

THOMAS POLE. M.D.

THE ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT

Its Origin and Development

BY

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With an Introduction by

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TO
MY WIFE
AND TO THE
JOSEPH ROWNTREE CHARITABLE TRUST
BY WHOSE COMBINED GENEROSITY ALONE
HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE MY SERVICE
TO THE
ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT.

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is a valuable contribution to the history of adult education in England. Our Adult Schools are the nearest English parallel to the People's High Schools of Denmark. The analogy, indeed though close, cannot be called exact. The Danish High Schools have in the main met the needs of the rural population—the English Adult Schools have been predominantly urban. The Danish High Schools are short-term boarding schools, residence for a few months in which gives opportunity for an intensive corporate life. The English Adult Schools, although many residential advantages are now offered in connexion with the movement, are day schools meeting for an hour or two in the early morning or in the evening. Because they are boarding schools, the Danish institutions have developed a richer technique of instruction than the English: they provide a fuller and more systematic curriculum. But both the Danish People's High Schools and their English counterparts were cradled in religion. Religious influences colour both. In both, though in different ways, the needs of women are met as well as the needs of men. And in both there is a fruitful atmosphere of goodwill.

Goodwill is the secret of the power of the Adult Schools. No one can take part in an Adult School meeting, still less in a convention of members from

many schools, without feeling that goodwill is a distinctive mark of the movement of which Mr. Currie Martin has written this careful and comprehensive history. The Adult School, which is full of goodwill, breaks down the inhibition of shyness and gives happy comradeship.

The magic of goodwill works wonders in education. It encourages the diffident, reconciles the estranged, transforms self-interest into fellow-service, teaches the teacher, and helps the learner to learn. It makes weak things strong, small things great, ugly things beautiful. It breathes life into routine and gives dignity to what is humble. It lifts common things above the commonplace.

Mr. Currie Martin's book gives a true picture of the Adult Schools. It reminds the reader that in education spiritual forces are of fundamental importance. It reflects the cordiality and mutual helpfulness which are characteristic of these schools. It shows how much they owe to unselfish and persevering comradeship, how great is their debt to the quiet influence and personal example of many members of the Society of Friends.

The book will be welcome to that rapidly increasing body of students in Britain and Overseas who perceive the significance and many-sided interest of English educational developments since the Industrial Revolution. It will become the standard history of our Adult Schools. It discloses the debt which the Adult School Movement, and the social life of England, owe to the quiet perseverance of hundreds of devoted workers and to the outstanding services of Joseph Sturge, William White, George Cadbury, William Charles Braithwaite, Sir George Newman and Arnold S. Rowntree.

But the book has an interest even beyond this. It is a study of one of those group movements which are characteristic of English education. In spite of his independence, the ordinary Englishman is far from being a thorough-going individualist. He finds something especially congenial and tonic in group life. In the educational history of no nation has the group played a more important part. At the very time when, in a considerable part of Western Europe, political theory and practice combined to weaken the group as a factor in social evolution and to substitute for the semi-autonomy of the group the multitude of individual citizens standing *vis-à-vis* to the State, Englishmen found in the group not only a safeguard for that moral independence of the individual which is indispensable to a training in responsibility but also a rallying-point for those like-minded men and women who wish to create and preserve the atmosphere in which liberty flowers into fellow-service.

MICHAEL E. SADLER.

Oxford,

. June 1st, 1924.

PREFACE

THE idea of this History was conceived about twelve years ago. At that time the late William Charles Braithwaite had collected an amount of material, but his many engagements prevented his beginning the task of preparation for the press. The present writer was then invited to co-operate with him and to undertake the earlier section of the History. This was in a fairly advanced state at the outbreak of the war. By mutual agreement the work was abandoned for the time being. When the opportunity for renewing it arose, William Charles Braithwaite felt that it would be better for the History to be the work of one writer, and, as he could not undertake it, the whole task devolved upon me. This entailed much more investigation than the original scheme demanded, as my personal knowledge of the movement was very recent, and I was forced to give a long time to research among documents and printed material, and to secure as many interviews as possible with those who knew the work of the schools at first hand. Though this has delayed the book, it has very greatly increased its scope and, I trust, its interest and accuracy. The whole period of preparation has been in itself a reward. I anticipated that I should have the assistance of my friend, William Charles Braithwaite, in revision, suggestion, and correction, but his sudden removal from our midst deprived the book of that great advantage, and no one knows better than I do, how much it lacks in consequence.

Other friends have, however, given me most generous help. To F. J. Gillman, I am specially indebted for valuable assistance in the material of Chapters V and X; other sections of the book he also read in manuscript, and gave me many useful suggestions. Edwin Gilbert rendered me a similar service in other sections of the book and contributed some interesting pages on the extension in Leicestershire.

A very special debt of gratitude I owe to Sir George Newman, K.C.B., who read the whole work in MS., and again in proof. His suggestions, corrections and additions have been most generous and valuable. My friend, George Peverett, has been of the utmost assistance in all technical problems, and has unsparingly aided me at every turn. The many friends, all over the country, who have given me ungrudging assistance in many ways, are too numerous to mention, but they have all co-operated in giving the book whatever value it may possess, and I am deeply grateful for their help. One, however, must be named—Charles Simpson, who, for William Charles Braithwaite, collected so much valuable material. I have found his work admirable, though I have in all cases verified those references that I have used.

To those who have lent photographs, and to some who have had them specially prepared for the purpose of illustration, I beg to convey my heartiest thanks.

All readers of the volume will share in my personal gratitude to Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., for his admirable Introduction. He took the trouble to read the MS., and, in spite of his numerous engagements, willingly and readily

undertook the task, and so laid us all under a deep debt of obligation.

It is to be hoped that the publication of this volume will arouse many Adult School people to investigate their local history, and it is my desire that a large number of suggestions and additions may be sent to me, which will enrich a future edition, should the demand arise. My work has been, to a large extent, that of the pioneer, and I am perfectly conscious of the limitations involved in such an undertaking.*

The work has been planned, not chiefly as a record of past attainment, but as a stimulus and encouragement for the future. Its story should be not like a light in the stern of a ship, illuminating the wake she has made upon the water, but like a searchlight at the bow, marking out a path upon uncharted seas. "Let us not lightly cast aside anything that belongs to the Past," says Anatole France, "for only with the past can we rear the fabric of the future." The youth of the movement is its hope, and I desire no better reward than to arouse in the hearts of the young men and women who may read these pages, a desire to emulate and surpass the achievements of their fore-runners. If the story succeeds in conveying to its readers, in any degree, the vision which its author has seen, it will reveal unique opportunities of meeting the needs of the world to-day, and constitute a clear call to a Crusade to which it is well worth while dedicating our lives.

G. CURRIE MARTIN.

London.

October, 1924.

* See appendix p. 422.

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“ The religion of Jesus is precisely this spirit of comradeship raised to its highest power, the spirit which perceives itself to be not alone, but lovingly befriended and supported, extending its intuitions to the heart of the world, to the core of reality, and finding there the fellowship, the loyalty, the powerful response, the *love*, of which the finest fellowships and loyalties of earth are the shadows and the foretaste. In its essence the Gospel is a call to make the same experiment, the experiment of comradeship, the experiment of fellowship, the experiment of trusting the heart of things, throwing its self-care to the winds, in the sure and certain faith that you will not be deserted, forsaken, nor betrayed, and that your ultimate interests are perfectly secure in the hands of the Great Companion.”—L. P. JACKS, *Religious Perplexities*.

CHAPTER I

THE SOIL FROM WHICH THE MOVEMENT SPRANG

" Behold, the sower went forth to sow, and as he sowed, some seeds fell by the wayside . . . and others fell upon the rocky places . . . and others fell upon the thorns . . . and others fell upon the good ground.

—JESUS.

" You yourself said that Christ came bringing light for the poor, and He Himself said as much, quite plainly; what He wanted was to make the blind to see, and the dead to walk, and to restore consideration to the despised and rejected. Also He wanted men to have faith. But I don't believe He meant only individual cripples—no, He meant all of us in our misery, and all the temptations that lie in wait for us."

' They say the world will be lifted up by the hands of the poor: and I should like to know whether that will be so! I should like to know whether the new times will come soon.'—ANDERSEN NEXØ, in *Pelle the Conqueror*.

" O for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial Realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation, on her part, to *teach*
Them who are born to serve her and obey;
Binding herself by statute to secure
For all the children whom her soil maintains
The rudiments of letters, and inform
The mind with moral and religious truth,
Both understood and practised, so that none,
However destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained; or run
Into a wild disorder; or be forced

To drudge through a weary life without the help
Of intellectual implements and tools ;
A savage horde among the civilised,
A servile band among the lordly free."

WORDSWORTH, *The Excursion*. Book Ninth.

THERE are periods of history that seem far more remote from us than the mere lapse of years that intervene would lead us to suppose possible. One of such lapses of time is that which divides us from the eighteenth century. Since that day almost every condition of external life has changed, and it is more difficult to think ourselves back into the days of Samuel Johnson than to imagine ourselves in the time of Queen Elizabeth. When we allow our imagination to go far enough back all things seem possible, but some of us have spoken to those who were born in the eighteenth century, and that renders the act of imagination much less easy.

The thought of the time is also very alien to our own. There are some books of antiquity to which we naturally apply the term "modern." Such, for example, are the plays of Euripides, rendered into present-day English by Gilbert Murray. They seem as if they might have been written for us, but those eighteenth century writers—poets of the school of Pope and essayists of the stamp of Addison, are very strange and their tone and outlook worlds away from our own.

In its social outlook it was no less poles asunder from ours—even from that of the most conservative and retrograde. "Throughout the eighteenth century," says Sir A. Quiller Couch, "by enclosure of commons, by grants, by handling of the franchise, by taxations, by poor laws in result punitive, though

intended to be palliative, the English peasantry underwent a steady process of degradation into serfdom : into a serfdom which, during the first twenty years of the next century, hung constantly and precariously on the edge of actual starvation. The whole theory of culture worked upon a principle of double restriction, of restricting on the one hand the realm of polite knowledge to propositions suitable for a scholar and a gentleman ; and on the other the members of the human family permitted to be either.

“ The theory deprecated enthusiasm as it discountenanced all ambition in a poor child to rise above what Sir Spencer Walpole called ‘ his inevitable and hereditary lot ’—to soften which and make him acquiescent in it was, with a Wilberforce or a Hannah More, the last dream of restless benevolence.”

The two here named were indeed more far-sighted than the majority of the men and women of their generation, and in their hearts were stirring the new humanitarian ideas that were beginning to move the world, and to herald the age that was already dawning. Few things are stranger in that eighteenth century than some of the thoughts expressed by its greatest writers. In spite of Dr. Johnson’s tenderness of heart, and frequent human sympathy, he was curiously callous in other respects. The proposal to put an end to public executions made him very angry. “ The age is running after innovation ; all the business of the world is to be done in a new way. Tyburn itself is not safe from the fury of innovation ! No, Sir ! It is not an improvement ; they object that the old method drew together a number of spectators. Sir,

executions are intended to draw the spectators." What fanatics ("enthusiasts" he would have said) he would have considered those of us in our day, who favour the abolition of capital punishment itself!

Yet the new spirit was at work in many quarters. Poets like Cowper and Crabbe in the South, and still more Burns in the North, were bringing a different standard into men's thoughts and awakening new springs of action.

It was George Crabbe who first painted in poetry the "simple annals of the poor," and in his various poems led men to a sympathetic understanding of the trials and difficulties of their less fortunate neighbours. His pictures were painted with much truthfulness and pathos, and though they were frequently gloomy, were nevertheless calculated to arouse interest, sympathy and understanding where formerly these had been lacking. Crabbe considered that the somewhat idyllic portrait painted by Goldsmith in "The Deserted Village" was untrue to life, or at all events, so rare as to be misleading, and set forth his correction in the following lines:

"Is there a place, save one the poet sees,
A land of love, of liberty, and ease;
Where labour wearies not, nor cares suppress
Th' eternal flow of rustic happiness:
Where no proud mansion frowns in awful state,
Or keeps the sunshine from the cottage-gate;
Where young and old, intent on pleasure, throng,
And half man's life is holiday and song?
Vain search for scenes like these: no view appears
By sighs unruffled, or unstain'd by tears;
Since vice the world subdued and waters drown'd,
Auburn and Eden can no more be found."

It is not, however, until we turn to the work of Robert Burns that we discover the real secret of the new spirit that was arising in England, and which was to form the mainspring of the movement we have to describe in this volume. In the little cottage home in which Burns spent his boyhood, we are told on the testimony of an eye-witness that had anyone dropped in at meal-time upon the Burns family, they would have found that, while they were busy at their food, each one would have an open book in front of him. It was this love of literature and learning, which was inherent in Burns' father, that gave the boy his first inclination toward knowledge, but it was the spirit of Burns himself, in later years, that opened to him the secret of the human heart. There were three respects in which the message of Burns may be said to have foreshadowed the important truths for modern democracy, which the Adult Schools have endeavoured to keep clearly before their members. There was first, the worth of man as man, repeated in many lines and forming the inspiration of many poems, but never put more succinctly than in the lines of his epistle to Dr. Blacklock :

“ Lord, help me through this world of care !
 I'm weary sick o't late and air ;
 Not but I hae a richer share
 Than mony ithers ;
 But why should ae man better fare,
 And a' men brithers ? ”

The second point was the new view of God which Burns presented to his contemporaries, seeing in Him no longer the arbitrary and stern judge, but the divine Father, who loved the sinful and sought to forgive and redeem them. Again

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we need only quote two references in proof of this statement :

“ And deep this truth impress'd my mind—
Through all His works abroad,
The heart benevolent and kind
The most resembles God.”

and also :

“ Who made the heart, 'tis He alone,
Decidedly can try us ;
He knows each chord—its various tone,
Each spring—its various bias :
Then at the balance let's be mute,
We never can adjust it ;
What's done we partly may compute,
But know not what's resisted.”

It was Longfellow who declared that the master chords of Burns' song were Manhood, Freedom and Brotherhood, and probably one of the most familiar of his songs is the great one that deals with the universal idea which underlies all true internationalism. The last verse of the poem painted the picture of the new fellowship of the nations in words that have rung all over the world since they were written, and have roused finer and nobler feelings in many hearts. Though they are familiar they may be quoted again :

“ Then let us pray that come it may—
As come it will for a' that—
That sense of worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that ;
For a' that, and a' that,
It's coming yet for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that.”

One of his most recent biographers has written of the words just quoted: "The last verse of 'A man's a man for a' that' was a revelation of pure vision. It sounded a note of hope which still calls out an echo from the souls of men. The first verses broke up the artificial standards of man-grading; the last verse foretold that the truth that destroyed would also build. The truth within this poem was, the poet knew, a leaven that would permeate the entire complex body of human society. It provided the key note to international harmony; it was the greatest truth that Burns revealed."*

It was in the middle of the eighteenth century that in England men first turned to the problem of the education of the neglected children of the poor. Though the name of Robert Raikes is the most prominent in this connection, there were others whose names should not be forgotten. In Gloucester itself, Raikes was assisted by the Rev. T. Stock, while at Catterick, in Yorkshire, in the year 1763, efforts in a similar direction were made by the Rev. T. Lindsey and Miss Cappe. At High Wycombe in 1769, Miss H. Ball started a Sunday School for children, and in 1775 there was the picturesque figure of old Johnny-o'-th'-Hey at Little Lever in Lancashire. He instructed the "bobbin boys," who were occupied in helping the weavers, in reading and spelling, and was accustomed to summon them to his class by an old brass pestle and mortar.

The beginnings of more thorough attempts to carry the benefits of education to the poorer classes were made by Joseph Lancaster in London in 1798. He acted on the sound principle of setting better

* *Robert Burns*, by Andrew Dakers, p. 206.

educated scholars to teach their less fortunate neighbours, and, in the simple form in which he started the work, laid the foundation for the famous British and Foreign School Society, which, from 1813 till long after the introduction of a national system in 1870, provided a large section of the elementary education of this country.

It is probable that the connection between the Lancasterian Schools and the Early Adult Schools was occasionally intimate. One definite case is found in the records at Leighton Buzzard, where the following extract is taken from the Second Report of the Lancasterian School, presented to a meeting on September 28th, 1815. The language is grandiloquent, but we can recognise in it the fine spirit which prompted the promoters of the work. Local tradition affirms that many of the Adults, who formed the first scholars, were gained from the loafers who were in the habit of spending their Sunday mornings watching the cruel sport of bull-baiting.

The Second Anniversary of the Lancasterian Institution of this town, requiring of the Committee entrusted with its management a statement of their proceedings during the past year, as well as of the present situation of the Establishment, they hasten to perform the pleasing duty, and present for your acceptance the following Report of their labours; and trust that the improvement which they have to state of the learning, as well as behaviour of those under their fostering care, will prove both a grateful reward for your past benevolence, and an incentive to your further generosity.

Since the period of your last Anniversary, 30 Boys have been admitted as Day Scholars, in addition to the 162 of previous standing, making the aggregate number received from the commencement, in November, 1813, 192 attenders during the day; whilst 147 have participated in the advantages of the Evening School.

Nor has the guardian care of your Committee been confined to the young in years : Viewing, with an eye of anxious and tender solicitude, the situation of those who had hitherto been but unparticipating spectators of the culture bestowed on the youthful mind, they came to the unanimous determination of opening the School on Sabbath afternoons, for the admission of Adults ; and it is satisfactory to them to report, that 28 of this description have been already received, many of whom, at the time of their introduction, were utterly unacquainted with the elements of learning, but are now capable of reading, with tolerable accuracy, such extracts of the Holy Scripture as have been judiciously selected for this mode of tuition. This department of the School is conducted wholly by adult persons, who voluntarily attend for that service. Thus, pausing over the reflection, that, in the space of two fleeting years, 542 individuals in our immediate vicinity have received a portion of instruction, many of whom, it is presumed, would otherwise have continued the victims of profligacy and vice, your Committee sincerely congratulate you on that spirit of philanthropy and benevolence, whereby you have become the honoured instruments of ameliorating their condition, and of removing the film of darkness from the intellectual eye.

The expenditure of this year, including the Master's salary, the interest of the £500 borrowed by the Trustees, on the security of the land and buildings, and other incidental expenses, amounts to £146 1s. 9d.

