatic entertainment, but would not necessarily take on more experimental or challenging material if it was not commercially viable, and they were venues for professional performers, not amateurs. At Toynbee Hall, Hodgkinson and Mallon aimed to provide a drama school of sorts for the local people with a suitable venue for performances. The boundaries between the amateur and the professional were blurred, and the opportunity for the amateur to produce art on a similar footing to the professional was emphasised.

\textsuperscript{358} JL Hodgkinson, ‘Drama and Music in East London’, \textit{A Book of Toynbee Hall May 11th 1938}, p. 15
The ‘new’ block, as it was called before the Blitz, was home to a number of activities mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, from the Juvenile Court to teaching rooms and a roof-top playground. It also housed a theatre of professional standard which would sit around 430 people. Hodgkinson controlled the theatrical and musical side of the project, which ultimately aimed to allow ‘the students to produce their own dramatic and musical performances’.\(^{359}\) The Musical Society flourished alongside the dramatic arts, being boosted in the 1930s by the arrival of Peter (or Hans as he was then known) Gellhorn. Gellhorn was deputy musical director and went on in the 1940s to join the Royal Opera House and Glyndebourne Opera. A talented Jewish musician and conductor, he had fled from persecution in Nazi Germany in 1930s and found an initial home and a job at the settlement in 1935.\(^{360}\) There were guest performances at the settlement by the Glyndebourne Company during the Second World War, which must have been a great morale booster and diversion from the stresses of life in a heavily bombed area.

All of these activities built on the tradition of bringing art to the people established by the Barnetts. However, under the guidance of Mallon and Hodgkinson, the settlement moved from Sunday afternoon concerts in the quad to the provision of full operatic performances that would usually be inaccessible to the working people in the East End. From small clubs the foundation of a musical and dramatic academy was planned, which could have provided East Londoners with inexpensive access to high quality artistic training and advice. However, the bombing of Toynbee Hall destroyed these plans. For primarily financial and management reasons, the arts academy did not come about. The theatre groups continued to use the auditorium, as did the

\(^{359}\) W. J. Turner, ‘Toynbee Hall Developments Through Journalistic Eyes’, \textit{The New Statesman and Nation}, 26 April 1938 and also \textit{A Book of Toynbee Hall, May 11th 1938}, pp. 43–45; p. 43

Toynbee Hall Ballet Class\textsuperscript{361} under the tutelage of Maestro Theodor Wassilieff. In 1948 Wasssilieff and Alice Lascelles led a cast of 38 students and 32 children through \textit{Casse Noisette} (The Nutcracker). Most of the children and students were female, although there were a couple of boys and men willing to join the ballet.\textsuperscript{362} Anita Dobson, who went on to play Angie in the popular television series \textit{Eastenders}, also began her dramatic career at the post-war Toynbee Hall dramatic classes, and Trevor Peacock, recently in television drama \textit{Armadillo} and comedy \textit{The Vicar of Dibley}, was a resident during the 1950s, finding plenty of opportunity to explore his interest in drama.\textsuperscript{363} Drama and music by no means declined during World War Two, but the scale of the operation thereafter fell far short of the vision of the 1930s.

On a more intellectual level, the Enquirers’ Club had been revived in October 1919. Before the First World War, it was frequented by residents, civil servants and political economists as well as by local men and women who were interested in economics. JA Dale, then Secretary of Council, chaired weekly debates, e.g. in 1919 – 1920 on the relationship between government and industry, a topic of some importance after the implementation of governmental controls during the war. George Macaulay Booth\textsuperscript{364} and Leo Chiozza Money\textsuperscript{365} were two of the speakers invited in this period. From 1921–2, William Beveridge took over running the club and he did so for some years. He brought GDH Cole and PH Lockhart (then Vice-President of the Federation of British Industry) to the settlement to address the members. Beveridge was then Director of the London School of Economics, and built strong connections between the settlement and the School. Along with the weekly debates, the Enquirers’ Club provided opportunities for local people to engage with current affairs and the political

\textsuperscript{361} Agreed dates for the start of the Ballet Classes cannot be confirmed at present; however, there are pictures of performances that apparently date from the mid-1940s. The earliest confirmed date is 1948.
\textsuperscript{362} BRC [Unassigned Sub Fonds] Programme for \textit{Casse Noisette}, 18 June 1948
\textsuperscript{363} James Dow oral history interview
\textsuperscript{364} George Macaulay Booth (1877 – 1971) was the son of Charles Booth, the social investigator, and worked on Llewellyn Smith’s \textit{New Survey of London Life and Labour} in the 1930s.
\textsuperscript{365} Sir Leo George Chiozza Money, 1870 – 1944, politician, author (esp. on economic topics), journalist
situation. Early in the 1920s the debates were seen by the settlement as a way of eradicating ‘dangerous’ communist political views from the local populace. The Enquirers’ Club continued for a short time after the end of the Second World War, but it and the weekly debates were replaced by Morgan’s ‘At Homes’ of the 1950s. These were open only to residents, who were treated to fire-side chats in the Toynbee dining room with politicians and economists of some standing. The debates of the Enquirers’ Club were direct and explicit ways of training the local community in the political and economic aspects of citizenship, and potentially of firing the imagination of the would-be activist. Jimmy Mallon had been a member of a similar debating society at the Manchester University Settlement when a young man. He ‘fell in love with the Debating Society and met there famous men: G.K. [Chesterton] for instance’. He allowed similar activities to flourish when he eventually made the transition from being a user of a settlement to being the Warden of one of the most famous.

Not all the clubs and societies were highly intellectual or artistic in purpose. Some were purely recreational. From 1922, Toynbee Hall set up a Gardening Society that had the sole aim of brightening up the tenements around the settlement. Any available space could be used – window boxes, pots, soil and bulbs were sold at cost price for gardening in a cramped environment. It was successful for a while, attracting 46 members in the first couple of months. The following year, there were enough members to warrant organising a flower show.

Gardening, however, did not appear to have set the enthusiasms of Whitechapel alight. More popular was the Neighbours’ Club. This was founded in 1925 and proved to be very popular. It took the relationship between the settlement and the local community.

[366] Toynbee Hall Annual Report
[367] Private information to the author
a step further. The Gardening Society was essentially based on the notions of Henrietta Barnett, Octavia Hill and the Kyrle Society about the importance of beauty and greenery in the urban environment. This was admirable, but in over-crowded Whitechapel, flowers in a window-box made a cramped environment prettier but did not solve the problem of lack of space. The Neighbours’ Club addressed this. It was open to men and women over the age of 18. It was held in the Aves Room at the base of Charles Booth House (at the rear of the campus) and members could chat, knit, play ping-pong and similar pursuits, old and young, Toynbee or Whitechapel resident together. There were also excursions out of London, with the club visiting Oxford, for example, in 1925. The Neighbours’ Club differed from the Mansfield House or Oxford House men’s clubs, as the sexes and ages mingled, and the emphasis was squarely on building social links between the residents and their neighbours, providing a different type of community resource. One proof of its success was the need to relax the membership requirements to allow those who had moved out to suburbia to return to visit their old friends in Whitechapel.

The Toynbee Travellers’ Club had existed since the 1880s, when Bolton King and others had set it up as a means of introducing travel to the working class students. The highlight of the club year was the journey abroad, where the emphasis was on exploring culture and history. Under Bolton King’s influence – he was renowned for scholarship on Mazzini and Italian unification – there were at least two visits to Italy. By the 1920s and 1930s, from economic necessity, the Travellers’ Club concentrated its efforts on providing its members with access to museums, galleries, factories and power stations in Britain. A visit in the 1920s to the Marconi Factory in Chelmsford, when telecommunications were in their infancy, would have been a fascinating experience, not least because one of Marconi’s earliest broadcasts had been held in the lecture hall at Toynbee in 1896; so was viewing the production of electricity for mass

369 The Kyrle Society was founded in 1877 by Miranda Hill, the sister of Octavia Hill, to alleviate the pressure of the urban environment by introducing art and open spaces in towns and cities.
consumption. The art deco power stations and factories of the 1920s and 1930s were interesting in themselves. The annual holiday abroad was difficult for many of the workers. Even if they could save to afford the trip, the rarity of paid holidays for wage earners meant that an extended break literally cost twice over in lost wages. Nevertheless, the Travellers’ Club continued, particularly with its programme of exploring London. Its correlate, the Workers’ Travel Association (WTA) became, from its inception in January 1922, the main provider of educational holidays abroad for working people. The WTA combined inexpensive travel with a comprehensive education programme, teaching would-be travellers the language, history and culture of their place of destination. Return trips by guests from the countries visited were encouraged, and the WTA was a resounding success, taking thousands of members of trade unions and co-op groups abroad each year. In 1922, it enabled 1,000 working people to travel to Europe, and had centres in Normandy, Paris, Berlin and Vienna. In combination with the Toynbee International Club, Toynbee Natural History Club and the Ramblers’ Club, the travel clubs at Toynbee provided local people with regional, national and international opportunities to explore the world around them. The Workers Travel Association was founded at Toynbee Hall, although it was independent of the settlement. The first secretary of the WTA, Cecil Rogerson, was inspired to establish the organisation as a result of his experience as Sub-Warden at Browning Hall in taking groups of working people to Europe. Harry Gosling, an MP, was the first president of the WTA. Mallon was the treasurer of the new organisation, which was based at Toynbee Hall for its first few years. By 1926, it had moved to new, larger premises whilst continuing to use Toynbee Hall as a base for its classes for its London members. It was noted in the New Survey that many London workers by the 1930s were able to take holidays, with the possible exception of those working in the building, furnishing, engineering and clothing trades.

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370 TH AR 1921 – 2, p. 18  
371 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1921 – 2, p. 18  
372 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1926, p. 36  
373 Llewellyn Smith, New Survey of London Life and Labour Vol IX, Life and Leisure, p. 78
Pimlott, the author of the fiftieth anniversary history of Toynbee Hall as well as a long-standing resident and civil servant, was also involved in the movement which led to the law requiring employees to be granted annual paid holidays in 1938 (the Holidays with Pay Act 1938). Pimlott also wrote and published a history of the development of holidays in England.  

**CONCLUSION**

Clubs were instrumental in developing and maintaining citizenship amongst children, young people and adults. The settlements’ role was to bring people of shared interests together, to find space for them to pursue their interests and to support their members. Helping members to try new skills and to develop confidence was crucial. This not only had a positive impact upon the individual, but upon the community as a whole. As members gained in experience, they were able to become responsible for aspects of the club management. For example, the boys at Fairbairn House were exposed at a young age to running activities for the benefit of all their members. They gained new skills, but they also learned how to perform their duties to enable others to fully appreciate what the club offered. Instances of more established members at Fairbairn House guiding new members demonstrate that the kinds of ownership the young men could develop. The club ‘belonged’ to the young men who used it, and they were encouraged in this way to feel proud of their club and their membership of it.

Settlement club organisers and Scout and Guide leaders were able to help the young people, but stood back once this was achieved. A similar mechanism operated in both adult neighbourhood clubs and interest groups. This was a method of training both the young and adults in civic leadership and responsibility by starting with the individual and helping him or her to gain confidence. Not all would make the club management committee or become a patrol leader, but every member had the opportunity to feel part of a wider community. By following the rules of the club and co-operating with other members, a valuable lesson in being responsible to others was learned at the

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same time that the members enjoyed themselves. For young people, this was a quality that they could carry into later life. For adults, it enabled them to perhaps see their neighbours in a different light, or to meet others with similar interests. The clubs promoted good citizenship through the clubs as a way of gaining skills, expressing talents and having fun at the same time that community links could be built.

However, citizenship was not the only product of settlement clubs. The clubs also had a role to play in developing ideas and structures for the post-war state. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, youth work began to be integrated by the state through the development of the Youth Service from the Second World War. This demonstrated that youth work complemented young people’s schooling by providing additional educational and leisure opportunities. But the most important aspect of clubs, both for adults and young people, was the way in which clubs could allow the individual to develop his or her confidence and talents.
CHAPTER THREE: 
THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE JUVENILE COURTS

‘Crime may be rare, but naughtiness is universal.’
Cyril Burt, The Young Delinquent, (1925)

INTRODUCTION
Settlement youth clubs could be used to help young people develop confidence and to provide them with opportunities for entertainment and self-improvement through meeting friends or learning new skills. These could be powerful tools in allowing young people to engage with the community around them and to develop a positive attitude towards other people. Children and young people who benefited positively from clubs and the other facilities offered by settlements were already on the way to being responsible adults. But this was not true of all children and young people, or even of all youth club members. An important corollary of the youth club was the juvenile court. It was no accident that many reformers and magistrates in the period 1918 to 1959 had worked or volunteered in settlement clubs or other youth organisations in their younger years. If the youth club was a method of developing young citizens, then the juvenile court was intended to be a tool of reclamation. The object of this chapter is to analyse the change in policy terms which resulted from the shift in perception from ‘delinquent’ to potential citizen, the youth as a threat to society to the youth as requiring guidance on his or her entry to adult society.

‘Juvenile delinquency’ is the criminological term that describes the transgressive and criminal behaviour of children and young people under the age of 21. It must be remembered that whilst delinquency is frequently used as a term implying the breaking of the law, it also refers to the ‘pre-criminal’ behaviour of young people. This could refer to children misbehaving in school or defying their parents without actually breaking any laws – these cases often leading to interventions to prevent
possible later criminality. It was also used, particularly in the period of this study, to refer to girls and young women who were engaging in sexual intercourse without the approval of their parents. This could and did range from girls who had boyfriends whom their parents disliked, to girls who worked as prostitutes. Boys’ sexuality did not appear to attract such attention unless they abused younger children or were caught exposing themselves or committing sexual assault. This is discussed in depth in the section on BasilHenriques’s memoirs of his time as a magistrate at Toynbee Hall. In this period the term juvenile delinquency was increasingly used in a popular sense to refer to any behaviour or suspected behaviour by young people that was widely disapproved of.

The actual behaviour of juvenile delinquents at any time is not necessarily ‘bad’ in itself, but aspects of their behaviour or attitudes are transgressive in terms of their social context. Within the adolescent peer group, the supposedly delinquent behaviour may be ‘normal’, and the behaviour that other groups view as desirable – such as informing the police when criminal acts occur or encouraging the group to abstain from illegal activities – may, according to the group, be transgressive. Delinquency, whether adult or juvenile, is relative on both the situational and essential levels. Whatever the theoretical reflections on delinquency, ‘delinquent’ actions may result in fear, pain, upset and trauma for the victims. Perhaps this human cost is the most objective indicator of delinquent or criminal behaviour.

It is important to divorce the facts of behaviour from perceptions of it in order to see how society’s views of it have changed. Juvenile delinquency in particular has long

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375 It is significant that the New Survey of London Life and Labour, Volume IX, Life and Leisure dedicated a whole chapter to the question of ‘Sex-Delinquency’. Other chapters in this part include ‘Drink’, ‘Gambling’ and ‘Crime’. The Sex-Delinquency chapter (pp. 287 – 345) is concerned not only with women turning to prostitution but also with women and girls whose behaviour is not illegal but taboo at the time, namely those who became pregnant outside of marriage or who were deemed to be promiscuous. When the sexuality of women does not conform to male views of what it should be, it becomes a ‘crime’ or a pathological psychological illness to be treated. Male and male homosexual prostitution is largely absent from the chapter, with the exception of a table on p. 345 detailing the numbers of males arrested in relation to sexual crimes involving other males.
been an emotive issue, not least because it provides no substantial hope to older
generations that their values and principles are upheld by the young people in their
society and therefore it is left to pose a threat to the continuation of good citizenship.
The young delinquents may be seen as selfish, irresponsible and dismissive of all the
values their elders uphold. The young in this way may appear to repudiate the efforts
and sacrifices of previous generations. The twentieth century, with two total wars
involving citizens and mass casualties as well as world economic depressions, has
provided many opportunities for youth to seemingly throw the sacrifices of their
parents’ generation back in their faces. It is no accident, for example, that media
panics and scares about juvenile delinquency in this period coincided with the two
world wars and their aftermath. The pressures of war did make good parenting and
maintaining educational and leisure pursuits difficult, especially in the absence of club
leaders and male parents. The wars themselves created new opportunities for
delinquency, such as looting or using blackouts to cover burglaries – and there were
recorded rises in juvenile and adult crime in World War Two. Youth crime was not
easy to tolerate in peacetime, but at a time when many people were working to protect
the future of the nation, it became intolerable. There are many constants in the
perception of juvenile delinquency – mainly that the young apprentice or working
class boy is out of control – but there have been periodic panics and scares, as well as
subtle changes in the perceptions of crime and what constitutes a ‘young delinquent’.

The juvenile court was a point of intervention at which both the child and the parents
could obtain help and advice. It was also the point at which the victims of crime and
the police could obtain redress and compensation, if not the resolution of the problem.
The emphasis of the court was squarely on the prevention of future criminality and the
development of or return to good citizenship. Young offenders and their parents could
have their behaviour challenged, and, increasingly in the interwar years, were offered
rehabilitation through probation. A common clause in many probation orders was
attendance at a youth club. If club members were citizens in the making, juvenile
delinquents increasingly came to be seen as young people in revolt against society, as they in turn felt alienated or spurned by it. As I will discuss later, there was a change from seeing the delinquent as innately bad in the mid to late nineteenth century to explaining the worst behaviour as a result of pressures and stress by the mid twentieth. There was a strong connection between the settlements and those involved in the reform of the treatment of juvenile delinquents. This was also the case with the Chicago settlements. Early experience of youth work could inspire the young men and women who worked at the settlements to examine critically why their efforts in clubs were not reaching all the children in their district and increase their sympathy with young people. Youth work and involvement in law relating to which were the areas of settlement work in which the connection between the implementation of national policy and an individual’s participation in the relevant area of social work was clearest and most coherent.

**CRIMINOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY**

Surprisingly little recent work has been undertaken on juvenile delinquency and the juvenile courts in this period. The majority of recent work concentrates on the post-1945 period, either in the form of sociological studies of delinquency or historical studies that begin with the premise that juvenile delinquency ‘began’ in the 1950s and continues as a discrete phenomenon to the present. Whilst some studies concentrate exclusively on juvenile delinquency, most, such as O’Donnell and Sharpe, Mairtin Mac Ghaill, Phil Brown, David Hargreaves, Colin Lacey, and Stephen J Ball have examined boys’ behaviour rather than girls’. Some studies – such as that

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by O’Donnell and Sharpe – incorporate some considerations of girls, but on the whole, we understand far less about female juvenile delinquency. However, in terms of understanding how young women used their spare time in this period, Claire Langhamer’s research into women and leisure is useful.\footnote{382 Claire Langhamer, \textit{Women’s Leisure in England, 1920 – 1960}, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)}

Victor Bailey’s \textit{Delinquency and Citizenship} (1987) is a thorough account of juvenile delinquency between 1914 and 1918. Bailey examined juvenile justice as an element of British social policy formation. It emphasises the role of the juvenile courts in aiming to bring about social \textit{inclusion} of the juvenile delinquents in this period, as well as the dual function of the courts in dealing with child welfare cases. It is a more balanced account of developments in the juvenile justice system. Bailey’s account provides the starting point for this section, since he identifies the connection between the juvenile justice system and the settlements. My aim is to extend Bailey’s interpretations by examining the work of the former settlers who became involved in juvenile justice reform in the period, with particular reference to the East London Juvenile Court (also known as Toynbee Hall Juvenile Court) from 1929 to 1953. More recently, Abigail Wills has undertaken research into citizenship and delinquency through a case study of institutionalised juveniles in the period 1950 – 1970.\footnote{383 See Abigail Wills, ‘Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950 – 1970’, \textit{Past and Present}, Vol. 187, May 2005, pp. 157 – 185}

This section will briefly discuss the history of criminology and some of the most recent perspectives on juvenile delinquency. A discussion of historical and sociological studies of juvenile delinquency follows. The section concludes with an examination of the major texts on juvenile delinquency from 1910 to 1960. Criminology as a distinct discipline developed in the late nineteenth century, and was fuelled by the growth of ‘medical psychology, criminal anthropology, statistical
inquiry, social reform and prison discipline'. The same impulses that drove the Victorians to uncover and explore poverty encouraged them to try to discover why people should feel the need to break the law. Arguably, the desire to reform and rehabilitate the criminal expanded with the growth of psychology, and the increasing understanding that distressing behaviour might not be the result of innate badness, but of underlying trauma. Eugenics also fuelled the interest in criminology. Caesare Lombroso (1835 – 1909), who worked as a doctor in Italian prisons, came to the influential conclusion that certain body types or characteristics indicated criminal tendencies. Lombroso’s theories were eventually discredited, and by the early twentieth century, Freudian or pseudo-Freudian psychological interpretations dominated. William Healy (1869 - 1963), who ran a juvenile psychiatric unit attached to the Cook County Juvenile Court in Chicago, explained much juvenile delinquency through psychological malfunction or trauma. As Melossi argues, the late nineteenth century saw the formation of the notion of a social contract to which citizens had to adhere. The Chicago School – John Dewey, George Herbert Mead and William I Thomas – along with Hull-House began to introduce an analysis of crime and delinquency that looked at the structural and sociological factors behind it. In Britain, as Garland and Sparks argue, the current foundations of criminology were laid with the establishment of the *British Journal of Delinquency* in 1950 by Hermann Mannheim, Leon Radzinowicz, among others.

**CHILDREN AND THE LAW, 1889 – 1960**

The first major change in the law in England and Wales relating to juveniles was the ‘Children’s Charter’ of 1889, which enabled the state to intervene in cases of child

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385 Dario Melossi, ‘Changing Representations of the Criminal’, Garland and Sparks, *Criminology and Social Theory*, p. 160

386 Garland and Sparks, *Criminology and Social Theory*, p. 8
cruelty. This act was extended in 1894 to allow children to give evidence in court. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, it became illegal to mistreat a child, to allow children to beg as well as to deny a child medical treatment. Children were still, however, required to attend adult courts, and the emphasis was still upon the child as a dependent or extension of the parent.

The Children’s Act of 1908 introduced the juvenile court system to England and Wales. Partly influenced by the development of the juvenile court system in Illinois from 1899, it had been recognised that children required special treatment in court. The court system introduced in 1908 was far from adequate. Following a series of enquiries commissioned by the London County Council and the Home Office among others in the 1920s, the Children and Young Persons Act 1932 came into force in 1933. This Act was far more extensive than that of 1908. Firstly it insisted that juvenile courts must be housed in places other than the police courts. The juvenile court was a non-stipendiary court, but in London the Chairman of the Court was required to be a Metropolitan Police Magistrate nominated by the Secretary of State, and to be accompanied by two Justices of the Peace for the County of London. All of the magistrates were required to have special qualifications or experience in dealing with children, and at least one had to be a woman.

There were also strict guidelines on the organisation of the court. As can be seen from the photos on page 185, the court was informal yet dignified; the children were to sit close enough to the Chairman to be able to speak without raising their voice or shouting, and could approach the Chair to be able to whisper confidences.

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389 Fry and Russell, p. 3
Following the 1933 Act, the Court had four areas of jurisdiction, three civil and one criminal: care and protection, ‘beyond control’ cases, truancy and crime. The Court had the power to commit children to the care of ‘fit’ persons, to approved schools, Borstals for over-16s, detention centres or to the supervision of probation officers. Children under 8 years old could not have criminal cases brought against them, and those under eighteen could not be sentenced to the death penalty. The Act also required the Courts to adapt the language used in order that children could understand the events around them. Section 81 of the Act prevented children being named in the press. The next major piece of legislation, the 1948 Children Act did not make any radical changes to the previous enactment, apart from the establishment of a children’s officer and children’s committee in all local authorities with responsibility for the wellbeing of children in care.

The Juvenile Court of the 1950s, therefore, had evolved considerably from the legal mechanisms at the beginning of the century that aimed to save abused children. It had acquired a clear preventative and rehabilitative role. In 1950, Margery Fry, a prominent legal reformer, expressed the following as the aims of the juvenile court:

It is not the potential crime of to-morrow or next year, but that of five, ten, or even twenty years against which they are working […] The idea of the Children’s Court must always be the reclamation to good citizenship of every offender who comes before it.