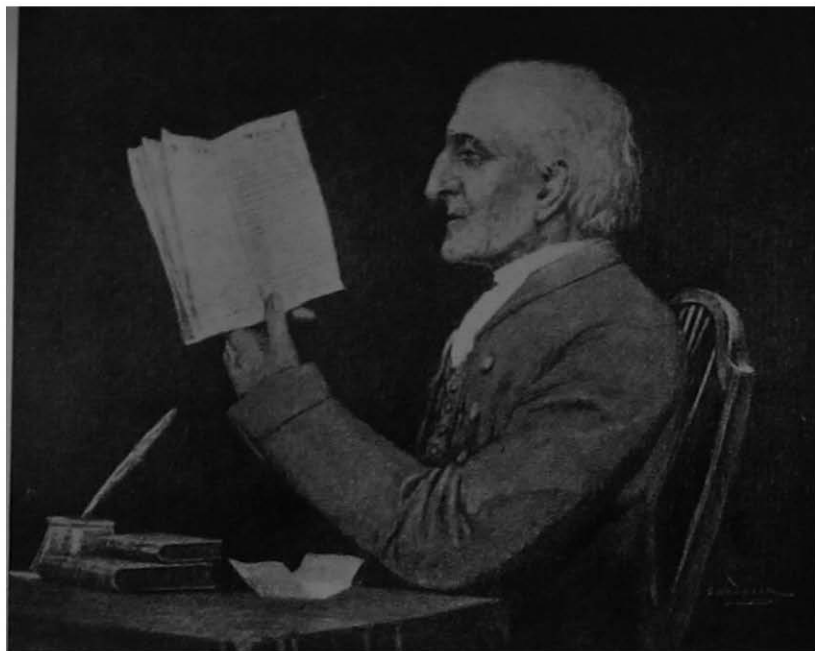
The receipt of this year, from the income of the School, is £33 1s. 9d. The rent of the buildings £11 7s. 6d. and the annual subscriptions, in addition to a second liberal donation, £220 6s. 6d. which have enabled your Committee to reduce the debt of £173 alluded to in the last Report, to £54 9s. 5d., the balance now due to the Treasurer. We are well aware the severe pressure of the times prevent many well disposed persons from subscribing to the support of the Institution ; yet, we wish such to contemplate the important situation they fill in the community, and the ability that all have, in a greater or less degree, of promoting the general good of mankind, and of elevating that standard of righteousness, by which alone a Nation can be exalted. And those who are hiding not the talent of the earth, with which they are entrusted, but have cast it into the treasury

of God, and are receiving their interest in multiplied blessings showered on their head, we would stimulate to additional exertions, adopting the generous maxim, that "nothing should be considered as done, whilst anything remains undone." The task may appear great, but is it not magnificent? Through the gloom, which may at times envelope the prospect, a ray of glory shines. Easy in its application—small in its expenses—swift in the advantages which triumph in its train—and recognising not, in its principle, the littleness of sectarian restriction; this system, destined, we trust, at no distant period in the futurity of time, to circumscribe the whole habitable globe, calls upon you in your own sphere, for your active support, that it may become illimitable as space, and its step as free, as are the winds of Heaven. Let not your bounty resemble the wild dashing tumult of a winter torrent, whose urn is dried by the burning breath of summer; let it resemble, rather, the tranquil motion of a pure and unambitious current, which, fed by a small but perpetual fountain, gladdens the valleys through which it murmurs, and in the beauty which it pours around, is both felt and seen; pouring, like the pity-tempered hand of the Samaritan, oil into the wounds of poverty and weakness. In that day, when the riches of the world shall cease to yield their wonted consolation—in that day, may you experience the merciful language of approbation,—“He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor, and his “righteousness remaineth for ever.”

JOSHUA SHARPLES,
Secretary.

Classes on secular subjects designed mainly for working men were begun in Birmingham in 1789, as *The Sunday Society*, founded by Sunday school teachers, and in Glasgow in 1796. These developed at a later time into Mechanics' Institutes. It was not till 1842 that the People's College was founded in Sheffield; and not till 1853 that the Working Men's College started in London.

It is not without peculiar significance for Adult School people, that on the Mendips, where one of



SAMUEL FOX.

the loveliest of our Guest Houses is situated, Hannah More and her sister should have been among the pioneers of the new educational movement.

Never was education at a lower ebb than in the century of which we are writing. Many of the Grammar Schools were without pupils, and the endowments only served to keep alive careless and indolent masters. As Lord Kenyon put it, "everything was neglected but the receipt of salaries and emoluments." The lower one went in the social scale things grew worse. We need only look in the novels of the period to see how wretched were the private schools, how cheap and worthless were the dames' schools, and such-like institutions for those who could afford to pay a little. For those who could not afford to pay anything, there was nothing save the few charity schools that had been established. It was the terrible condition of the workers that touched the heart of Hannah More, but she was aroused to it by Wilberforce. He visited the sisters in their house near Cheddar in the summer of 1789, and they urged him to take an excursion to the famous gorge. He went, and on his return was strangely silent. When asked for his opinion, he seemed to answer mechanically, and could only think about the terrible state of the people he had found in the little town. "Something must be done for Cheddar," he said, and added, "If you will be at the trouble, I will be at the expense."

The ladies at once set out on their quest, and found conditions more terrible than they imagined. The clergyman visited the place once a year for his tithes! A curate came occasionally. Wilberforce, hearing of this, said, "You seldom see the sun, and occasionally the moon. You had better get a

comet!" By "the comet" he meant one of Wesley's new preachers.* But the ladies did not like "enthusiasts," and went on quieter and less dangerous lines. The first farmer they called on told them religion would be the ruin of agriculture. It was a very dangerous thing, and had made much mischief ever since it was introduced by the monks of Glastonbury! But they persuaded, coaxed, used all kinds of arguments likely to touch their hearers, succeeded in establishing a children's school, getting an excellent teacher, and the effects were soon manifest. The teaching was very elementary, for Hannah More quaintly enough says that she does not advocate writing in the case of the poor; she will only have taught the things that will make them more efficient in their daily work, and more pure and virtuous in their lives. Spinning was taught to the children, so that we have an early example of handicraft. Help was given to the parents on Sunday mornings and soon the attendance increased from four to sixty. A club for women was started, the subscription being 1½d. per week for each member. In sickness the members received 3s. a week, and at a confinement 7s. 6d. When members married they received 5s., a pair of white worsted stockings and a Bible.

It was under the stimulus of Methodism that the first Adult School, of which we have record, was founded. In the city of Nottingham in the year 1798 was living William Singleton—a member of

* It appears that Wilberforce and Wesley met at Hannah More's home. In a letter written to Wilberforce in 1791 Wesley says:—"Let the men and women of Shipham and Rowbarrow become honest and good graziers and hoggers. Excel in that, and an honest hogger is as good in the eyes of the Almighty as an honest squire."

the Methodist New Connexion church. This branch of Methodism had only been formed in the previous year, when a small group of progressive folk met in Leeds, and constituted themselves into what was at first known as the "New Itinerancy." The cause of dispute was the part to be taken by laymen in the services and government of the church. The advocate of liberty was Alexander Kilham, whose pamphlet entitled *The Progress of Liberty* led to his expulsion from the Society, and to his becoming the founder of the new movement. It is interesting and suggestive to realise that Singleton was one of the followers of this stalwart, and so a fitting founder of the Adult Schools of later days, with their deep sense of democratic freedom. One of his best helpers was the Quaker, Samuel Fox, a grocer in the city, and a man looked up to by every one for his probity and conscientious character. The present writer has met more than one who remembered him, and who had been in his school before his long life closed. The school leaders were mainly recruited from the women assistants of his own shop, and we are told that he closed on Saturday evening earlier than his neighbours in order that everyone might be in the school at seven o'clock on Sunday morning. When school, which lasted two hours, was over, he entertained his teachers to breakfast. Unfortunately, we have no contemporary accounts of the work done, but may suppose that the studies were the elements of reading, and biblical instruction. At a later time, as evidenced by certificates that have survived, one purpose of the school was to train teachers for children's Sunday Schools. In 1830, we are told, the Bible was read and then scholars proceeded to write from copies or dictation, while

reading lessons were chosen mainly from the Bible, with comments by the teachers. About 1830 a library and savings' fund were added to the school's activities, and from eight to nine in the morning on three days of the week Samuel Fox held arithmetic classes for those who desired to make further progress. From a letter written to Samuel Fox, then in London, probably at the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, by his cousin, Samuel Fox Armitage, we take the following particulars. The writer arrived at the School soon after half-past six on Sunday morning in order to have everything in readiness for the scholars. On that May morning of 1848, fourteen arrived before the clock struck seven. The total muster was, on that occasion, eight teachers and eighty-one scholars. The writer observes: "I think we managed to conduct the school pretty well on the whole, considering that we were so short of teachers."

Samuel Fox must have been a youth under twenty when he joined William Singleton in his enterprise, but he must have already shown the strong character that marked him in later life. He was a man of courage and conviction, and became one of the most prominent citizens in Nottingham. When an epidemic of any kind broke out in the city, he would take the law into his own hands, and bring out into the street infected clothing and other articles and burn them. If any claims were made he would pay them out of his own pocket. He also provided extra burial ground in such emergencies. During a cholera epidemic it was said that only he and a Roman Catholic priest volunteered to bury the dead. Many stories are told of his shrewd humour and straight-forwardness.

On one occasion he overheard a butcher name a certain price to a woman for a piece of meat. Though a low figure, the man knew she could not afford it. Samuel Fox asked him to weigh it, paid the price the man had named, and handed the meat to the woman, saying to the butcher, "If thou hast any complaint to make I will go with thee to the magistrate." One day a woman entered his shop and asked for a piece of string. He told her to help herself. This she proceeded to do rather liberally, and looked up to see how he was taking it. "Help thyself!" he said, but eventually he stopped her, and began to measure the length she had taken. She then offered to pay for it. "No," was his reply, "I just wanted to know the length of a woman's conscience." When food was scarce he purchased a large quantity of flour, and sold it to the poor in small quantities at less than wholesale price, himself regulating the queue, and sending to the bottom any who were guilty of hustling or pushing.

He allowed his assistants to keep a bookstall in his shop, and he and his housekeeper used privately to coach promising scholars, some of whom became teachers in private schools at a later time.

Samuel Fox could not tolerate scholars being late at the school. On one occasion his own cousin was a defaulter, and frequently during the morning as Samuel Fox came near him he would say, "If you mean to thrive you must rise at five." This scholar was never known to be late again! Samuel Fox married, but had no family, and died 6th August, 1868, aged 87.

William Start, who died in 1923, recalled the school when he went to it, as a boy of fourteen, in 1866. His mother had received all her own education

there, and on her marriage went to live at Quorn, in Leicestershire. She made her boy promise on his return to Nottingham to go to "the Quaker School." This he did on the first Sunday, almost before daybreak, but was told that he was too young to be admitted. He urged, however, that his mother had made him promise, and being there he was going to stop. And so long as Start lived at Nottingham he did "stop."

Lucy Maria Woods, Samuel Fox's housekeeper, who drew in pencil the only portrait we possess of him, and had to manage that without his knowledge, became a teacher in the school in 1830. In a letter written by her in 1887, referring to this event, she says: "I did not enter on the work till the commencement of 1830, when it appeared to me that it required more organisation, and I begged to be allowed to have an assigned class, which was kindly granted, and which was soon adopted by the other teachers of both sexes; and each pretty much carried out their own plans, and Samuel Fox highly approved of the proposal to commence a Savings Fund, in which I had the pleasure of assisting in keeping the accounts of each depositor, and helping him at the annual meeting in the spring of each year from 1831 to 1868 (when not from home)."

It does not appear that the school at Nottingham had any direct effect upon other places for nearly half a century, but two paragraphs from the letter just quoted are of sufficient importance to be given in the writer's language, as they constitute the clearest evidence we possess of the direct effect this school had on the movement, at a time when it rose into newness of life and power, a story which will be related in greater fullness in a later chapter.

Lucy Maria Wood writes :

“ Early in 1842 Joseph Sturge was invited to oppose John Walter, the proprietor of the *Times* newspaper, at an ensuing election, when I had the honour of entertaining Joseph Sturge and his valued sister, Sophia, for part of their visit to Nottingham in the absence of Samuel Fox and Mary Armitage, when they left home for the Yearly Meeting. Joseph Sturge was much interested in our Sunday morning breakfast parties, and the existence of the First Day School, and, I believe, he was struck with the benefit if Friends would, in other towns—especially where the young women and girls were so numerous employed as here and in Birmingham—take up the cause of instructing them and endeavouring to assist in various ways which might arise—a class of deserving and industrious young women, who, then, had not been blessed with a national education.

“ Thus soon after this visit to Nottingham I received a letter from his valued sister requesting me to send her a full account of our proceedings in the school, and I believe that not long after was commenced, under Joseph Clarke’s earnest management, and W. White’s diligent efforts to inaugurate, an Institution for the help of both working men and women which has been favoured with large success, while our school has entirely failed.”

Our friend did not see quite far enough—Nottingham has many good schools to-day, and seeming failure often heralds new and truer success.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY SCHOOLS—PIONEER WORK

"As if a man should cast seed upon the earth : and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring up and grow, he knoweth not how."—JESUS, in Mark iv. 26.

"Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."—Motto of first pamphlet issued by Bristol Adult Schools, 1812.

"To civilise the people three things are necessary, Schools, Schools, and Schools."—TOLSTOY, *Anna Karenina*.

It was in such an England, and in such educational conditions as we have sketched, that the Adult School Movement took its rise. The exact tracing of origins is no more easy in this department of history than in others. As is generally the case, various contributory causes combined to produce the final effect. Most movements that are of lasting power are not fully conscious of their significance in their earlier stages, and consequently keep no careful account of themselves. It is not infants who keep diaries, and nothing is more dangerous than to look back from the days of manhood and imagine we are reproducing the exact conditions of infancy. Neither is it much better if our parents keep diaries for us in the years when we cannot do it for ourselves. Such productions, if they are more than the bare annals of dates, are apt to be very

misleading documents, for they contain much more of the interpretation of our elders about our sayings and doings than the type of evidence we require to reconstruct the real facts.

We are not, however, without contemporary material, and for what we possess we must be extremely thankful, else our task would have been much harder and the record of those early days of origin much more obscure. The fact is that the teaching of adults to read has been a universal accompaniment of the growth of culture, civilisation and especially Christianity at every period. When men have awakened to the sense of need they have resolutely set themselves to meet the fulfilment of their desires. Every missionary has had the experience of grey-haired scholars in his classes. The present writer has seen the pathetic sight of elderly women in Chinese towns and villages struggling with the complicated characters in which that language is written in order that they might be able to read the Scriptures for themselves and to their neighbours. They were quite willing to make great sacrifices of time and of their slender means to attain this end.* Spectacles had often to be purchased that their enfeebled eyes might be able to read the characters, and great efforts of attention and memory were resolutely made to obtain for themselves this priceless possession of knowledge. In our country, therefore, it is only a reawakening of this desire that led to the establishment of schools for grown men and women. The first systematic attempt to meet the need seems to have been made in Wales in the eighteenth century.

* See article by George Peverett in *East and West* for July, 1921, pp. 265-273.

The Rev. B. Morgans, vicar of Trelech, near Monmouth, gives the honour of being the modern pioneer of this praiseworthy endeavour to a certain J.T., for in a letter to one of his parishioners, dated March 14th, 1754, we find the following certificate under his hand :

“ This is to certify that J.T. kept a Welsh Charity School in my parish for three months past, with great success. The scholars in all were about one hundred : several of them, before the expiration of the quarter, could spell and read pretty well ; though they knew not the letters before. In a short time after the school was opened I went to visit it, and was agreeably surprised to see there an old man, seventy-one years of age, with four other people far advanced in years, who came there with their little children to be taught to read the word of God. Some of them were beginning their A.B.C. ; others could read a little. I examined the scholars several times. Some of their parents when we had done, came to me with tears in their eyes, deeply concerned for their own ignorance, and with sincere joy for the improvement of their little children. They said their children used to ask them questions when they came from school, which they could not answer till their children taught them.”

It is well known that the practice of having scholars of all ages in the Sunday Schools of Wales obtains to the present day. The step of having a school *exclusively* for adults was taken by the Rev. Thomas Charles, B.A., of Bala, in the year 1811.

He found, as many others have done, that men and women did not care to be taught along with little children, and he was amazed at the success of his own experiment. The movement spread rapidly—so rapidly that, in some districts, the store of spectacles was quickly sold out! Chapels were commandeered for the service, but where these were not available, barns were lent by sympathetic farmers.

“When their attention is gained and fixed,” says the chronicler, “they soon learn: then age makes no great difference, if they are able, by the help of glasses, to see the letters. As the adults have no time to lose, we endeavour (before they can read) to instruct them without delay in the first principles of Christianity. We select a short portion of Scripture, comprising in plain terms the leading doctrines, and repeat them to the learners till they can retain them in their memories: and which they are to repeat the next time we meet.”

A movement called “Circulating Schools” had been started in Wales about 1730. This was an effort to spread education by settling a teacher for a short time in a certain district, who then passed on to another. It could only be a poor substitute for regular schools, but this pioneer method achieved wonderful results, for between 1737 and 1760 it was said 150,212 persons were taught to read the Welsh Bible. Though these schools were designed only for children, the thirst for knowledge was so great that many adults attended them, and the ages of the scholars ranged from six to seventy.

Parents and children frequently attended together. In one place when a school was opened the children brought excellent new Bibles with them. On enquiry it was found that these had been gifts to their grandparents, who had never been able to use them !

It was a circumstance similar to that experience in Wales which gave rise to the first Adult Schools in England. The romantic story of the origin of the British and Foreign Bible Society is a well-known one. In the year 1800 a little Welsh girl, perhaps trained to read in one of the very Schools we have been describing, but who had no Bible of her own, and could only read it by going to the house of a relative who lived two miles away, determined to secure a book of her own, and had saved all she could for years with this end in view. She travelled twenty-eight miles on foot to obtain it, but arrived at her destination to find all the copies sold out. The Rev. T. Charles, of Bala, gave her a copy that had been laid aside for one of his own friends, went up to London fired by the story, and laid a proposal before the Religious Tract Society to provide Bibles in Welsh for his countrymen. The secretary, on listening to the moving appeal, cried, "Surely a society might be formed for the purpose. But if for Wales why not for the Kingdom? Why not for the world?" Within two years the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in a spirit of Christian unity, enthusiasm and sacrifice that augured well for its success. In July, 1806, an edition of 10,000 copies of the New Testament reached the people of Wales in their own tongue, and the peasants went out to meet the cart that contained them and "welcomed it as the Israelites

did the Ark of old." "Late in the summer twilight," writes Mr. Canton, "young people could be seen reading the books, and when night had fallen they still turned the pages by the glimmer of dim lamp or rushlight. In the morning labourers carried them afield, that they might turn to them in their intervals of rest."

It was thought that in Wales alone did this scarcity of Scriptures exist, but closer investigation soon proved how erroneous was such an opinion. In some towns visited only half the families possessed the Scriptures in any form, and some of these were "only mutilated and nearly useless parts." When the first Bristol Auxiliary of the Society was formed in 1810 within a year 4,210 Bibles and Testaments were circulated. One of the promoters of the Society's work in the city was Dr. Thomas Pole. He had been born in Philadelphia, U.S.A., and as a young man had come to England. He belonged to the Society of Friends and soon became well-known among the members of their various meetings in the West as a visiting minister. He had studied medicine and at first settled in practice in London, where he became known not only as a skilful practitioner, but also as a lecturer on various branches of his profession. His diaries reveal the man, full of activity, ready to bear cheerfully all sorts of hardships and discomfort, shrewd in his observations, earnest and thorough in every enterprise. He was as keen in religion as in medicine. In 1798 he made a long and extensive tour of evangelism, in which he combined public meetings, talks and Friends' ordinary meetings for worship, and interviews with individuals in strenuous weeks of service. We may take one day's page from his

Diary that we may learn a little better what manner of man this was :

“ 10th mo. 3rd. Thomas Davies applied for the use of the Meeting house belonging to the Independents at Wiveliscombe, where I found my mind drawn to have a meeting this evening. It was readily granted and notice was given through the town. There had been but one meeting in this town held by Friends for about forty years. After an early dish of tea I walked to Wiveliscombe with cousin Thomas Young, T. Davis and D. Zachary followed us. We had a pretty full meeting. This was a more laborious one than any I have yet had amongst people of other societies. I seemed to feel the dark and ignorant state of the people's minds into which I could not find that free entrance I wished for. Towards the close I addressed the younger part of the company. . . . At the conclusion the Preacher of this house expressed to me his wish that the important truths delivered might sink deeply into the hearts of those present and offered me the use of the house at any time. I told him I was glad to find an increasing liberality in different Societies of Christians toward each other. The Parson of the parish attended this meeting, which has been the case in several places where I have had public meetings. I was kindly invited to stop the night, but concluded to return, having only a short time more with my friends at Milverton, so walked back again by the light of a lanthorn with T. Young and T. Davis.”

There are several points in this interesting passage worth dwelling upon for a moment in view of the work this man was destined to do, and also because these same features have remained important in the Adult School Movement since its inception. There is first the readiness and desire to bring various denominations into closer contact, and to unite them in more spiritual fellowship. There is, secondly, the tactfulness and brotherly spirit that obviously marked all his relations with others. There is, thirdly, the energy and determination seen in his carrying out of the day's programme. And lastly we remember this was a layman—doing all this service for the pure love of spreading the evangel, and also that he was a layman belonging to a cultured profession—the better qualified, therefore, to teach and to lead men to see the interrelations of science and religion. He was a teacher both by natural gifts and by training, and this gave him additional power in the work he was about to undertake.

In 1802 Pole settled in Bristol and at once began to use these special gifts for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. He lectured on Chemistry, the Economy of Nature and Mineralogy. The whole series was, in his judgment, "particularly calculated for the attendance of women," who, he thinks, "had been too much excluded from opportunities of scientific improvement." He was skilled with his pencil and in the making of models, and these novel illustrations added greatly to the value and popularity of his courses. In these directions also he was pointing out the path of progress.

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meeting of the local auxiliary of the Bible Society. A sentence occurred in a letter that was read on that occasion, stating that a large number of people had been found in the course of visitation who, not being able to read, were unlikely to be benefited by the possession of the Bible. There was present at the meeting a certain William Smith, doorkeeper of a Wesleyan chapel in the city. This statement aroused his interest, and he began seriously to consider how this state of things might be improved. Four days later a poor man came to him with the request for a Bible, and Smith made application to one of the members of the Bible Society Committee, Stephen Prust, a merchant in the city. In subsequent conversation Smith opened out to this gentleman his concern in the matter of those illiterate people of whom he had heard, and asked an opinion as to whether it would be feasible to teach them to read. The response was encouraging, and he was recommended to make the experiment on a small scale.

At once Smith began to carry his plan into action. With two friends he set out to visit a very poor district—the out-parish of St. Philip and St. Jacob. They began by trying to sell Bibles, but were so often met by the statement that it was useless to buy them because those who would willingly do so could not read, that they further asked whether, in such case, they would be willing to learn. Many gladly consented to take such a course, and on the same evening premises for the new school were secured, consisting of two rooms gladly lent to the leaders for this purpose. The names of the first two scholars are on record, William Wood, aged sixty-three, and Jane Burrace, aged forty. Thus the



WILLIAM SMITH

first school foreshadowed the present-day developments in that women were granted equal privileges with men. The sexes were taught separately, under the guidance of two teachers, who had previous experience in charity schools for children. Books were furnished by Captain John Richards of Kingsdown. Within three weeks the schools were opened, eleven men and ten women being enrolled on the first day. From the outset success attended the effort, and rapid progress was made by the scholars, not only, it would appear, in ability to read, but in general conduct and demeanour, and deep gratitude was expressed to their teachers. That Smith's work was thoroughly devoted is shown by the fact that out of eighteen shillings a week, which he received in wages, he paid three shillings to a substitute, who undertook certain of his duties in order that he might have more time to devote to his self-imposed task of bringing the light of knowledge to his less favoured friends.

Very soon an effort was made to organise the work on a more definite basis, and a Society was formed, entitled, *An Institution for instructing Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures*, and twelve rules were drawn up for its guidance. The first subscription list contained thirty-two names, and the amount raised was £14 10s. 6d. By this time there was a total number of over eighty scholars, under the direction of six conductors and thirty teachers. "Conductors" were apparently what we should now term Superintendents or Presidents, and there was to be at least one in each school. Associated with Smith in the formation of this Institution is the name of the Rev. Thomas Martin, whom Dr. Pole's biographer terms, "the Parent of the First

Adult School Society." He was a Wesleyan minister in the city for a short period, and author of the first set of rules.*

Smith did not take office in any of the schools he founded, but appears to have given ungrudgingly time and effort to the spread of the movement, the enlisting of sympathisers, and the visitation of the homes of the people. "By his great and unwearied exertions," writes Dr. Pole, "with the help his few acquaintances afforded him, within the space of about thirteen months from the commencement there were nine schools opened for men and the same number for women; during which time 300 men and 301 women were admitted." The two sexes ran a close race for equality! The First Annual Report (April 19th, 1813) included a period of thirteen and a half months, and the totals then reached 222 men and 231 women. It is noted, with satisfaction that "ministers (and members) of almost every denomination in the City cordially united, and have unanimously and successfully laboured to extend the scale of its operations."

In April, 1813, Dr. Thomas Pole became a member of the Committee of Management, and from that time his talents, training, enthusiasm, and earnestness were freely at the disposal of the Schools. He prepared an Address to further their objects, and the Committee gladly agreed to print and circulate a thousand copies. This highly interesting document is contained in the History of the Movement, published by Dr. Pole in 1814, and some account

* Thomas Martin, born at Falmouth in 1780, entered the Wesleyan Ministry in 1804, went to Bristol during 1811, and died in 1866, at Plumstead.

of it, and quotations from its pages, will give us a clear idea of the purposes and ideals of the founders. Its language is quaint to our modern ears, and the somewhat patronising tone adopted toward the scholars very different from that of the present day, but we must make all due allowance for the results of progress, and remember that this was one of the first and most potent movements which made that happy change of attitude possible. The full title of the pamphlet is *An Address to the Committee of the Bristol Society for teaching the Adult Poor to read the Holy Scriptures*. We thus have clearly set before us the limitations of this first series of Adult Schools. In fact, so far was the limitation carried that we find one of their rules was to the following effect: "That the learners be considered as having obtained the object of this Society, when they can read distinctly and readily in the Bible: *and shall then be dismissed.*"* We have emphasised the last words, since they show so clearly that there was only a temporary aim in the minds of those who founded the movement, and that not yet, nor as we shall see for many years, did they reach the fuller vision of what such associations of men and women might accomplish. And when we turn to the Doctor's pamphlet we find through the medium of his grandiloquent language his genuine desire that the end just set forth should be reached as speedily as possible.

"We are now called upon," he writes, "to become instrumental in opening the windows to admit celestial light into the habitations of darkness and ignorance; that those who sit in the valley of the shadow of death may be

* See Appendix A., p. 401

brought to the saving knowledge of the Lord, to 'sing forth the honour of His name, and make His praise glorious.' To teach the unlearned poor, who have arrived at mature years, and to qualify them to peruse the sacred records, is the great—the laudable object which has so signally excited our attention. Who that is impressed with a due sense of its importance—who that contemplates its effects on posterity, can refuse his assistance to such an undertaking? Who ought not to lend his aid to dig the trenches, through which are to flow the streams of divine knowledge to the ignorant—consolation to the afflicted—strength to the weak—warnings to the licentious—hope to the desponding—in short, the glad-tidings of great joy to a fallen and degenerate world? ”*

He then proceeds to deal with the close connection between the Bible Society and this new movement, and traces the work of the Divine Providence in two respects (1) that progress in education has preceded to some extent the distribution of the Scriptures, and (2) that these advances were made in days of much national stress and strain. He rejoices further in the spirit of unity manifested among Christians in these endeavours.

He next turns to refute those who had characterised the effort to teach adults as “chimerical.” Experience had proved the folly of such a view. He argues that adults are more hopeful than children for several reasons: (1) They come *willingly* to school. (2) They understand from the outset the

* Pole, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools*, 1814, p. 15.

value of their tasks. (3) They are eager to attain the definite end they have in view. (4) Difficulties do not so easily bring discouragement. He concludes by giving one or two subsidiary but practical arguments in favour of the work. He thinks it may prove economical, for those instructed in the schools may instruct others, and hence there will be less need for providing such schools in the future. He is on safer ground when he shows that education tends to "moralise and christianise the minds of men." This has remained one of the strongest planks in the platform of the movement, and on these lines much of its most recent advance has been made. He foresees the time when great reforms will be the outcome of Adult Schools, and once again reverts to the economical side of the subject. Lessons learned in the schools will tell upon the life of the scholars.

"Industry, frugality, and economy will be their possession. . . . Our poor's-rates will thus be lightened; our hospitals, almshouses, dispensaries and other public charities less encumbered: the generous efforts of the well-disposed will thus become a legacy of blessing to succeeding ages. . . ."

"Is it not a duty," he continues later, "to make all diligent in business, faithful to the trust reposed in them; and thus endeavour to put a period to the evils that have disgraced our age, and to introduce the practice of virtue, by which we may hope for the continuance of the Divine favour to us, and to those who come after us?"*

* Pole's *History*, 1814, pp. 19, 20.

The promoters of the Movement were apparently faced at this time with financial difficulties, which were happily solved, probably by the aid of Dr. Pole's advocacy, through the support given to the work by the Society of Friends. The same generous helpers also granted, free of charge, a large and commodious schoolroom, adjoining their Meeting House, where a Women's School was established. A new feature was here introduced, that later became a regular feature in Adult Schools, namely, the teaching of writing. This was not done without considerable controversy and opposition. Objections were taken to the practice on various grounds. First, it was held that, while the Holy Spirit might be expected to aid the scholars in learning to read, such Divine assistance could not be expected in learning to write! This is a surprising argument to come from those who held the doctrine of verbal and literal inspiration of Scripture, where surely the Divine Spirit was believed to control the pens of the writers. Secondly, such teaching was held to make for the secularisation of the Sabbath. If they were taught to write on that day, it would not be long before they used its sacred hours to write letters for their own profit or amusement. And thirdly, and perhaps most amazing of all, the teaching of writing was described as a distinct incentive to the crime of forgery, and the supporters of the practice had seriously to argue, that, supposing the desire to be present, it would be a long time before their scholars were proficient enough in the art to make this a real danger! It was found that writing was a great assistance to the memory, and, seeing that the copies set were frequently, if not always, texts of Scripture, the writing was a real

aid to the primary purpose of the schools. An additional argument in favour of the introduction of writing was that thereby many scholars might be able to communicate with others, "to impart serious counsel to an absent relative, or to leave something in manuscript for the benefit of their fellow-creatures." On the whole, those who favoured this innovation in the curriculum, scored over their adversaries. In any event, writing was a purely voluntary subject, and apparently it was a considerable time before many schools followed the courageous example of this Women's School, which proved to be the pioneer in progressive methods.

The spread of the school system was not confined entirely to its original lines. Experience proved that some were too shy to attend the more public schools, and for them private gatherings were arranged in the homes of the people, where a few neighbours and acquaintances might gather till elementary stages were passed.* These were each placed under the care of one teacher, and though there were obvious defects from an educational point of view it was felt that these were more than compensated for by the consideration that in this way some would learn to read who would otherwise remain in ignorance. We are impressed by the keen desire to assist all who were really eager to learn, and by the readiness to adopt all possible methods that would contribute to this end.

Schools were started in Institutions, Almshouses, Prisons and other places, where men and women were gathered apart from the ordinary conditions

* This method was adopted on the suggestion of James Montgomery of Shetheld, the poet and hymn-writer, who had noted its good results in his own town.

of everyday life. As one example of such activities we may give the interesting story of the work accomplished by Benjamin Burritt, an American prisoner in Stapleton Prison. He used his time to the best advantage for the help of his fellow prisoners, American and French, who had been captured in the wars then being waged. He had to pay fifteen shillings a month for the accommodation granted him, and made a charge of one and six per month from each scholar. These sums, he said, most were unable to pay, but he did not turn away any willing scholars for that reason. Steady improvement, not only in knowledge but in character, was the result. "In the place of selfishness, profaneness, noise, and obscenity are substituted the modest enquiry for information, and desire to promote reciprocal benevolence." He soon had twenty-two Americans and four Frenchmen on his roll, and some of these sold part of their allowance of beef in order to pay for their instruction—a fair proof of genuine desire to learn.

The growth of the schools was rapid and satisfactory. By the time the fourth Annual Report was issued (1816) there were in existence in connection with the Bristol Society twenty-four schools for men and thirty-one for women, with a total membership of 1,581. During the four years as many as 3,321 scholars had been enrolled, but we remember the rule quoted above, which must have accounted for many honourable departures. This is proved by the fact that one thousand men and women had been brought to such a point of proficiency as to be able to read in the New Testament. Whether this means *anywhere in* does not appear. Schools seem to have been scattered in all

quarters of the city and its suburbs. The reports of several are given, and one or two extracts from these may prove illustrative :

From the Women's School in Brick Lane :

" At the commencement I had only three learners, I have at present twenty-six : and feel happy to state that, notwithstanding they were all totally unacquainted with the alphabet when they entered the school, yet, within the space of seven months, twenty of them have learned to read tolerably well in the New Testament."

From the Women's School in Cannon Street :

" About a week since, a poor woman called on me, to enquire whether I did not teach aged persons to read the Scriptures : and, with tears, requested that I would admit her into my School. She said she had lived fifty-five years, and never had seen the necessity of learning to read until . . . (at an Adult School) she heard two aged women read—one eighty-five the other sixty-one years old."

From the Schools at Fishponds :

" There are twenty-two men in these schools, who were very immoral characters, and never attended any place of worship : they now attend regularly, and are remarked for their steady conduct."

" The schools at Keynsham were set on foot some time in the month of September last (the letter is dated December 16th, 1813). We soon could number 103 scholars of both sexes ; and

they were so delighted with the instruction they received, that they begged to be taught not only on Sunday, but also on two evenings in the week, after their daily labour was finished."

"If those who knew the condition of the wretched inhabitants of Cock Road, that fountain of impurity and den of thieves (about four miles from Bristol), were to visit it now on the first day of the week, at the time of holding the schools, they would be witnesses of an evident change already produced, where they have been opened for instructions not more than a few months (in 1813). The spot where the gangs of robbers have been accustomed to assemble, to deliberate upon and settle their plans of nocturnal depredation, is now the ground where the poor of that district collect to worship their great Creator."*

Within four years of this time we learn of these robbers asking for tools to level the ground for a school and to dig foundations. They were present later at the opening of the school, and subscribed liberally.

A clergyman of the Church of England, in a letter to Dr. Pole, written in 1813, bears warm testimony to the work of the schools. He selects for special commendation several points, chiefly these: (1) The permission given to the scholars to take the books to their homes, whereby they are enabled in the early morning, at meal times, and "while they keep the rushlight burning late at night," to proceed with their studies. (2) The lessons in method and order given by the careful entries made in the school

* Pole's *History*, 1814, pp. 67-68, 70.

registers. (3) The carrying out of the principle of the Bible Society, "Co-operation without Compromise." He concludes his letter with these words, far more prophetic than he knew, and which still require to be realised. They are as requisite to be grasped and their programme to be carried out in the twentieth as at the beginning of the nineteenth century. "I think the plan calculated for universal adoption. While we behave fairly to each other, there is not a town or village in the kingdom, which may have a Bible Society or Association, but may, and ought, also to have an Adult School. I am happy to say, my Bishop approved of the plan, and has, in Wells, set on foot something of a similar nature."*

The true catholicity of spirit, so warmly commended by this clergyman, has been a fixed principle with the leaders of Adult Schools since their commencement, and found a strong advocate in Dr. Pole. In fact he goes so far in support of their view as almost to spoil his own case, and certainly his method would not give the beneficent results of the present day. We have learned tolerance for the views of others in hearing and considering them. He would have prevented such views being expressed at all, and the reduction to a least common denominator would have defeated its own ends. These are Dr. Pole's words :

"The Bible should be the only book read in these schools, and that without any explanation whatever; and no lesson should be used that contains a sentiment not approved by every

* Pole's *History*, p. 72.

denomination of Christians. All books containing disputed points of doctrine, are peculiarly exceptionable; and no person should be allowed to distribute, amongst the learners, papers or pamphlets in which such points are treated of, either openly or privately. . . . The learners should be left at full liberty to connect themselves with this or that Society, whose principles they may judge to be most consistent with the precepts of the Gospel and the dictates of their own consciences; and to attend the place of worship belonging to that Society, to whose doctrines they may give the preference."*

The present theory and practice of Adult Schools in this matter could not be better expressed even to-day than in the last sentence of the above quotation.