Although the following sections will look at various surveys of juvenile delinquency, the memoirs of a juvenile court magistrate and the later attitudes of settlements towards the juvenile courts, the issue of citizenship is integral to this analysis of juvenile delinquency. This chapter will not examine the crimes themselves, but rather

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390 Fry and Russell, pp. 7 – 22
391 Bullock, p. 81
392 Fry and Russell, p. 10
393 Bullock, p. 124
394 Fry and Russell, p. 1
the policy makers’ attitudes towards delinquency, research into juvenile delinquency, and the proposed methods of ‘saving’ children.
EXPLORING AND EXPLAINING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, BRITAIN 1910 – 1960

From the 1890s through to the 1950s, a substantial body of research on criminality and delinquency emerged. These texts are treated here as primary rather than secondary sources. As sources for exploring the contemporary understanding of delinquency, they are excellent, charting the development of psychological perspectives on delinquent behaviour and the increasing demand for the examination of the individual rather than the crime. They also provide information on the methods used to find out about adolescents’ lives.

Charles EB Russell produced the first study of juvenile delinquency that expressed the psychological or sociological approaches dominant in the 1920s and after. His *Young Gaol-Birds*, published as a book in 1910, but originally appeared in serial form in the *Manchester Guardian* and in the *People’s Journal*, was a series of vignettes examining the characters of various young men who spent

…idle and vicious days in the least reputable districts of great centres of population, and these youths again have commonly been reared by feckless parents in the very poorest circumstances.\(^{395}\)

Russell was not unsympathetic to the young men with whom he had dealt with firstly as a club organiser at Ancoats Settlement in Manchester.\(^{396}\) Several of the young men mentioned in his book had turned to him for advice and sometimes financial help, which he had usually given them. Russell was also keen to point out the qualities the young men displayed their potential for reform.

The increase in juvenile delinquency during the First World War prompted the Howard Association for Penal Reform to commission Cecil Leeson to study this phenomenon. A Home Office Memorandum of October 1916 had found that juvenile crimes in London since 1914 had risen from 1304 to 2005, in Liverpool from 357 to


\(^{396}\) Bailey, p. 10
702 and in Birmingham from 248 to 402.\(^{397}\) Leeson found that most boys acted in gangs, rather than on their own, and he attributed the rise to parental absence in the war or war work, the high wages boys could command,\(^ {398}\) a lack of discipline amongst the boys as well as a lack of adult supervision – the war having taken many boys’ club leaders to the Front.\(^ {399}\)

Sir Cyril Burt’s *The Young Delinquent* of 1925 was one of the most influential texts of the interwar period. Burt punctuated the book with pictures of juvenile delinquents that he had encountered in his work as an educational psychologist. Burt’s text was aimed at the general reader rather than to the social work or legal professional, but he incorporated a considerable amount of psychological theory into the book. Burt saw crime as a symptom of a mental illness or disturbance, not as an act in itself. He defined delinquency as:

\[\ldots a \text{ social rather than a psychological concept. A child is to be regarded as technically a delinquent when his anti-social tendencies appear so grave that he becomes, or ought to become, the subject of official action.}\]^\(^ {400}\)

Burt examined a number of different factors, both internal and external, but concluded that youth club membership often had a positive effect upon the young delinquent – though the club had to be selected carefully.\(^ {401}\) Burt saw hereditary factors as playing a subsidiary role to the more prominent coefficients of poor discipline, instinctual behaviour, emotional instability, morbid emotions, learning difficulties, ‘detrimental interests’ such as attending the cinema, and a number of physical and psychological problems.\(^ {402}\) Burt’s prescription for curbing juvenile crime was firstly to try to catch


\(^{398}\) Leeson did not specify what the boys were spending their money on, but he nonetheless saw it as a factor in delinquency. As he mentioned a lack of adult supervision, this could refer to the young men having money at their disposal to be tempted by drinking, dancing or even using prostitutes. This notion of high wages being a temptation to vice through drawing young people into places where they could be exploited is a theme in American writing of the same period on youth – see Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, (1909, repr. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), esp. pp. 10-14.

\(^{399}\) Leeson, p. 24, 31 – 32, 44 – 45

\(^{400}\) Burt, p. 15

\(^{401}\) Burt, p. 199

\(^{402}\) Burt, p. 606 – 607
cases as early as possible, and secondly to fit the treatment to the needs and problems of the offender. He also argued strongly for welfare bodies to work together to provide smooth links between services.  

Lilian Le Mesurier’s 1931 survey of juvenile delinquents, *Boys in Trouble: A Study of Adolescent Crime and its Treatment* is examined elsewhere in this chapter. Le Mesurier’s key aim was the reformation of the young man through education. She wrote:  

*For these often difficult and tiresome young people are the raw material of the adult nation in the very near future; the workers and voters who must control its destinies. Neglect of them and their riddles in the earlier stages can only lead to trouble for the country and the world later on. There is, besides one strong instinct in English people to which appeal may confidently be made. The average British sportsman believes in giving everyone a chance: he will certainly not except the lad who has stumbled at the very threshold of life.*  

Le Mesurier, unsurprisingly, was also an advocate of the youth club and a longer period of education for the young. She saw this as preventative work which ‘[reinforced] the traditions and habits of self-control, which make for happiness and decency’.  

‘A Brief Survey of Nearly One Thousand Delinquents’, which was published by WL Chinn in 1938 examined juvenile delinquency in Birmingham before the implementation of the 1933 act. Chinn’s concluded that the young acted in a delinquent manner in order to satisfy material needs or to assuage emotional instability. The misuse of leisure was another problem, for which Chinn advocated club membership in order to remove the tempting coincidence of leisure time and opportunity for crime. Chinn was also in favour of improving parental discipline and  

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403 Burt, p. 610 – 611  
405 Le Mesurier, p. 4 – 5
of providing both remedial and preventative systems for dealing with juvenile
delinquents.\textsuperscript{406}

One major study that began in 1938 but reached fruition in 1944 was by Alexander
Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim and EC Rhodes, all of whom were then based at
the LSE.\textsuperscript{407} Their study, \textit{Young Offenders}, which is discussed in a later section, was
significant because it was commissioned by the Home Office, and applied the most
rigorous research methods of all the studies in this period. One of its authors –
Hermann Mannheim – was one of the founders of post-war British criminological
theory. Carr-Saunders had been a resident at Toynbee Hall in 1910-11, whilst
Mannheim had turned to the settlement and Mallon for guidance following his escape
from Nazi Germany.

The post-World War Two period saw a move towards more sociological approaches to
the study of juvenile delinquency. There was a marked move away from the reliance
of Le Mesurier and Russell on individual case histories towards the quantitative
studies of Carr-Saunders et al. John Barron Mays and JH Bagot\textsuperscript{408} also produced
statistical surveys of juvenile delinquency in Liverpool. Mays in particular noted a
‘social tradition’ of delinquency in both families and communities, which in his eyes
was connected to a lack of ethical capacity on the part of the young.\textsuperscript{409} He took this
opinion from Burt, yet Burt connected it with psychological rather than social factors.
DH Scott’s \textit{Saving Children from Delinquency} (1952) returned to the qualitative
approach, derived from a situational view of juvenile crime. Scott not only advocated
early intervention by teachers, but also pointed to the disruption caused by the new
housing estates. Scott was also a proponent of youth clubs, particularly those which

\textsuperscript{406} WL Chinn, ‘A Brief Survey of Nearly One Thousand Delinquents’, \textit{British Journal of
Educational Psychology}, Volume 8, 1938 (Feb), pp. 78 – 85
\textsuperscript{407} AM Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim and EC Rhodes, \textit{Young Offenders: An Enquiry
into Juvenile Delinquency}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942)
\textsuperscript{408} JH Bagot, \textit{Juvenile Delinquency, A Comparative Study of The Position in Liverpool and
England and Wales}, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1941)
\textsuperscript{409} John Barron Mays, \textit{Growing Up in the City: A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in an Urban
welcomed and sought to integrate the less well-behaved. Scott also looked to the US for inspiration though the tensions of American society were different from those in the UK.410

John R Gillis argues that the development of controlled youth organisations, like the Boys Brigade and the Boy Scouts from the 1890s onwards created a sense that unorganised youths were delinquent. This was heightened by the fact that working class youth were resistant to being organised and to outside interference in their leisure time.411 Gillis argues that as children’s lives became increasingly controlled by the state, such as through compulsory schooling, so perceptions of delinquent behaviour changed, and a range of non-indictable offences for the young were developed.412 A flaw in Gillis’s work is his concentration upon youths in Oxford: the dominance of the university in the town made it unrepresentative of British towns. Gillis draws upon the assumption that intervention from the middle classes must be misguided, paternalistic and therefore disruptive of working class cultures. On the whole, this assumption fails to recognise the complexity of this relationship.

Harris and Webb argue that during the twentieth century young people came to be treated separately from adults both by the law and by the welfare system. Whilst reformers emphasised the need to treat children fairly and kindly, they still believed that miscreant children should be punished.413 Harris and Webb also pointed to the development of the ‘professional’, experts who intervened in child welfare, advising and assisting as well as befriending the child and his or her family. Harris and Webb also discuss an apparent humanising of perceptions of the juvenile delinquent, and the blurring of the boundaries between the delinquent and the non-delinquent child, when

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410 DH Scott, *Saving Children from Delinquency* (London: University of London Press, 1952)
412 Gillis, p. 98
the state expanded in the first half of the twentieth century. Harris and Webb, whose main concern is with juvenile delinquency in the 1980s, still assume that legal action is paternalistic. They do not consider that there was a general increase in state intervention in the period, which involved a societal acceptance of a growing state, and that middle class people were also the subject of legal reform in the interwar years because of motoring offences. State intervention was by no means restricted to the legal system – as discussed in Chapter One, state involvement in health care was increasing rapidly throughout the interwar years, and after 1948, very few Britons did not come into contact with the state through the medical system. Similar processes were also developing in the education of both children and adults.

Sue Lees emphasises the centrality of sexuality to the ways in which women are seen and judged. Although Lees examines the contemporary self-policing of girls by girls and the policing of girls by boys through the use of pejorative language, she concludes that women are viewed as needing protection from sexual harassment, and that their sexual lives are geared towards the ultimate end of marriage. Lees argues that a woman’s sexual reputation and her ability to discharge her domestic duties are the chief basis upon which both the welfare state and the law pass judgement. Lees further argues that a girl’s sexual conduct rather than the offence she has committed will determine whether or not she is sentenced to an institution. Lees’s account is useful for beginning to understand the policing of girls’ behaviour in the period 1920 –

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414 Harris and Webb, p. 13
415 Harris and Webb, p. 37
416 Sue Lees, ‘Learning to be Good’, in Growing up Good, Policing Girls in Modern Europe, p. 19
417 Lees, p. 23 – 4
418 Lees, p. 28
419 Lees, p. 31
1960, especially by their peer group and the logic behind the approaches taken by the juvenile court magistrates.

To summarise, studies of juvenile delinquency undertaken after the Second World War have focussed mostly upon the causes of boys’ delinquency, mainly as boys normally account for the vast majority of juvenile offenders arrested. This leaves us with many questions about delinquency amongst girls and young people as a whole – for example, are girls and young women treated differently by the police and the courts, and why? There has also been an emphasis upon controlling young people’s behaviour. Whilst this is a factor in the juvenile courts, this does not always fully explore the other elements that can make young people susceptible to delinquency, and it does not allow adults involved in the courts to be motivated by anything else.

**THE SETTLEMENTS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY**

In 1950, Basil Lucas Quixano Henriques, reflecting on a long and fruitful career as a juvenile court magistrate wrote in one of the volumes of his autobiography:

> To put the matter positively, very few children come before the court:
> 
> Who have been brought up in a happy home;
> Who have united and loving parents with an income adequate to their needs;
> Who live in a district devoid of slums and with ample open spaces, in which they can give vent to their natural and thoroughly healthy high spirits;
> Who have been educated in a school which inculcates great self-discipline, and instils into them a sense of duty towards their neighbours and towards the State, team loyalty and true sportsmanship, humility and chivalry, self-control and a strong sense of “I must because I ought”;
> Who are not below average in intelligence;
> And who have felt, in their homes and in the school, such love and goodness, which have been taught them by example and not merely by precept, that they have got into the habit, on the one hand, of detesting meanness and vulgarity and beastliness, and, on the other, of seeking after beauty, loving-kindness, and truth.  

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Henriques (1890 – 1961) was not originally from the East End, but like many of his
fellow students at Oxford, he was drawn after graduation to social work in the East
End. Henriques founded the Oxford and St. George’s Club (later known as the
Bernhard Baron St. George Jewish Settlement) in 1914, and started sitting as a
juvenile court magistrate in 1924. Between 1936 and 1955 he was Chairman of the
East London Juvenile Court, which was by then sitting at Toynbee Hall.

Henriques was in many ways representative of those involved in juvenile court reform
between the two world wars in that his interest in juvenile law arose from his work
with young people in settlement clubs. Alec Paterson, the Borstal reformer and later
member of the Prison Commission similarly started his career in the Oxford and
Bermondsey Settlement in South London. 421 Charles EB Russell, an inspector of
Industrial and Reformatory schools, had been a youth worker in Manchester with Dr.
Arthur Norris, later a psychologist who studied the causes of juvenile delinquency. 422
Cyril Burt, the author of Juvenile Delinquent, also worked as a young man at the
Liverpool University Settlement. 423 Jimmy Mallon, who worked at the Ancoats
Settlement in Manchester 424 before moving to London and eventually to Toynbee Hall,
not only helped find space at the settlement for the East London Juvenile Court, but
also became a Justice of the Peace at the court.

However, the settlement movement’s earliest connection with juvenile delinquency
and legal reform did not originate on this side of the Atlantic. The Hull-House
Settlement in Chicago, along with the Chicago Woman’s Club, led the first wave of
reforms in the State of Illinois to provide children with citizen’s rights and to remove

421 Victor Bailey, Delinquency and Citizenship – Reclaiming the Young Offender, 1914 – 1948,
422 Ibid., pp. 10 – 12
423 Ibid., p. 15 Burt’s interest in juvenile delinquency is particularly relevant to this chapter,
since although he had been based in Liverpool, he devoted a considerable part of his
academic career to examining the social topography of the East End, as well as to the
psychology of children.
424 See Stocks, Fifty Years in Every Street, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1945)
them from the processes of adult criminal law.\footnote{Gwen Hoerr McNamee, 'The Origins of the Cook County Juvenile Court', in Gwen Hoerr McNamee (ed), \textit{A Noble Social Experiment? The First 100 Years of the Cook County Juvenile Court, 1899 – 1999}, (Chicago: The Chicago Bar Association with the Children's Court Centennial Committee, 1999), pp. 14 – 23, pp. 16 – 17; also Elizabeth Clapp, \textit{The Chicago Juvenile Court Movement in the 1890s}, paper presented to the Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester, 17 March 1995, reproduced at \url{http://www.le.ac.uk/hi/teaching/papers/clapp1.html}, viewed 14 May 2004, see page 1.} By 1899, the pressure exerted by the settlement and the Chicago Woman's Club led the establishment of the Cook County Juvenile Court in Chicago.\footnote{Gwen Hoerr McNamee, 'Introduction: "Who is the Criminal – the State or the Child?"', in Gwen McNamee, (ed), \textit{A Noble Social Experiment}, pp. 8 – 12, p. 8} The American impulse towards social reform of this nature arose, Hoerr McNamee argues, from the Progressive Era reformers of the late nineteenth century. The prevailing belief amongst reformers was that all children were innately good, but when they entered into criminal ways, the state should intervene to act as a good parent.\footnote{Ibid. p. 8}

From the 1920s, residents at Toynbee Hall in particular began to look ever more closely at the needs of young offenders. Before the First World War, there was some interest amongst the residents in the lives of young people in the cities – hence the publication in 1903 of \textit{Studies of Boy Life in our Cities} by EJ Urwick. The \textit{Toynbee Record} around this time carried a series of articles on juvenile crime. Hugh Gamon was commissioned by the Toynbee Trustees to produce a study of the Police Court, \textit{The London Police Court To-day and To-morrow}, which was published by Dent in 1907.

The economic depression of 1920–22 ended the post-war boom, leaving many out of work and with few savings. The war had prompted a greater interest in the leisure time of young people, and the economic depression increased this. As Lilian Le Mesurier expressed it, ‘There was a post-war cult which took for granted that, as the devil had all the good tunes, so youth had all the good qualities and was the only thing
that mattered’. So attention was drawn increasingly to how the young were spending their leisure – and particularly to how they were misspending it.

At Toynbee, the first real moves towards working with juvenile delinquents came in 1921, when a team of residents volunteered to teach and lecture at Wormwood Scrubs. Educational spending in prisons had been reduced, among other cuts in public expenditure following the depression. Toynbee Hall offered to step into the breach. Whilst classes on drama, Plato’s *Republic*, music and the League of Nations were provided to the adult inmates of Wormwood Scrubs, the younger prisoners were offered gymnastics and natural history. At Feltham Borstal Institution in West London, one of the residents ran a course on literature for forty young men, and aimed to develop a chorus and dramatic society.

This work expanded throughout the 1920s, as British penal reform followed the American example by trying to develop a rehabilitative approach to incarceration. Following the 1920 invitation from the prison chaplains to work with the inmates at Wormwood Scrubs and Feltham, an invitation came in 1925 to provide the same kind of service at Pentonville. E St. John Catchpool, the Sub-Warden, organised a series of lectures, some aimed at the general prison population but with a series specifically designed for young offenders. These lectures were provided by a large number of residents and friends of the settlement, including Reginald Kennedy-Cox of the Docklands Settlement, Edward Lascelles and Mallon. It was estimated that 50% of the inmates had attended at least one of the courses offered. The scheme was successful also in developing a relationship between the settlement and the prison –

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429 By the 1930s, the London prisons had specialised functions. Holloway Prison took all women, whilst Brixton received adults on remand and debtors, Wandsworth took under 25 year olds with existing criminal records, Wormwood Scrubs took first offenders and young remand prisoners, whilst Pentonville took recidivists over the age of 25. Llewellyn Smith, *The New Survey of London Life and Labour Vol IX, Life and Leisure*, p. 370
the chaplain helped as much as he could, whilst the warders and prison officials made two visits to the settlement. It also stimulated John Stevenson, who was a resident at Toynbee between 1925 and 1930, organised a collection of 1,000 books of all types to be given to the prison. Along with Hubert Perrett (1925 – 1927), he became a prison visitor.432

The importance of this work can be seen in the fact that in December 1925, an entire day was devoted to the subject during the annual Oxford and Cambridge Study week.433 On the 16 December 1925, the young undergraduates were taken on visits to local police courts434 and prisons, met JAR Cairns, who was then the Metropolitan Police Magistrate at the Thames Police Court, as well as Colonel GD Turner, the Deputy Governor of Wormwood Scrubs. Reginald Kennedy-Cox also spoke to the students on his ‘work as a Settlement Resident in Connection with Prisons and Probation Work’.435 At the very least, the settlements – in this case Docklands as well as Toynbee Hall – were encouraging the young students to engage with the problems of the prisons and those incarcerated within them.

Around the same time, Le Mesurier became the first woman to work with the young men held in the youth wing of Wandsworth Prison.436 Le Mesurier was a case worker eliciting facts about the conditions of individual prisoners, passing her findings onto the governor and the courts.437 Le Mesurier set a brave new trend, as, by 1930, twenty women worked as voluntary case workers at the London Boys’ Prison, which by then had moved to Wormwood Scrubs.438 There were also a large number of female

432 Ibid. pp. 13-14
433 The annual study week brought students from Oxford and Cambridge Universities to Toynbee Hall. During these weeks the students stayed at the settlement, and then spent time visiting local factories and organisations, as well as hearing lectures from local politicians, social workers, police, teachers and trade unionists, amongst others. These weeks were intended to introduce students to social problems in the East End.
434 Magistrates’ courts were known as police courts in London before the Second World War.
436 Le Mesurier, Boys in Trouble, p. xi
437 Le Mesurier, Boys in Trouble, p. 95
438 Le Mesurier, Boys in Trouble, p. 94 and p. xi
The women volunteer case workers most were aged between thirty and fifty, and had university level education in sociology, psychology or social work. The librarians came from similar backgrounds. In 1922, Le Mesurier found the prison library in a parlous state. This was changed by the introduction of female library volunteers. They changed the selection of books available, and chatted to the boys about the books they were borrowing. They acted as learning mentors to the boys, building their confidence in reading and encouraging them to enjoy intellectual pursuits and interests. Le Mesurier wrote, ‘On the whole the boys appreciate and are grateful for the new library service. It is a quiet, unspectacular piece of social work, the fruits of which may be far-reaching’.

Although Le Mesurier was not a settler, her account of working with boys in prison demonstrates that the settlements were not alone in doing practical educational work with inmates. This kind of work was typical of the approach taken in the 1920s and 1930s – the emphasis was squarely upon providing young men with educational opportunities not normally available to them. They provided the inmates with alternative pursuits. Le Mesurier herself saw youth crime as the result of educational problems. This was consistent with Alec Paterson’s views. Whether the visitors were male or female, the solution to youth crime was thought to lie in providing troubled young people with mentors to guide them towards citizen-like behaviour and improved education. In his preface to Boys in Trouble, Paterson stated:

\[ \text{The lad in the Boys’ Prison, whether he be on remand or already sentenced, is visited by a woman of education and experience. It is a crisis in his life. He has not met such a woman before. He may fill her with some silly yarn. But often he receives her as a welcome aunt to whom he can say things he would not to anyone else. He values her friendship, which endures throughout his Borstal career and for years afterwards. Who can measure the value of such an influence?} \]

\[439\] Le Mesurier, Boys in Trouble, p. 97
\[440\] Le Mesurier, Boys in Trouble, pp. 98 – 99
\[441\] Le Mesurier, Boys in Trouble, p. xvi
\[442\] Alexander Paterson, Preface to Boys in Trouble, p. xiii
Back in the East End, Mallon and his associates began to address the needs of boys more generally. Boys in particular were at risk of being made homeless either through unemployment or due to overcrowding. Those in work or of working age were either encouraged to find digs outside the parental home to ease pressure on space, or were a financial burden their parents could ill afford. The solution, as Mallon saw it, was to establish hostels for young men and boys in which they could live cheaply but with the full support and guidance of responsible adults. In 1925, planning began for the John Benn Hostel for over 100 boys, along with Milner Hall, which would provide a support network for dockers and their families.443

The John Benn Hostel and Milner Hall were opened by the Prince of Wales in 1927. The Hostel was not run by Toynbee Hall, but by the Council of East End Hostels Association. Although separately administrated, Mallon was the Vice-President of the Association, and several members of the Toynbee Council were represented on the board. Boys found their way to the hostel through the Board of Guardians and the local magistrates. At the time of opening, seventy boys were in residence, with others trying to obtain places there. The Warden of the hostel, a Mr Townshend, aimed to help his young charges find jobs, to learn how to look after themselves and to obtain an education or a passage to the ‘White Dominions’:

For some of the boys who desire an ampler sphere the Hostel is a gateway to Australia or another English speaking country. The Hostel is accomplishing so much one wonders how East London ever managed without it, and thinks miserably of boys whose lives suffered shipwreck before it existed to open its doors to them and lend them a helping hand.444

It was thought that emigrating to Australia or Canada could provide the young men with the chance to start anew. Whilst there were not necessarily job opportunities at the end of the journey, the ‘White Dominions’ were a long way away from East

London, and bad friends and memories. But it was a daunting step to take, and the hostel could provide the support needed to save the money for the passage, contacts on arrival and the moral support to board the ocean liner.

According to JAR Pimlott, it was the settlement’s interest in the needs of the young offender that led in 1929 to Sir William Clarke Hall personally requesting that the East London Juvenile Court move there, as the settlement provided a suitable environment for the court’s work. Mallon was in 1929 appointed a lay magistrate with the court’s move to Toynbee Hall, and, soon, it was one of the busiest courts in England. When Pimlott wrote *Toynbee Hall* in 1935, the court was already feeling the strain of the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act. As a result, provision was made in the plans for the new theatre block to accommodate the court.

The court moved into its purpose-built rooms in the new theatre block around 1937, although it had sat at Toynbee for some years. As we can see from the photos below, the court was held in a large, though not intimidating room. The equipment – tables and chairs – fulfilled all the requirements of the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act.

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Picture 3.1: The Juvenile Court at Toynbee Hall, showing recorder's desk and table for the magistrates (Barnett Research Centre Photographic Archive)

Picture 3.2: Juvenile Court showing magistrates' bench and main area of the court (Barnett Research Centre Photographic Archive)
Rather than fitted benches, as in an adult court, ordinary tables and chairs were used, although a sense of officialdom was conveyed by the use of felt cloth on the tables. The court was also on a smaller scale than the adult court, with participants sitting far closer together. Unlike an adult court, there was also a view over the Toynbee Hall rooftops, bringing light and air into the room. The children, police and witnesses entered through the rear of the Toynbee building, as opposed to the main theatre block entrance on the quad. In this way, the children were not exposed to the gaze of others using the settlement or of passers-by (nor arguably, the other way round). As numerous activities were held throughout the day at Toynbee, those who felt embarrassed could always pretend to be using services other than the court.

**INSIDE THE TOYNBEE HALL JUVENILE COURT – THE WORK OF MEYER FORTES, CARR-SAUNDERS, MANNHEIM AND RHODES**

In the early 1930s, a young scholar named Meyer Fortes was awarded a Ratan Tata Studentship at the LSE to investigate the influence of sibling relationships on juvenile delinquency. Clarke Hall allowed Fortes access to the Toynbee Hall probation officers’ files, and the research findings were printed in *Economica* in 1933. Fortes (1906 – 1983) later became a prominent social anthropologist, although his early training was in the field of psychology. Although later best known for his studies of African societies, Fortes was drawn in his early career, like many psychologists of the time, into examining juvenile delinquency.

Fortes examined records from January 1926 to December 1930, including the period slightly before the move to Toynbee Hall. 1,100 children attended the court in this period, of whom 870 met the criteria for Fortes’s research. Ostensibly all the children in the survey were first offenders, but as Fortes pointed out, being prosecuted for a first offence did not mean that it was the first offence the child had committed.

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447 [http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/information/biography/fghij/fortes_meyer.html](http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/information/biography/fghij/fortes_meyer.html), viewed 22 August 2004
448 Fortes, ‘Sibship’ p. 303
especially when he or she was a ‘beyond control’ case. Fortes’s survey aimed to look at the familial relationships of the delinquents, which is not the emphasis of this chapter. However, the information about family backgrounds provides the historian with an insight into the factors that pushed the young into delinquency.

Unsurprisingly, the families of skilled and unskilled workers provided 70% of juvenile delinquents, whilst street vendors and those with their own businesses provided 11%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total no. of families</th>
<th>Unskilled workers</th>
<th>Skilled workers</th>
<th>Street vendors</th>
<th>Clerical: own business</th>
<th>Invalids, no work</th>
<th>Relief</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2½%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2½%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1: Occupations of breadwinners of families in Fortes’s study (Fortes, ‘Sibship’, p. 305)

The Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes survey (hereon referred to as Carr-Saunders et al) into juvenile delinquency was conducted at the request of the Home Office. A meeting was called at the Home Office on 28 January 1938, with representatives of the Department of Education, Chief Constables, magistrates and probation officers attending. The meeting concurred that whether or not there was an actual increase in juvenile delinquency, the level of publicity given to the perceived rise required attention. Three members of the LSE staff were commissioned to undertake the survey – Alexander Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim and EC Rhodes. Carr-Saunders had been a resident at Toynbee Hall in the period 1910 – 1911, later moving further into the East End to undertake social work. Carr-Saunders (1886 – 1966), like the earlier Toynbee alumnus Beveridge, later took up the directorship of the London School of Economics. Hermann Mannheim (1889 – 1974) had begun his career in legal studies in his native Germany, developing an interest in psychology, and later criminology. He rose to become a criminal judge at the Kammergericht, the highest court in Prussia. However, on Hitler’s rise to power in
1933, Mannheim resigned his post and emigrated to London in January 1934. Shortly afterwards, he came into contact with both Mallon and Henriques amongst others involved in the juvenile court system. During his early years in London, Mannheim developed a strong interest in the Chicago School. In 1935, he became an honorary part-time lecturer at the LSE, and took up a Leon Fellowship at the University of London in 1936.\textsuperscript{453} He still held the fellowship in 1938, when he came to work on the project that would be published under the title of \textit{Young Offenders} in 1944.

The war interrupted the survey, and a parallel psychological survey could not be carried out.\textsuperscript{454} One of the principal sources for the Carr-Saunders et al survey was the Toynbee Hall Juvenile Court, which was referred to in the text as Court A. They investigated the juveniles attending the court, but also a control group of non-delinquent children from the same area.

Their key findings, relating to Toynbee, were as follows. The Toynbee delinquents largely came from poorer neighbourhoods, in comparison to the control group. 32.8% of the delinquents came from relatively more affluent areas in the East End, whilst 61.8% of the controls lived in such areas.\textsuperscript{455} The majority of the Toynbee delinquents tended to have poor access to leisure facilities, with 84% of them living at least a quarter of a mile from a suitable facility. This was also true of 76% of the controls from the same area. However, elsewhere within the London region, 75% of juvenile delinquents had leisure facilities close to home.\textsuperscript{456}

The Toynbee Hall juveniles also had the lowest percentage of fathers in work. Whilst 58.5% of the Toynbee children had a father in employment, the average for all the

\textsuperscript{453} John Croft, ‘Hermann Mannheim: A Biographical Note’, \url{www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/mannheim/hermann.htm}, viewed 23 August 2004
\textsuperscript{454} Carr-Saunders et al, p. ix
\textsuperscript{455} Carr-Saunders et al, p. 75
\textsuperscript{456} Ibid., p. 75
other London courts was 71.9%.\textsuperscript{457} Membership of clubs was lower for the Toynbee Hall juveniles than their control group.\textsuperscript{458} Nationally, however, there was no significant difference between delinquents and non-delinquents in club membership, although there was a strong correlation between non-membership and delinquency in the area around Toynbee Hall.\textsuperscript{459} The Toynbee Hall juveniles were the most likely, of all the London courts, to act in gangs.\textsuperscript{460} Carr-Saunders et al did not find that club membership prevented juvenile delinquency nationally, but that in deprived areas like East London, it could be an important factor.

The trends identified by Carr-Saunders et al, as well as Myers, suggest that the main criminal cases seen by the Toynbee Hall Juvenile Court concerned boys from relatively poor backgrounds, even by East London standards, the most significant variable, who had poor access to leisure facilities, tended not to join clubs and had unemployed fathers. They were also less likely to become involved in a family business. The combination of lack of leisure facilities and low club membership probably resulted in large numbers of them congregating in gangs, and being lead by peer-pressure into crime. This was exacerbated by the boys’ limited access to positive role models or adults with the time and inclination to support them. Boys were normally arrested for crimes against property. Basil Henriques certainly emphasised the relationship between gangs in the area and juvenile crime, but his qualitative analysis of his court’s work, discussed below, offers a broader insight into the cases themselves.

\textit{INSIDE THE TOYNBEE HALL JUVENILE COURT – THE VIEWPOINT OF BASIL LQ HENRIQUES}

\textsuperscript{457} There were no real differences between the controls and delinquents in terms of their home backgrounds, although Carr-Saunders et al noted that the control group were weighted slightly more towards ‘fair’ family homes and the delinquents to ‘poor’. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 81
\textsuperscript{458} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 92
\textsuperscript{459} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 89
\textsuperscript{460} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 110
Although the records of the Toynbee Hall Juvenile Court beyond 1934 are closed, Basil Lucas Quixano Henriques’s *Indiscretions of a Magistrate* (1950) \(^{461}\) provides an insight into the work of the court and its approach to cases from the late 1930s onwards. *From Indiscretions* it is possible to establish some of the key trends in juvenile delinquency and child welfare in East London. However, caution must be exercised, as his memoirs are two removes from the events within the courts themselves. Not only are they subject to Henriques’s memory and his personal perception of events, they are also subject to his editing to protect the identities of the children involved. *Indiscretions* is also very much a part of the genre of writing on delinquency for the layman. It follows the tradition established by Russell, Le Mesurier and Burt that attempted to bring the world of the young delinquent alive for the interested middle classes. Henriques and his earlier counterparts wished to make the young working class delinquent a sympathetic figure for the middle classes to relate to, with the intention of bringing about reform of both prosecution and punishment. Whilst *Indiscretions* is by no means as sensational as *Young Gaol-Birds*, there can be no doubt that Henriques’s selection of his cases was designed to sell books. As with Russell, this does not imply that he suffered from a lack of empathy with the young people he described, but rather had a sense of what would interest readers. The young delinquents of these texts are frequently complete reprobates, not the casual, opportunistic offender or children going through a ‘phase’ of delinquency. The latter was more common, yet the standard stereotype was a young man completely at odds with the law and society.

A considerable, yet less sensational, area of the juvenile courts’ work was welfare-related, organising the fostering and adoption of children and young people. These cases could range from the adoption of orphaned or unwanted babies to the arrangement of care for those children and young people who were deemed to be

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‘beyond control’. The process of arranging adoptions for babies and small children is largely absent from *Indiscretions*. This is not surprising given the strong taboos surrounding adoption at the time. Before the legalization of abortion in 1967, those women who were unable to discreetly arrange illegal abortions might be forced by their family or community to ‘disappear’ to a nursing home to give birth, with the child put up for adoption. The stigma attached itself also to the adopting parents, because the child was presumed to be illegitimate. There was the risk, however small, of one of Henriques’s cases recognising themselves in the text, so the lack of detail on the adoption work is unsurprising.

This reticence did not apparently apply to older children. Henriques had an ambivalent attitude towards the press. On the whole, he did not relish having members of the press in court. Not only did the reporting of cases (albeit anonymously) both stigmatise young people and glamorize their crimes to others, the presence of a reporter could upset the young defendants and witnesses. As Henriques noted, comments in court were apt to be taken out of context. Yet, in the case of a young boy who had returned home from evacuation to discover that his relationship with his mother had completely broken down, the press intrusion was welcome. Henriques’ comments to the probation officer ‘that there must be many kind people in the country who would be only too glad to provide a home for this little boy’, was published by a reporter from a national newspaper, causing a flood of letters from would-be foster parents across the country. Henriques and the probation officer reportedly spent a week assessing the applications, and, after placing the boy, passed all the other letters to the London County Council for consideration by their fostering and adoption officials.

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462 Henriques, p. 21
463 Ibid., p. 22
Truancy and ‘beyond control’ cases were the other two main types of civil cases heard by the court. Henriques, like many of his contemporaries, believed truancy to be an early sign of delinquency. Truancy was, on the one hand, a crime unique to children, but it was also due to a lack of parental control and supervision. It reflected on the parents’ ability not only to ensure that the child reached school, but also to support his or her child in their school years. Henriques also viewed it as a measure of how happy and settled the child was in both his or her home and school lives. 464 Truancy became one of the control issues which could result in the removal of the child from home.

Before the 1944 Education Act, the truanting child brought social workers into contact with his or her family. Following this intervention, the child was brought to the juvenile court. After 1944, the parents rather than the child were brought to the court, firstly to the petty sessions, with a possible referral to the juvenile court to attempt to deal with the truanting child in person.

On the whole, Henriques was sympathetic towards the youngest ‘beyond control’ cases. Fairly or unfairly, he attributed the young children’s problems to the incompetence of their parents. Some of the cases he described make harrowing reading, even in his sanitised version. He described two cases in which small children had sadistically tortured and killed small animals, as well as another involving violence against an infant sibling. 465 Henriques typically found that ‘beyond control’ children ran away from home, committed theft, had outbursts of temper, bit others, destroyed clothes, attempted arson and suffered from enuresis. 466 Despite their disturbing and destructive behaviour, these were unhappy children desperately seeking attention from their families. This may have been due to psychological or developmental problems, or to poor parenting skills or other parental problems. Henriques suspected that some parents may have attempted to use the court to rid themselves of unwanted children, but for others it may have been the best way of 464 Henriques, p. 63 465 Henriques, p. 71 466 Henriques, p. 71
getting help with an extremely difficult child.\textsuperscript{467} For those unable to afford or to gain access to an educational psychologist and to support workers, resorting to the court may have been the only option when faced with a child with behavioural problems.

Older children posed different problems. Henriques found that boys over 15 with widowed mothers were often out of control due, it was said, to a combination of mourning for their father and lack of a father figure. Some ‘beyond control’ cases were less clear cut. Henriques cited a case of a teenage boy who knocked out his father’s teeth on discovering that the father had assaulted the mother earlier in the day. The father was ordered by the court to leave the familial home – the boy in Henriques’s view clearly not being the one ‘beyond control’.\textsuperscript{468} The male ‘beyond control’ cases appear from Henriques’s testimony to centre upon the fear of the boy slipping into property-related crime. For example, runaway boys who were found not to be in possession of any money were sent home, their fares paid for from the poor box in order to keep them from ‘moral harm’.

Teenage girls, on the other hand, appeared to provoke a different fear of ‘moral harm’. Mothers often brought their daughters to the court in beyond control cases when the girls had been associating with older girls and staying out at night, refusing to admit where they had been.\textsuperscript{469} Whether there was any implication of girls participating in lesbian activities is not clear from Henriques’s account, but it may have been a factor in some cases. Lesbianism was not illegal, but it could still be argued in the period to be a manifestation of leading a younger girl astray.

Parental fears ranged from their daughters being involved with inappropriate men (and the concomitant risk of unwanted pregnancy) to prostitution. The latter was not unfounded. Whitechapel had long been a centre for prostitution – it was here that Jack

\textsuperscript{467} Henriques, pp. 69 – 70
\textsuperscript{468} Henriques, pp. 72 – 73
\textsuperscript{469} Henriques, p. 73
the Ripper had preyed on vulnerable young women in 1888. The vice trade continued undeterred, as it still does, in the area, fuelled by the City as well as by the docks and lonely sailors far from home. In the 1930s, the area was home to some of the ‘cruder’ prostitutes, whilst the West End attracted a different calibre of prostitute.\textsuperscript{470} The Second World War also brought an influx of American soldiers into London. Henriques recalled comments by girls that the soldiers sounded like Hollywood stars. Certainly their exotic accents, their greater disposal income and their proximity were a powerful combination for these young women. Whilst some young women developed steady relationships with the soldiers, with a proportion of them crossing the Atlantic as GI brides, it seems that some girls in the East End served as prostitutes for the soldiers. The question as to whether or not those girls entered prostitution before or after the arrival of the soldiers is extremely difficult to answer. It is highly unlikely that the mere presence of the soldiers led the girls astray. It is likely that a large number of girls were wrongly accused of prostituting themselves with their American boyfriends, but also that some girls saw the opportunity to exploit the situation to their advantage.\textsuperscript{471} Not all prostitutes were ‘professional’ in the sense that it was a full-time or regular occupation: ‘There is a fringe of unknown numbers of “casual” or occasional prostitutes, such as the married woman from the suburbs seeking sex adventure and an augmented dress allowance.’\textsuperscript{472} Many of the girls may have fallen somewhere between the occasional prostitute (whose financial needs may have been more pressing than for new dresses) and the professional.

The implications of prostitution aside, the juvenile court, certainly at Toynbee Hall, had a role in shaping and controlling the sexual mores of young women. The girls’ own views on acceptable sexuality were never fully considered in the court; the age of consent was essentially used as a means of controlling girls’ sexual behaviour. Once over 16 and or married, sexual regulation passed to the husband or potential

\textsuperscript{470} New Survey of London Life and Labour, Vol IX, Life and Leisure, pp. 298 – 299
\textsuperscript{471} Henriques, pp. 84 – 5
\textsuperscript{472} Llewellyn Smith, New Survey of London Life and Labour, Vol IX, Life and Labour, p. 298
husband,\textsuperscript{473} thereby invoking a further series of issues regarding the informal, social policing of women’s sexual behaviour.

Boys, on the other hand, tended to be prosecuted for crimes in which they exerted their physical and sexual power over smaller children, both male and female. Henriques pointed out that these crimes were rare, but nonetheless still disturbing.\textsuperscript{474} Sexual contact between a male over the age of 16 and either a male or female under the age of 16 – the legal age of consent – was a crime which was punished through the adult courts rather than through the juvenile. Whilst it was appropriate that the adult be charged and prosecuted through the adult legal system, this nonetheless subjected children to having to provide testimony in the same manner as adults and having to face their abuser. However, when all parties were under the age of 16, the case came to the juvenile court.\textsuperscript{475} Henriques did not mention any cases in which the minors were both of the same or similar age, but referred to two cases in which the age gap between the minors was significant. In the first, a twelve year old boy was found guilty of sodomising a three year old boy, and in the second, a fifteen year old boy was found guilty of sexually assaulting two younger girls (their ages were not provided) in an air-raid shelter, whilst another young boy stood as look-out. In the latter case, it was the testimony of the look-out that secured the conviction.\textsuperscript{476} Henriques often had to adapt the rules of evidence in order to elicit the facts, particularly with very young children. Frequently, he wrote, he had to examine the reaction of the child to his or her alleged abuser.\textsuperscript{477} Whilst it is to be hoped that these types of offence were rare, boys were often found guilty of what Henriques termed ‘wasting electricity’ or making obscene calls to telephone operators.\textsuperscript{478} All of these incidents involved teenage boys attempting to assert power over smaller children unable to defend themselves, or

\textsuperscript{473} Henriques, p. 83
\textsuperscript{474} Henriques, p. 59
\textsuperscript{475} Henriques, p. 61
\textsuperscript{476} Henriques, p. 61
\textsuperscript{477} Henriques, p. 61
\textsuperscript{478} Henriques, pp. 61 – 2
women operators at a physical remove. Whereas girls were charged with crimes or chastised for behaviour that arguably brought abuse upon themselves, boys were prosecuted for aggressive, intimidating and abusive crimes against the person. Female sexuality was policed, but so was male sexuality, and the encouragement of one gender to avoid being abused was paralleled by punishment of those who indulged in abusive behaviour.

The principal crime committed by boys acting alone was defrauding the railway. Whilst obviously a crime against the railway and an unfortunate charge to have on one’s record, it was one of the few crimes that was perpetrated by boys of all backgrounds, ostensibly either on the grounds of poverty or of trying to see if they could ‘get away with it’. Other than that, most boys acted in gangs rather than individually. One theme that emerges from Henriques’ account was the practice of boys – usually under 12 – breaking into shops to steal items and generally create havoc. In one incident, two boys stole contraceptives from a vending machine outside a tobacconist’s shop. Henriques referred to other boys taking contraceptives either from their fathers’ barber shops or from machines. The availability of vending machines on street corners prompted Henriques and Cynthia Colville to campaign in the late 1940s to ban the locating of these machines outside shops. Henriques does not mention whether the contraceptives were used for their intended purpose or for showing off in the playground.

Aside from the ‘beyond control’ cases, Henriques reported little delinquency amongst girls. Girls, around 1949 – 50, came to court on housebreaking charges, but in the main, Henriques argued, their crimes were opportunistic, with shoplifting and stealing

479 Henriques, p. 38 and pp. 53 – 55
480 Henriques, p. 57
481 Henriques, p. 57
482 Henriques, p. 57 – 8
from their colleagues’ bags and coats the main crimes. Girls’ crimes centred upon
the acquisition of desirable items, such as trinkets, in shops or from their colleagues.

Henriques’ findings correspond with much of the contemporary writing on juvenile
delinquency mentioned earlier. This may or may not be accidental – he may have
selected and constructed his material following the paradigms of the genre. On the
other hand, Henriques was not given to following other people’s lead, with the
exception of legal precedents. He provides a human insight into the workings of the
court, and the attitudes of children and young people. Unlike surveys of juvenile
delinquency, he mentioned children’s responses to the court – such as the girl who
screamed all the way through each hearing out of terror – and to the cases brought
against them. Most importantly, Henriques gave us an insight into the delinquent
behaviour of girls. Criminology as a whole has tended to overlook the role of the
female delinquent, and the lack of consideration of females makes it harder to
reconstruct the patterns of behaviour and then to theorise about them. There has,
however, been more research into female crime in recent decades. Through Henriques
we can glean a sense of young women and girls entering the legal system, albeit the
civil law at first, at a somewhat earlier stage in their delinquency than boys. Girls
were generally accused of less serious offences than the boys. This earlier
intervention – or greater willingness to intervene in girls’ lives – may have had an
impact on the level of criminal delinquency the girls later developed. If girls’ lives
were far more highly scrutinised than boys, it may be that their inclusion in adult
society came at an earlier age and in a more socially acceptable manner. Girls were
more likely than boys to experience their supposed adult roles before leaving school,
in that they were often required to help at home or with neighbours’ children. Equally,
the onset of puberty in girls has typically been earlier than that for boys, and the
menarche forces girls to adapt to adult female life. Girls are required to look to older
girls and adult women to help them negotiate these physical and emotional changes,

483 Henriques, p. 62
and thereby enter a community with the adults. Although many theories surround the elevation of testosterone in adolescent boys, the stimuli to delinquency may not lie necessarily in biological or physical changes, but in how the adolescent male is socially trained to cope with these changes.

THE REMOVAL OF THE JUVENILE COURT

Despite the considerable reputation of the Toynbee Hall Juvenile Court, by 1950 the settlement no longer felt able to continue to house the court. As this section discusses, certain sections of the staff and trustees began to feel that the court had a negative impact upon the work of the settlement as a whole. Rather than seeing the work of the court as a means to intervene positively in the lives of children in crisis, the court came to be seen as a burden. Whilst this section examines the personal dimensions of the decision to remove the court, there are broader themes about the role of the courts in the post-war period that are discussed in the final paragraphs of this chapter. The juvenile courts changed in the course of the twentieth century from being the devoted work of activists to part of an expanding welfare state. It was no longer an innovation of the settlements and their colleagues, but now an element of national government. As Toynbee Hall in particular re-examined its role in the post-war world, the Juvenile Court, along with adult education, was effectively consigned to the past, to the world of settlements before the war and the welfare state.

Henriques’s court was well-established at Toynbee Hall following its move there in 1929, remaining there until 1953. The court continued throughout the Second World War, with cases being adjourned only when bombing could be heard close by. The court’s probation officers had also used the vacant residents’ rooms as offices. Henriques felt that the court had ‘always had such extraordinary courtesy from everyone at Toynbee’, as he wrote in the second of a series of letters to Mallon in 1950
relating to the court’s removal. Mallon and Henriques exchanged a number of heated letters about the court in June 1950. Mallon, who had been appointed a magistrate at the court when it arrived at Toynbee in 1929, may reasonably have been expected to be tolerant, if not actively supportive, of the court’s continued existence at the settlement, but he was remarkably unpleasant to Henriques. On 1 June 1950, Mallon wrote to Henriques to advise him that the court would be required to move for a variety of reasons, one of which, he argued, was Henriques’s attempts ‘to [conceal] the fact that the Court did actually sit here’. Henriques, for his part, had not made much of the association between the two largely as a matter of protecting the settlement from negative press. Mallon was, in principle, in agreement. In July 1951, he advised the Bedford Institute Association, a Quaker group who had been approached to take over the court, that young people had a tendency to think of the settlement only as a court. In the 1930s, Mallon had been asked by a small boy, ‘Please, sir, is this the prison?’ which he had at the time found amusing. However, in 1951, McNulty, the Sub-Warden, had had great difficulties in trying to persuade children at a local school that he was not a policeman. In 1952, Mallon wrote to Henriques to express his desire to keep the court – in complete contradiction to his comments of 1950. What had become clearer by the letters of 1952 was that the impulse to remove the court came not from Mallon, but from within the Council of Toynbee Hall.

George Macaulay Booth (1877 – 1971, see appendix), the son of Charles Booth, was at the head of the campaign to remove the Court. This put Mallon in an embarrassing situation, which shortly blew up with Clement Attlee. Attlee was of

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485 Letter Mallon to Henriques, 1 June 1950, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
487 Letter Mallon to JE Hoare, Bedford Institute Association, 4 July 1951 BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
488 Toynbee Hall Annual Report 1935 – 8, p. 30
489 Letter Mallon to JE Hoare, Bedford Institute Association, 4 July 1951 BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
491 Letter Mallon to Sir John Anderson, 4 September 1951, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
course not only Prime Minister at this point, but also the President of the Council of Toynbee Hall. Booth was a trustee, and therefore accountable to Attlee. Booth was determined to remove the juvenile court, but the grounds for this are not clearly stated in the surviving sources. From indirect references to his position, it would appear that he was opposed to the court because it prevented the room in the theatre block being let out to other groups, and also due to the damage caused by the young people attending the court.\(^{492}\) This became apparent from Mallon’s correspondence with the receivers at New Scotland Yard in 1951. Mallon was under pressure from the trustees to obtain rent from the Home Office for the court, both to ensure an income and to compensate for damages. Mallon argued that there was a greater volume of young people using the courts, which had now become problematic for Toynbee Hall.\(^{493}\) In his letter to Hoare of the Bedford Institute Association, Mallon referred to minor burglaries and arson attempts which were attributed to young people attending the court.\(^{494}\) Considering the parlous state not only of Toynbee Hall’s finances but also the physical state of the buildings, this was serious. The site was in desperate need of rebuilding, and activities were crammed together on the site.