The work, in these early years, was not confined to Bristol. We shall have to trace its wider movements in our next chapter, but before this one closes it will be interesting to note how progress was made in the West of England. In December, 1813, a Society, similar to the Bristol one, was founded at Plymouth, the inaugural meeting being presided over by the Mayor, and it was resolved "that the Institution shall also embrace those of the rising generation who may have been apprenticed or placed out without being able to read." Bradninch is the only other place in the county of Devon mentioned in the first edition of Pole's History at which a school was opened. The districts of North Wales, South Wales, and especially Swansea

* Pole's *History*, 1814, p. 45.

are also named. At Salisbury the work is reported to have been taken up "with exemplary vigour." "They searched the city and adjacent villages to find out those who stood most in need of their friendly exertions: they procured houses, collected teachers, and entered into a subscription." Single contributions of as much as ten and twenty pounds are mentioned, and the roll reached three hundred even in early days. "Four week-evenings are devoted to class-work as well as Sunday, and one hundred scholars are in writing classes." "Some learned the alphabet in less than a week: many can now (i.e., after five months) read an easy lesson distinctly and others a plain chapter of the Bible."

The School at Bath was the direct outcome of a public meeting addressed by Dr. Pole, and began in September, 1813. William Smith, to whom, as we have seen, the idea of such work first occurred at Bristol, removed to that city in June, 1814. This was a great help to the friends at Bath, and very soon twenty schools were in existence. There was no hesitation about "extension work" in those days! Yet the man who founded the movement fell on evil days, and became dependent on the help of others. In the *Memories of Joseph Pearson*, first secretary of the Bath Sunday School Union, published in 1849, under date 1822 we read the following pathetic notice:

"This year Wm. Smith of Bristol, connected with the Adult Schools, being indisposed, and in want of assistance, we raised £5 15s. for him by subscription, which was given at various times for his support."

It is some slight consolation that nearly one hundred years later we are able to do honour to the memory of that loyal and faithful man, who with such self-sacrificing labours set on foot the work, and into whose labours we of a later day have so abundantly entered.

In these early schools the teaching of reading appears to have been founded on the method devised by John Freeman.* This he evolved in 1812, as a result of his visitation of four hundred and four families, for the purpose of Bible circulation. He found that twenty-nine of these declined a Bible at all, because no one in the homes could read. This led him to devise a special method whereby reading could be made easy for adults. The first edition of his book was published in April, 1813, and the second in London in 1820. This latter was entitled, *A Method of Teaching Adult Persons to read, which is designed to obviate their objections and accelerate their progress.*

He printed six lessons on a card (a copy of which is contained in the book), and this card became universally used in the Schools at Bristol, London

* Pole gives in the Appendix to his History an imaginary specimen page of the Register Book of a school from which interesting and illuminating particulars can be discovered. We learn that there were seven classes, beginning with the alphabet class, not much used in the schools, as adults were apt to think it degrading to be seen learning their A B C. The second, third and fourth classes were named respectively, the two and three letter, the four letter; and the five letter classes. Then came the two-syllable class; the Testament class; and the Bible class. Some scholars declined to learn writing. Among the causes given for leaving are ability to read well, non-attendance, and want of cleanliness. Among the text-books were "Freeman's Card," "McDowall's Spelling Book," and an "Introduction to the Reading of the Sacred Scriptures," published by the Bristol Adult School Society.

and elsewhere. These six lessons consisted mainly of words of one or two syllables, the only three-syllabled word being "every." The scholars were encouraged to master these lessons, because they were told how frequently the words would occur in any book they would have to read. There was a seventh lesson on the card, printed in capital letters, and this consisted of words chosen from the preceding six, but the choice was so made that all the twenty-six letters of the alphabet were contained in this seventh lesson. In order to manage this, however, he spells the word "poise" with a "z." In his book he advises that the New Testament be employed immediately after the card is mastered. He also produced a French card on the same method. His little volume shows that he was perfectly alive to the differences involved in teaching children and teaching adults.

An admirable description of these early schools in England is to be found in George Eliot's novel, *Adam Bede*, and though it occurs in a work of fiction published in 1859, there can be little doubt that the writer must have had personal knowledge of the type of school she describes. It is so well done that part of it is worth quoting here, because the description has not only literary value, but may be taken as a typical picture of what must often have occurred in reality :

"Nay, Bill, nay," Bartle was saying in a kind tone, as he nodded to Adam, "begin that again, and then perhaps it'll come to you what d, r, y, spells. It's the same lesson you read last week, you know."

"Bill" was a sturdy fellow, aged four-and-twenty, an excellent stone-sawyer, who could get

as good wages as any man in the trade of his years ; but he found a reading lesson in words of one syllable a harder matter to deal with than the hardest stone he had ever had to saw. The letters, he complained, were so " uncommon alike, there was no tellin' em one from another," the sawyer's business not being concerned with minute differences such as exist between a letter with its tail turned up and a letter with its tail turned down. But Bill had a firm determination that he would learn to read, founded chiefly on two reasons : first, that Tom Hazelow, his cousin, could read anything " right off," whether it was print or writing, and Tom had sent him a letter from twenty miles off, saying how he was prospering in the world, and had got an overlooker's place ; secondly, that Sam Phillips, who sawed with him, had learned to read when he was turned twenty ; and what could be done by a little fellow like Sam Phillips, Bill considered, could be done by himself, seeing that he could pound Sam into wet clay if circumstances required it. So here he was, pointing his big finger towards three words at once, and turning his head on one side that he might keep better hold with his eye of the one word which was to be discriminated out of the group. The amount of knowledge Bartle Massey must possess was something so dim and vast that Bill's imagination recoiled before it : he would hardly have ventured to deny that the schoolmaster might have something to do in bringing about the regular return of daylight and the changes in the weather.

The man seated next to Bill was of a very different type : he was a Methodist brickmaker,

The following is a Copy of the printed Card.

AN EASY INTRODUCTION
TO THE
ART OF READING,
DESIGNED FOR
ADULT PERSONS.

an, can, man, than.
O, no, so.
or, for, nor.
as, has.
is, his.
at, that.

in, with-in.
out, with-out.
on, up-on.
ve-ry, e-ve-ry: e-ver, ne-ver.
a-ny, ma-ny.
in-to, can-not.

be, he, me, the, we.
do, to, who.
kill, quill, will.
could, should, would.
then, when.
how, now.
much, such.

age, all, am, and, are.
but.
from.
good.
had, have, him, hu-man.
if, it, its.
more, most, must.

I, by, my, thy.
a, may, they.
their, there, where.
not, what.
joys, poize.

one, once, our, of, ox; shall.
them, this, these, those; us.
was, were, with.
which, while.
you, your.

**BUT, CAN, FROM, GOOD, HAVE, JOYS,
KILL, OX, POIZE, QUILL, WE.**

who, after spending thirty years of his life in perfect satisfaction with his ignorance, had lately "got religion" and along with it the desire to read the Bible. But with him too, learning was a heavy business, and on his way out to-night he had offered as usual a special prayer for help, seeing that he had undertaken this hard task with a single eye to the nourishment of this soul—that he might have a greater abundance of texts and hymns wherewith to banish evil memories and the temptations of old habits; or, in brief language, the devil. For the brickmaker had been a notorious poacher, and was suspected, though there was no good evidence against him, of being the man who had shot a neighbouring gamekeeper in the leg. However that might be, it is certain that shortly after the accident referred to, which was coincident with the arrival of the awakening Methodist preacher at Treddleston, a great change had been observed in the brickmaker; and though he was still known in the neighbourhood by his old sobriquet of "Brimstone," there was nothing he held in so much horror as any further transactions with the evil-smelling element. He was a broad-chested fellow, with a fervid temperament, which helped him better in imbibing religious ideas than in the dry process of acquiring the mere human knowledge of the alphabet. Indeed, he had been already a little shaken in his resolution by a brother Methodist, who assured him that the letter was a mere obstruction to the spirit, and expressed a fear that Brimstone was too eager for the knowledge that puffeth up.

The third beginner was a much more promising pupil. He was a tall but thin and wiry man, nearly as old as Brimstone, with a very pale face, and hands stained a deep blue. He was a dyer, who, in the course of dipping homespun wool and old women's petticoats, had got fired with the ambition to learn a great deal more about the strange secrets of colour. He had already a high reputation in the district for his dyes, and he was bent on discovering some method by which he could reduce the expense of crimsons and scarlets. The druggist at Treddleston had given him a notion that he might save himself a great deal of labour and expense if he could learn to read, and so he had begun to give his spare hours to the night school, resolving that his "little chap" should lose no time in coming to Mr. Massey's day-school as soon as he was old enough.

It was touching to see these three big men, with the marks of their hard labour about them, anxiously bending over the worn books, and painfully making out, "The grass is green," "The sticks are dry," "The corn is ripe"—a very hard lesson to pass to after columns of single words all alike except in the first letter. It was almost as if three rough animals were making humble efforts to learn how they might become human. And it touched the tenderest fibre in Bartle Massey's nature, for such full-grown children as these were the only pupils for whom he had no severe epithets and no impatient tones. He was not gifted with an imperturbable temper, and on music-nights it was apparent that patience could never be an

easy virtue to him ; but this evening, as he glances over his spectacles at Bill Downes, the sawyer, who is turning his head on one side with a desperate sense of blankness before the letters, d, r, y, his eyes shed their mildest and most encouraging light.

[A very interesting modern parallel with these early schools is given by Mrs. Cord Wilson Stewart in an interesting volume entitled *Moonlight Schools*, published in New York in 1922. It describes a state of affairs existing in the mountainous districts of Kentucky, where a people of pure Anglo-Saxon stock had found life so hard and difficult, and their women were so remote from the centres of culture, that many of them were quite illiterate, the latest census revealing a total of five-and-a-half millions who could neither read nor write. At Mrs. Stewart's suggestion night schools were opened on moonlight nights, and the first response produced 1,200 students. Amongst their reasons for desiring to acquire these arts, some were rather touching and are quite parallel to those given one hundred years ago in our own country. Here are some of them :

" Just to write to my children with my own hand."

" Just to learn to read in my Bible."

" Just to have a chance with other folk."

" Just to escape from the shame of making my mark."

As ordinary text-books were not suitable, a little weekly newspaper, prepared in simple sentences on subjects of interest, was published. Progress was very rapid, many learning to write their name on their first attendance. The following subjects were included in the curriculum : English, Civics,

Health, Geography, Domestic Economy, Agriculture and Gardening. They were encouraged to learn poetry by heart.

The second session produced 1,600 students, the oldest among them being men of eighty-seven, and of these 350 were taught to read and write. Those who were unable to attend were taught in their own homes. The method that had proved so advantageous in English Adult Schools was adopted of setting more advanced pupils to help others under the motto: "Each one teach one." Instruction was given on Sundays to those who were away from home all the week. At the close of the campaign only twenty-three illiterates were left in the county, of whom six were blind, five bed-ridden, six mentally defective, two new arrivals and four refused to learn."*]

* See Bulletin XV. of the World Association for Adult Education, February, 1923, pp. 22-26.

CHAPTER III

SPREAD OF THE MOVEMENT

"The earth beareth fruit of herself: first the blade . . ."
JESUS, in Mark iv. 28.

"Nothing great was ever done without passion, and nothing has performed noble services for mankind except love."—SIR HENRY JONES.

"While numbers never taught in youth
In gladness now the word of Truth
Read with facility:
Old Age in spectacles appears,
Bending, beneath its weight of years,
To learn the A B C."

Verse by WHITCHURCH, prefixed to *History of Adult Schools*, by J. F. Winks, 1821.

THE inspiration of the movement we have hitherto traced in its initial activities in the West of England was first spread throughout the country by the circulation of Dr. Thomas Pole's *History*. The second edition of that work was published in 1816, and from its pages we learn that 2,000 copies of the first edition had been dispersed throughout the Kingdom with the result that "in so many little towns and villages, from Scotland to the Land's End, have Adult Schools been established, that it would be impracticable to inform the reader of all the places where they have sprung up during the last two years."

In some measure to trace the story of this satisfactory and remarkable spread of the work is the task of this chapter.

The first edition tells of the establishment of schools in the year 1813, in Ipswich, Bury, Bungay, and Yarmouth (Norfolk). In Ipswich schools for men and women were founded, the former with sixty enrolled members, and the latter with seventy-four. Writing had been introduced and the progress made so great that "several who could not form a letter when they came into the school, have acquired a good hand." In the 1816 edition we learn that the women's school has greatly decreased in numbers, but this is rather curiously taken as a good sign. It is certainly quaint to read the following language as descriptive of a school which has only been in existence over two years: "It seems to be wearing away in a good old age, having nearly fulfilled the object for which it was established." One sign of progress, effected by the school, is that many of its scholars, formerly quite unable to do so, are now in a position "to keep their accounts very respectably."

An interesting feature about the origin and carrying on of the school at Yarmouth was that the work mainly resulted from the enthusiasm and energy of a band of young people, who were, in the first instance, granted the use of the Friends' Meeting House from six to eight on Sunday evenings, and had soon gathered thirty scholars. The work rapidly extended—new premises fitted with desks were acquired, and opened on three nights in the week, the numbers having risen to eighty.

The work thus progressing at the circumference did not leave the centre untouched. The first edition

had mentioned London as one of the places in which schools had been started, but the second edition corrects this by the statement that the movement had begun in Southwark, not then included in the London area. Early in 1814 *The Southwark Society for the Education of Adults* had been formed, and the first report contains "many illustrious names" as officers. A member of Parliament was President, and among the Vice-Presidents was the Rev. Rowland Hill of Surrey Chapel. The number of scholars is given as 556. Very soon even higher names were associated with the service, for in 1815 we find the Prince Regent as patron, and among the vice-presidents the Provost of Eton. These names appear in the Bucks and Berks Society's list. In July of the same year a meeting was held under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, in New London Tavern, Cheapside, to found a London Society. The Lord Mayor became president, Joseph Fry, treasurer, and the collection at the opening meeting amounted to £127 15s. 8½d. The Duke of Kent had written to Dr. Pole that he considered the subject of Adult Education "an object of national importance," so that, in quite early days, the movement was brought under the direct notice of leading people in the realm, and many cases enlisted their sympathy and support.

The rules of the London Society were drawn up with great care, and are sixteen in number. The ranks of scholars were to be filled from "orderly persons, of both sexes, unable to read, about sixteen years of age or upwards." Week evenings, as well as Sundays, were to be utilised, and the text-book was the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures, and such elementary books as should be necessary

in preparing for reading the sacred volume. At the opening and close of each session a selection from the Bible was to be read by the Superintendent. As at Bristol, the object of the school was reckoned to be attained when the scholar could read a chapter in the Bible accurately. In four years' time it was reckoned that 526 scholars reached this standard out of a total of 1,429 who had been admitted. We have no means of judging, of course, how short a time some of these had attended. Among the places at which schools had been opened are named St. Olave's, Bishopsgate, Hackney, Bethnal Green Road, and Spitalfields. In 1837 we find projects on foot for extending the work to other parts of London, including Seven Dials, St. Giles and Westminster, where there was urgent need. This extension work was not to depend entirely on voluntary help, but paid teachers were to be introduced, from whom was to be required "a strict attention to their duties, and a periodical statement of the progress of their schools."

If we turn next to the Midlands, which to-day is so strong a centre of the modern movement, we find that in those early days, the great towns of that district took a leading part in the furtherance of the good work. We hear of a women's school being started in Derby in 1811, which soon had about fifty scholars who had writing lessons on two evenings in the week, and a library of religious books. They had a savings bank, and also brought a penny or more per week for the purchase of books which were sold to them at a reduction of twenty-five per cent.

The Sheffield Sunday School Union Report of 1813 refers to Adult Schools at Queen Street, Red Hill and

Sycamore Street, which were attended by a considerable number of scholars of all ages. In December of the same year James Montgomery, at Dr. Pole's request, wrote a poem on the movement which appeared in the first edition of the Bristol History, and soon became a hymn sung at Adult School meetings. It consists of thirteen verses, not very excellent as poetry, but when we remember the difference in sentiment that a hundred years have produced, touching and sympathetic.

Three verses will suffice to show the quality and character of the lines :

“ Not eyes alone shall then rejoice,
In the rich comforts of thy word,
Deaf ears shall hearken to thy voice,
And bless the day its sound was heard.

Tongues that were wont to pledge thy name,
In oaths and cursings change their tone,
Thy free salvation to proclaim,
And make thy loving-kindness known.

Humbly they take the lowest seat,
Matrons and hoary-headed men
Are learners at the Saviour's feet,
Are little children once again.”

James Montgomery had taken great interest in the work from its beginning, and his personal friendship with Dr. Pole led to his having intimate knowledge of all that was going on in Bristol. Montgomery addressed the Redhill School in Sheffield in 1817, and on that occasion held a candle for a woman scholar of over sixty years of age, who read a chapter in the New Testament. This incident so affected him that, though he felt his own

deficiencies for the position, he became a teacher in the school.

In an issue of the paper he edited, *The Iris*, he defended the practice of teaching writing in the schools in the following terms, in answer to someone who had condemned the proceeding as contrary to the spirit of the due observance of Sunday :

“ Teaching them to write must be conferring yet higher honour on that holy day, by making it doubly beneficial to them. Our Saviour, on the Sabbath day, not only opened the eyes of the blind, but healed also the man that had the withered hand. Is not teaching the ignorant to read giving sight to the blind eye? Is not teaching to write transfusing virtue through the withered hand? ”

Towards the close of the period with which this chapter deals there is an interesting record in the Sheffield S.S.U. Report for 1840, which shows that the spirit of twenty-five years earlier still survived. It tells of a new women's school opened for factory employees. There were 140 in attendance, many of whom were married and the mothers of families. The promoters also rejoice in the outlet thus afforded for the energies of Christian workers, who had previously been circumscribed in their field of activity. In addition to progress in reading and writing the report notes with joy :

“ that in some a thoughtfulness has arisen where nothing but frivolity and recklessness were dominant, while not a few have been induced to habits of cleanliness, and some to a regular attendance upon the preaching of the word.”