Whilst these complaints and grievances were genuine, what was unjustifiable was keeping this not insignificant development from Attlee. Attlee was not informed of these moves through the Council, but by James Chuter Ede, (1882 – 1965) his Home Secretary.\(^{495}\) Attlee wrote:

* I wonder if this is really necessary as it seems a pity. The court has a very high reputation at home and abroad and it will be difficult to find alternative accommodation. I should have thought that it was a very good advertisement for Toynbee Hall, especially with our American visitors. Is there any chance that this decision might be reconsidered? *\(^{496}\)

\(^{492}\) Letter Mallon to Sir John Anderson, 4 September 1951, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953  
\(^{493}\) Letter and correspondence Mallon and FC Johnson, New Scotland Yard, 12 June 1951 and Memorandum meeting between Johnson, Mr Strachan (receivers New Scotland Yard), Mallon and McNulty, 20 June 1951  
\(^{494}\) Letter Mallon to JE Hoare, 4 July 1951, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953  
\(^{495}\) Copy letter J Chuter Ede to Clement Attlee, 30 August 1950, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953  
\(^{496}\) Letter Clement Attlee to Mallon, 31 August 1950, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
Sir John Anderson (1882 – 1958) was Home Secretary from 1938 until 1940 when he joined the War Cabinet. He was also at this time Chairman of the Toynbee Hall Council, working alongside Attlee. Anderson intervened in the tussles with Booth, and was responsible for persuading Booth against an immediate removal of the court. Henries had set this discussion in motion by contacting Chuter Ede, who had been partly responsible for the 1948 Criminal Justice Act, which had again adapted provision for youthful offenders. Chuter Ede also intervened to encourage Mallon to ask the council to reconsider the change at their next meeting, which Mallon was able to do. Although Attlee and Chuter Ede were able to exhort the Council to reconsider the matter of the Juvenile Court, this was only a stay of execution. In mid-April 1953, Henriques and his court moved to sit at Bethnal Green. Monday 13 April 1953 was their final date of sitting at Toynbee Hall.

Many of the problems concerned with the withdrawal of the court can be attributed to Mallon’s increasing frailty. He was rapidly approaching his eightieth birthday, and had been weakened not only by losing his home in the bombing of 1941, but also by extensive trips to the United States to raise funds. The dynamic Warden of the interwar years was gone, and Mallon did not have the strength to fight the complaints of his trustees and staff. This is indicated by the vagueness throughout the letters regarding the reasons why the removal was necessary. What is surprising, given Mallon’s knowledge of the law, is that there were no references to actual police cases following these acts of malice and theft. Without these specifics, there is no proof that these acts were committed by young delinquents, and also no proof that these were directed at the court. The devastated site may have encouraged theft and vandalism by

497 Letter Mallon to Anderson, 4 September 1951, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
498 Letter Chuter Ede to Attlee, 30 August 1950, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
500 Letter Henriques to Mallon, 8 April 1953, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
being more exposed; or possibly the local population may have thought that the
settlement was now redundant and therefore a target for vandalism.

The reluctance may also stem from the changing relationship between public and
private welfare. This was brought out through the demands for rent. Whilst public
spending on welfare increased before between the wars, this was nothing in
comparison with the post-1945 spending. That a public institution should be housed at
minimal cost to the public at a charitable organisation struggling for money would
have been compelling enough reason to either seek rent for or remove the court.

What is also striking about these discussions is that there was very little consideration
of the needs of the young people involved. The young people feature in these
discussions, on the Toynbee Hall side at least, as malicious types, wilfully destroying
the court environment and upsetting the work of the settlement. In the file on the
removal of the Juvenile Court, the only person who expressed a truly sympathetic
attitude towards the young people was Lady Cynthia Colville, who resigned her post
as a JP in 1952 to comply with the upper-age restriction on magistrates. Colville, who
was not otherwise engaged in the row over the court, wrote to Mallon that ‘one learns
a lot from [juvenile court work], even though some of the lessons are sad!’ 501 This
sense of the court as a processing machine for the irretrievable was in stark contrast to
the earlier perception of the court as a means to save young people. It also contrasted
with Henriques’s general tone in Indiscretions, in which he appeared ultimately to
believe that all young people could be helped – though some young people might need
more time than others. The pre-Second World War settlements had been best placed,
it seems, to provide the kind of comprehensive welfare these children required.
Toynbee Hall before the war had been able to call upon a wide range of clubs and
youth work activities, the Milner Hall and John Benn Hostel, and the juvenile court
had been one element in this broader scheme of work.

501 Letter Cynthia Colville to Mallon, 8 November 1952, BRC/JJM/JC/1950-1953
CONCLUSION

The settlement movement had long been at the forefront of the efforts to reform the law relating to juveniles in the United Kingdom and the United States. In England and Wales, former settlers like Alec Patterson, Charles Russell and Alexander Carr-Saunders applied their experience in settlement youth work either to direct work within the Prison Service or to research. They reached positions of influence and so were able to apply the lessons of their youth to the treatment of the younger generations. Toynbee Hall in particular created an environment in which those with a keen desire to help the young in crisis – Henriques, Colville and Mallon, as well as all those involved in the prison education schemes – could do so. They aimed to prevent the crimes of the future, and so doing, to bring the alienated back within the bounds of civil society. This was not, as Platt and Gillis would argue, a paternalistic exercise – it was a genuine attempt to give troubled youth a fairer grounding in life. There is no evidence to suggest that so-called middle class values were imposed upon the young offenders at court, but rather that they were given the opportunity to think about the impact of their actions upon themselves and others – the hallmark of the ‘citizen’. The removal of the court from Toynbee Hall in 1953 was unnecessarily acrimonious, but the issues that affected the settlement were largely due to the upheaval created by the nascent welfare state and a charity trying to find its feet in the ‘brave new world’ of the 1950s. As the welfare state expanded, it was right that the settlement allowed one of its projects to take its place within that new system. The confluence of former youth workers and criminologists had done much to ensure that some of the most vulnerable members of society could still take an active part within that society, and that with some behaviour modification and understanding, these children and young people could have the same opportunities as others to grow up and have productive lives.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ARTS AND EDUCATION AT THE SETTLEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the role of arts and education at Toynbee Hall. Between 1918 and 1959, Toynbee Hall took a particularly active role in the development of adult education and the arts in the East End. This work did not begin in this period, but underwent a series of significant changes. The other settlements in this study also undertook work in education and the arts, but Toynbee Hall was distinctive in having such an extensive programme until the 1950s.

Why consider the arts and education programmes together? Both activities were concerned with raising aspirations, providing opportunities and developing skills. They also required of participants much effort and dedication. This emphasis was not confined to adult education classes or musical groups. For the experience to be successful – for the learner to complete the course and feel capable of confidently applying his or her knowledge, or that a musical or dramatic production was performed well in public – all members of the group had to apply themselves. Of course, it is highly unlikely that this happened all the time, but it was an essential part of the experience.

Another reason for considering the two programmes together is that Toynbee Hall was a major provider of non-vocational education in East London. Both the People’s Palace and the Bishopsgate Institute provided technical education in the area. The Bishopsgate Institute offered a range of lectures by noted speakers, including Hilaire Belloc and Ernest Shackleton, as well as ‘educational classes in bookkeeping, shorthand, languages etc’ from the later 1890s. Toynbee Hall offered similar

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lectures before 1918, but its programme had focussed upon the provision of a liberal arts and social sciences education. The Barnettts – and later Mallon – were convinced of the need to provide opportunities for the broader education of working people as opposed to the development of workers’ skills. Appreciation and performance of the arts was generally considered to be a part of this process.

Pimlott noted that the emphasis on education at Toynbee Hall came from Barnett’s ideal of establishing a ‘working man’s university’ to cater for the imaginative life of the East Ender. Reflecting on the programme of the 1930s, he noted that:

What is important from the present point of view is that Barnett’s conception directly influenced the educational policy of the Settlement. For if Toynbee Hall was to be the nucleus of a university, several conclusions followed. The teaching must be primarily cultural and not vocational. No subject of study could be too ambitious or too abstruse. The social intercourse which is so important a characteristic of university education must be developed. Elementary classes in the three ‘R’s’ properly belonged to educational institutions of a less ambitious kind, and should be abandoned as soon as there was adequate provision elsewhere.

There are two points in this extract which illuminate the concept of citizenship as promoted by the settlement both in the nineteenth century through to the 1930s. Firstly, Pimlott noted that all subjects were open to the local community. Secondly, there is the emphasis on the social aspects of (particularly) university education and also the importance of culture in teaching.

The first point has its roots in the period before 1884. For example, Henrietta Barnett refused to have any artworks in her schoolroom exhibitions that were not the ‘best’, and this insistence on making the widest artistic and educational opportunities available continued into the post-Second World War period. By making any subject or area of knowledge open for exploration, the settlement made a bold political and

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503 Pimlott, p. 57
504 Pimlott, p. 59
cultural statement: no subject was too ‘hard’ for an East Londoner to tackle. The Barnetts and later Wardens of the settlement offered university-level education across the arts and social sciences to anyone who was interested. Before the 1944 Education Act, the British working classes faced significant obstacles in pursuing their education beyond the age of 14. Although some working class children were able to go to grammar school, and to progress to university, money provided a serious barrier to most. Day Continuation Schools, training for pupil-teachers, Mechanics’ Institutes, University Extension Lectures, the Workers’ Educational Association and the London County Council evening classes all provided cost-effective educational opportunities that could be fitted in around work. It was important for the settlement to emphasise that whilst the working and lower middle classes were not necessarily able to afford to go to university, the further and higher education they could receive should equal anything provided for other groups. Indeed, before the Second World War, 98% of the English population was excluded from study at the universities, although in 1935, there were believed to be between 70,000 and 75,000 adults attending evening classes in the Greater London area. In this context, Toynbee Hall’s programme is more revolutionary than it may at first appear as it was helping to supply a demand for knowledge and understanding.

‘Social intercourse’ was as equally important. Although the practicalities of undertaking the required reading, essay writing and revision were the responsibility of the individual student, debates in class or discussions afterwards were a key part of developing both confidence and a sense of community. The more democratic nature of adult education heightened this. For example, the Workers’ Educational Association allowed students to choose their own topics of study each year. In addition, university graduates taught the courses at Toynbee Hall. This built links

506 Llewellyn Smith, New Survey of London Life and Labour Vol IX, Life and Leisure, p.90
between people of different backgrounds and experiences of education on the basis of their shared interest in a subject, again emphasising that certain areas of knowledge were not the exclusive preserve of the more affluent. But the Toynbee Hall tutors were not always ‘just’ professional teachers. As will be discussed later, the tutors were often experts in their chosen fields.

In contrast with period of the Barnetts’ tenure, art at Toynbee Hall after 1918 had a lesser role in the educational programme. Whilst the Toynbee Art Club continued, the establishment of the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1901 provided other opportunities in the area for the enjoyment of art. This change of emphasis allowed for the development of other arts, namely music and drama, to flourish. Toynbee Hall set up both a School of Music and a School of Drama in the 1930s, which in time were given dedicated space in the educational block, opened in 1938. Both of these activities allowed East Londoners either to access performances or to work alongside respected practitioners.

This emphasis on education arose from the settlements’ preoccupation with education as the main route to developing social and political leadership. The liberal arts and humanities education favoured by the settlements provided the individual not only with the ‘facts’ needed to enrich their general knowledge, but also with the intellectual and verbal skills to manipulate and articulate the ideas presented to them. Developing this intellectual life was at the core of the settlements’ mission in East London. In 1935, JAR Pimlott wrote:

To use the time-worn expression, Toynbee Hall and its fellow settlements form oases in this desert. Their main function is to supply the intellectual life and the communal spirit in which the neighbourhood, taken as a whole, is so conspicuously deficient. Hardly less important is the investigation of social problems with a view to the formulation of appropriate measures for their remedy. Education, civic leadership, social research – in short, the very functions for which the Settlements were founded in 1884.  

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The notion of education and self-improvement as being central to citizenship was not new, having been originally put forward as part of the moral force Chartists’ agenda.\textsuperscript{509} It also fed into the Smilesian view of self-improvement allied with education. As Jonathan Rose noted, Smiles’ \textit{Self-Help} found a willing audience amongst the working classes, with around 250,000 copies sold between 1859 and 1900, often bought by members of Mutual Improvement Societies, the Co-operative Society and auto-didacts.\textsuperscript{510} Smiles believed that self-teaching was the strongest foundation of learning:

\begin{quote}
The education received at school of college is but a beginning, and is valuable mainly inasmuch as it trains the mind and habituates it to continuous application and study. That which is put into us by others is always far less ours than that which we acquire by our own diligent and persevering effort. Knowledge acquired by labour becomes a possession – a property entirely our own. […] This kind of self-culture also calls forth power and cultivates strength. The solution of one problem helps the mastery of another; and thus knowledge is carried into faculty. Our own active effort is the essential thing; and no facilities, no books, no teachers, no amount of lessons learnt by rote will enable us to dispense with it.\textsuperscript{511}
\end{quote}

For Smiles, knowledge was something could be acquired by anybody who was willing to put the effort into discovering new facts and ideas. Intellectual property did not necessarily require immense expenditure, not least because during the course of the twentieth century, the removal of duties on paper reduced prices and increased the potential readership of the print media. Furthermore, a wide range of classic texts exempt from copyright could be obtained cheaply, as could second hand books.\textsuperscript{512} It was a property that could be owned by almost anyone. By acquiring this intellectual

\textsuperscript{512} Rose, p. 120 - 1
property, individuals could begin to assert their own ideas about the world in which they lived.

The arts and education were therefore a means of creating cultural opportunities that were generally lacking in working class education. They were also methods of establishing and developing social relationships as well as skills, confidence and talent. Their impact upon local users was not necessarily dissimilar to that of other settlement activities, but they provided a further layer of opportunity. Furthermore, these programmes were not isolated incidents of philanthropy, but part of a growing national interest in access to culture. The settlements were unique, however, in providing these opportunities in the East End rather than more affluent areas of London.

THE ARTS AND EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

The arts in Britain expanded through the nineteen and early twentieth centuries. The creation of the Royal Academy in 1768 brought together artists, sculptors and architects of national standing, and it started holding regular exhibitions. The National Gallery opened in 1824 when the House of Commons purchased the art collection of John Julius Angerstein, a banker. The Tate Gallery opened in 1897 following the sugar refiner Henry Tate’s donation of his art collection to the nation, and until 1954 when it became a separate institution, the Tate housed the British art collections of the National Gallery. The National Portrait Gallery was brought into existence to house portraits of influential Britons from 1856, again as a result of

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513 The Royal Academy, ‘About the RA, A Brief History’,
http://www.royalacademy.org.uk/?lid=93 viewed 24 November 2004
http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about/history/establish/establishment.htm, viewed 24 November 2004
515 Tate Britain, ‘The History of Tate at Millbank’,
http://www.tate.org.uk/britain/building/history.htm, viewed 24 November 2004
516 National Gallery, ‘The Tate Gallery’,
http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about/history/growth/tate.htm, viewed 24 November 2004
pressure from the House of Commons. From the late 1880s, philanthropists such as James Carnegie and Passmore Edwards ploughed millions of pounds into the construction of free public lending libraries. This ran in tandem with the expansion of local government. Libraries – along with art galleries and museums – were part of the construction of a civic culture, the physicality of grand public buildings reflecting the pride of the town or borough. London witnessed an expansion in the nineteenth century of major art galleries, partly bequests by industrialists. These galleries were set up in the national interest to promote a sense of citizenship through shared ownership of a common culture as expressed through art. It promoted a ‘top-down’ approach to the valuing and appreciation of art, as well as emphasising the types of art valued by those with the power to commission, purchase and display art. One of the main arguments for the construction and establishment of the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1901 was that the local community could not access the galleries in the West End. Most of the national galleries had free permanent exhibitions, so the cost of a tram or train ticket was one obstacle that prevented working people from going to the galleries. For those living in Whitechapel, Bethnal Green or Stepney, the centre of London was only about a half hour or forty minutes’ walk. Perhaps those with a burning ambition to visit galleries in the West End could find the time and the money somehow, but the average East Ender may have felt ill at ease in the West End galleries, conspicuous due to their clothing or accent. Equally, he or she may never have had the opportunity for education in art appreciation or the time to have their interest in art fired. Until relatively recently, members of working class communities tended to remain within their immediate area or district. The national galleries were not far away geographically from the East End, but culturally they were very distant.

HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE ARTS AND EDUCATION

There has been surprisingly little discussion of the role of the arts in promoting access to citizenship. Cuno et al explore these issues with reference to contemporary gallery, museum and publishing practices, yet ignore earlier attempts to democratise access. This section will explore these issues as they developed in the context of the settlements in the East End, and highlight the importance of the arts to working class communities. It will also examine how projects such as the construction of the Toynbee Hall theatre in the 1930s brought major theatrical actors and directors together to promote drama in the East End.

Education has a broader body of historiography. Histories of adult education have tended to concentrate upon legislative and administrative changes. Exceptions are Mel Doyle’s history of the Workers Educational Association (WEA), one of the widest ranging, sympathetic and analytical accounts of the Workers Educational Association. Doyle places great emphasis upon the meanings, experiences and benefits the students derived from their studies. Similarly, Zoe Munby has collated an oral history of women’s experiences of the WEA over the last one hundred years, which again, offers insight into the experience of learning. Bernard Jennings’ accounts of the WEA concentrate upon the life of its founder, Albert Mansbridge, and have little relevant to say about the concerns of this study.

More general histories of adult education include Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, and Roger Fieldhouse’s A History of Modern British

522 Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain: From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992)
Adult Education. These are useful for gaining a synoptic understanding of the history of adult education, but on the whole, they focus on the administrative history of adult education. More interesting from the perspective of settlements is Lawrence Goldman’s *Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education Since 1850*, which explores the development of the university extension movement and of the WEA, although again Goldman’s emphasis is upon administrative history. Previous studies of the settlement movement have tended not to examine education and the arts other than by listing the chronology of educational programmes.

**ARTS, EDUCATION AND THE SETTLEMENTS**

To contextualise the arts and educational work of the interwar years, it is necessary to look at the work undertaken before 1884. From their arrival in the East End until their departure in 1906, the Barnetts organised a varied programme, from ‘smoking debates’ (so-called because participants were allowed to smoke during the session) and evening lectures, to clubs catering for both academic and more leisurely interests, to free musical concerts on Sundays, flower festivals and art exhibitions. They set up University Extension Lectures organised by the University of London and helped Albert Mansbridge with his proposals for the Workers Educational Association. They also ran their own courses, which were often taught by residents. As mentioned above, Samuel Barnett aimed to establish a working man’s university in the East End.

**FROM THE ST. JUDE’S SCHOOLROOMS TO THE WHITECHAPEL ART GALLERY**

The impulse to establish the annual art exhibitions in the 1881 arose from the Barnetts’ desire to introduce the ‘vicious’ elements of Whitechapel society to the possibilities of

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culture, and from the suggestion that the Barnetts should exhibit items collected on their travels to Egypt. In the circles in which the Barnetts moved at the time, imparting beauty was of crucial concern. Miranda Hill, the sister of Octavia Hill, established the Kyrle Society in 1875. The Kyrle Society mainly planted trees and shrubs in urban areas to brighten the environment; a branch was run by William Morris, and its activities included painting murals in hospitals and workhouses. The Kyrle Society, with the Commons Preservation Trust and the Guild of St. George, formed an important strand of voluntary activity that, if not addressing the issue of poverty itself, attempted to address the impact of poverty upon the individual.

In the 1870s and 1880s, therefore, the emphasis was squarely upon developing an appreciation of beauty amongst the working classes. This concept of transmitting aesthetic values has been criticised as patronising, but the proponents of this view fail to analyse the available data on the exhibitions. The Barnetts’ experiment with ‘Pictures for the People’, as they described it in *Practicable Socialism*, was far from patronising. Following the initial suggestion that the Barnetts put their Egyptian souvenirs on display, by the time of the first exhibition, the Barnetts had collected a large number of items on loan from friends and museums. Although their collections were inevitably constrained by what could and would be loaned to the East End, their principal concern was that the items on display should be of high quality. Samuel Barnett and an exhibition committee worked on selection, whilst Henrietta Barnett was despatched to see paintings in private homes and to negotiate loans:

The Exhibition of 1893 was of exceptional beauty. In that year I was told off to see the collection of Mr. Alexander Young. I was met at Blackheath station by Mr. Young’s carriage, but on arriving at the house Mrs. Young was unable to see me for half an hour. The time was not, however, wasted, for I thoroughly enjoyed studying the multitude of interesting pictures. When Mrs. Young came, she took me to still more picture-lined rooms and showed me the six or eight canvasses which could be sent to the Whitechapel Exhibition.

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526 Ibid., p. 151
“Thank you,” I said, “I quite recognise your kindness, but I cannot accept them.”

“No, accept them – why not?” Mrs. Young asked with surprise. “Because they are not your best. If they were the best you possessed, it would be different; but with all these magnificent pictures you could lend, I cannot take your second-rate. The best must be lent for the service of the poor.”

[...]

Then we talked earnestly together, as one woman soul to another woman soul; and I told her about East London and the drear barren lives of the majority of the people, who were divorced from the joy of beauty and new nothing of the nation’s inheritance of art. I told her how we had found that beautiful pictures spoke to the deepest natures of even the most ignorant, and that to many souls, deaf to the preacher, the artist whispered God’s eternal truths.527

There are a number of themes at work in this extract from Henrietta Barnett’s biography of her husband, but the most significant is the need to bring the ‘best’ to Whitechapel. Although expressed in religious terms with overtones of conversion and redemption, Henrietta Barnett pointed out that the East Londoners deserved to have access not to second-rate art, but to the best. An exhibition that did not consist of the ‘best’ would undoubtedly transmit the message that the East End was not worthy of access to fine art; and the local community were more than shrewd enough to spot this condescension. Henrietta succeeded in her quest to obtain the best pictures: insured for the sum of £50,000, the exhibition included Young’s loan of paintings by the Barbizon school of landscape painting, including works by Charles François Daubigny (1817 – 1878),528 Antoine Mauve (1838 – 1888),529 Jozef Israels, Camille Corot, Jean François Millet, Pierre Celestin Billet (1837 – 1922), and Charles Jacques.530

The Barbizon school were at the cutting edge of art in the later nineteenth century – their style influenced the (now) more famous Impressionist school. Acquiring these paintings was a huge achievement on behalf of East London. Daubigny’s paintings, for example, are now housed in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, the National Gallery in London, the Louvre in Paris and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

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527 Barnett, pp. 157 - 8
528 Landscape painter, Barbizon school
529 Dutch landscapes
530 Ibid., p. 158
As attendance figures demonstrate, the annual St. Jude’s Art Exhibition was a popular and much anticipated local event. With the exception of 1884, each year demonstrated a significant increase of around 10,000 additional visits growth as the graph below demonstrates.

Figure 4.1: Visitors to the Whitechapel Exhibitions, 1881 – 1886, from Barnett, Canon Barnett, p. 156

It is impossible to ascertain to what extent people attended in order to educate themselves, for amusement or to meet friends. It is equally impossible to make an accurate judgement on how they ‘read’ the pictures, what meanings they drew from the viewings, though there are clues.

A narrowly class-based analysis of the settlement movement would interpret this desire to enable access to the arts and education as a method of transmitting middle class values to the East End. It may be asked how far these activities were taken up by the local community, and whether or not these were benefits for the ‘labour aristocracy’ or the upper working classes. These are valid considerations, but the reality is likely to have been more complex. Whilst we may be able to prove that attendance at classes was the preserve of the better off, a harder task is to evaluate attitudes towards education. We can demonstrate that members of certain trades
attended classes, we can only speculate as to the reasons why people joined these programmes. Only in the cases of exceptionally successful graduates of this educational philanthropy – such as that of Mark Gertler, who is discussed later in this chapter – can we begin to understand the processes involved in these activities.

A class-based analysis also has the potential to ignore how gender relations were affected by these types of work. Until well into the 1950s, youth clubs tended to be segregated by gender, but women participated on equal terms with men in settlement education as both learners and teachers. This is particularly true of the period 1918-1959, although there is evidence of both working and middle class women attending educational and cultural events before 1918. Ethnicity must also be considered. East London was not a culturally homogeneous community. A large Jewish community lived immediately around Toynbee Hall.

Toynbee Hall was by no means the only settlement to provide educational opportunities. Oxford and Mansfield Houses set up libraries for their youth and men’s club members, whilst educational practices were often incorporated into youth work. As discussed in Part Two, the various youth clubs ran sessions or sub-groups where the members could be ‘taught’ informally. Examples include beauty and hygiene groups for girls in the 1930s at Canning Town Women’s Settlement, and carpentry shops for boys at Mansfield House in the 1950s.\(^{531}\) Sporting activities could also be said to inculcate young people with a sense of fair play, as well as teaching them a sport through which they could develop confidence in their abilities. Learning how to administer clubs and to organise members was also part of learning ‘citizenly’ behaviour.

On the other hand, the residents of the settlements and their visitors were exhorted to learn from their neighbours in the community. This could be informal, as they learnt

\(^{531}\) See pages 123
the mores and expectations of the community, or it could be through social research projects. The settlers also had a remit to educate others about East London. In addition to the Warden’s lecturing at universities, clubs or learned societies, the social study school brought young students from the universities, teaching hospitals, teacher and social work training colleges to the settlements for weekends or longer. These study schools offered talks at the settlements along with visits to local factories or problem areas. The intention of these study schools was to introduce the students to different ways of life, as well as to encourage them to consider careers in social work. The Anglo-American seminars, which ran from the early 1920s until their disruption in World War Two, introduced an older and more experienced group of social workers to the conditions of the East End. It is also possible to include the various Wardens’ letters to national newspapers as part of this remit to make the general public – or rather the general donating public – aware of conditions in the East End. Book-length studies for both academic and lay audiences were also important. Texts such as Basil Henriques’s *Indiscretions of a Warden* (1937) and *Indiscretions of a Magistrate* (1950) could be instrumental in making the work of the settlements and the nature of the social problems of East London transparent to a general audience.

Rather than being ‘deviant’ members of East End society, as Emily Klein Abel has described them, those who attended classes at Toynbee Hall were engaging with a long tradition of working class self-improvement. They were not necessarily members of a ‘labour aristocracy’, an elite determined to break out from their situations and experience a degree of social mobility. Participation in these educational groups and classes did not always start with clear goals or ambitions in mind. Children and young

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534 Emily Klein Abel, ‘Canon Barnett and the First Thirty Years of Toynbee Hall’, Unpublished University of London PhD, 1969
people, as in the case of the poet Isaac Rosenberg, were singled out at school if they had exceptional talents. Whilst Rosenberg benefited from his headmaster allowing him to spend most of his time in school drawing and writing, other children were likely to have been guided towards music or art classes either at Toynbee or in similar venues. The Whitechapel Art Gallery from 1901 onwards was a popular venue that displayed artworks both by established artists and members of the local community. The predominantly Jewish community in Whitechapel and Stepney placed great emphasis on learning and scholarly pursuits, encouraging both formal learning and an auto-didactic culture. Gertler and Rosenberg, who both grew up in this community, as will be discussed later, both had early periods of being self-taught, in both cases as a result of being unable to fund art school studies. The same community also produced, somewhat later, David Rodinsky. Rodinsky lived for many years in a small attic room above the synagogue at 19 Princelet Street, just off Brick Lane. He disappeared in 1969, leaving behind a room crammed with papers and books that he had studied over the years. Rosenberg, Gertler and Rodinsky, and many others, were part of a culture of learning and discovery in a variety of media.

**THE IMPACT OF TOYNBEE HALL AND THE ARTS – THE CASE OF MARK GERTLER**

Mark Gertler (1891 – 1939) was the most renowned artist to emerge from the Jewish East End, and he is believed to have had formative connections with Toynbee Hall in his youth. After his early years in Whitechapel, Gertler attended the Slade School of Art, where he was a student of Henry Tonks (1862 – 1937). Tonks

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guided the training of a number of prominent and experimental British artists, including the Nash brothers, Stanley Spencer, Harold Gilman, Matthew Smith, Spencer Gore and Wyndham Lewis. Gertler became a prominent (albeit often impoverished) member of the Bloomsbury Set, associating with Lytton Strachey and Bertrand Russell amongst others. He is best known for his anti-war painting *The Merry-Go-Round* (1916).

Although both of Gertler’s biographers, John Woodeson and Sarah MacDougall refer to his early connections with Toynbee Hall, the precise nature of Gertler’s involvement with Toynbee Hall remains unclear. He may have been a member of the Toynbee Hall Art Club or a student attending the Toynbee Hall lectures. In 2000, Sarah MacDougall and I undertook a detailed trawl through the archives of Toynbee Hall, finding no evidence for his attending either. Although MacDougall’s biography of Gertler partly attributes this to the bomb damage of 1941 which destroyed the original library and the Warden’s Lodge, most probably his absence from the official records is because it was not standard practice for the settlement to keep records of club members. Since no such records have survived for any of the clubs or classes, it is not implausible to assume that they were not collected in the first place or were destroyed after the end of the financial or academic year. Furthermore, Gertler was in his late teens at the time he was supposed to be involved with Toynbee Hall, and this may also account for the lack of documentary evidence. As a young teenager living at home, Gertler may not have written letters to a settlement that was literally on his doorstep when he could drop in, or they may not have survived. However, MacDougall uses the novel *Mendel* by Gilbert Cannan, which was based on the

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early life of Gertler and written by his contemporary, to infer that Gertler probably attended poetry lectures and French classes.\textsuperscript{543}

Both biographers have paid attention to the fact that Thomas Edmund Harvey, the Warden from 1906 – 1911 took on the role of mentor and confidante to the young Gertler.\textsuperscript{544} The precise origin and nature of the friendship is unknown, but MacDougall infers from the evidence in \textit{Mendel} that Harvey was drawn to the young and talented student of the Regent Street Polytechnic, where Gertler was then studying.\textsuperscript{545} MacDougall also argues that Harvey was probably responsible for Gertler’s application for financial assistance to Sir Isidore Spielmann of the Jewish Board of Guardians.\textsuperscript{546} Thanks to a grant from the Jewish Education Aid Society (JEAS), Gertler was able to return to the Polytechnic as a night school student, after an interregnum as a stained-glass painter’s apprentice.\textsuperscript{547} His application to the JEAS brought him into contact with Solomon J. Solomon, who was then only the second Jewish painter to be elected a member of the Royal Academy.\textsuperscript{548} Although Solomon could not make a decision on Gertler’s case and referred him to another Jewish artist, William Rothenstein,\textsuperscript{549} Solomon was involved in the promotion of Jewish art in the East End – he was for many years President of the Toynbee Art Club. This may account for the association of Gertler with the art club. Solomon exhorted Gertler to visit as many galleries as he could in order to learn as much as possible whilst on a break from his studies.

\textsuperscript{543} Ibid, p. 23
\textsuperscript{545} MacDougall, p. 22
\textsuperscript{546} Ibid, p. 23
\textsuperscript{547} Ibid, p. 24 – 25
\textsuperscript{549} Ibid, p. 25
Due to Rothenstein’s intervention, Gertler was released from his apprenticeship and took up his studies at the Slade School of Art.\textsuperscript{550} The Slade was the leading art school in the late nineteenth century, overshadowing the reputation of the Royal Academy. It trained students in modern, French artistic techniques, and its alumni list from the period of Gertler’s studies is impressive, including Augustus and Gwen John and David Blomberg.\textsuperscript{551}

Although attendance at art school, either at the Regent Street Polytechnic or the Slade contributed to Gertler’s techniques and his sense of himself as an artist, it would appear from the surviving records that Gertler was provided with early encouragement and support through the settlement. Indeed, it could be argued that the intervention of Harvey in supporting the young would-be artist and his bringing Gertler into contact with sponsors and patrons set the pattern for his later life. Carrington’s edited collection of Gertler’s correspondence is filled with letters from Gertler to his various sponsors. Equally, Harvey introduced Gertler to the behaviour required of an artist in seeking patronage, by networking on his behalf and making contact with established Jewish artists.

Gertler’s life history also provides an insight into the ways in which the local community used the facilities of Toynbee Hall, the Whitechapel Art Gallery and the Whitechapel Public Library. Gertler was not untypical in moving between the three, studying in the library, attending classes at Toynbee Hall, and visiting the art gallery. In Gertler’s Toynbee Hall days, he would have been able to see a range of exhibitions at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, from \textit{Georgian England} between March and May 1906, to \textit{Jewish Art and Antiquities} in November and December of that year. In 1907

\textsuperscript{550} Ibid, p. 27
and 1908 the work of contemporary British artists was showcased. The 1908 programme culminated in a *Muhammedan* [sic] *Art and Life* exhibition.\footnote{The Whitechapel Art Gallery, ‘Chronological list of exhibitions 1901 to present’, \url{http://www.whitechapel.org/content613.html}, viewed 16 November 2004}

Alongside accessing local art exhibitions at reasonable prices, young and ambitious people in Whitechapel found their way to the Public Library. Whilst Toynbee Hall had its own private library, firstly in St. Jude’s and later in a purpose-built block on the Toynbee quadrangle, the settlement ran a vigorous campaign in the late 1880s and early 1890s to build a public library in Whitechapel. The campaign was successful – John Passmore Edwards, the philanthropist, gave funds, and the library was opened in 1892.\footnote{Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, p. 81} The Whitechapel Public Library soon became a refuge for the young. As AB Levy noted in *East End Story* (1951), it was open until 10pm on weekdays and Sundays, and was filled with ‘eager plodding young men and women ambitious for success and often attaining it… including a poet and a painter of genius who both died too young, Issac Rosenberg and Mark Gertler.’\footnote{AB Levy, *East End Story*, (London: Constellation, 1951), p. 17} Issac Rosenberg was also a contemporary of Gertler’s at the Slade.\footnote{Jon Stallworthy, “Rosenberg, Isaac (1890-1918).” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), \url{http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37914} (accessed November 17, 2004)}

There is no evidence that Rosenberg (1890 – 1918) had any firm connections with the settlement, although it is not unreasonable to imagine that the young Rosenberg may have attended lectures, debates and possibly classes at Toynbee. As Jon Stallworthy noted, Rosenberg was a keen reader of poetry, especially the works of Byron, Keats, Shelley and William Blake and although talented both artistically and as a writer, he was keen to develop his skills as an author and poet.\footnote{Ibid.} Both Rosenberg and Gertler came to know CRW Nevinson at the Slade. Nevinson also had connections with Toynbee Hall: his parents, Mr and Mrs HW Nevinson, had at the Barnetts’ instigation,
moved to Whitechapel, living in a set of workmen’s flats and co-operating with the life of the settlement.\textsuperscript{557,558}

The case of Mark Gertler suggests that the settlement was one of three institutions in the area that supported a burgeoning intellectual culture amongst the young. Along with Levy’s testimony, we can infer that young would-be artists and intellectuals were initially self-taught. Individual work in the Whitechapel Public Library could be supplemented with joining classes or attending lectures at Toynbee Hall, or visiting exhibitions at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Toynbee Hall added a further dimension to this provision, by potentially supporting the young through informal mentoring. The auto-didacts of Whitechapel could and did select educational activities to suit their own ends, and were able to draw upon the expertise and contacts of the settlement. Abel’s proposition, that the classes were not used by local people, or only by a select minority of them, appears over-simple. We need to take into account not just subscriptions to clubs or class attendance, but upon the whole culture of learning in the East End between 1884 and the Second World War.

**JIMMY MALLON AND THE ARTS**

The notion of a liberal arts and humanities education was as central to the Barnetts’ conception of the settlement as it was to Mallon whose tenure as Warden from 1919 saw the most significant developments in education and the arts. Mallon did not come from a university background, having left school at 14 to become an apprentice. Sadly, due to the bombing of the Warden’s Lodge in 1941, Mallon’s autobiographical account of his early life was destroyed, so there is no means of discovering how he became inspired to further his education or how easy it was for him to do so. According to Asa Briggs’ account of Mallon’s life, he attended Owens College,

\textsuperscript{557} Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, p. 54
\textsuperscript{558} Also lecturer in history at Royal Holloway
Manchester.\footnote{Asa Briggs, ‘Mallon, James Joseph (1874-1961)’, \textit{Oxford Dictionary of National Biography}, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 20 Oct 2004: \url{http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34846}]} We do not know what subjects or at what levels Mallon studied, but the experience of Owens College inspired him to become involved with the Ancoats University Settlement, Manchester.\footnote{Briggs, ibid.} His enthusiasm for the educational work of Toynbee Hall may have been driven by his own passion for learning. From 1919 until his retirement in 1954, Mallon kept education, in its widest sense, at the forefront of the settlement’s agenda. He was responsible for creating the ‘study school’ and upheld the tradition of social research at Toynbee Hall, as well as initiating the Anglo-American Seminar programme. He was a driving force in the opening of the Toynbee Hall Theatre.

Besides Mallon, another force for educational provision was Henrietta Barnett’s continuing close involvement with Toynbee Hall until her death in 1936. Henrietta’s concern with education continued after her husband’s death, through her work to support both Barnett House at Oxford University and the newly-formed Dame Henrietta Barnett School in Hampstead.\footnote{Seth Koven, ‘Barnett, Dame Henrietta Octavia Weston (1851 – 1936)’, \textit{Oxford Dictionary of National Biography}, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 20 Oct 2004: \url{http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30610}]} Whilst Henrietta retired somewhat from the settlements’ activities as her health declined in older age, she remained a powerful force concerning the policy of the settlement. As will be discussed later, the decision in the 1950s to abort the educational programme of Toynbee Hall was influenced in part by the absence of people with personal stakes in providing adult education. Henrietta had died almost 20 years previously, severing ties with the early days of the settlement; and Mallon, probably the only working class resident or member of staff, retired, exhausted, in 1954.
Music and drama were two other areas of artistic endeavour that crossed the lines between clubs and formal education. The Shakespearean Society, in tandem with the Elizabethan Society, began in the 1880s and provided the means through which club members could gain access to text and performance, either through recitals or stagings of the full plays. The Shakespearean Society in particular opened the way for the later Little and Curtain Theatres by staging small productions of Shakespeare’s plays in whichever rooms were available on the Toynbee campus. In time, they were granted a dedicated space, known as the Little Theatre, which though valued, was soon inadequate.

The main period of growth in theatrical and musical provision came later, in the mid to late 1930s. Jo Hodgkinson, sub-Warden from 1935 until halfway through the Second World War had a particular interest in the performing arts, and was granted responsibility for the arts as part of his role as educational director. Toynbee Hall’s fiftieth anniversary in 1934 prompted the then chair of Council, Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, to instigate a fundraising campaign to extend and develop the Toynbee campus. Lang was keen to develop space for research projects, as well as for education and the arts. Whilst space for his principal interest was created, the resulting building was more firmly associated with the latter two. In 1935, spaces that were non-residential or not purpose-built were at a premium, as the diagram demonstrates. Before 1938, the clubs, classes and meetings, including sittings of the juvenile court from 1929, vied for space in the lecture hall, Aves Room, the dining room and the library. The dining room in the main building was at this point used principally by the residents and for their functions, with some, limited use by outside organisations. The proposed new block was to provide a full-sized, professionally equipped theatre, with classrooms with specialised resources. A music room was included, which doubled as the juvenile court when required. There was
also a roof-top playground for local children. When the block was completed in 1938, services rapidly expanded.

The construction of the block required £50,000 to be raised. Although Lang launched the appeal in 1935, the fund was lacking £16,500 in March 1938. On 3 March 1938, a luncheon was held at Toynbee Hall at which an appeal for additional funds was made, and guests were able to view Alistair Macdonald’s scale model of the new building. Lady Cynthia Colville was now more prominent and active in the campaign than Lang and made an impassioned speech to stimulate further donations. Colville argued that:

We want to make the women of leisure – and I am not one of them – realize how important is the intelligent and proper use of leisure. One of the great afflictions of the rich and leisured and of the highbrow is the tendency to artificiality. It is one of the besetting sins of the art world.

Colville not only promoted the educational benefits of the arts for the working classes, but also attacked the modernism prevalent in the arts at the time. However, she was not against artistic innovation or challenge. In 1933, whilst Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Mary, she lent the Queen a copy of Lady Chatterley’s Lover. Rather, she was keen to make the arts as broadly accessible as possible and less the preserve of the leisured. This informed her view of the campaign, and it would appear, of those who rallied around to support the appeal.

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565 BLPC: Colville, C, Crowded Life: the Autobiography of Lady Cynthia Colville, 10713.s.3
The fundraising campaign brought together diverse sections of the metropolitan artistic, political, voluntary and local communities. Colville was instrumental in arranging a Royal Matinee. This was announced at the luncheon of 3 March, and finalised at a meeting at Lady Astor’s home.\footnote{Toynbee Hall: Gala Matinee for New Theatre, The Observer, 15 March 1938, BRC/THA/Jubilee Appeal/Press cuttings} At the latter, Jo Hodgkinson established a scheme for raising £1,500 for theatrical equipment. Those who could not attend the matinee in person were exhorted to donate funds for equipment, or to sponsor items for the theatre. Mallon set a scale of sponsored items, from 3d for a square yard of scenic canvas, to two guineas for one of the chairs.\footnote{Royal Matinee, News Chronicle, 9 March 1938, BRC/THA/Jubilee Appeal/Press cuttings}
As Picture 4.1 demonstrates, the project attracted a wide base of support, from donations from an ‘Old Age Pensioner’ and Toynbee Hall clubs, to both local and national industries, high society and the artistic community. Some of the donors’ connections with the settlement merit exploration. Lady Pentland’s husband, John Sinclair (1860 – 1925), was a resident at Toynbee Hall in 1888. Sir John Reith (1889 – 1971) was well known for his work as the first director-general of the BBC: his donation and support probably arose from Mallon being at that time a governor of the BBC. Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856 – 1942) was a prominent garden and landscape architect and was a benefactor of the settlement.
designer, who may have been brought into the scheme by his fellow architect, Alistair Macdonald. Blomfield’s father was Charles James Blomfield, (1786 – 1857), a notable Bishop of London. Sir Walter Layton (1884 – 1966), a prominent economist, was briefly a resident at Toynbee Hall in 1907 whilst undertaking a survey into wages and hours for the Amalgamated Society of Railway Workers, and again in 1909 – 1910. FJM Stratton (1881 – 1960) was a professor of Astrophysics at Cambridge University. George Bernard Shaw was a long-time friend of the settlement, beginning with his attendance at smoking debates in the 1890s.

Raymond Massey (1896 – 1983) was a Canadian actor, the son of the owner of the Massey-Ferguson tractor company. In 1922 he was acting on the London stage, appearing in several of Shaw’s productions. Shortly before the opening of the theatre block in 1938, Massey starred in HG Wells’ *Things to Come*. He appeared in *Doctor Kildare* and *How the West Was Won* in the 1960s.

The sponsorship of equipment in the theatre raised a total of £306 11s 0d. Of 400 tip-up seats, 29 were sponsored. Lamps accounted for £3 10s 0d, whilst £100 was given to purchase carpet. Miscellaneous donations came to £67 18s 0d, with a dedicated donation of £53 10s for tickets from Viscount Wakefield, an oil magnate and philanthropist.

Colville was able to persuade Queen Mary to attend the matinee on 11 May 1938, thereby attracting a patron of outstanding stature to promote the event. The matinee performance of JM Barrie’s *Shall We Join the Ladies?* was organised by a committee comprising Lady Astor, the Countess of Lytton, Lady Brooke, Mrs Seiff, Mrs JAR Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Reform*, (London: JM Dent), p. 9


Pimlott, p. 153

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raymond_Massey; though check DNB

Elphinstone Farrer, Mrs Leo Myres, Mrs Arthur Croxton and Mrs Edward Hunter. This style of committee fundraising was unusual for Toynbee Hall, though it was a staple fundraising technique of women’s settlements and charities, which drew upon the resources of ‘leisured women’ in organising bazaars or ‘at homes’ to raise money. This was a distinct feature of the CTWS’ fundraising techniques. These networks could also be used for other types of work, notably advertisements in The Lady were used not only for bazaars and events, but also for recruiting staff and volunteers. Colville thus imported her experience of women’s philanthropic work to the male-dominated Toynbee Hall.

This form of fundraising operated through the formation of an appeals committee, usually including at least one member of staff and often a member of the executive committee. Additional members were recommended, usually friends of the core members or trustee body. A patron was secured as early as possible in the campaign, not least because patrons of highest standing – the Queen, Lady Astor and Lady Pentland being in high demand during the 1920s and 1930s – were often committed to a wide range of other charitable projects. The patron could be called upon to attend the event, as in the case of the matinee, or to open a bazaar or an exhibition. In rarer cases, where the patron may have had close personal ties either to the issue or the group of fundraisers, she may have taken a more active role in the fundraising. In these cases, the patron wrote personally to her own circle of contacts to encourage support, rather than allowing the appeal committee just to use her name on the letterhead.

Toynbee Hall had not used this form of women’s fundraising before. Although Henrietta Barnett had a network of female volunteers in the 1880s and 1890s, evidence of sustained female committee fundraising was noticeably absent from the financial

accounts of the settlement until this jubilee appeal. The settlement networked among the male graduates of the universities, building up contacts through college subscriptions in the earliest days, and later an annual membership scheme. This lacked the flexibility of the women’s networking approaches, and whilst it encouraged a long-term commitment and allowed members voting rights in settlement business, it did not promote the personal involvement in a particular campaign that was central to the women’s approach. The jubilee appeal better fitted the women’s style of fundraising than the more traditional methods. Although some funds were raised through grants, the shortfall implied that approaching members for donations had its limits, hence the outstanding £16,500. The women’s networking and the matinee added an element of glamour to the proceedings, as well as reaching groups of leisured women not usually associated with the more ‘masculine’ and political aims of the settlement.

The settlement since the 1930s has employed a diversity of fundraising techniques, from membership subscriptions and grants to more occasional high-profile events. The second such event to employ royal patronage was the fundraising premiere of *Othello* in 1966, organised by John Profumo shortly after his arrival at the settlement. This again employed an appeal committee, and drew extensively upon Profumo’s links with aristocratic society, which had not been severed by his exit from Parliament in 1963. A similar campaign was underway in 2004, again headed by Profumo. Centring upon a 120th settlement anniversary dinner at the Dorchester Hotel, it recruited heavily not only from the City and from members, but from Profumo’s networks in the Conservative Party and elsewhere in the Houses of Commons and Lords. The jubilee appeal of the 1930s began a new, additional, type of fundraising at Toynbee Hall.
The matinee performance of *Shall We Join the Ladies?* was held at the Cambridge Theatre in the West End, with performances from the Glyndebourne Opera under the direction of John Christy, and the Vic-Wells Ballet Company. The latter gave their energies to the project as Lilian Baylis had expressed a wish, ‘shortly before her death [in 1937] to contribute in any way she could to the advancement of Toynbee’.

Baylis herself had strong interests both in the concept of a people’s theatre and in adult education. As Aston notes, Baylis whilst manager of the Old Vic, attempted several times to introduce theatre to her audiences, and was also instrumental in establishing Morley College, an adult education centre which was originally run from the Old Vic. Baylis and her aunt, Emma Cons, a social reformer as well as theatre manager, had originally run the Old Vic as a temperance hall, and experimented with many theatrical forms and genres to provide entertainment without alcohol.

There was an all-star cast for the performance of *Shall We Join the Ladies*, including Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies, Margaret Rawlings, Marie Ney, Margaretta Scott, Jessica Tandy, Jean Cadell, Nicholas Hannen, Frank Allenby, Edward Chapman, Francis Sullivan and Ernest Milton. All the actors mentioned were either current or previous members of the Old Vic Company, and they were directed by Tyrone Guthrie, the Old Vic’s director and from 1937 its manager. All the female actors had starred opposite John Gielgud in previous productions, and from 1930, Gielgud had been a member of the Old Vic. Gielgud was unable to be present at the matinee, instead donating two guineas. Given the recent death of Baylis and her desire to assist a charity developing not only theatrical but also educational provision, their involvement was not surprising. For Jessica Tandy, the appeal would open up opportunities similar to those she had received as a young girl. Although her education had been disrupted by

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tuberculosis, her introduction to the arts had come through attending night school classes in dance and drama in East London with her mother.\textsuperscript{576}

_The Queen_ described Toynbee’s work in the “drab and squalid” East End’ as achieving ‘bright spots which Toynbee Hall and all that it stands for has produced – particularly the artistic, dramatic, operatic and musical possibilities which it has developed among the young people in the mean streets’.\textsuperscript{577} Unlike other areas of the settlement’s work, the theatre block managed to corral into action many prominent society figures and members of the artistic community. It may be that this type of work was accessible to wider groups of people than other settlement activities. Had the aims of the jubilee campaign centred more closely upon Lang’s desire to boost the social research environment at Toynbee Hall, this would have had a far more limited appeal. Social research, as will be discussed later, could draw upon different types of funding, and was not suited to large, glamorous appeals such as this. Beyond making office space available, it required running costs rather than capital. Instead, Mallon and his associates approached grant-making trusts such as the Pilgrim Trust and the British Medical Association for funds for specific projects.