Of an effort made to provide for the education of young women in Nottingham at the end of the eighteenth century mention has already been made, and this school apparently put itself in line with the new movement, for in the Nottingham S.S.U. Report for the year 1813 the establishment of schools for the instruction of adults is referred to with approval. Eight or nine schools were to be found in the town and others had been begun at Sutton-in-Ashfield, Mansfield, Bulwell, and Arnold. The secretary writes of one of the schools that it was but poorly attended, and he feels it not easy to expect men to make the acknowledgment of ignorance that attendance at such a school implies. He realises that the new movement has great possibilities before it, and believes that very soon men will regard them as necessities. This faith scarcely extends to the possibility of seeing them flourish in large manufacturing towns, "but," he concludes his letter, "in villages where there is greater simplicity of manners it may be effected with comparative ease."

We shall now turn to a few of the large manufacturing towns, and the reports will prove that our Nottingham friend was happily wrong in his fears, and that the reality was much more satisfactory than he anticipated.

The date of the origin of the work in Birmingham it is not possible to discover, but in 1815 four new schools were formed, and those *already existing* had grown. The total number of scholars is given as 352. By the exertions of some of the members the Gospel had been carried into the debtor's prison.

In an article in the *Penny Encyclopædia*, published in 1833, there is an interesting account of

one of these schools started by Dr. Johnstone at Edgbaston Hall. It had been in existence eighteen years, and had then forty members—which was more than half the adult labouring population of the parish. It was quite democratic in its government, which “point has always been a great object with the founders of the school.” It was held for two hours on Sunday evening. The learning of reading took generally about six months, and it was found the men were even more fond of writing. Men had become qualified in the school for various useful positions, and the moral effect upon the members had been very noticeable. One member, formerly a constant burden on the parish, “has become quite independent; and has recently opened a huckster’s shop.”

In Leeds a Society on the lines of the Bristol one was formed in 1821. The vice-presidents included ministers of the Established Church, and of the various dissenting denominations. An appeal was sent out for support of the new effort. Even at an earlier date (*viz.* June, 1816) an Adult School had been started in the city at White Chapel, in connection with which was formed a Youths’ Institute. The appeal seems to have been successful. A canvass of the city was made and promises received from 509 illiterate persons that they would be willing to learn. During 1823 Adult Schools were organised in several districts. This work was not regarded as part of the Sunday School organisation, but as arising out of its activities, and the friends of the Union rejoiced in this new proof of its service.

From a report about work in Manchester in 1824 we learn that *for some time* an Adult School

had been carried on in connection with Mr. Roby's Chapel (Congregational) in Grosvenor Street. It met before morning and afternoon services, and a considerable number had learned to read in it. A new movement was made in Greengate, Salford, in this year—the school to meet on Monday and Friday evenings. The first meeting saw thirty scholars enrolled. In addition to the ordinary subjects so often referred to it was hoped to introduce the elements of chemistry and mathematics, with a view to enabling the scholars to profit by the advantages of the Mechanics' Institutes.

It will be noted that this school has one or two special features. Apparently it was not to meet on Sunday, though the opening sermon in connection with it was preached on a Sunday evening. Its curriculum proposed to embrace more advanced subjects, thus having a resemblance to the later continuation schools, and, for the first time, we have mention of the Mechanics' Institutes in close connection with Adult Schools.

An Adult School Committee existed in Newcastle in 1817, and from eight to twelve schools were reported in the County of Northumberland at that time.

Liverpool had two Adult Schools in 1815, and in 1817 the total number of scholars was over 500.

It is a matter of regret that we have little more than these bare figures on which to go in many cases in estimating the hold gained on various communities by the movement; but sometimes we come across a very human document that illuminates the methods adopted, and we may take these as applying generally to the work of the period. One of these comes from Collumpton (Devon) and

is especially valuable because it is a source of information about work at Coventry, and also shows that then as now the best promoter of Adult Schools is the man or woman who has had personal experience of their value elsewhere. We gladly quote the whole document, which is signed "W.W.," dated 1815, and reads as follows :

" It is about nine months since I left Coventry, where the happy effects of Adult Schools are very conspicuous, and on my arrival in Devonshire I lost no time in recommending the adoption of such schools ; and in this place especially our success has far exceeded our expectations. There are twenty-six men and forty-three women in the schools. Our schools are all in private houses belonging to respectable, if not religious persons. The men and women are, of course, in different houses. From ten to twenty neighbours attend each school. These are divided into two classes, and two teachers are appointed. One of the teachers is generally an assistant visitor, to call on absentees, and the visitor for the day attends all the schools, to mark the number of teachers and learners present, to enquire the cause of former absences, to receive and class those who apply for admission, and give advice as may be necessary. The teachers have to open and close with prayer. The schools at Coventry are on the same plan, in which I am happy to learn there are now 103 learners, besides forty-five who *have* learned to read the Testament, and are dismissed. The learners are very fond of the Bristol Spelling Book for Adults."

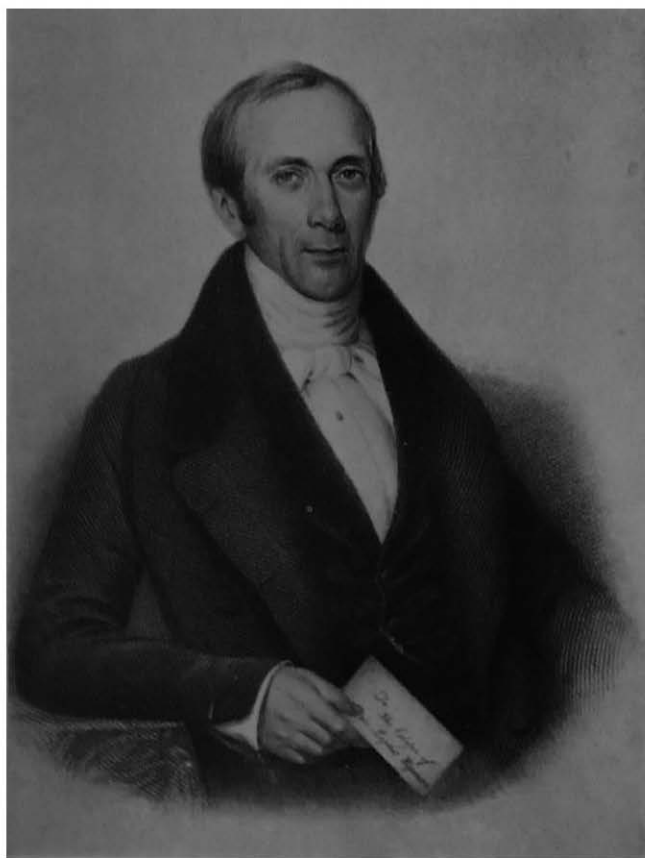
One or two points in the foregoing account are noteworthy. The method of visitation or inspection seems to have been thoroughly well organised, and probably was a means of keeping in close touch with the schools those of better education who could render most valuable assistance. The question of opening and closing with prayer was not always settled as at Coventry and Collumpton. We have already learned that sometimes the reading of Scripture by the Superintendent was the method of opening and closing the schools. The Bristol Society made it one of their rules, at the commencement of the constitution, that prayer should be offered at the beginning and end of each school meeting. But to this decision Dr. Pole takes exception in his History, on the ground that prayer is better "as a private than a public exercise." He fears also that "all the conductors and conductresses may not be blessed with the gift or spirit of prayer." We have in the letter an additional proof that the schools were only regarded as temporary institutions, and finally a definite reference to one of the text-books employed.

That the spirit of extension and sense of the real need were abroad in the land is witnessed by the following extract from the report of the Oxford Sunday School Union in 1817 :

"It is a lamentable fact that there are not more than three, and perhaps only two Adult Schools in the district of this Union, although it embraces an extent of country ninety miles in circumference. The want of knowledge among the aged is very great, and when this fact is made more public it is hoped that the importance

and necessity of their instruction will excite compassion, and produce effectual exertion."

From Gainsborough we have also illuminating details. Here five young men met on January 28th, 1820, and two days later the school was opened with two scholars! Within eighteen months the school had grown to over 300. At first men and women met together, then separate rooms were provided. As numbers increased two men's schools were formed, and later two women's schools. Improvement in moral character—"regarding social and domestic duties"—went hand in hand with improvement in knowledge. A large amount of excellent pioneering work was carried out in surrounding villages, and with much encouragement. Prayer meetings were started in connection with the school, first monthly, then fortnightly, and finally weekly. A special meeting for the admission of teachers was arranged, and at this each new teacher was separately proposed and voted upon, and all who were admitted were addressed on their work, its nature and responsibilities. Every house in the town was visited, and where any were found willing to learn, but too ashamed of their ignorance to come to school, they were regularly taught for a time in their own homes. "We are repeatedly convinced," say the leaders, "that a set of indefatigable visitors are as indispensably necessary to an adult establishment as the teachers." These visitors must be possessed of much patience and wit, since they have to meet "very fertile and crafty excuses." They were fine optimists, however, for they put it on record that *experience had taught them* never to give up a case as hopeless! There



J. F. WINKS.

was a library also, in which the librarian's office was no sinecure, for he himself took the books to the houses of the scholars, as this was the best way to ensure their receiving them. The books were read, and further read aloud in the homes of their neighbours. They were books of a serious cast, consisting of the works of Bunyan, Watts, Wesley, Baxter, and similar writers. This thoroughly energetic school also compiled and printed a special hymn-book. The Walton Adult Spelling Book was highly prized and strongly recommended to all other schools, and also Freeman's *Method of Teaching Adults*. On October 15th, 1820, a number of the scholars attended service, with their teachers, in the Methodist Chapel, and sat facing the congregation "being not ashamed to go with their teachers, if their teachers were not ashamed of them." Four verses, specially composed for the occasion, were sung by the members, and so great a general impression produced that during the next week nearly £20, fifteen Bibles and forty Testaments were given to the school.

One great and beneficial result obtained by the schools in the district was the closer fellowship of the various churches—"a sort of Sunday School Republic" says the enthusiastic chronicler. Then he bursts into satirical verse at the expense of those who make light of the movement and its significance :

" Yet are there men tread British earth
Of high descent or lowly birth,
Absorbed in bigot hate :
Who treat this fellowship with scorn,
Unsocial beings ! they were born
One century too late ! "

From the Report of the Annual Meeting of this School, presented in 1821, we learn that the various Nonconformist Chapels in the town were united in the Adult School work, and that a special effort was being made to reach, not only the neighbouring villages, but the uneducated mariners who frequented the port.

Further notes that are given us on the practices of the school show that no meeting was regarded as valid except when it opened and concluded with prayer, that no controversy was allowed on doctrinal subjects, and that no preacher or place of worship was to be recommended by the teachers. A somewhat curious direction is that not more than two strangers are to be permitted to enter the school at one time. The School met from nine to ten on Sunday morning and from two to four in the afternoon, and it was decided that at three o'clock two verses of a hymn were to be sung, in order to "refresh the scholars and prevent tediousness."* Every effort was made to prevent the younger members meeting together with the older ones because the former were apt to laugh at the efforts of the latter. One boy was reprov'd for so doing, and replied: "I am sure, Sir, I could not help it, to hear old Tommy spell 'C-A-N—CAN.'" This statement makes it almost certain that the Freeman's card was used in this school.

The practice of fines for late attendance was observed and we are told that the fine "made many walkers to run."

* Hymns were also used for dictation-lessons. The author has in his possession a copy of Samuel Medley's *Hymns*, published in 1800. This book belonged in 1810 to a Sarah Wilson, and several hymns are marked in the margin "Dict. Hymn" having evidently been chosen for this purpose.

The promoters of the school had their critics. They were very distressed that some people mistook the word "Adult" for "dunce," and in justification of the necessity of their work, the writers of the report say :

"Poor rates will decrease and the rich, seeing the poor sober and content, will be more disposed to give them what is equal. Many respectable persons make a cross for their names, and are liable to be cheated, not knowing a £10 note from a £1 note,* and are obliged to take letters to their neighbour to read, who sees all their secrets."

The interest and activity of the leaders passed beyond the confines of England, and we find much valuable material in the records of the Hibernian Society. Under the auspices of this Association Adult Schools were begun in Ireland in 1820, and within the first year forty schools were established with 2,000 scholars. Within three years the numbers had risen to 128 and 8,160 respectively. Of the scholars nine-tenths were Roman Catholics. In 1826 the work was extended to include women, and the hours and days of meeting were made more convenient for the people. Many received instruction in the Irish language—and the general improvement was so great that the Report stated that "no part of the Society's activities were more eminently successful than the Adult Schools." By 1830 the total number rose to 407 schools with over 15,000 scholars. Ulster stood at the head of the list.

* It is to be remembered that from 1797 to 1826 £1 notes current in England.

There are hints, but nothing more, of the movement reaching even further afield, viz., to France and the United States, and of a school for coloured people being established in New York.

The story of Adult Schools during this period would not be complete without the mention of a very interesting experiment made in Leicester during the winter of 1841-42 by Thomas Cooper, the Chartist, who had been a prominent member of the school in Gainsborough. The place of meeting was known as the Shakespearian Rooms, and there were soon about a hundred in attendance. It met on Sunday mornings and afternoons, and the textbooks were the Bible, Channings' *Self-Culture*, Campbell on the *Corn Laws*, and other works of a similar nature. The classes were each named after some famous man, mainly leaders in movements for liberty, e.g., Algernon Sidney, John Milton, William Tell, Andrew Marvel, Major Cartwright and William Cobbett: Cooper speaks in the highest terms of his associates in the work and of their eagerness. The school was closed in the following spring, partly owing to fine weather, but more because of the men's increasing despair at the social conditions. Cooper himself writes; "Let some who read this mark what I am recording. We have not many profane men in our ranks, but we have a few, and when I urged them not to forsake school their reply was, 'What the hell do we care about reading if we can get nought to eat?'"

At the same time Cooper was engaged on Sunday evening meetings, which he addressed partly on religious themes, and partly on social and political problems. The meetings began and concluded with prayer—"the prayer of my heart," he writes.

He had the help of two of his friends, William Jones and James Bramwith, in these enterprises, and both of them wrote hymns for his meetings. They were collected as *The Shakespearian Chartist Hymn Book*, probably suggested by the earlier Gainsborough book. Some of these verses—rude though they were—strike us as very pathetic. One or two quotations will reveal their tone and spirit: the following are the closing verses of a hymn written by Cooper himself:

“ Father, our frames are sinking fast !
 Hast Thou our names behind Thee cast ?
 Our sinless babes with hunger die,
 Our hearts are hardening !—Hear our cry :

Appear as in the ancient days !
 Deliver us from our foes, and praise
 Shall from our hearts to Thee ascend,
 To God, our Father and our Friend.”

From a hymn by J. Bramwith :

“ Britannia's sons, though slaves ye be,
 God, your Creator, made you free :
 He life and thought and being gave,
 But never, never made a slave !

All men are equal in His sight,
 The bond, the free, the black, the white ;
 He made them all,—then freedom gave ;
 God made the man—man made the slave.”

Another of Cooper's associates in this work was J. F. Winks, who became the second historian of the Adult School Movement. He published his *History*, a small volume of about seventy pages, in 1821. The writing is not very skilful, and the material not well arranged, but it carries on the story from the

beginnings chronicled by Dr. Pole, and we are indebted to its pages for many of the facts that form the basis of this chapter. He was an enthusiast in the cause, and in one passage makes his own the sentiments of a writer in the pages of the *Teacher's Guide*, who, commenting on the prophecy that Adult Schools would soon die a natural death, had expressed himself very definitely as of the opposite opinion. "This institution may, therefore, be considered as but in its infancy, and, if we turn from the past to the future, our hopes leave even our success behind. Comparatively, but few years shall pass before other writers shall look back from a distance on its progress, inconceivable to us, and sum up all that we have collected, as but the very commencement of its operations, the first fruits of its victories, and as not worthy to extend beyond the first page of its history." Brave words of a faithful heart, and we rejoice that the prophecy has not been belied by the later history of the movement, which, in its early days, inspired so fair a vision!

Before passing to the next chapter it may be well to take a brief glance at some of the movements for popular education that were taking shape in England during the period just dealt with.

In 1816 a Select Committee was appointed by Parliament to report on the Education of the Lower Orders, and it stated that the anxiety of the poor for education was daily increasing, though the opportunities were very bad. In 1820 Brougham introduced his first Education Bill, and noted an improvement since the beginning of the century, inasmuch as the proportion of those at school had risen from one in twenty-one to one in sixteen. It was in his speech in the House in 1828 that he made

his famous remark about "the schoolmaster being abroad in the land," and he added that "he trusted more to the schoolmaster, armed with his primer, than he did to the soldiers in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country." Yet there was much opposition and prejudice to be overcome. A writer in the *Manchester Gazette* of 1825 notes that at the beginning of the century a host of objections were raised to members of the labouring classes attending any school on weekdays or Sundays; arguments had to be adduced to show that the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic would not destroy the usefulness of the working classes, and produce idleness and crime. By the time of writing the outlook had been altered. "Every man," says the writer, "who employs numbers of work-people, and who has taken the trouble of making observations on the subject, knows his most attentive, his most punctual and useful journeymen or labourers, are in general those who are the best educated—those who have diligently attended the Sunday or Day Schools; those who have acquired a taste for books: those who have learned to employ their leisure hours in improving their minds."

By 1825 Mechanics' Institutes were to be found in most of the large towns of the kingdom, and the highest hopes were entertained as to what they might accomplish.

In London, in 1836, a Mutual Instruction Society was founded, designed to give to adult women the same privileges as men, and it had a very ambitious programme of study and a library of 500 volumes.

A letter from a working man of Leeds published in the *Times* of that city in 1839 desired a course of lectures on Literature, Art and Political Economy,

because the writer was assured that "operatives had the same mind to take delight in these subjects as greater and richer men."

In Manchester, in 1838, *Lyceums* were founded, which were marked by three characteristics, "Cheapness, Self-Government, and a due admixture of amusement and elementary instruction." They varied from the ordinary Mechanics' Institutes also in two points, the admission of women members, and the provision of newspapers. Membership cost 2s. per quarter.