A wide range of people could identify with the theatre. The results of the work were physical and visible. The provision of an East End Dramatic Academy offered the potential for social mobility and the development of particular personal and civic skills. This had a similar appeal to the vogue for boxing amongst boys and young men. Aside from the drama of major boxing tournaments, the theatre and boxing both required personal commitment to a particular aim, the development of skills through practice and co-operation with others and hard work and dedication over a long period. Whilst success in either field was limited to a few, and both could come to a rapid halt, both were careers that could be acquired through effort in leisure time, were respected


\textsuperscript{577} ‘For Toynbee Hall’, _The Queen_, 17 March 1938, BRC/THA/Jubilee Appeal/Press cuttings
within the local community, could provide status on a national (even international) level and could be enjoyed by one’s own community. In the case of the dramatic and musical arts, the skilled and talented could find work in a range of genres and styles, some locally based. For those who showed exceptional merit, there were opportunities to develop skills at the major arts academies through the provision of private grants and scholarships.

The East End and many working class areas of London have a long tradition of the stage school. It can operate as a form of youth club, particularly in the case of part-time or evening classes. It can also be a hothouse for young actors, allowing them to develop skills that can be used in furthering their careers. The East End retained into the 1940s a strong dramatic community, with music halls, such as Wilton’s in Wapping and the Hackney Empire, providing popular places of entertainment. Whilst music halls may have been derided by certain sections of society, they appealed to the local community, and most importantly, offered a place where the aspirant young star could seek his or her fortune in front of their peers. The Jewish community placed a high emphasis on dramatic and musical ability, as well as creating a demand for this type of entertainment. Whether the young developed a taste for music hall, popular or classical theatre, opera or cinematic acting, the opportunities existed to explore these media, and to use their potential for social mobility. Anita Dobson attended the Toynbee Hall drama classes as a child before commencing a career, the highpoint of which was starring as ‘Angie’ in Eastenders at the height of its popularity in the 1980s. Terence Stamp, born in Stepney but growing up in Plaistow, attended the youth clubs at Mansfield House. There was also the potential for the young attenders of the dramatic groups to explore careers in the cinema. With a strong domestic film industry based locally in Walthamstow, a cinematic career was possible. Charlie Chaplin had carved out one of the most famous careers in cinema from extremely humble roots in South London, whilst Alfred Hitchcock was the son of a Leytonstone butcher.
Besides fulfilling a cultural role, the settlement theatre offered a leisure service to the local community. With the support of the theatrical community, it became a highly attractive, even glamorous, subject of a fundraising appeal. It did not carry the connotations of deprivation, as other areas of social work might have done. It was not raising money to help clubs for bedraggled, under-nourished and cheeky boys (though presumably a large number of such boys participated in the theatrical workshops or attended). It was not throwing money at perpetual social problems or at a specific crisis; it was innovatively providing a form of entertainment and enlightenment that all groups in society could engage with. It held the promise, which funding settlement hospitals did not, of finding the next major star of stage or screen. It also provided a location for the mingling of the classes, and a reason for some to venture past the City into the East End. Unlike other types of settlement theatre, the Toynbee Theatre promised quality and professionalism, and the creation of the professional from the amateur.

**EDUCATIONAL WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS**

Who were Toynbee Hall’s students? Emily Klein Abel, as mentioned before, argued that most of the students came from outside the area, and were members of the ‘labour aristocracy’, not ‘typical East Londoners’, though she is unclear about the characteristics of the ‘typical East Londoner’. This is a view also held by Briggs and Macartney. Yet there is no surviving evidence to support this view. JAR Pimlott, who lived and volunteered at Toynbee in the 1930s, provides a different picture. Pimlott maintained that most of the students were aged over 21, predominantly women rather than men and largely though not exclusively from East London. He noted that the students included clerks and typists as well as members of the local clothing and furniture trades.\(^578\) The classes were increasingly popular during the 1920s and 1930s, despite economic depression and unemployment:

\(^{578}\) Pimlott, p. 231
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920 – 1921</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921 – 1922</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926 – 1927</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927 – 1928</td>
<td>769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928 – 1929</td>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929 – 1930</td>
<td>739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930 – 1931</td>
<td>832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931 – 1932</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932 – 1933</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933 – 1934</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934 – 1935</td>
<td>1020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4.2: Student enrolments at Toynbee Hall, 1920 – 1935 (data unavailable 1922 – 1925/6). Statistics 1920 – 1921 and 1921 – 1922 from Toynbee Hall Annual Reports, others from Pimlott, Toynbee Hall, p. 274*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of Residence</th>
<th>1931 – 1932</th>
<th>1932 - 1933</th>
<th>1933 - 1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East London</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North London</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West London</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West London</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West London</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckinghamshire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedfordshire</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total students</strong></td>
<td><strong>650</strong></td>
<td><strong>706</strong></td>
<td><strong>750</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% East London</strong></td>
<td><strong>72%</strong></td>
<td><strong>64%</strong></td>
<td><strong>60.80%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% E London and Essex</strong></td>
<td><strong>76%</strong></td>
<td><strong>76%</strong></td>
<td><strong>76%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4.3: Areas of residence of students 1931 – 1934 Pimlott, Toynbee Hall p. 276*

Pimlott’s data also reveals that students from the East London and Essex region accounted for just over three-quarters of all the students. Abel may have been referring to the period before 1914, but her inference that this finding was true of the educational programme through its history is incorrect. That students were
increasingly travelling to Toynbee from Essex illuminates another feature in East London demography. Moving from East London to Essex or the eastern suburbs of Leytonstone, Hackney and Walthamstow was an indication of social mobility. With the steady construction of the Becontree Estate in the boroughs of Barking and Dagenham from the 1920s onwards, increasing numbers of East Londoners made the move to Essex and its boundaries. Yet why return to the inner city? This may be partly explained by Toynbee’s proximity to the City of London, making it easy for clerks and typists to access the classes after work. But if accounts of the Neighbourhood Club are taken into account (see Chapter Two), those who had joined the gradual move out from the East End frequently returned to see old friends and visit previous haunts. The account of Mark Gertler and Issac Rosenberg’s use of the Whitechapel Public Library suggests that, in some cases at least, a return to Toynbee Hall for classes may have been a reason to keep up with social networks in the East End.

**Figure 4.4: Occupational range of Toynbee Hall students, 1931 – 1932, Pimlott, p.276**
1931 – 1932 was a relatively typical year in terms of student recruitment. Similar numbers of students came from borderline working class/lower middle class occupational backgrounds to those from generic working class ones. 25% came from more distinctively professional or middle class occupational backgrounds, although the commerce category could include working class jobs within that field, such as post boys. Some occupations in City of London finance – such as trading – were open to the working classes, with entry at the lowest level, such as post boy, with the possibility of progression to the trading floor. Toynbee Hall students, therefore, did not come from one social stratum, as judged by occupation.

Some of the students from East London and Essex – particularly those from Leyton, Walthamstow, Tottenham, East Ham, Barking and Ilford – were certainly better off than their students from the ‘Old’ East End (Stepney, Bethnal Green and Shoreditch) and those from across the River Lea in South West Ham. In the absence of more specific data about the precise addresses of students, we can only infer that there was a mixture of students from the various East London neighbourhoods. Poplar was the most deprived borough in East London, followed by Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Stepney. Those who lived and worked in these boroughs tended to be employed in local industries and trades, such as the clothing and furnishing industries, distribution and road and rail transport. Those students who lived outside the East End were not necessarily of higher social status. A number of industries, such as the furnishing and wood-working trades, were still concentrated in the East End and Hackney, but an increasing number of employers were moving their factories to the Home Counties. Some were happy to help their employees relocate, although not all did so. The

579 Llewellyn Smith, New Survey of London Life and Labour Vol III Social Survey, p. 345
581 Ibid., p. 213
interwar years in the London area were a time of social mobility, as East Londoners who had the chance moved out to the less overcrowded suburbs.

What did the students study? In the 1920 – 1921 session, the following classes and courses were open to students:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GT Read</td>
<td>The National Government of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Epstein</td>
<td>Economics (3 year tutorial course)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Shuttleworth,</td>
<td>Elementary Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. WG Hall</td>
<td>Industrial History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madeleine Symons</td>
<td>Problems of Women’s Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH Slesser, Arthur Greenwood, PJ</td>
<td>Problems of Contemporary Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pybus, WA Orton, CM Lloyd, Mallon and others</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>WJ Garnett JP</td>
<td>Countries of the East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Delisle Burns and HJ Laski</td>
<td>Modern Political Ideals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherard Vines</td>
<td>Modern English Literature and its Relation to Present-day Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Lacey</td>
<td>Republic of Plato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Farmer</td>
<td>Introduction to Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Alford</td>
<td>Social Psychology (for Teachers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Alford</td>
<td>Social Psychology (for Social Workers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Austen</td>
<td>The Psycho-Analytic Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA Dale</td>
<td>Choral Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Wilson</td>
<td>String Orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>French, Russian, German, Public Speaking, Folk and Morris Dancing, Hygiene and Needlework.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison, the following were offered in 1946 – 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University of London Tutorial Classes</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GE Smith</td>
<td>Psychology (first year), emphasis on behaviour, personality, social psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GE Smith</td>
<td>Psychology (second year), emphasis on child psychology, crime and delinquency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JL Green</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarisse Speed</td>
<td>Music (first year). Foundations of music, Bach and Beethoven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marjorie Humby</td>
<td>Music Appreciation (second year). Music of the present day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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582 Toynbee Hall Annual Report, 1920 – 1, p.10
583 Syllabus of Evening Classes Session 1946 – 47, BRC/EDU/EPH
A comparison between the two is worthwhile. In the 1940s, female teachers accounted for 36% of the total number of tutors, whereas in 1920, only one female teacher had been employed. In 1920, the female teacher lectured on women’s employment, and whilst in 1946 there was a wider range of courses offered by women, these concentrated upon the arts – although the most demanding course, the University Diploma, was taught by a woman. Apart from this, the only real expansion in the curriculum appears to have been a greater inclusion of arts subjects, though the concentration upon economics and psychology continued. Drama and music were in 1946 – 7 catered for through the respective schools.

Toynbee Hall appears to have developed a reputation in the early 1920s as a major centre for the study of economics. The list of tutors is revealing. Arthur Greenwood, a tutor on the Problems of Contemporary Industry Course, had been a tutorial class tutor for Leeds University, chairman of the Yorkshire WEA. He was one of the authors of the Ministry of Reconstruction’s 1919 Adult Education Report, an MP, Cabinet minister and deputy leader of the Labour Party. In 1920, he had completed a Ratan Tata/LSE supported book entitled *The Health and Physique of Schoolchildren*, and was beginning to establish himself in Labour Party circles. In 1918 he had stood

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584 Professor of Sociology at Bedford College, and a Labour Member of the House of Lords

585 Goldman, *Dons and Workers*, p. 195, 3, 104 and 195
for the seat of Southport, but in 1922 was elected as MP for Nelson and Colne.\footnote{R. C. Whiting, “Greenwood, Arthur (1880-1954).” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33543 (accessed November 25, 2004).} Harold Laski, then teaching Modern Political Ideals, had recently returned from the US to take up a lectureship at the LSE. Laski had been a junior lecturer at McGill University.\footnote{Michael Newman, “Laski, Harold Joseph (1893-1950).” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34412 (accessed November 25, 2004).} Both moved in the same circles as Mallon, and the broader connections of the settlement both before and after the war seemed to bring in people of this stature. The students were not being taught by just anyone with an economics degree, but by people with already significant standing in academia, journalism and the Labour Party. This could have been intimidating for shy students; but it allowed unrivalled access for the students to people actively concerned in social research and political questions.

**TEN YEARS ON: THE TOYNBEE THEATRE**

The impact of the Toynbee Theatre on the local community was immense. For the first time, an extensive programme of classes and groups in drama and music could be offered. The theatre opened in 1938 and continued to operate before, during and after the war. It was fortunate to avoid a direct hit during the Blitz, although a large area of the campus was destroyed. It remained in use during the war, with the sessions of the juvenile court continuing until bombers could be heard overhead!

**THE MUSIC DEPARTMENT**

From the 1930s, the arts department was split into two schools: drama and music. In 1938, the director of the Music Department was John Tobin, assisted by Hans (Peter) Gellhorn. Peter Gellhorn (1912 – 2004) was born in Breslau, and studied music at Berlin University and the Berlin Musical Academy. He was developing a promising career in music until the coming to power of the National Socialists in 1933. The
Nazis banned performances by Jewish musicians, and Gellhorn was forced to flee to England, arriving at Toynbee Hall in 1935. Since Gellhorn went on to international renown as a conductor, through his work at the Sadlers Wells Opera, the Carl Rosa Company, the Royal Opera House, Glyndebourne and the BBC Chorus, much is known about his teaching abilities. By the time Gellhorn came to teach George Benjamin in the 1970s he had many years of expertise in teaching, but it is possible to see something of the young émigré from Benjamin’s account. In early 2004 he wrote:

> Gellhorn was my piano and composition teacher during my early teens. His patience during interminable repetitions of single phrases in Bach, Schumann or Ravel – was as remarkable as his insights were profound. His passionate attention to detail was inspiring, and his devotion to the highest values knew no limit.

Benjamin, now a major composer himself, was very different from those who joined the Toynbee Orchestra, Opera Club or voice training classes, but it is possible to imagine that Gellhorn’s patience and conscientiousness were evident in the late 1930s, or were learned at Toynbee. The quality of the musical teaching and their own talent was such that some Toynbee students received piano scholarships at the Royal Academy of Music. Remarkably, not one of these scholars played a real piano during their training at Toynbee but used a ‘silent keyboard’. These were paper keyboards on which students tapped out the notes. This was a method of allowing as many students to be able to learn and practice the piano without having to buy such an expensive instrument. It also meant that students could be taught in groups, and that the settlement did not have to purchase a number of pianos. Most importantly for the students, it meant that they could take their instruments home to practice, and they need not disturb family and neighbours. To achieve results such as these, it is highly likely that Gellhorn’s teaching skills were in evidence some thirty years before he taught Benjamin.

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The Musical Department provided a wide range of services. In addition to ‘silent keyboards’ for teaching the piano, the settlement offered a savings bank scheme to allow promising new musicians to buy violins. Both pianos and violins were expensive items unlikely to be owned by local families, and access to these affordable alternatives made learning a musical instrument a real possibility.\textsuperscript{591} Those who succeeded in learning these instruments could join the Chamber Music and Ensemble Playing groups, as well as the orchestra. Voice training was also available, with opportunities for some to ‘gain platform experience’, or to perform in public. The Opera club combined singing practice with appreciation of performances by visiting performers. Appreciation was more fully developed in the Musical Appreciation class, as well as through the music reading class and harmony and composition classes.\textsuperscript{592}

However, the Music Department provided more than musical teaching – it reached out into the community. Part of its remit was to provide an advisory service for the local area, supporting both youth and adult organisations and businesses that wished to offer musical services and entertainment to their members. The advisory bureau, which was overseen by Tobin himself, also provided music teachers for other organisations who wished to establish music lessons, as well as special help and guidance to ‘musically gifted persons who desire to follow music as a career’.\textsuperscript{593} Finally, training courses were offered to club music leaders, piano-class teachers, singing teachers and band leaders.\textsuperscript{594}

Without doubt, the Music Department directly tapped into the needs of the community for self-expression, entertainment and enjoyment. But these were not the idle pursuits

\textsuperscript{591} ‘Music for You’, p. 2
\textsuperscript{592} ‘Music for You’, p. 3 – 4
\textsuperscript{593} ‘Music for You’, p. 4
\textsuperscript{594} ‘Music for You’, pp. 5 – 10
or art as artifice that Cynthia Colville had railed about. The Music Department attempted to cater for a wide range of interests for a student body who did not have the means to pursue their musical tastes unassisted. As with other Toynbee educational endeavours, it provided students with expert staff, who themselves learned from their teaching on their own way to national and international renown. To obtain the services of these people – Gellhorn in the case of music, or Laski and Greenwood – for a few pence a week was an outstanding bargain for those who wished to learn from them.

Passing this expertise onto the local community by ‘franchising’ it to other organisations was another method of encouraging music as a form of artistic and personal expression. Perhaps more than other disciplines, music requires the individual to study the techniques involved in playing an instrument, as well as understanding general musical principles. But the rewards are rich – the result is enjoyable, and can be expressed through entertaining friends and family informally, or in public. Both music and drama are excellent means of inculcating discipline, boosting confidence, and particularly with music, through the growing ability to play and learn new skills, the individual can measure his or her own learning.

Learning musical skills made it easier to acquire a taste for other forms of music. Adrian C. Boult (1889 – 1983) became the BBC’s director of music in 1930 at the formation of the BBC Symphony Orchestra. The work of the orchestra was intended to bring musical appreciation to as many people as possible, and the work of the Toynbee Music Department caught Boult’s eye:

I have looked over your prospectus [Music for You] with the greatest interest, and must send a few lines to congratulate you on its scope and the amazing possibilities which it puts within reach of a large army of music lovers who know the way to Toynbee Hall. The nature of our work at

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Broadcasting House as suppliers of music to any home which wishes to listen makes it impossible for us to help as much as we would those who are making music for themselves. We are, however, all convinced that music lovers become better listeners and therefore can enjoy and appreciate our work more as soon as they begin to become better performers, however humble.

This democratic approach was in line with Reith’s views on the importance of public service broadcasting, making what were perceived to be higher art forms – classical rather than popular music – available to a mass audience. It also made plain the links between the talents of those practising elite art forms and the capability of others to enjoy them.

**THE DRAMA DEPARTMENT**

The main focus of the drama department by the 1940s was making drama accessible to the public. In 1946 – 7, the School was headed by John Burrell, assisted by Marion Watson and a team of seven teachers. The acting courses ran over two years, with students able to focus on voice and movement as well as more general acting skills. After completion of the course, the students could join the Toynbee Players. The Toynbee Theatre Club also managed the Toynbee Players, and had a more general remit to encourage the appreciation of drama, as well as to help produce plays.

The Toynbee Hall Theatre Drama Festival had become a popular fixture in the local calendar by the 1950s. All amateur dramatic groups were eligible to perform in the festival, and, apart from providing their own costumes and special effects, all costs were met by the festival committee. The programme ran throughout the autumn until the final performance by the four most successful groups, when prizes were awarded. The programme was repeated in the following year.

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596 Adrian Boult, frontispiece, ‘Music for You’
598 Toynbee Hall Syllabus of Evening Classes, 1951 – 2’, p.3
599 Syllabus 1946 –7, p. 8
In 1946, the festival welcomed a host of groups, from the Hounslow Catholic Youth Club to the Central London WEA, the Carew Dramatic Society and the Tir-Nan-Og Players. Their choice of plays ranged from the Ashburton Players’ *Lady Windermere’s Fan* to the Chatham Co-operative Players’ *Saint Joan*, whilst the New Park Road Institute performed *When the Whirlwind Blows*. All ages and all interests were welcomed, and with tickets at 2/- and 1/-, this was an affordable Saturday afternoon at the theatre. The following year, with the help of the British Drama League, an innovative production of *Richard II* was performed. Instead of using amateur players from a particular area, the cast was drawn from amateur companies in London and beyond.

**THE END OF ARTS AND EDUCATION AT TOYNBEE HALL**

The cessation of the arts and education programme at Toynbee Hall coincides not only with the end of the period of study, but with Mallon’s retirement and a change in direction of the settlement under the leadership of AE Morgan. The comments of Mallon and Anderson (now Lord Waverley) in the introduction to the educational syllabus for 1951–2 are explicit about their understanding of the purposes of adult and community education:

> University Extension Lectures at Toynbee Hall started a movement of Adult Education in East London some sixty years ago; and the founding of the Workers’ Educational Association at Toynbee Hall in 1903 spread Adult Education to all parts of the country. In this birthplace of Adult Education we desire to enrol thousands of earnest students and to obtain the help of all of them in making our classes a source of happiness and an inspiration in good citizenship. [JJ Mallon]

> Classes and groups are organised at Toynbee Hall so that, in an age when, for personal and public reasons, study and constructive thought and creative activity are more than ever necessary, men and women who wish to develop their interests and capacities may be assisted to do so, thereby promoting their own happiness and enhancing their usefulness as citizens.

> The Council of Toynbee Hall warmly invite such men and women to be associated with Toynbee Hall. [John Anderson]

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600 ‘Toynbee Hall: Evening Courses in the Arts, Literature, Social Sciences, Languages and Physical Education 1951 – 1952’, BRC/EDU/EPH
Education was a route to good citizenship, and social participation. Whilst an education could not necessarily save an individual from hardship and poverty, it might distract him or her from their immediate problems, and most importantly, it can give the individual confidence and raise self-esteem.

In the later 1950s, the settlement lost its focus. After the removal of the juvenile court, the arts and education programme also folded. Although AE Morgan was an expert on youth work and citizenship, having written *The Needs of Youth* and *The Young Citizen* in the 1930s, he and the trustees felt that Toynbee Hall needed to move in a new direction to match the needs of the post-war society. *The Needs of Youth* and *The Young Citizen* both recommended that young people should become involved in youth clubs, and to be provided with opportunities for self-development and growth. For Morgan, young people became citizens by co-operating with each other and through adult guidance. The juvenile court, the arts groups and education programme all helped to facilitate this. The education department closed as its grant from the London County Council was not enough to cover the costs of running it, and closed in 1958.601 On one hand, the settlement could not afford to keep running the education classes, especially given the increasing range of options now available to people. On the other hand, it also fell victim to the settlement’s need to rethink its role in the post-World War Two world – a job which fell to Morgan as the successor of Jimmy Mallon.602

**CONCLUSION**

The education and arts programme had been one of the most successful ventures undertaken by Toynbee Hall, attracting many local people as well as those from further afield to the settlement for lessons, clubs or to enjoy performances. Indeed, before the Second World War, the Toynbee Hall theatre was well-known for the high

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601 Briggs and Macartney, p. 147
602 Ibid., pp. 141-3
quality of its ballet performances.\textsuperscript{603} It provided vibrant cultural opportunities for those who desired them. Arts and educational work may have appeared to be relatively non-political. However, the fact that university level education was being provided in a deprived area at a time when 98\% of the English population could not access universities made an important point about the need to allow all Britons the chance to explore the wealth of knowledge available. In this context, the fact that the educational programme may have been used more by the ‘labour aristocracy’ and the lower middle classes is less of a problem than other historians, such as Abel, have argued. From the 1870s through to the 1950s, this had been a bold move since these groups were excluded (with rare exceptions) from the higher education as people from poorer working class backgrounds. Both the classes and the arts groups allowed East Londoners the opportunity to develop individuality and as citizens by understanding more about the world around them, by building skills and by expressing themselves creatively. East Londoners were also able to meet and work with people involved in the artistic professions with experts in their fields. The interest taken by the artistic community in supporting the opening of the theatre demonstrates how important this type of work was to contemporaries. Whilst it did not solve the problems of poverty, it allowed people the opportunity to find something they were interested in, and to make the most of their talents.

The settlements were not unique in this desire to open up cultural and intellectual possibilities to the working classes. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the expansion of both art galleries and public libraries was an important move towards democratising knowledge. The interwar Labour Party was at the forefront of campaigns to improve the quality and range of educational opportunities to working class students. The settlements were pioneers in making these kinds of opportunities available within the community so that there was no need to find a bus or tram fare or to have to travel to classes after work. Classes, art galleries, libraries and theatrical or

\textsuperscript{603} Personal information to the author
musical performances were all available within the local community, and became part of the fabric of the local area. The arts and education helped to build citizenship at a local level, and they also helped to shape national policies on the provision of educational and artistic opportunities and enabled the personal development of individuals.
CONCLUSION

The university settlement movement has not been studied in great depth after the Victorian and Edwardian periods. However, the period between 1918 and 1959 was a time of change, expansion and entrenchment as well as innovation in the settlement movement, and as this thesis has shown, it requires exploration.

Between 1918 and 1939, the settlements were able to further develop existing work, or to cease work that could best be done in other ways. The First World War had posed a crisis of sorts in that it had disrupted settlement activities, but the charities quickly recovered. In this period, the settlements were vital institutions that performed an important role within their local community, as well as influencing the views of policy makers. The settlements were involved in the development of the mixed economy of welfare of the inter-war period, and were able to benefit from it. Settlements were most successful when they concentrated on what local people needed.