It is very interesting to remember that it was during these years (1829-1831), that Grundtvig paid three visits to England from Denmark, and it was what he saw and learned of English freedom in matters of faith and citizenship that inspired his work on his return to his own country, and made him the founder of the Danish People's High School Movement.

CHAPTER IV

REVIVAL, RENEWAL AND REFORMATION

"The earth beareth fruit of herself: first the blade, then the ear . . ."—JESUS, in Mark iv. 28.

"You talk of energy: but the foundation of energy is love, and love does not come at will."—TOLSTOY, in *Anna Karenina*.

"Thanks for the good man's beautiful example,
Who in the vilest saw
Some sacred crypt or altar of a temple
Still vocal with God's law:
And heard with tender ear the spirit sighing
As from its prison cell,
Praying for pity."

From WHITTIER'S lines on *Joseph Sturge*.

BEFORE entering upon the consideration of the great forward step that was about to be taken in the Adult School Movement, it is well to endeavour to form some conception of the result that had been already attained. The former chapters have shown us how real and devoted had been the service, and how results of the greatest importance for the welfare of the nation had already attended the self-sacrificing efforts of thousands of workers. On the other hand, we have noted that, in the minds of most of the promoters, there was one chief aim, viz., that of teaching those whom they termed the "labouring poor" to read the Scriptures. When this was

accomplished they considered their work was over, and in many cases "learners" were dismissed when this stage was reached. Others had introduced writing into the schools, but this was mainly regarded as an auxiliary to their main purpose. It is not surprising, therefore, that in many places the numbers in attendance at the schools should have shown decline. This is especially the case between the years 1830 and 1840. We have records of many schools being closed during that period, and of others at which the numbers were greatly diminished. Contributory causes were no doubt at work, such as the lack of competent teachers. This had been found so great a difficulty, even at the beginning, that in some cases teachers were paid for their services. Another very effective cause was the attempt to unite adults and children in one and the same school. The objection to the teaching of writing in the schools was carried to such an extent by certain critics of the movement as to militate against the success of the schools. But perhaps deeper than any of these reasons were the economic difficulties of the period. We have already seen how Cooper's Chartist friends felt about learning to read when they were starving, and there can be little question that throughout the country, especially in the great industrial centres, this largely accounted for the falling off in numbers. Probably also the new democratic spirit revolted against the somewhat patronising attitude taken by certain leaders, at least, towards the scholars. It is quite clear that not all schools were so democratic as the one at Gainsborough, and it was necessary that a deeper feeling of brotherhood should be created before the movement could make a fresh start.

A History of Adult Education was written by Dr. J. W. Hudson in 1859, and his testimony is so important regarding the whole period that we gladly quote it in order to show something at least of what had been accomplished. He does not overstate the case. Much more had been effected than these statistics show, and probably the figures err not on the side of exaggeration, but from not including a good deal of the work that had been done not under the direction of any Society. This is his summary of the situation :

“ On reviewing the operations of that purely elementary section of education, which is presented in the history of Adult Schools of the United Kingdom, it will be apparent that no perfect estimate can be formed of the number of adults who have attended these humble seminaries from their commencement in 1811 : neither is it possible to test with accuracy the number of persons above eighteen years of age who have been taught to read in Adult poor schools. As an approximation to exactitude it may be affirmed that upwards of 30,000 of the poor in England have acquired the power of reading the New Testament by the means thus afforded, and the like number in the Irish Schools. More than 180,000 persons have learned to read in Welsh Schools ; making a total including Scotland, of not less than 250,000 taught to read by the aid of these schools of the United Kingdom. The number of adult poor learning to read in England at this time (November, 1849) is about 800 ; in Scotland, 300 ; in Ireland, 400 ; and in Wales, 2,000, amounting on the whole to 3,500

individuals. . . Notwithstanding the depressive influences which have occasioned the decline of adult schools, there is less reason for regret than would first appear. A large proportion of these schools have ceased to exist, not from failure, but from having to a great extent answered the object for which they were established. A rising generation has found an increased number of schools with parents awakening to the importance of education, themselves rising in the scale of intelligence, and desiring a wider circle of knowledge than merely reading one book, although that book is more precious than all the productions of man : and thus shall it continue during the world's existence : each generation rising in genius, and throwing out a more extended circle on the wide ocean of un bodied mind."*

He was at all events an optimistic believer in the world's progress, even if he did not express his meaning with the greatest clearness !

Of the detailed statistics given by Dr. Hudson in his history we may cite those of Bristol, as they well serve to illustrate the points already mentioned, and since we have carefully followed the origin of these schools we may now be able the more clearly to understand the significance of their decline.

In 1834 there were thirty-six schools in Bristol, with 408 men and 268 women in attendance. In 1843 the number was reduced to twenty-five schools. In 1849 the number was reduced to eighteen, with 200 men and 180 women. Dr. Hudson quotes from the Secretary's report of 1848,

* *A History of Adult Education.* By J. W. Hudson, pp. 22-25.

which proves that even the fact that 4,000 had in the course of the existence of the schools been taught to read the Bible was not their only claim upon the city's gratitude :

“ Instances of some who were grossly dishonest before coming to the school being reclaimed from that vicious and profligate course of life, and becoming not only members but ornaments of Christian churches. Two of the greatest hindrances to the extension of the schools have been a false degree of shame on the part of those who cannot read, and intemperance on the Saturday night, unfitting them for the quiet duties of the Sabbath, or preventing them from having decent clothing in which to appear among their more decent neighbours.”

In the city of Birmingham the school referred to in the last chapter was closed in 1840, but a school, begun in the adjoining parish of Christ Church in 1827 by the parish minister (Rev. G. Lea), had in attendance in 1849 twenty men, and met every Sunday morning from 9.15 to 10.20 for reading, and on two nights during the week for writing lessons. The vicar's wife had a reading and sewing class for eighty women—many domestic servants. Her “benevolence” is praised by the historian, because “she permits one half of these poor girls to belong to dissenting congregations !” It was in the City of Birmingham, quite independently, it would appear, of these or of other similar movements, that the new era of Adult School work was to dawn. Once again the Society of Friends was privileged to take the leading part in this revival of a movement which,

more than thirty years before, a member of their communion had done so much to foster at Bristol. It does seem remarkable that a leading member of the Society should not have known something of the work still going on in his own city, or should not, at least, have referred to it when he inaugurated his new movement in his own neighbourhood. The link between the old and the new is established at one point, as we have already seen on p. 17, but that it is not more easy to trace and much more generally visible is certainly surprising. We can only suppose that in Birmingham the existing work was not sufficiently large to have made itself generally felt in the community, and that therefore it was quite possible for a new organisation to grow up independently, and, as it gathered strength and developed on new lines, never to come into contact with the older work at all, or, when it did, not be able to recognise its relationship.

Joseph Sturge was one of the most noted citizens of Birmingham. He was a great philanthropist and a most enlightened politician. His interest was keen and active in all great movements for liberty and progress. He had travelled widely in the cause of peace and brotherhood. At home his activities were not less strenuous. A pioneer in work for the progress of the people, he did his share towards securing open spaces for the town, and especially for the children, for the encouragement of freehold land societies, temperance work and similar movements. He was a most enlightened and liberal supporter of popular education, so we are not surprised when we find that there was laid like a burden on his heart the condition of many lads and men whom he saw in the streets of Birmingham on

Sunday mornings. He called together some of the younger members of the Society of Friends, and put to them the question: "Could not something be done to mitigate the evil?" The response was earnest and encouraging, and in 1845, when he was a man of over fifty, the Adult School was formed. This opening meeting was held at his private house on the 12th of August, 1845, and the regulations were then drawn up for the guidance of the school. The hour of meeting was 6 to 8 o'clock on Sunday evening, and the school began in October. The original invitation still exists, and read as follows:

"A School is intended to be held on First Day (Sunday) evenings from 6-8 o'clock at the British School rooms in Severn Street, chiefly for the purpose of affording instruction in reading the Scriptures and in writing, to youths and young men from fourteen years of age and upwards who are invited to attend. The school to commence on the 12th of 10th month (October) 1845."

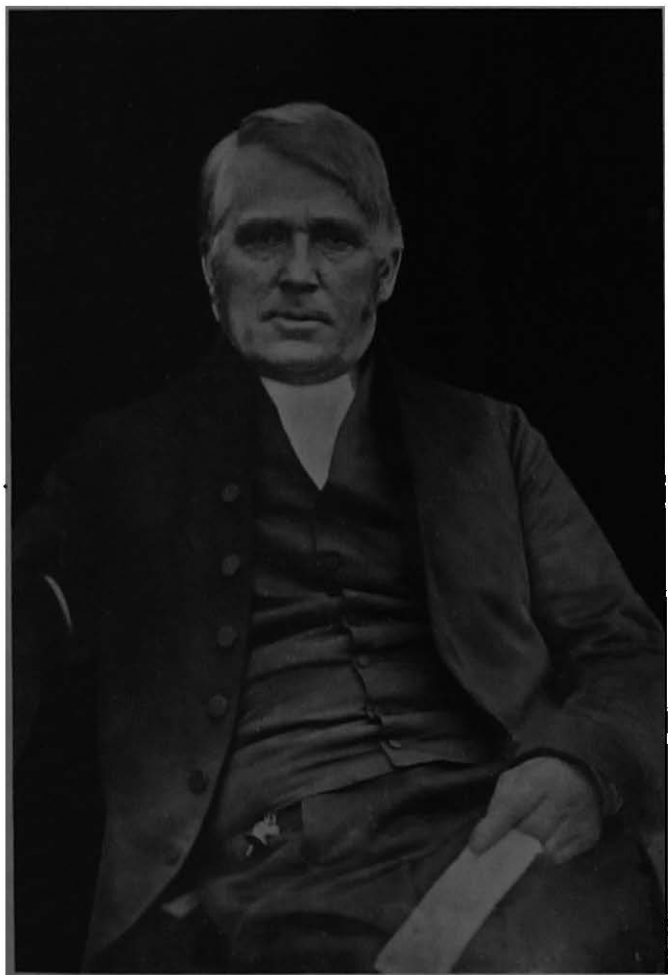
On the day fixed, the teachers to the number of twelve met for tea, and then faced the unknown, which turned out to be the advent of over a hundred, "many of them in the darkest ignorance, unable to tell the letters of the alphabet, and by their disorderly conduct appeared to be quite destitute of moral or religious training."

The fact that they proposed to teach writing raised a remonstrance from the neighbouring vicar, who sent a courteous but strongly-worded letter of protest against such a desecration of the

Sabbath. The teachers were not only breaking God's command themselves, but leading others to do the same, and therefore were reckoned guilty of sinful conduct! A second letter put his case even more strongly, and that we may see the kind of arguments against which these early leaders had to contend we may quote one or two sentences :

“ Surely a young person may read, and, under the teaching of God's Holy Spirit, understand the Scriptures without knowing how to write. . . . Writing is for another end and object, for secular purposes—to be used in business—to qualify for situations in life—and not for spiritual purposes ; and cannot be placed in the same necessity as reading, which is essential in order to know the Word of God.”

The school made satisfactory progress for a time, but as summer approached the attendance fell off rapidly, and on one occasion the teachers outnumbered the scholars. Then Joseph Sturge remembered what he had seen and learned in Nottingham, and suggested the sending of a deputation to his friend Samuel Fox in that town, that the methods which had proved successful there might be understood, and, if possible, applied in Birmingham. Five teachers undertook the duty, and reported upon their experiences on November 11th, 1846. They found that the school met from 7 to 8.45 each Sunday morning ; that the minimum age was sixteen ; that there were eighty-eight young women and thirty-six young men in the school ; and a long list of those seeking admission. The methods of the



JOSEPH STURGE.

chool are described in detail. Among noteworthy features were the reading of a chapter of the Bible by a teacher, and another by a scholar ; the existence of a library, and of a savings bank, which gave ten per cent. interest on deposits, and the supply of useful magazines at half-price. One thing surprised and apparently shocked them a little, viz., the teaching of arithmetic ; " for we imagine," they add, " that persons who learn arithmetic on First-day will soon think it no harm to keep their accounts or even transact business on that day."

The results of the visit to Nottingham were far-reaching. Half-past seven was fixed as the hour of meeting on Sunday, and a greatly increased attendance resulted. This hour has not been departed from by several schools in the Midlands to the present time. The generosity and forethought of the founder proved a pleasant way out of a practical difficulty by providing breakfast for all the school teachers on the school premises every Sunday morning, an institution that has also survived.

A meeting was held at Edmund Sturge's house in February, 1847—no doubt the outcome of the above reputation, as they strongly urged the formation of a Women's School—and it was decided to establish a school for women and girls—chiefly those not receiving instruction elsewhere.

Twenty-one teachers volunteered at once, and the school was begun the following January, with nineteen teachers and twenty scholars. The school grew rapidly, till at the end of the first year seventy names were on the roll. A Monday evening school—a valuable addition to the work—was begun in 1852, and the general progress was maintained with each successive year.

Meanwhile the Severn Street Men's School continued to flourish. It was soon enriched by the personality of a man destined to play a prominent part in Adult School development. In 1848 a young business man from Reading set up as a printer in Birmingham, along with his partner Cornelius Pike. They were both members of the Society of Friends. When, a few weeks before settling there, William White had been in Birmingham on business, he had called on Joseph Sturge. Very soon after beginning business in the city these two found themselves guests at one of the Sunday morning breakfast parties, and from that day onwards Adult School work gripped the warm heart of William White, and he gave to it the unstinted strength of a richly endowed nature. He had served his apprenticeship to such work by being a teacher of rough lads at Reading, where he was born in 1820, and, soon after settling in Birmingham, he was installed as teacher of the famous No. 1 Class at Severn Street. The class started with a dozen scholars, who sat on the upper row of steps in the old class-room. The next meeting-place was a cold, draughty, and uncomfortable passage-way, but in spite of these difficulties the class soon doubled its numbers. The influence of the new teacher was shown even then in practical signs of brotherhood—collections for those in distress, and constant kindly visitation of absentees. In 1852 better quarters were available, and the class rose to sixty, its maximum for some years. There was keen competition to enter it, and an elementary section was formed. In 1854 a library was begun. Extra accommodation was given to the class in 1864, when its membership rose to 120. In 1870 the numbers had nearly doubled—

the roll standing at 223, and a new class-room was then built, towards the furnishing of which nearly £100 was contributed by the members. Since that time the roll has reached 300, though at the date of writing (1923) the latest statistics give the present roll for the whole school as seventy. Class I. has always had the privilege of remaining in the parent school, while some of the other classes, originally begun in Severn Street, have hived off and formed new centres of Adult School activity in other parts of the city. Such were the origins of the schools now meeting at Bristol Street, Lozells, Moseley Road, Highgate and other places. Many suburban schools, such as those at Bournville, Selly Oak, and Northfield, also owe their beginnings to the missionary spirit of Severn Street members.

It is, of course, impossible to follow out in detail the course of history of the other classes, but this one has been chosen as a specimen, because it was the first, and because it remained intimately associated with William White throughout his life. Save from enforced absences from the city, or from illness, he was never absent and never late. Even when a man of seventy-eight, he walked two miles through a foot of newly-fallen snow and arrived punctually to breakfast at seven o'clock! When he was compelled to be absent there were few occasions passed without a letter to his class, that might be read on Sunday morning. Some of the most charming of these date from various places on the Continent, and he endeavoured to enable his readers to share with him the enjoyment of his experiences. Before he had been many years in Birmingham, and as his business engagements permitted, he became the advocate and encourager of the movement all

over the country, having spoken, he himself said, on its behalf, in every county except Rutland! His brotherly spirit and sane, buoyant religious life influenced the whole work with which he came into contact, and did much to create and disseminate that intangible but very real feature of the Movement, known as "the Adult School Spirit." His life is full of illustrations of how he met all difficulties by this divinely illuminated common-sense, in which he was such a firm believer. We can only give here one example of how he dealt with a man who was raising objections against the school. "The man said, 'I did not come to learn religion, but writing.' I have found it best not to be too serious over such remarks as these. I said, 'Do not we teach writing?' 'Yes,' said the man. 'Well, then, we will throw the other into the bargain without any extra charge,' I said. 'We are not learned men at our school: some of us have been to school a little bit longer than some friends who come to our classes: we have learned a little about the Bible and other things, and we are willing to tell you anything we know. We do not set ourselves up for learned professors, or anything of that sort. Let me ask if anything we have tried to teach you out of the Bible has been likely to damage a working man, or make him a worse husband or workman, or has set the masters against him and lowered his wages, and that sort of thing?' 'Oh, no; but for the matter of that, if we minded what you told us, it would be better for us.' I said, 'We have only to know each other a little longer, and we shall enjoy one another's company: I want us to be better acquainted, and then we shall learn to like one another and love one another.' And we have

learned to love one another, and that man who saved his first shilling in our class is now a scholar and living in a comfortable villa, and keeps his pony and carriage, in which he drives his wife to our social parties."

This last sign of success may not appeal to our modern outlook, but there can be no question as to the reality of the experience.

Reference to the Minute Book of Severn Street School reveals many interesting points of its growth and character during these early years. Reward tickets for punctual attendance were a feature of the school. Each ticket was valued at $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and later a collection of these tickets—not less than twelve—could be exchanged for equivalent value in books. The tea-meetings were popular functions, and at these Joseph Sturge made strenuous efforts to be present, often at great personal inconvenience. At a very early one in 1847, he himself gave a lecture on Education, so they were not by any means frivolous entertainments.

Fines were established. Teachers who did not attend punctually were each fined 1d., and so "beneficial" was the practice found to be that for those who failed to attend without assigning sufficient reason, a 2d. fine was instituted.

A Savings' Fund was established in 1848, and by 1851 the amount deposited rose to £167. The total amount of the deposits during the first fifty years of the school's existence was estimated at between £70,000 and £80,000.

In December, 1847, the school was evidently possessed of one skilful penman, for a minute reads, "That B. Nutter is requested to write a copy on the Blackboard for the use of the whole School." In

the same year the "Reward Ticket" method began to prove its value, for scholars purchased with these tickets forty-nine Bibles and ninety-five New Testaments. A week-evening class was also started for instruction in arithmetic, geography, etc. Self-support was inculcated in small ways. It was agreed that copy-books should be paid for either in cash or tickets, and a piece of blotting-paper "was to be charged one ticket." An amusing entry is this, under date October 4th, 1848: "John E. Baker and G. C. Merriman appointed to make school door weather-proof, and to find a kennel for the dog!" It appears this dog was the four-footed guardian of the premises, as at that date there was no caretaker. A month later J. E. Baker solemnly reports "that a kennel has been provided for the dog, and that the door only needs a sandbag at the bottom, which he will provide."

In 1849 there was a discussion about providing a suitable hymn-book for the school, and a committee was formed, which finally decided that nothing could be done at that time.

In 1849 there is the record of a pleasant incident—the recognition on the part of the school of its Superintendent and Senior Teacher, to each of whom silver medals were presented. The words in which the minute records the proceedings, after referring gratefully to the excellent speeches delivered by the young men who made the presentations, are worth consideration as showing the fine spirit that prevailed:

"Although there may be a difference of opinion as to the desirability of these testimonials, there can be none on the present occasion as

regards the kind, respectful, and grateful conduct of the young men whose sensible and kindly expressions of thankfulness and desire for improvement could not but prove encouraging and satisfactory to the teachers."

There was one event which occurred in 1847, and which, though not directly concerned with Severn Street School, cannot be passed over at this point, because of its important bearing at a later time on this movement. Joseph Sturge invited to meet at Birmingham those members of the Society of Friends who were engaged in teaching the young, and the outcome of this assembly was the formation of the Friends' First-day School Association (F.F.D.S.A.), which, at first almost exclusively concerned with children's Sunday School work, soon became more and more active in Adult School work until, in the year 1874, the latter became the larger section of its activity.

Before passing from this period of the history of the movement it may be well to note what was actually accomplished in the way of extension by those who had been instrumental in reviving and deepening the earlier work. William White not only helped to spread the movement within his own Society, in the Birmingham District, but was the means of inspiring members of other Christian communities to make it part of their propaganda. In 1866 he tells of a school established at Mount Zion Chapel, at the instance of his friend, Charles Vince, the Baptist minister, and similar work was done in various centres by Congregationalists, Methodists, and Church of England leaders.

The early school at Sheffield had received some revival in 1845, but almost entirely among juniors, and even the work done among senior scholars flagged so seriously in 1854 that there was every intention of closing the school. Then two of its supporters thought of turning to Birmingham for counsel. They remodelled their school on the Birmingham lines, received capable assistance from old pupils of the Friends' schools then resident in Sheffield, and very soon encouraging success followed their efforts. By 1850 they could issue an annual report and in that of 1856 we hear of one scholar whose enthusiasm led him to rise at four o'clock on Sunday morning in order to be in time for school. In the year 1869, as every available space in the Friends' Meeting House was more than occupied, £2,900 was raised for a new building, and this was opened free of debt in December, 1871, the attendance at that period reaching nearly 400.

In Leeds the revival of the movement dates from 1859, when an Adult School was opened by three teachers, who had also week-night classes for their more backward scholars. During the first year there were about fifty scholars on the roll.

In York, as early as 1848, fired by the success of the new movement in Birmingham, Friends set about starting a school, but at first it was more of a lads' school, for the minimum age was fixed at eight. In the next year we hear of adult members, and the hour of meeting was Sunday morning from eight to ten. In 1856 John Stephenson Rowntree began his work as regular teacher of the class with about twenty-five scholars, and in the next year the school migrated to historical premises, an old mansion house in Lady Peckitt's Yard. The

school began with two classes under the respective care of the brothers John S. and Joseph Rowntree. By the year 1864 there were four classes, and very soon afterwards the numbers reached 300. Work was begun at Huddersfield and Luton in 1862, and in Leicester in 1861, where the missionaries were two friends from Bristol. In three years' time a new school-room was built at Leicester and the work established on a strong basis, so that by 1870 the numbers had reached over 200.

The F.F.D.S.A., though formed as we have seen, at Birmingham, was in early years most active in Bristol, and in that city Adult School work was revived in 1857, as a separate movement from senior classes in connection with Sunday Schools, and in 1859 Bristol Friends introduced the new work as a subject for consideration at a Sunday School conference in that city.

When we attempt to estimate the significance of the revival that has been described in this chapter, we note several points in which Adult Schools, as now conceived, varied from those formed in the beginning of the century.

• First, they are not any longer looked upon as merely temporary institutions. If the scholars cannot read or write then these preliminary difficulties must be overcome, for they form the threshold that has to be crossed in order to enter the temple of education that is thrown open to all who are willing to seek the shrine. Education is conceived in no narrow spirit, but as a discipline for the nature of the whole man, and as a means of development and co-ordination of all his powers of personality. It was a heroic enterprise on the part of Joseph Sturge and his friends in the midst of the "hungry

forties" to realise and to put into practice the old truth that "man shall not live by bread alone." They had been in the very midst of the political and social struggles of the people, and knew that for which they were clamouring, and yet they had the faith to see that if the democracy could be really educated therein lay its safeguard for the future. No provisional methods could suffice to solve the problems—the interest of the bitter tears then being shed by the people was far off but it was sure, if the investment was made in the proper way. Thus the supporters of the new movement were not afraid to build and to plan for extensions, for they knew that their work was only in its infancy.

Secondly. It was much more of a democratic movement than formerly. The leaders were men who believed in the power and competence of the people if the people were fitted for their privileges and responsibilities. There was no longer any of the patronising language of the earlier schools, nor a wonder expressed that the "labouring poor" could avail themselves of the opportunities offered. The schools were based on the idea of brotherhood, and from the first were societies in which brotherhood might be practised. Social and intellectual distinctions were forgotten, and each man brought of his best for the common service. They might honestly have taken as their motto the words recorded of the early church: "Not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own: but they had all things common." William White is very strong on this point in one of his addresses: "I know nothing so leavening as these Adult Schools. It is sure to bring up the lowly and to bring down the lofty. If a man has any

nonsense in him or any notion of his own dignity or that deference ought to be shown to his superior station and education, he has only to sit down in a class of Adult Scholars for a year, and he will learn a great many things about himself and his surroundings that he never knew before."

Thirdly. It carried still further the redemptive and other religious ideals of the earlier schools. These, as we have seen, insisted constantly on the moral and spiritual value of their work, but they did not consider that aspect important enough to keep on their schools for that end alone. They trusted to other organisations to do that work if they could begin it, and when their particular task of teaching to read the Scriptures was fulfilled these other organisations would be able to do all that was requisite. The new workers had a different vision; all their work was religious, and all its aim was to make men and women the disciples of Jesus. This they strove to accomplish without insisting on ecclesiastical distinctions, or, so far as was in their power, doctrinal differences. Their great hope was in the influence of consecrated personalities, and they had abundant reason to rejoice in the success of their methods. We shall see how, very soon, a new religious demand was made upon the schools, but we shall not understand its significance unless we have a clear idea that evangelism and service were a real part of their programme from the first. The Adult Schools sincerely attempted from the outset to realise the ideal John Wilhelm Rowntree expressed in his history: "The Adult Schools must be a true order of St. Francis, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. And theirs must be the evangelical gospel of freedom and hope, not narrowly

or doctrinally interpreted, but in the broadest charity and in the deepest faith." *

A new spirit had been put into the movement by events at Birmingham. The founders of that work had seen further than the pioneers at the beginning of the century. They were no longer content to teach men and women merely to read the Bible and trust, during the period requisite for that purpose, to inculcate principles that such reading might enforce. They intended to keep their scholars in their schools that the power of fellowship might influence their lives and make of them new men and women, better fitted for the duties of citizenship.

One of the outcomes of the Adult School at Severn Street was the creation of what came to be known as the "Severn Street Christian Society." Somewhere early in the sixties a number of members of the School asked their leaders to arrange a simple religious service on Sunday evenings, and before long attendances reached over two hundred. The collection of hymns compiled by William White was used at this meeting, which was run largely on the lines of the Society of Friends' meetings for worship, that is, without any pre-arranged programme. In 1873, R. W. Douglas, of America, on visiting this meeting, suggested that some sort of membership should be prepared for it, and when the proposal was made to the meeting, 137 men and women joined, and the following rules were drawn up as the basis of membership :

1. The object of this Society is to unite closer together in Christian fellowship those who attend the First-day

* See Rowntree and Binns *History of the Adult School Movement*, p. 76.

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evening meetings held in connection with Severn Street First-day Schools, on the simple Scriptural basis of "Repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

2. This Fellowship will lead those who enter into it to assemble together for the worship of God, and for mutual instruction and edification, under the headship of our great High Priest, the Lord Jesus Christ, relying on His promise to be present in our meetings—"Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them"; and who, in speaking of Divine worship said, "God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in truth."

3. Those who feel the love of God in their hearts will desire to meet diligently and regularly for Public worship. Our worship of Him will not stop at this, nor be confined to set times or places only; every day we shall feel the need of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and be enabled in "everything by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving," to "let our requests be known unto God."

Careful visitation of members was carried out, cottage meetings were organised on week-nights and a children's meeting met quarterly. Other meetings on the same lines were started in other parts of Birmingham, and by 1885 the membership had risen to nearly 700. R. W. Douglas again visited the city in 1886, and had the pleasure of finding over 800 members in the society he had been instrumental in starting.

The meeting at Farm Street was one of the most successful of these gatherings, which everywhere played a large part in the life of those who attended them and were distinctly helpful in aiding the religious life of their members. The Christian Society idea spread to other centres and in various parts of England similar societies were formed, which in many cases developed into Friends' Home Missions.

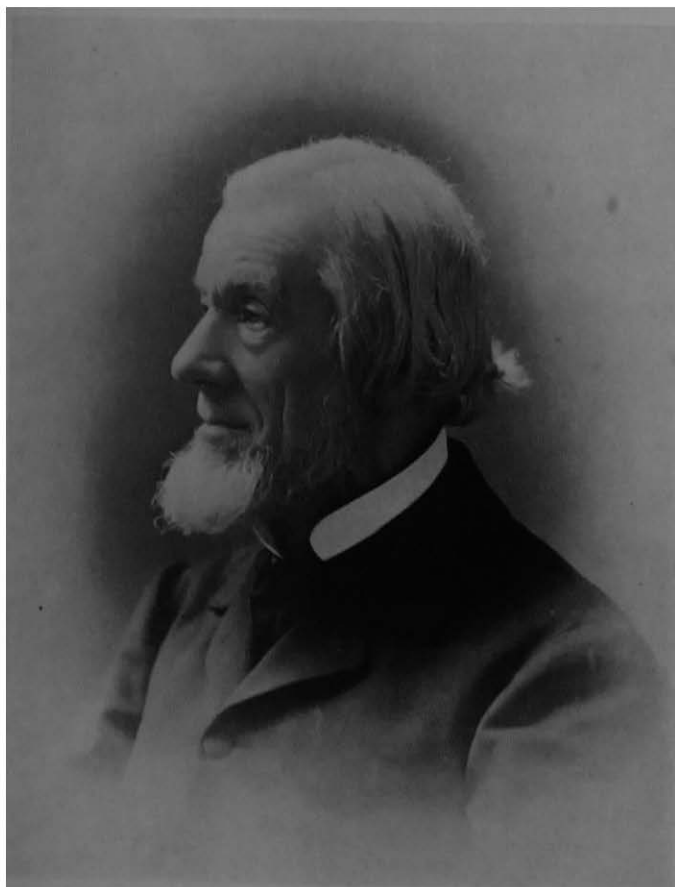
As we have seen, William White was the leading spirit in these new activities, and his own life presented an example for others to follow. In 1873 he stood for the Town Council, and largely by the help of his Adult School men won a notable victory over a local publican. Two years later he was appointed Chairman of the Town Improvement Committee, and by dint of his personal investigations and vigorously-worded reports soon brought about immense improvements. He was also a strenuous worker on the Health and Parks Committees, was, in 1878, elected a Governor of King Edward's Grammar School, and in 1882 chosen Mayor of the city. All these activities produced their reflex effect on his Adult School work, and, as he went about the country advocating the cause that lay so near his heart, the type of man he was seen to be influenced all who came under his spell. It is largely due to him that Adult Schools and their leaders have become so largely identified with municipal, civil, and national schemes for improvement of the social life of the community. George Cadbury, the founder of Bournville, was never tired of telling that it was his Adult School experience that led him to plan that model village. Within and without their large industrial concerns and all the benefits conferred on their workers by such firms as the Cadburys, Tangyes and Rowntrees, their members would gladly acknowledge how large a debt they owe to Adult School training for suggestions and experience in dealing with the workers and their needs. The discovery and spread of the Adult School spirit was a very real and living thing. William White realised in this movement a new vitality not only for his own religious

community, but for the nation, and he never wearied, during the fifty years of his active service, in advocating its advantages. "Although not its actual originator," it has been well said, "he may truly be called its apostle and father . . . He was always ready to assist other schools in Birmingham and throughout the country; distance or weather, or the multiplicity of engagements in his almost overtaxed life, rarely standing in his way of making a journey with the object of starting a new school, or of helping an old one." Thus we find him at Sanvey Gate School, Leicester, in 1866, within five years of the opening of the school in that city, and prior to that time Leicester men had visited Severn Street. These interchanges stimulated the Leicester School, and we find that in 1868 it was necessary for it to enlarge its buildings. Within ten years it had reached over 200 members. Up to that date (1870) it was the only Adult School in Leicestershire, but it was in close relationship with schools at Nottingham, Sheffield, Hitchin, and Luton, proving that the spirit of fellowship was alive in its midst.

Even where William White was not present in person his influence was acknowledged. Friends at Luton, who started their school in 1862, acknowledged that they were endeavouring to follow the example set by Birmingham. This purpose was "to give instruction to young men and young women of the more neglected class in Reading, Writing, and the Holy Scriptures." They limited their number so as not to exceed forty of each sex, and had a rule that "no scholar be admitted on the day of application, but by the Superintendent on the recommendation of a teacher after due enquiry." From the Second Annual Report (the first one

printed) we learn two or three items of interest. We discover the democratic foundation that scholars co-operate with the teachers in managing the school, that the young women's section has been active in distributing Bibles, and that William White has visited and addressed their annual tea-meeting. The average attendance numbered about half the roll. The men's school had started with three scholars and five teachers! At the end of the second year the average attendance of men was twenty-six, of women, twenty-nine. The school established rather quaint cards of membership, and by 1870 we find lectures among their activities.

Schools were frequently started by someone who had known their usefulness in some other place, when he changed his residence and found himself in fresh surroundings. This, for example, was the case of a very well-known Adult School leader, the late Joshua Rowntree, of Scarborough. He had been a teacher in the Adult School at York, and on settling in Scarborough in 1868 he made up his mind to begin a school there. The room hired for the teacher's purpose was not a prepossessing one. It had an ancient and fish-like smell, as it was situated over a store stacked with fish-boxes. The first scholars consisted of a bricklayer, a labourer, and two painters. The founder thus described the general course of procedure. "The teacher would get out three or four copy-books, write, it may be, a line of a text at the head of a page, search in another desk for half a dozen Bibles, and then begin to read one and wait. Why should men leave their homes to come, particularly when snow was on the ground, and everything outside, and some things inside, were cold? There was apparently no demand for Adult



WILLIAM WHITE.

Schools in Scarborough and the conclusion was gradually arrived at that the room should be open so long as one man came, but when a Sunday broke without any scholar at all, it should be taken as a proof that the effort was vain. It happened, curiously, that someone always did come." The motto originally chosen was, "They helped every one his neighbour, and everyone said to his brother, Be of good courage," to which was subsequently added the words, "One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren."

The beginning of the school at Sheffield, referred to in the last chapter, was no less interesting, and it is best told in the words of the founder himself, the late James Henry Barber.

"It must have been," he says, "in the summer of 1845 that, being out of health, Edward Smith asked me to spend a few days with his family at Scarborough. There was stopping with them another visitor, Sarah Wheeler, a warm philanthropist, who took a lively interest in the schools at Bristol, then lately established by Joseph Storrs Fry and others. She urged me strongly to begin a First-Day School at Sheffield . . . and said to me at parting, 'Something tells me that thou wilt begin that First-Day School at Sheffield, and as there will be expense connected with it I should like to subscribe £5,' upon which she placed a £5 note in my hand. I wished that her bounty had been less practically shown and scarcely knew what to do with the note, but as she felt so strongly about it as to hand me the money, I did not feel easy to do nothing, and hence in a week or two,

I asked a few friends to our house to tea, to whom I related the story."

The pioneers found a disused garret in a warehouse and made their start. They had first to clean and whitewash the walls, and put in a stove. Their first scholars arrived, and soon they had fifty or sixty children. Alas, one night the place was burnt down, and there seemed little to show for the £5! On a fresh start being made adults were soon attracted. Fifty years later a man stood on the platform at the anniversary meeting of that school, who was one of the first scholars.

During the period under review in this chapter we find that wherever Adult Schools were started throughout the country they followed the Birmingham model, not only in their general methods, but also in adding to the school certain special features that had been found helpful at Severn Street.

The first of these adjuncts was a Savings' Bank. In those days the encouragement of thrift was one of the first lessons taught by those who had the welfare of the people at heart. Men may have gone too far in that direction at times, and godliness and the care of money may have been linked too closely in the popular mind, but recent events in this country have taught us that it would have been well had some of the lessons then enforced been taken more seriously to heart by people of all classes. We should probably not hear so much in our own day of "anti-waste" and "thrift" campaigns, had the truths these men taught in the middle of last century been soberly considered.

In 1848 we hear of a Savings Fund at Severn Street School with a total deposit of £68 10s. Three

years later this had been nearly trebled, and the interest on deposit was five per cent., provided by the generosity of Joseph and Charles Sturge. By the year 1870 the amount had swelled to £3,000, and it was calculated in 1895 that about £80,000 had been received in deposits in this fund since its foundation. The first balance sheet of the Luton School Savings Fund showed a total of nearly £100.* Leicester tells a similar story, and throughout the schools the method was adopted with success.

In the early days in Birmingham a proposal was made to establish a fund for the benefit of sick members. At first this was rejected on the ground "that it would occasion too great an amount of responsibility," but soon these objections were overridden, or more courage was aroused in the hearts of the members, for in 1858 this fund was established in Class I, and the other classes soon followed suit. These funds also became a leading and helpful feature of other schools, as a practical example of the best way of carrying out the principle of brotherhood on which these schools were based. The contributions and gifts kept constantly before the members the great lesson that if a man possesses money, and "notices his brother in need, and shuts his heart against him, how can the love to God remain in him."