The impact of the Second World War, however, challenged this position, through greater physical disruption of services, including bomb damage, as well as through the unveiling of the Beveridge Report and the establishment of the Welfare State. The result of this was that, by 1959, the position of the university settlements was unclear:

> This nation will never become the people of an exclusive and omnipotent State. I believe we shall always have, alongside the great range of public services, the voluntary services which humanise our national life and bring things down from the general to the particular… Our democracy does not mean that we sit down and have things done for us, but that we do things for ourselves… Our democracy depends not just on a governmental machine but on the participation of all citizens in every kind of activity. We must keep stretching out to new horizons, and I will say one thing of Toynbee Hall – it is always looking for new things to do.\(^604\)

When Clement Attlee, then President of the Toynbee Hall Council, made the above assertion at a meeting of that body at some point in 1946 – 7, it was not a view widely

\(^{604}\) Clement Attlee, as quoted by ‘Toynbee Hall in Nineteen Forty-Seven’ promotional/fundraising leaflet, Ephemera collections, BRC/JJM/EPH
shared. Attlee’s government was then in the process of establishing the mechanisms that would form the basis of the Welfare State – Family Allowances, National Insurance, the National Health Service, and a tripartite secondary education system, among other measures. These were radical changes that had a profound impact upon the lives of Britons. They targeted the disadvantages many had suffered before the Second World War; the ability to access healthcare, to be fully supported in times of illness or unemployment, and to access a range of educational opportunities beyond the age of 14. These changes affected many of the issues on which the settlements and other bodies with an interest in social reform had been campaigning or working between the wars. From one point of view, it looked as though the raison d’être of the settlements and of similar organisations had disappeared as Britons embraced these new developments. Poverty apparently disappeared from the public arena, hidden by governmental statistics that apparently proved that disadvantage was no longer an issue in British society, although writers such as Richard Titmuss were suggesting otherwise. The 1950s also saw critiques of the social bias of the educational system. Campaigning to counteract poverty was not the most effective approach to fund-raising in this climate, and despite the continuing need amongst many British people, the settlements like other voluntary sector organisations had to rethink their approaches. Until the publication of The Poor and the Poorest (1965), which demonstrated that the Welfare State was not reaching the needy as well as it should, settlements and other voluntary organisations often had difficulty in articulating what their role in this new world was. However, as with in the interwar period, they were successful, and would remain successful, when they concentrated on real needs that were not being addressed by other bodies. Examples from the 1950s onwards include providing social activities for the elderly, free legal advice and working with the newer immigrant communities.

By the late 1940s, the settlements and other voluntary organisations had been working with the state for fifty years or more. Women’s settlements, such as Canning Town Women’s Settlement, had been amongst the first to address the issue of women’s and children’s health, and they had done invaluable work in campaigning to ensure that local government either supported or took on work of this type. As discussed in Chapter One, Mansfield House, CTWS, members of the West Ham Borough Council and other local bodies established the South West Ham Health Society, which coordinated activity in priority areas, monitored the implementation of the Maternal and Child Welfare Act, and aimed to ensure that the health needs of the area were met as far as possible. The South West Ham Health Society had a diminished role after the implementation of the National Health Service, but its efforts, both before and during World War Two, helped the establishment of comprehensive services. It also ensured that local administrators had experience in managing health and welfare services. Other settlement activities concentrated on the running of Hospital Letter Societies or first aid classes to enable the local communities to access care, particularly for those members of the family who were not covered by the 1911 Act. The nutrition research survey undertaken by Mallon and other organisations in the late 1930s not only uncovered data about how working class families tried to feed their families, but enabled this information to be used in a significant study by Seebohm Rowntree and to inform a debate in the House of Lords. These were all attempts, much like the work in clubs and the juvenile courts, to deal with the immediate problems faced by local people.

The youth club and the juvenile court were interlinked, and their aims and results were not dissimilar to those of medical work. The youth club was a direct means of allowing young people to learn and develop skills, to make friends and take an active role in their community. As discussed in Chapter Three, many of the juvenile law reformers of the interwar years and early 1950s had direct connections with youth
work undertaken at settlements. Similarly, the first juvenile court, in Chicago, had arisen out of the combined efforts of the Hull-House Settlement and the Chicago Women’s Club. They aimed to develop and run a court which took into account the fact that much juvenile crime was the result of poverty, poor education and few opportunities, and that circumstances beyond the young person’s control could force him or her into a life of crime if not checked at an early stage. The experience of youth work in deprived communities enabled middle and upper class social workers and reformers to understand the pressures upon the young and to develop sympathetic relations with them. Those who went on to undertake research into the problem of juvenile crime or to work within the justice system generally both in the UK and the US found that there was a strong correlation between the absence of youth activities or leisure facilities and higher rates of juvenile crime. Providing young people with something to do was an effective way of preventing opportunistic crime, particularly in areas of relative poverty and domestic overcrowding. Attending a youth club also had the potential to develop a young person’s interests for example in sporting or cultural activities, to enable him or her to make friends, gain confidence and a sense of belonging and to boost their self-esteem. These were seen as the particular crime-preventing qualities of youth work and explain why magistrates were often keen to include attendance at youth clubs in probation or care orders. The settlements’ youth clubs were ideal for this type of remedial work – not only could children and young people access activities ranging from Scouts and Guides to sports clubs, but other problems affecting the child’s home life might be identified and helped.

Whilst the settlements reached out to those in need, they also provided opportunities for leisure. Leisure activities could range from highly-structured adult education courses to playing billiards with a gang of friends, attending exhibitions of arts and crafts, or performing in a play. The individual could explore the range of cultural or sporting opportunities on offer, and exert a choice over the leisure activities to perform. Skills could also be developed, through the encouragement to graduate from
using the battered table tennis equipment to the pristine, ‘club’ table for the best players. Completing a course or learning lines or mastering an instrument or excelling in sport were all ways in which East Londoners could develop their sense of self and confidence. The clubs fostered a climate in which members could organise activities for themselves and others, and thereby serve their communities.

Clubs, both adult and juvenile, also offered opportunities for members to become involved with the whole range of management activities, from taking minutes to researching equipment to buy, to policing the running of the clubs and increasing membership. These were responsibilities not always granted to working class children, and they rose to the challenge. Skills could also be developed, through the encouragement of practice in order to graduate from using the battered table tennis equipment to the pristine, ‘club’ table for the best players. Completing a course or learning lines or mastering an instrument were all ways in which East Londoners could develop their sense of self and confidence. The clubs fostered a climate in which members could organise activities for themselves and others, and thereby serve their communities.

Settlements catered for the needs of both sexes at various stages in the lifecycle. Some services were specifically aimed at young men or women, whilst others had more appeal for adult men and women. Youth clubs were gender segregated, but their emphasis was upon providing role models for boys, in the form of club leaders or other members. Girls’ clubs helped young women prepare for their adult lives as potential wives and mothers, but also encouraged girls to participate in public life. Both boys’ and girls’ clubs had similar aims of helping to create confident and capable adult citizens, if by means which reflected the expected gender roles of the time. The CTWS Hospital and its later counterpart in the children’s hospital were examples of settlements responding to needs that were related to the life-cycle, such as pregnancy, child-birth and early childhood. The juvenile court’s criminal jurisdiction treated males and females very differently, which correlated partly with gender roles, but may
also be explained by the different routes into adulthood taken by young men and
women. Young women’s movements were more supervised and circumscribed, partly
to control their early sexual behaviour. The ways in which older women helped
younger women to cope with and understand puberty inducted them into adult life,
socialising the young women. Young women also had a role to play in caring for
younger relatives, and assisting their mothers in their spare time. Young men, on the
other hand, did not have the same process of induction, and their leisure time was less
circumscribed. The arts and education programme were equally accessible to both
men and women. There, the main issue was the exclusion of less affluent men and
women from the liberal arts, and further and higher education.

Settlements also provided opportunities for university women to become involved in
social work of various kinds. Women’s settlements were founded from the 1880s
onwards, but these continued to be of importance in the period 1918 to 1959. As
female controlled organisations, women’s settlements offered women the opportunity
to become involved not only in the daily running of services, but also more senior
roles in managing the settlement and using their positions to influence the
development of welfare more broadly. The women settlers were keen to ensure that
the local girls and women who used their settlements were also able to develop their
talents and abilities. Whilst some of their work in girls’ clubs, for example, allowed
girls to enhance their skills in homemaking and childcare, the settlement welcomed
prominent women from all backgrounds to speak to and encourage the girls. The
women’s settlements in particular provided a supportive environment for women and
girls of all backgrounds.

For women working in male-run settlements, the situation was somewhat different.
Unlike women’s settlements, females could not officially take up residence at a male
settlement until the 1950s and 1960s. This meant that women involved with male
settlements were required to live off-site, or as in the case of Edith Ramsey, in flats
managed by the settlement. These women were therefore excluded from certain aspects of residential life, such as the collegiate style living and eating arrangements. They were not effectively part of the community of settlers – or volunteers who lived on site, and their relationship to the work of the settlements differed. Women were not precluded from the settlement activities, but their work was carried out through paid employment or, such as in the case of the nutrition research, as one-off volunteering work offered to the women who were married to residents. However, this only applied in the case of women who were not prominent in their own right. Whilst women working at men’s settlements did not rise through the ranks to more senior posts, these settlements were more than willing to work alongside women of professional or social status, as was the case with both Margaret Bondfield and Cynthia Colville at Toynbee Hall. Settlements such as Toynbee Hall were not unwilling to support or employ women as staff or volunteers, but their continued emphasis upon a male collegiate residential base affected the involvement of women in the settlement until the 1960s. Although the settlement had broadened its recruitment of residential volunteers or settlers by the interwar years and Second World War, this reflected the settlement’s origins in predominantly male Oxbridge colleges and its continuing networks amongst such graduates.

The activities of the period 1918 – 1959 were not necessarily different from those of the earliest period of the settlements, but the practice and purposes were. Firstly, we can see how the settlements worked more closely with the state, through involvement in setting up local authority healthcare, and co-operating with the courts to provide help and assistance to children in need. Secondly, after the extension of the franchise in 1918 and 1928 the settlements were dealing with deprived citizens, rather than deprived people without full citizenship rights. This is the most important paradigmatic change from the preceding period. It was now necessary to support people to access the types of activities that were increasingly seen as their right – for example, to explore the range of human knowledge, rather than following vocational
courses that emphasised particular working class roles, and to provide opportunities for working class people to build the confidence to take on responsibility for their communities. Although the settlements were doing many of these things before 1918, there was a change from undertaking ‘top-down’ philanthropic or charitable work to what would in the early twenty-first century be termed enabling social inclusion or participation.

This thesis therefore argues that the university settlements between 1918 and 1959 played a particular role in assisting deprived communities to make use of their rights as citizens. This involved helping people to access services to help them in practical terms, but also in a broader sense of increasing their confidence and self-worth. This was delivered ‘on the doorstep’, within the local community. The settlements were part of the fabric of the area. However, their influence was not confined to their immediate neighbourhood. Although the settlements were an important influence on a number of individuals who went onto careers in public policy formation (such as William Braithwaite, Hubert Llewellyn Smith and William Beveridge) the relationship did not stop there. They had powerful contacts in both government and the intelligentsia who were keen supporters of their work, which greatly aided their ability to continue to influence policy and thought in this period. For example, the Hire Purchase Act of 1937 was drafted by a Toynbee Hall Poor Man’s Lawyer volunteer, whose work was adopted and pushed through Parliament by the MP Ellen Wilkinson. The settlements were important resources for people who wished to make the public aware of need – for example, Seebohm Rowntree’s use of the settlement networks to build up a picture of nutrition in the late 1930s. They could call upon the influential people to support their causes at the highest levels, including the Queen’s Lady-in-Waiting, a Prime Minister and the Governor of the BBC. The settlements used powerful networks to help their work on the ground; and to drive their cause forward.

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This thesis argues that the role of the university settlements and other charities in shaping public policy and inspiring practice has not been fully explored. It provides a starting point from which we can begin to build a picture of this relationship. Much important work needs to be done on the relationship between the State and the voluntary sector in the interwar years through to the 1960s. The ‘mixed economy’ of welfare is now a well-known concept, but it is not a recent phenomenon. It is necessary to explore the inter-related developments both of the voluntary sector and the welfare state in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and its relationship to the granting of full citizenship to all Britons. The interactions between the voluntary sector and the emerging welfare state have influenced the particular character of British social welfare policy, and the methods of co-operation undertaken in the interwar years have their echoes in current policy and approaches. This is especially in the case in urban regeneration projects, such as the New Deal for Communities scheme, which mirrors many of the methods used by the university settlements.

Voluntary action is also closely connected with the concept of British citizenship. As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, many social reformers and policy makers of the interwar and post-1945 period believed that voluntary social work was a necessary adjunct to the welfare state, and should not be replaced by it. Volunteers could help to address needs that the state could not deal with quickly or in the appropriate manner, and volunteers were also able to lend a personal dimension to such work. Volunteers gained experience in social work that could help them further careers in social policy, as was often the case in juvenile law and care. Yet giving up time to help within the community was also seen as a responsibility of the individual as a member of society, as a citizen. Voluntary work of all varieties, from young men helping to run a settlement youth club or lawyers providing free advice, was part of being a responsible citizen. The awareness of the limitations of the voluntary sector helped to sustain the
drive for state intervention at the same time that volunteering was a way for those who were ‘new’ citizens to develop this role. This concept has been revived in the last few years. As with the concept of the mixed economy, voluntary work has attracted the attention of all political parties and the Civil Service in recent years as both a way of delivering services and developing citizenship.

The university settlements were challenged by the advent of the welfare state after 1945, and had to rethink their role in British society. However, between 1918 and 1959, and especially between 1918 and 1939, the settlements had created new ways in which the voluntary sector could work alongside both the state and local communities, by being institutions which could cross the divide between the deprived and the privileged. They used their expertise in social work to help shape policy makers’ attitudes, at the same time that they encouraged their users to develop as both citizens and individuals. They also learned to concentrate on providing what was needed, what their local communities wanted in a changing world. The settlements and their supporters helped to shape the character of the British welfare state, and by exploring these charities’ roles in the early- to mid-twentieth century, an understanding of the development of British citizenship, voluntarism and state action can be achieved.
APPENDIX ONE: UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS REFERRED TO IN THIS THESIS

Summary histories and links to websites of current settlements and history pages where applicable

Bede House Association, 1938 South East London – Bermondsey.
Bede House Association was formed from the Princess Louise Club that had been run by the same Warden, Nellie Hooker. Its emphasis was on youth work in this period, particularly sports and clubs. See Katharine Bradley, Bringing People Together: Bede House Association and Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, (London: Bede House Association, 2004).

Bernhard Baron St. George’s Jewish Settlement, 1914 East London – Stepney.
This settlement, originally known as the Oxford and St. George’s, was founded by Basil Henriques (see Appendix Three). Henriques was warden at the settlement from 1914 until his retirement in 1947. The settlement had a predominantly Jewish clientele and offered summer camps, classes, clubs, and after its move to Berners Street, it offered clinics for pregnant women, a kindergarten and a gym. The settlement also had a synagogue, which continues today as the Stepney Branch of the South West Essex and Settlement Reform Synagogue. The settlement no longer exists, but a concise history of it can be found at: http://www.rigal.freeserve.co.uk/the_oxford_and_st_georges_clubs.htm

Blackfriars Settlement (Formerly Women’s University Settlement), 1887 South East London – The Borough.
The Women’s University Settlement was founded by members of a number of women’s colleges, Girton and Newnham at Cambridge, Lady Margaret and Somerville at Oxford and Bedford and Royal Holloway, London. The first warden was Alice Gruner, who had come there from Newnham College and established the basic programme of children’s country holidays, a library and arts education. In 1903 women from the settlement began training in social work at the London School of Economics, and subsequently laid the foundation of the sociology department. Notable women connected to the settlement include its wardens, Margaret Sewell and Helen Gladstone (the daughter of William Ewart Gladstone, the Prime Minister), as well as Mary Ward. Women from the settlement went onto found other settlements in Birmingham, Edinburgh and Liverpool. See http://www.blackfriars-settlement.org.uk

Birmingham Settlement, 1899 Birmingham, West Midlands.
The Birmingham Settlement was set up by a group of women from the Edgbaston, Harborne and Handsworth (affluent) areas of the city. The impetus to establish the settlement came from the 1898 annual meeting of the Birmingham branch of the National Union of Women Workers, who wished to follow the example of women’s settlements in Liverpool and Southwark (see Blackfriars Settlement, above). See http://www.birminghamsettlement.org.uk/history.htm and Jon Glasby, Poverty and Opportunity: 100 Years of the Birmingham Settlement, (Studley: Brewin, 1999)
The Brady Girls’ Club and settlement was set up in 1925 by Miriam Moses, a local Jewish activist and politician. It was originally held in rooms at the Buxton Street School, just off Vallance Road (see Appendix Two), but later moved to Hanbury Street in Whitechapel in 1937. See http://www.raggedschoolmuseum.org.uk/thol/stepney/mmoses_4.shtml. The Brady Boys’ Club was established in 1896 by Jewish businessmen to help relieve conditions in the East End. Information on this can be found at http://www.eastlondonhistory.com/brady%20centre.htm.

Canning Town Women’s Settlement, 1892 East London – West Ham
The Canning Town Women’s Settlement began as a sister organisation to Mansfield House University Settlement (see below). Like MHUS, it was a Congregationalist settlement. It was originally affiliated to Milton Mount College, a school for the daughters of Congregationalist ministers. The settlement was wound down in the 1970s, and merged again with Mansfield House. Mansfield House again joined with the Aston Charities in 2000, and continues to operate in East London as Aston-Mansfield Charities Limited. See www.aston-mansfield.org.uk, and also Introduction.

Dame Colet House, 1912 East London – Stepney/Limehouse

Durham House Settlement North East England - Durham
Durham House Settlement was founded as a daughter settlement of Spennymoor Settlement in Durham. It was mostly an educational settlement, with an emphasis on workers being able to access education and the arts. The Spennymoor Settlement papers are available through the archives of Durham University, whilst some information is available via Jane Hatcher’s web-published article ‘Spennymoor Settlement – An artistic legacy’ - http://www.durham-miner.org.uk/miner/projects.nsf/0/2ddd42de2808438580256e8d00479880?OpenDocument

Edinburgh University Settlement, 1905 – Scotland – Edinburgh
This settlement opened in 1905, when a group of university lecturers decided to use their spare time to teach local people. It is associated with the establishment of Scotland’s adult literacy campaign, and its firsts include a mothers’ club, health visiting centre, unemployed workers’ centre and the first college of adult education. See Anna Johnson, Communities: How to Create A Lasting Footprint in Deprived Communities, (London: BASSAC, November 2004) and Julia Horton, ‘Student Gift That Keeps on Giving’, Edinburgh Evening News, Tuesday 15 February 2005

Henry Street Settlement House New York, 1893 New York, USA
Web address http://www.henrystreet.org/site/PageServer
Hull-House Chicago, 1889 Illinois, USA
For current work, see http://www.hullhouse.org/; for links to the Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, University of Illinois, Chicago see http://wall.aa.uic.edu:62730/artifact/HullHouse.asp

Mansfield House University Settlement, 1891 East London – West Ham
Mansfield House University Settlement was founded by members of Mansfield College, Oxford. This Congregationalist college of the university had strong links with the West Ham settlement for some years, providing the charity with a Fairbairn Fellow whose period of office was to be spent in youth work. Mansfield House from the outset concentrated on boys’ and men’s clubs, and also founded the first free legal advice service. It merged with Aston Charities in 2000, and now operates as Aston-Mansfield Charities Ltd (see Canning Town Women’s Settlement note above).
www.aston-mansfield.org.uk See also Introduction.

Oxford House, 1884 East London – Bethnal Green
See Introduction

Passmore Edwards opened 1897 by Mrs Humphrey [Mary] Ward, the novelist and philanthropist in the St.Pancras/Bloomsbury area. Passmore Edwards, named after its benefactor, continued the work Ward had experimented with at University Hall. The settlement was particularly known for its work in setting up schools for disabled children, and also for developing play centres. See http://www.infed.org/walking/wa-ward.htm for a brief history of Passmore Edwards Settlement.

Peckham Settlement (Formerly United Girls’ School Mission, later Union of Girls’ Schools for Social Service), 1896. South East London - Peckham
This settlement was originally a mission founded when a group of girls’ public schools formed the Union of Girls’ Schools of Social Service. Peckham has historically been linked with the development of unemployment insurance, nursery clubs and meals on wheels. See http://www.peckhamsettlement.org.uk

St. Hilda’s East, 1889, East London – Shoreditch
This settlement was founded by the Incorporated Guild of the Cheltenham Ladies’ College in 1889. The settlement retains strong working links with its founding college. Information, including a recent annual report, can be found at http://www.sthildas.org.uk/

St. Margaret’s House Settlement, 1889 East London – Bethnal Green
This settlement opened in 1888 following a Miss Anson’s call for support in Oxford for a ladies’ mission in East London. The settlement formally opened in 1889, and offered CCHF and MABYS branches, along with district and hospital visiting, a needlework scheme to help impoverished women make ends meet during the winter, Sunday Schools, workhouse visiting, nursing and girls’ clubs, amongst other activities. St. Margaret’s is still an active charity, running a number of self-help groups and youth activities as well as providing office space for related organisations.
http://www.saintmargarets.demon.co.uk/hist2.htm and http://www.saintmargarets.demon.co.uk
Time and Talents, 1887 South East London – Bermondsey and Rotherhithe
Time and Talents was established by a group of women who were concerned about conditions in the Docklands. The early work of the settlement included club rooms, and later to provide a hostel for young factory girls who were experiencing overcrowding at home. The organisation still operates, and offers a range of support groups to the local community. http://www.se16.btinternet.co.uk/tandt1.htm and www.timeandtalents.org.uk

Toynbee Hall (1884)
See introduction and also www.toynbeehall.org.uk.
APPENDIX TWO – DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Addams, Jane (1860 – 1935). Jane Addams, a native of Northern Illinois, visited Toynbee Hall in the late 1880s. On her return to the US, she founded Hull-House Settlement House on the Near West Side of Chicago. Hull-House was one of the most influential of the US settlements. Addams and the Barnettts were close friends, and this partly accounts for the close links between the two settlements. Addams remains a key figure in US social history, with the result that her life and work is well documented. Twenty Years at Hull-House (1910 – repr. University of Illinois Press 1990) is the best introductory text. The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum and the Special Collections, both at the University of Illinois at Chicago hold artefacts and documents on the life of Addams, as well as useful interpretative documents. See www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/hull_house.htm for further details.


Attlee, Clement Richard (1883 – 1967). Attlee was a resident at Toynbee Hall between August 1909 and May 1910, and between March 1919 and October 1919. Attlee was particularly involved in work against the sweated industries and promoting the Trades Boards Act, as well as with youth work. He also had strong connections with the Haileybury Guild, a charitable organisation connected to his alma mater, Haileybury School. Following Attlee’s residency at Toynbee Hall in 1919, he entered local politics, becoming Mayor of Stepney in 1920 and MP for Limehouse in 1922, and leader of the Labour Party in 1935. He was elected MP for West Walthamstow in 1950 in whilst Prime Minister (1945 – 1951). See Kenneth Harris, Attlee, (1982) and Attlee, As it Happened, (1954).

Barnett, Henrietta (1851 – 1936). Social reformer and co-founder of Toynbee Hall. Henrietta was a friend of Octavia Hill’s when the two were undertaking voluntary parish work at St. Mary’s, Bryanston Square in West London. Here, Henrietta met her future husband, Samuel. Henrietta Barnett is sometimes overlooked in the history of the settlement movement, but was a particularly innovative social reformer in her own right. She was a poor law guardian, a school manager, and also worked to help prostitutes. She co-founded the Metropolitan Association for the Befriending of Young Servants in 1876, and the Children’s Country Holiday Fund in 1884. She also promoted free Sunday musical concerts and art exhibitions that later became the Whitechapel Art Gallery. She also went on to develop the Hampstead Garden Suburb, and published widely on a range of social issues. See Seth Koven, “Barnett , Dame Henrietta Octavia Weston (1851-1936),” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30610 (accessed June 25, 2005), also Beatrice Webb, My Apprenticeship (1926) and Henrietta Barnett, Canon Barnett: His Life, Work and Friends (1918).

Barnett, Samuel Augustus (1844 – 1913). Social reformer, clergyman, co-founder of Toynbee Hall. After leaving Oxford, became a curate at the parish of St. Mary’s, Bryanston Square, and was involved, alongside his future wife Henrietta and mutual friend, Octavia Hill, with the foundation of the Charities

**Beveridge, William (1879 – 1963).** Social reformer, economist. After graduating from Oxford and a short-lived career at the Bar, Beveridge became Barnett’s Sub-Warden at Toynbee Hall between 1903 and 1905. During his time at Toynbee Hall, Beveridge came into contact with a wide range of people interested in social issues and reform, and undertook a study into unemployment. In 1905, Beveridge left Toynbee Hall to become a journalist, although, like Attlee, he retained links with the settlement well into his old age. See Jose Harris, *William Beveridge, A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977)

**Black, Mr** Member of National Baby Week Council who visited related activities of South West Ham Health Society.

**Bondfield, Margaret (1873 – 1953).** Trade unionist, Labour politician, women’s rights campaigner. Her connection with the settlement movement derives from her work with Mary Macarthur, a friend and collaborator of Mallon’s in the early 1900s, as well as through organisations such as the Cooperative Women’s Guild. She was also an active Congregationalist, which may explain her connections with Mansfield House and Canning Town Women’s Settlement. In 1923, she was one of the first three Labour women MPs to be elected, and was the first female cabinet minister and privy councillor. She was also a JP for London and a member of the National Council of Social Service. See Philip Williamson, “Bondfield, Margaret Grace (1873-1953),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31955 (accessed June 25, 2005).

**Booth, Charles (1840 – 1916).** Shipowner and social researcher. In the late 1880s, Booth began work on his study, *Life and Labour of the People of London*. Booth was not a resident of Toynbee Hall, but he used a shed on the campus as a base for his work (it was where the Barnett Research Centre now stands) and engaged a number of Toynbee residents as assistants, including Ernest Aves and Hubert Llewellyn Smith. Jose Harris, “Booth, Charles (1840-1916),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31966 (accessed June 25, 2005).


**Brodie, Admiral** Admiral Brodie and his wife were long-term supporters of Toynbee Hall who loaned their home (Midhurst) to Toynbee Hall to help
relieve East Londoners disturbed by the Blitz. See Barnett Research Centre, Toynbee Hall for further information

**Cadbury, George Woodall (1907 - )** Businessman. Son of George Cadbury and nephew of Laurence John Cadbury. Taught by John Maynard Keynes at Kings College, Cambridge. Resident at Toynbee Hall during the 1930s.


**Cathcart, Prof. Edward Provan (1877 – 1954)** Physiologist. Cathcart became particularly interested in industrial physiology in the 1920s, being a member of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board. Cathcart was opposed to industrial automation and its effects on workers. Between 1924 and 1940 he supervised 5 dietary studies funded by the Medical Research Council. Cathcart was keen to explore ‘maternal efficiency’ and also the impact of nutrition on children. He was sceptical of the benefits of vitamins (unlike E Mellanby), and he also believe that nutritional deficiencies were the result of ignorance rather than poverty. Cathcart was also a member of the Ministry of Health nutrition advisory committee, and was a major advisor to those framing the National Health Service. From RC Garry, “Cathcart, Edward Provan (1877-1954),” rev. David F Smith, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32327 (accessed June 29, 2005).

**Charteris, Leslie (1907 – 1993)** (Leslie Charles Bowyer Yin) Author of popular *The Saint* books, which were televised in the 1960s. The Saint Club sponsored the Invalid and Crippled Children’s Hospital, and now sponsors the Arbour Youth Club in Stepney. See [www.saint.org](http://www.saint.org)

**Cheetham, Rebecca** Warden of Canning Town Women’s Settlement, and founder of the school for disabled children in West Ham.

**Clarke, FG** Clarke was the district officer of the Bishopsgate Unemployment Assistance Board in the period 1936 – 1938. He and his assistant Williams worked together on collecting data on food prices for Mallon and Seebohm Rowntree.

**DeKoven Bowen, Louise (1859 – 1953)** Leading US social reformer and activist. She was a colleague and close supporter of Jane Addams and Hull-House. She joined the Hull-House Women’s Club in 1893, and was deeply involved in the campaign to establish the Cook County Juvenile Court. She was President of the Juvenile Protective Association for 35 years, and also pro-women’s suffrage.

**Drysdaile, Grace** Warden of Edinburgh University Settlement during the late 1930s, and collaborated with Mallon on the nutrition research project (see Chapter One)

**Du Cros, Arthur (1871 – 1955)** Tyre manufacturer, managing director of Dunlop Tyres. Du Cros was a supporter of the Canning Town Women’s Settlement, and provided a summer home for the camps (see Chapter Two)
Galt, Dr. WJ Galt was a tutor on the St. John Ambulance courses at Toynbee Hall.


Grinling, CH The first resident of Toynbee Hall, moving into the settlement on Christmas Eve 1884.

Hall, Helen In 1935, Helen Hall was President of the American National Federation of Settlements, an equivalent body to the British Association of Residential Settlements (BARS).

Henriques, Basil Lucas Quixano (1890 – 1961) Founder of the Bernhard Baron St. George Settlement in East London, and a juvenile court magistrate. Whilst at Oxford as a young man, he met Alexander H Paterson, who later went on to be a prison reformer (see below). Like Paterson, Henriques became a resident at a university settlement, being a resident at Toynbee Hall in 1913–1914. He set up the Oxford and St. George’s in the East Jewish Boys’ Club in March 1914. Henriques was called up to serve in World War One, but he continued to work for the club. His wife, Rose Louise Loewe, had set up the girls’ club at the nascent settlement and therefore kept him in touch. On his return from the front line, Henriques moved the club to more spacious accommodation and renamed the settlement the Bernhard Baron St. George’s Jewish settlement. He became a magistrate in 1924, and was involved in the establishment of the juvenile courts in 1933. Henriques was elected as chair of the East London Juvenile Court in 1936, serving until 1955. Henriques also published a number of books on youth work and Judaism, one of which, Indiscretions of a Magistrate is discussed in Chapter Four. See Sarah McCabe, “Henriques, Sir Basil Lucas Quixano (1890-1961),” rev., in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33821 (accessed July 8, 2005).

Hill, Octavia (1838 – 1912) Social and housing reformer. Hill pioneered a new method in housing for the deprived by allowing those not normally eligible for model dwellings. She was one of the founding members of the Charity Organisation Society, and worked at St Mary's, Bryanston Square alongside the Barnettts. She was also involved with the Kyrle Society, and established the National Trust. See Gillian Darley, “Hill, Octavia (1838-1912),” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33873 (accessed July 8, 2005).

Hitchcock, Eldred Frederick Hitchcock was resident at Toynbee Hall between 1912 and 1919. He was first involved in the campaigns to end sweated labour, and during the First World War became active in economic work, notably working on the cost of wool and textiles and clothing. When Toynbee Hall moved to Poplar in 1915, Hitchcock remained as Secretary of the Whitechapel buildings. When the experiment crumbled, Hitchcock took over as honorary Warden in order to restore the settlement to its former state. His wife was also key in the restoring conditions at the settlement. Hitchcock
resigned in 1919 in order for Jimmy Mallon, whom he had known for some
time, to take over as warden.

Hodgkinson, Joseph Lionel (Jo) Sub-Warden of Toynbee Hall from 1930
until the Second World War when he was called to serve. Hodgkinson was
particularly involved in the arts, particularly drama.

Hooker, Nellie Warden of the Princess Club and later Bede House
Association in Bermondsey, from 1927 to the 1950s.

Horobin, (Sir) Ian Macdonald Warden of Mansfield House University
Settlement. Horobin also served as an MP. During the Second World War, he
was an RAF officer and a prisoner of war in Java. Horobin was made a peer
in 1962, but shortly had to resign his peerage when arrested on indecency
charges, for which he was later imprisoned.

Hughes, David Hughes was resident at Toynbee Hall between 1931 and
1932. He was particularly involved in the nutrition research project discussed
in Chapter One.

Hughes, Mary (1860 – 1941) Hughes was the daughter of Tom Hughes, a
County Court judge, Christian Socialist and author of Tom Brown’s
Schooldays. Hughes decided at an early age that she must devote her life to
the poor, and in 1897 she came to St. Jude’s to volunteer. Her cousin, the
Rev. Ernest Carter was then vicar (he and his wife later perished on the RMS
Titanic). Hughes then worked with Muriel and Doris Lester who were by then
running Kingsley Hall in Bow between 1915 and 1917. In 1894, Hughes had
been one of the first women in Britain to become a member of the Board of
Guardians, and she reprised this role in Whitechapel between 1910 and 1925.
She was also a Labour councillor in Stepney between 1919 and 1934. In
1926, she converted a disused public house into the Dewdrop Inn, a refuge for
the needy. See Harold Finch, The Tower Hamlets Connection: A Biographical

Kelly, GT Warden of St. Margaret’s House, Bethnal Green in the 1930s, and a
collaborator of Mallon’s on the nutrition research project.

Barnett’s meeting that proposed the university settlement was held in Lang’s
rooms. Lang was the Chairman of Toynbee Hall from 1933 until 1945, and
was particularly keen to see the settlement develop its research programme.

Lascelles, The daughter of Edward Lascelles; Alice was particularly involved
in the ballet classes and groups after the war, and also contributed to the
research work for Seebohm Rowntree’s The Human Needs of Labour.

Lascelles, Edward (DOB and DOD unknown) Collaborator of Mallon’s on
the book Poverty Today and Yesterday and a regular visitor to Toynbee Hall.

Leslie, Dr Murray Dr Murray Leslie was a doctor at the Canning Town
Women’s Settlement Hospital, and served on various management
committees.

Llewellyn Smith, Sir Hubert – see Smith, Hubert Llewellyn

M’Gonigle, George Cuthbert Mura (1889 – 1939) Medical officer of health.
Whilst Medical Officer of Health in Stockton, he discovered that rickets was
connected to vitamin and mineral deficiencies in children. He also found that
the poor could not afford those food items that were essential to good health. The British Medical Association appointed him to a committee investigating the minimum cost of an appropriate diet, and the publication of this report in 1933 was used by the Labour Party, the TUC, Eleanor Rathbone’s Children’s Minimum Council and the Committee Against Malnutrition. See Susan McLaurin, “M’Gonigle, George Cuthbert Mura (1889-1939),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60875 (accessed June 29, 2005).

**McNulty** McNulty was Jo Hodgkinson’s successor as Sub-Warden of Toynbee Hall.

**Mallon, James Joseph (Jimmy) (1874 – 1961)** Jimmy Mallon was born to Irish parents in Manchester in 1874. His father died when he was 4, leaving Jimmy to help his mother financially support the family. Mallon left school at 14 to become an apprentice to a jeweler. He acquired a further education through attending lectures and debates at the Ancoats Settlement. Mallon became increasingly involved in the life of the settlement, and also heavily involved in politics and working class welfare. In 1906 he moved to London to become part of the anti-sweated labour campaign, being appointed secretary of the National League to Establish a Minimum Wage. This brought him into contact with Toynbee Hall for the first time. Mallon came into contact with a number of people connected to the settlement, including the Barnett and Tawney, and worked closely alongside Mary Macarthur who was campaigning for the rights of women working in sweated trades. The campaign succeeded in the establishment of the 1909 Trades Boards Act. During the First World War, Mallon undertook a number of governmental roles, including commissioner for industrial unrest, anti-profiteering and being a member of the reconstruction committee (specifically working on the proposed Whitley joint industrial committees to improve industrial relations).

In 1919, Mallon was appointed Warden of Toynbee Hall, and he remained there until his retirement in 1954. Mallon oversaw the expansion of the arts and educational work, and the development of the work in youth welfare and the courts. He also expanded networks of social workers, establishing firstly the British Association of Residential Settlements (now known as BASSAC) and the International Federation of Settlements, and the Anglo-American seminars, which continued until after the Second World War.


**Mallon, Stella (b. 1889/1890)** Stella Katherine Gardiner, the daughter of AG Gardiner, the editor of the *Daily News*, married Jimmy Mallon, then Warden of Toynbee Hall in 1921.

**Mannheim, Hermann (1889 – 1974)** Criminologist. Mannheim was a senior judge in Germany before having to flee the Nazi regime in 1933/4. He was
involved with Toynbee Hall immediately after his arrival in London. He joined
the London School of Economics in 1935, and concentrated upon
criminological research. Mannheim is seen as one of the founders of British
criminology, with a major research centre being named after him.

Mawson, Eric Mawson was a member of BARS in the 1930s, and
encouraged Mallon to promote the nutrition research amongst the settlements
in Britain.

Milne, Field-Marshal George Milne (1866-1948), was created Lord Milne in
1933. Milne was a career soldier, distinguished for his conduct at Salonika in
the First World War. He later served in the Home Guard in World War Two.
He was a member of the British Association for Labour Legislation (BALL)
committee into nutrition in the 1930s.

Milne, Mrs Member of the Executive Committee of Canning Town Women’s
Settlement between 1918 to the early 1920s

Munro, David (Sir) Munro was head of the Medical Research Council in the
1930s. The Medical Research Council was founded in 1913 and has been a
major funder of medical and scientific research in the United Kingdom.

Osborn, Dr. S Like Dr. Galt (see above), Osborn was a tutor on the Toynbee
Hall St. John Ambulance courses before World War One.

Parker Crane, Mrs Warden of Canning Town Women’s Settlement circa 1918
– 1920.

Parsons, Daisy (1890 – 1957) Suffragette and first female mayor of West
Ham. Parsons began her career working in factories, and later in domestic
service. She realised early on that men had more rights than women, even in
matters relating to their own children, and this prompted Parsons to become
involved in the suffrage campaigns. She joined the East London Federation of
Suffragettes in 1913, and was in the only delegation of working-class
suffragettes to be received by the Prime Minister, HH Asquith. She was
elected to West Ham Borough Council in 1922, having been co-opted to the
maternity and child welfare committee of the council three years previously.
She was an alderman from 1935, and mayor in 1936 – 7. See Tim Wales,
"Parsons, Marguerite Lena (1890-1957)," in Oxford Dictionary of National
Biography, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004),

Passfield, Lord – see Webb, Sidney

After leaving Oxford, Paterson went to live and work at the Oxford and
Bermondsey Club in South London. His work, particularly with young people,
had a profound impact upon him and he was drawn closer to the field of prison
work. In 1922, he was appointed Commissioner of Prisons and Director of
Convict Prisons, a position he held until 1946. Paterson was also connected
with the reform of Borstals, and many of his ideas were implemented in the
Criminal Justice Act of 1948.

Picht, Werner Picht was a German resident of Toynbee Hall in the early
1900s, and he produced a study of Toynbee Hall and the English Settlements
(translated into English in 1914).
Pimlott, John Alfred Ralph (1909 – 1969) Pimlott, the father of Ben Pimlott, the historian and Warden of Goldsmiths College, University of London. The elder Pimlott was a civil servant. During his years at Toynbee Hall, he wrote the 50th anniversary history of the settlement. Pimlott was also a member of the movement to establish paid holidays for all.

Powell, Eleanor Powell worked alongside Sewell at the Women’s University Settlement (now Blackfriars Settlement) in the Borough area.

Ramsay, Edith (1895 – 1983) Ramsay was a popular and well-known social worker in the East End. After attending Bedford College and the LSE, she came to the Stepney area to work firstly at the Old Castle Street Day Continuation School, and later at the Stepney Women’s Evening Institute, where she was head. Ramsay was always keen to truly understand the experiences of the people she worked with, and she continued to volunteer as well as to undertake paid work. Ramsay worked for the local Jewish population, refugee children after World War Two, Hungarian refugees fleeing the 1956 uprising, and the rights and welfare of prostitutes as well as colonial seamen. She was a borough councillor on three occasions for the Cable Street (Tower Hamlets ward). See Bertha Sokoloff, Edith and Stepney: the Life of Edith Ramsay, (London: Stepney Books, 1987) and Harold Finch, The Tower Hamlets Connection: A Biographical Guide, (London: Tower Hamlets Library Services and Stepney Books, 1996)


Rowntree, (Benjamin) Seebohm (1871 – 1954) Sociologist and businessman. Rowntree was born into the Quaker Rowntree family, who were chocolate manufacturers and model employers. He became interested in the question of poverty, and undertook a number of significant studies into the nature of deprivation. Rowntree developed three important concepts in the study of poverty: the notion of a poverty line, the poverty cycle and primary/secondary poverty. Rowntree argued that there was a level of income below which individuals and families could be deemed to be living in poverty, and that poverty hit individuals in different ways across their lifecycle. Primary poverty refers to insufficient income; secondary poverty refers to improvident spending. Rowntree’s work, The Human Needs of Labour was published in 1918 and revised in 1937. Toynbee Hall and its colleagues were consulted to provide information on the book (see Chapter Two). The Human Needs of Labour, Harrison argues, had a major impact upon Eleanor Rathbone’s The Disinherited Family and Harold Macmillan’s The Third Way. Brian Harrison, “Rowntree, (Benjamin) Seebohm (1871-1954),” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35856 (accessed July 8, 2005).

Sandys, Duncan (1908 – 1987) Conservative politician; in 1935, Sandys was MP for Norwood in South London.

Scott Williamson, George (1884 – 1953) Scott Williamson was along with Innes Hope Pearse (1889 – 1978) the founder of the Pioneer Health Centre in
Peckham. The Pioneer Health Centre was predominantly concerned with the impact of the environment on health. Families joined the centre, and could enjoy a range of activities from clubs to relaxation.

**Sewell, Margaret** Warden of the Women’s University Settlement (later Blackfriars Settlement) in the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries. During Sewell’s wardenship the settlement began to work with the London School of Economics, founding what would become the Sociology Department there.

**Sharples, Miss** Member of the Canning Town Women’s Settlement Executive Committee.

**Smith, Hubert Llewellyn (1864 – 1945)** Whilst at Oxford in the early 1880s, Smith became involved with the nascent university settlement movement. He became involved with university extension teaching, and moved to Toynbee Hall after graduation. Whilst at Toynbee Hall in 1888 – 1889 he assisted Charles Booth with his research into social conditions in London. He was also heavily involved in the match girls’ and dockers’ strikes of 1888 and 1888. Smith later joined the Board of Trade and was responsible for the appointment of William Beveridge. Whilst at the Board of Trade, he put great efforts into the anti-sweating movement and the formation of the Trades Boards Act. Smith retired in 1927, and developed a number of other interests. He participated in the Royal Commission on unemployment insurance, wrote a history of the Board of Trade, was Chairman of the National Association of Boys’ Clubs. He also produced a history of East London, and was director of the *New Survey of London Life and Labour* between 1928 and 1935. See Roger Davidson, “Smith, Sir Hubert Llewellyn (1864-1945),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36147 (accessed July 9, 2005).

**Smith, Mrs Neville** Mrs Neville Smith is recorded as being ‘Lady Denman’s second-in-command’ at the Women’s Institute. For contextual information on the Women’s Institute during the 1930s, please see the previous appendix on related organisations.


**Stewart, Mrs** Mrs Stewart was the wife of James Gordon Stewart, resident 1930 – 1932. However, her work with the nutrition research project was undertaken some years later.

**Strabolgi, Lord (Joseph Montague Kenworthy, 1886 – 1953)** Naval officer and later politician. Strabolgi was originally a Liberal politician, but moved over to Labour in 1926. He became the 10th baron Strabolgi in 1934 following the death of his father. He was opposition chief whip from 1938 to 1942. He was outspoken, particularly on issues such as the Spanish Civil War and Abyssinia. He was therefore a logical choice for Mallon and his colleagues at Toynbee Hall to approach to promote the nutrition research findings they had undertaken on behalf of Seebohm Rowntree (see above).
Streiner, Cllr.  Member of the South West Ham Health Society in the period before 1920.

Tawney, Richard H (1880 – 1962).  Tawney lived as a resident at Toynbee Hall from 1903 to 1906, along with his friend William Beveridge (see above).  Tawney in these years was particularly involved in the Children's Country Holiday Fund and began teaching on the adult education courses, joining the Workers Educational Association in 1905.  Tawney went on between 1908 and 1914 to be a full-time lecturer.

Tennant, Peter  Tennant was at this time employed by the British Association for Labour Legislation.  This organisation was run in tandem with the LSE.  Its records before 1940 appear not to have been catalogued or donated a UK archive, but information from the British Library of Political and Economic Science describes its work in the period 1940 – 5 as being concerned with the ‘health and welfare of workers, education and the implementation of a National Health Service’.  See http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search2?coll_id=5848&inst_id=1 or consult LSE Archives for further details.

Tennant, May (1869 – 1946) Factory inspector, mother of Peter Tennant (see above).  May Tennant was employed until the birth of her first child as a factory inspector, but continued her public work for many years.  She was involved in the rights and welfare of women, especially unemployed women, in the First World War, and later became involved in the campaign to improve conditions for pregnant women and the training of midwives.  See Serena Kelly, Tennant, Margery Mary Edith Josep Purchline Pia (1869-1946).” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. HCG Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36457 (accessed December 3, 2004).

Tillyard, Frank  Tillyard established the Poor Man’s Lawyer service at Mansfield House in the early 1890s.  The Poor Man’s Lawyer movement was largely run by settlement residents who were trained or apprentice lawyers.  Since the Second World War, the Poor Man’s Lawyer has been renamed Free Legal Advice.  The need for such free legal advice services prompted the establishment in 1948 of Legal Aid, or state assistance with legal matters.  Due to recent changes in the provision of legal aid and the more general expansion of matters on which individuals may need to seek advice (such as Child Support, immigration), the services are still over-subscribed.  Although residential volunteers at Toynbee Hall continue to volunteer for the service if they are suitably qualified, many legal advice volunteers are based at City of London firms and give their evenings up to this work.  Toynbee Hall still runs this service, as does the Mary Ward Settlement in Bloomsbury.

Thorne, Will (1857 – 1946) Trade unionist and politician.  Originally from Birmingham, Thorne first came to East London in 1881.  In 1884 he joined the Social Democratic Foundation.  With Ben Tillett he established the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers, which was successful in getting the Gas Light and Coke Company in Beckton to concede to shorter working hours.  He was elected as a socialist to West Ham Council in 1891, and became an alderman on the council in 1910.  He was the MP for Plaistow from 1906 until his retirement in 1945.  GDH Cole, “Thorne, William James (1857-1946),” rev. Marc Brodie, in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004),

**Towers, Catherine** Catherine Towers was a long serving resident and later Warden of Canning Town Women’s Settlement. She was also Warden of Toynbee Hall Poplar’s Women’s Settlement that operated between 1915 and 1916.

**Truscott, Gertrude May** Deaconess of St. Hilda’s East Settlement in the mid-1930s.

**Ward, Mrs Humphrey (Mary) (1851 – 1920)** Author, social reformer and political lobbyist. Mary Ward founded the Passmore Edwards (now Mary Ward) Settlement in St. Pancras in 1897, and pioneered the children’s play movement. Despite being a firm supporter of women’s rights, she was also an anti-suffrage campaigner. See John Sutherland, *Mrs Humphrey Ward: Eminent Victorian, Pre-Eminent Edwardian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

**Watkin, Dr.** Member of the Canning Town Women’s Settlement Executive Committee, doctor at the settlement hospital.

**Watkin, Mrs** Treasurer of the CTWS Executive Committee. Not known if related to Dr. Watkin.

**Webb, Sidney (1859 – 1947)** Webb and his wife Beatrice Potter were part of the intellectual community that in the 1880s and 1890s supported radical social change in Britain. Webb joined the Fabian Society in 1885, and later met Potter, who worked with Charles Booth (see above) on his study of London life and labour. The two became a formidable intellectual and activist force in British politics, helping to establish the London School of Economics in 1895. Sidney Webb became a Labour MP in 1923, and was a part of Ramsay Macdonald’s first Labour government. In 1929, Webb was made Baron (or Lord) Passfield, and entered the House of Lords. The Webbs left a large body of literature through the Fabian Society, as well as other publications, such as Beatrice Webb’s *My Apprenticeship*, which provides much useful background information to the lives of the Webbs.

**Wyatt, Rendel H** Warden of Manchester University Settlement from 1933. See MD Stocks, *Fifty Years in Every Street, the Story of the Manchester University Settlement* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1945)

**Young, Michael Dunlop (1915 – 2002)** Young came to Toynbee Hall whilst a young man studying at the London School of Economics. He was in residence between November 1933 and December 1935. He later joined PEP, a Labour think-tank, and founded the Institute of Community Studies (now the Young Foundation) in 1953. Along with Peter Willmott, an LSE lecturer, he wrote *Family and Kinship in East London*, a major study into the lives of working class Londoners. Young was also concerned with the development of distance learning, and continued to research and publish a number of important sociological and political studies, such as *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (1958). Young’s papers are held at Churchill College, Cambridge.
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