The third activity was the establishment of school libraries. As early as 1851 Severn Street was furnished with a collection of 240 volumes, and in

* We find mention made in the second Annual Report of the Luton School (1864) of a Benevolent Box for freewill offerings to be applied by the Scholars' Committee in the relief of casual distress.

the first year there were 2,345 issues to 245 scholars. Within the first year of the existence of the Luton School we read of a library containing 150 volumes and subsequent reports tell of its increasing popularity. The value of books and the love of them was inculcated whenever the Adult School got a footing, and it was only natural that the promoters of a school should secure there being some easy way of meeting the desire for reading, which they themselves had created. Book Clubs were established later in which, by small weekly contributions, men could in time acquire a fair collection of good books.

If these activities are not so prominent to-day, or their need so much felt, it is only because the general community has so largely been leavened with the spirit that moved the pioneers. We have our P.O. Savings' Banks, our State Insurance, and our Carnegie and other Public Libraries; in securing all these reforms Adult School men and women have been prominent, and in many centres it is owing to the lessons received in Adult Schools that influences have been set to work to secure them. Even to-day, however, there are small towns and villages whose communities are extremely thankful for the Adult School Library.

Another movement of those early days [which became a frequent feature in Adult Schools, was the Temperance Society. Many of the early scholars were men who had been demoralised by hard drinking, and the frequent testimonies of benefits received through the schools are eloquent of thanksgiving from deliverance from the thralldom of this evil habit. In order to strengthen and encourage such scholars, to instruct them further and to

induce them to assist others, Temperance Societies were formed, and became a regular part of the school programme.

Already schools were launching out into activities on other days of the week besides Sunday. We read of classes for reading, writing, arithmetic, and other subjects being taught on one or two evenings a week. William White himself is very early on the list of lecturers. His subjects were *The Almanac Calendar* and *Domestic Economy*, to which latter subject, naturally enough, women were, for the first time, admitted! Another early lecture is on *The Solar System*, and so the range widened, and men and women were helped to open out for themselves new windows on the world.

It may be useful to introduce here some actual pen-portraits of the schools of the period and their effects upon the lives of men, culled mainly from the records of Severn Street, for these first-hand reports are both interesting and illuminating. They show how the main purpose of the promoters of the movement was redemptive, and how they succeeded in their efforts.

The following letter shows how one scholar at least had assimilated the cheerful philosophy of his leader:

“ It is with pleasure that I received the books from you . . . you cannot think how one feels with my misfortune with broken leg and collar bone, one wonders there can be any sunshine in one at all . . . but I always remember your kind words ‘ there is nothing so bad but it might be worse,’ and I think of the man that praised God with a broken leg and

parish pay, for there might be two broken legs and no parish pay. . . . I think with all my troubles I have great cause to be thankful to almighty God for his goodness to me and mine."

The next letter is a testimony to one side of the Adult School fellowship that remains a permanent and special feature of the movement.

"One of the grand things in our class is the many kind friends I have found. Nothing but kind words said and kind things done. Some people I've known talk a great deal about religion who don't seem any the better; but at Severn Street we learn out of the Bible what real religion is. It means loving one's Saviour and following Him, and means being sober and kind, and speaking the truth, and letting brotherly love continue."

The Reports of the F.F.D.S.A. make interesting reading and reveal the quiet but effective work that was being carried on in many parts of the country. As early as 1850 we find a minute to the following effect: "The subject of the importance of Adult Schools and their claims upon Friends has been brought before this meeting and it desires to press upon the attention of Friends, particularly in those places in which no Friends' First-Day Schools exist, the valuable services which they are capable of rendering to a neglected class and to encourage them to direct their earnest attention to this subject." Such exhortations were not without effect, for twelve years later we read in the Annual Report of the satisfactory progress that

had been made in Adult School work during the interval.

A Conference of the Association was held in Liverpool in 1859, at which an account was given of a young women's school in Belfast with 800 members. On the same occasion a paper was read on Schools for Factory Girls, and the writer urged that an effort should be made by the teachers "to teach the girls to think, if possible." This manner of stating the plea does not sound very optimistic, but at any rate it turned the thoughts of the hearers in the right direction, and her successors are doing all in their power to-day to follow her counsel. In 1860 we read of a school at Settle, started by a young man from York, who had secured fifty members as the result of a personal canvass of the town.

It appears that quite early the members of the schools were encouraged to do things for themselves, for in 1864 we read of annual reports prepared by the scholars. The language in which they are described sounds rather patronising to us to-day, but it marked a great advance over that of other contemporary religious associations. "These reports," says the writer, "are peculiarly valuable as practical tests of the working of the schools, and as representing the genuine feelings of the scholar towards their teachers. They are mostly well drawn up, and, if looked upon merely as specimens of the intellectual condition of working-men of the present day, when raised a little above the debasing influences which tell so fearfully upon them, these reports are well worthy of study."

From the same source we obtain glimpses of the working of the schools. It seems to have been

common to divide the scholars into two groups—during the first hour half the school had a writing lesson, and the other half was occupied with reading—during the second hour the process was reversed. Inter-visitation became a regular feature, and we read of the great effect produced in a Bristol school by a Manchester scholar telling his simple tale in the broadest Lancashire dialect. This remains a fairly familiar feature of Adult School work to the present day. Exhibitions of Industry (now termed Handicraft) and Horticulture are referred to in the 1892 Report, but the cautious editors, while approving of these innovations, think it wise to insist that care should be taken “to maintain a reverent sense of the supreme importance of that which is spiritual.” In some schools Old Testament lessons were apparently taken in the morning and New Testament studies in the afternoon, but such books as the *Pilgrim's Progress* were also used.

Nottingham School as late as 1863 evidently kept up its original idea of being to some extent a training school for teachers, because J. G. Gilpin, in reporting about the school, notes that many scholars in it teach elsewhere and so they are constantly consulted on the subjects of the lessons, and this also accounts for the early hour of meeting, 7-8.30 a.m., in order that the scholars may be in time to teach in the other schools in the town.

Libraries are common features, and one at least, Camp Lane Court, Leeds, was partly supported by fines. The scholar paid $\frac{1}{2}$ d. if five minutes late, 1d. if absent, and if books were kept beyond the specified time $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was charged. Teachers, if absent, paid 6d. The lists of books, occasionally given, are interesting, and show a fair readiness to admit the

latest productions of the press, including science, poetry, and fiction. There is frequent mention of scholars being turned away for lack of room.

At Manchester a school began in 1861, and the writing lessons were taken in the afternoon. The writing lessons still raised much controversy. Some Friends objected to the practice, as did also evangelical churchmen. The attitude of Jesus was quoted by those who supported the practice, and and the writing lesson was put on a level with raising the ass or ox out of the well on the Sabbath day. The Manchester School, just referred to, found John Ashworth's *Rochdale Tracts* useful reading in the school, and in common with many other schools in the North had the author himself to visit and address the members. This school also started week-night classes for secular subjects, which were open to men one week, and to women the other, and out of this experiment a women's school was originated, that met on Sunday afternoon. A feature of interest, noted at Settle, is a "Post Office," which means a "Question Box," and the answers given to various questions put into it by the scholars added to the interest of the school.

The reports show that much care was spent upon the teachers, and every help and encouragement possible was given to them. In the elementary classes promising scholars were used to assist their less proficient brethren, and thus men were trained for more responsible work. At a conference held in Manchester in 1849, William White argued strongly that more schools were required all over the country. He showed that at that time members of the Society of Friends were, as a rule, better educated than the teachers of other Sunday Schools,

and therefore better fitted to teach adults. Adult Schools were also more easy to establish because they rapidly became self-supporting. He further held—a view that might be challenged—that larger and more apparent benefits followed from them than from children's schools, and that they were more out of reach of clerical influence!

The wider influence of the teacher is frequently emphasised in these papers. Take, for example, these words of a Birmingham teacher in 1852:—“Teachers should always be ready to take trouble for their scholars, to live for them, help their temporal interests, promote their plans in life, unite them to themselves in every act that love and kindness can devise.” No better account could to-day be given of the value and practice of fellowship. Wise words may also be quoted in this connection from a later report. “Respecting many things,” says the writer, “we may press our views of what is best out of interest in the welfare of our friends, but let us remember that freedom of judgment and liberty of thought connected with individual faithfulness to what is held to be right is of greater consequence than servile adherence to any pattern of life or to any particular doctrine.”

CHAPTER V

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

"Where there is education, there is no distinction of class."—CONFUCIUS.

"You know that we have a crook in our arm. Why was it given to us? It was given to us that we might put it through the arm of another fellow and guide him on the straight way."—BISHOP CREIGHTON.

WE have already seen that, as a result of the activities of the Adult School Movement in Birmingham and elsewhere, the movement had spread in many directions, and had attained such fresh vitality that new Schools were continually being started and fresh ideas were everywhere at work in altering and improving the Schools that already existed.

In the year 1869, the first number of the *Monthly Record* was published, a magazine that dealt with the various activities of the Society of Friends, and in this number the editor brought before his readers the subject of Adult Schools as one of supreme importance. He pointed out how villages and country districts afforded ample opportunity for extension, and urged the younger members of the Society of Friends to take this work up as their own special concern. The young men belonging to the Society were often brought into the schools as teachers of reading and writing. We are told that when Joseph Sturge invited Joseph Clarke to enter the school, he said to him, "Joseph, if thou

thinks thou may'st not do any good, perhaps thou may'st get some." And Clarke used to say, in later years, when he himself was superintendent of the school, that a truer word had never been spoken to him, and very many men and women of that period, and later, echoed his conviction.

In the city of Bristol about 1860, a very active teacher in the school was Arthur Naish, and when he got thoroughly captured by the movement and its possibilities, though in former years he had been a keen entomologist, he said to a friend: "Now I must catch men, not insects." At his school, Saturday evening entertainments, called "Cocoa Meetings," were started, where reading and recitations were given, and one penny admission charged, with cocoa and biscuits provided for everybody.

Sometimes schools were started with great faith and little prospect of immediate success, as at Sunderland in 1861, when a school began with two teachers and one scholar.

Saturday evening discussion classes seem to have been a common feature, and lectures on many subjects were introduced, usually on week-nights. The subjects were frequently biographical, and we read of lectures being given on the lives of William Penn, Wilberforce, Clarkson and other popular figures; on Roads and Road-making, on Food and Travel, and sometimes essays were read by members.

As we approach the period when the New Education Act was under discussion, we find reflections of it, and its possibilities, almost at once in the Adult Schools. Thus, in the Severn Street report for 1870, mention is made of the Government Bill for National Education, and it is said, with satisfaction, that the people and the Government are

now in earnest ; and as early as 1873 one school, at least, in Bradford, had discontinued the writing lessons, because they felt that the time could be otherwise employed to greater advantage.

A report of 1878 says : " Our schools ought thus eventually to become increasingly powerful as means for moral religious elevation, being relieved from the necessity for teaching the mere elements of learning, and starting, as it were, with their scholars at a higher level."

It is therefore clear that the reflex influence of the new Education Act was speedily felt in the schools, and the foundation was thus laid for the later development of what are now known as First Half-hour Subjects.* Writing lessons were, however, persevered with until quite modern times. The present writer has seen the copy-books in use in a school within the last ten years, and for a long time the controversy went on as to whether writing on Sundays could be justified.

We have already referred to this discussion in

* " First Half Hour " addresses have, in many places, been exceedingly well reported in local newspapers, and, in several cases, weekly reports appear in the press. Several of the addresses have been published in separate form—noteworthy examples being J. W. Rowntree's addresses to Adult Schools published in his volume entitled *Palestine Notes and other Papers*, London, 1906 ; *Talks with Men*, by Thomas Adcock, London, n.d. ; *The Duties of Citizenship*, by James Powell, Reigate, n.d. ; and a very interesting series (illustrated) of fine talks on *Plant Life* by T. H. Russell, Birmingham, n.d.

It is a notable fact that " First Half Hours," which, in some Schools, had ceased to be a factor in their activities, are now being revived, and the Education and Social Service Committee of the National Council is considering the whole question, and purposes publishing guidance for their better organisation.

This method of keeping constantly before Schools the wider interests of education is peculiarly suited to the genius and spirit of the Movement.

earlier times, and it has been a subject continually cropping up. Thus in *The Pilot*, dated November 15th, 1845, we find a discussion on a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Bird, to the British School Society, on the un-Christian practice of teaching writing, and as late as November, 1890, there was a discussion in the Finchley School Board about giving permission for the local Adult School to use their premises. One of the members said that he did not see that the teaching of reading and writing on Sunday at the Adult Schools was consistent with what they taught there during the week; the children were taught to keep holy the Sabbath, and do no manner of work on that day. Another more liberal member said he believed the people who ran the school met a want, and as the members had no opportunity for receiving this kind of instruction on week-days, it must either be given on Sundays or not at all. A motion in favour of granting the privilege was carried, but both women members of the Board voted against it. We can see from this how far Adult School people have advanced in the last quarter of a century.

One or two glances may now be taken at an interesting aspect of school work throughout the country. At Ackworth, in Yorkshire, a school was opened in 1848, and it was stated that the purpose was to supplement local efforts on the part of the Church and the Wesleyans, as there were many Sunday stragglers who attended neither of these places of worship. It began with about fifty young men. Here the objection to writing pursued the founders, and this subject had to be transferred to a week-night, when also arithmetic was taught. They tell us that the only inducement held out to prospective scholars was the advantage of learning, though the

purpose of the founders is stated to be to win these young people from the "usual follies of the dance, the card-table and the dram." A year or two later, we notice that this school is advanced enough to take advantage of the newly-opened Mechanics' Library, and to arrange for its members being admitted at a reduced rate. Presumably the balance of the subscription was paid by the school leaders. Fifteen of the members joined the library, which is stated in the report to be a good one, because "it is free from novels and injurious poems"! One would very much like to know what the leaders considered "injurious poetry"!

An interesting anticipation of present-day Continuation Schools, in the action of many employers in giving their young people opportunities for studying, is found in the records of a school at Carlisle, in 1851, where twenty-seven boys attended, who were engaged in the factory, and their attendance at the Adult School is part of the terms of their engagement. In the same city, we are told that the school paid the wages of the apprentices when they were sick for a period of three months.

In many places the scholars themselves were set to teaching and, as at Manchester in 1862, this method was found so advantageous that these assistant teachers were doubled in the period of a few months. It is a frequent note in these school reports that there was a waiting list of members.

Some of the ideas of democratic methods are rather amusing to us to-day. Thus, at York in 1857, it is noted that the scholars sit on four forms round a table, the teacher sitting on one of the forms with the scholars. A note is added that the method seems to work very well,

The general hour of meeting of these schools seems to have been nine o'clock on Sunday morning, but there is one curious note on time in a school established in Reigate, Surrey, in 1858. The winter hours were from 7 to 8.45 o'clock in the morning, and the summer hours from 7.45 to 9 o'clock. A quaint note in the report tells us that after four years of school work the teachers "desire to feel thankful without elation."

It may be interesting to quote from the report of the Huddersfield Adult School, held at the Paddock Meeting House, from 8.15 to 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, for young men of seventeen and upwards, that they had 121 scholars, forty-four resident in Paddock itself, seventy-four in neighbouring villages, and only three from Huddersfield, a mile off. The report gives an account of the method in which the school was conducted, and this may be quoted in full, as it probably is a fairly accurate picture of the methods generally adopted at that period.

"The teachers breakfast together on the premises at eight o'clock, their meal being provided for them by the liberality of a friend. This arrangement is found to be advantageous in securing punctuality of attendance. The school is opened at 8.15 by the reading of a psalm. Half the scholars are then engaged in writing in the upstairs room, whilst the other half are reading in the room below. At 9 o'clock, the two divisions change places, the writers going downstairs to read, and the readers going upstairs to write. At 9.45 the superintendent reads the concluding chapter from the Gospels to the whole school collectively, after which the books issued

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1846.

ACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF "PHONOTYPE INSTRUCTOR

from the library are handed round, and the school separates. The writing copies in use are all scriptural; most of them are written by some of the teachers. The only reading books are Bibles and Testaments. About four years ago it was thought that it might prove an advantage to arrange beforehand the lessons for each week, so that the teachers might be saved the labour of each having to fix upon the course of lessons to be read with his class, and on the other hand, that the scholars might have the opportunity of looking at the passages at home, and studying them for themselves. Printed programmes of the lessons for each quarter were accordingly supplied to each scholar and teacher. This plan has appeared to work well, and the historical books of the Old Testament have thus been gone through. They were followed by the prophecies relating to the coming of our Lord, which served as an introduction to the Gospel Narrative, upon which the schools are at present engaged."

A report of the same date, from the school at Sheffield, gives an interesting analysis of the occupations of the 254 scholars. These include the special trades of Sheffield. For example, grinders, file-cutters, brass-founders, rollers, machine-tenders, scissor-makers, saw-makers, bone and ivory cutters, etc., as well as the more ordinary trades of joiners, cabinet-makers, spectacle-makers, dress-makers, etc., and amongst the rarer trades we find spirit and powder-flask makers, scale-beam makers, hackle and gill and magnet makers.

At a much later period, in one of the London schools, a member who had a talent for rhyme,

gives the following list of some of the occupations of its members :

“ Gas stokers and stockbrokers,
 Doctors and dockers,
 Clerks and checkers,
 Bookbinders and colour grinders,
 Bakers and bankers,
 Printers and painters,
 Paviers and glaziers,
 Horse-keepers and chimney sweepers,
 General dealers and East-end ‘peelers,’
 Wood choppers and city ‘coppers,’
 Bootmakers and undertakers,
 Greengrocers and coffee-roasters,
 Schoolmasters and boot-masters,
 Music teachers and local preachers,
 Letter-sorters and railway-porters,
 Lawyers and sawyers,
 Farriers and furriers,
 Tinkers and tailors,
 Soldiers and sailors,
 Travellers and scavengers,
 Caretakers and bread-bakers,
 And more that would in contrast rhyme,
 If we had but the space and time.”

The Severn Street report for 1863 notes great improvement in the elementary division, and states with pride that four have so far advanced as to be removed to the senior division.

“ Lack of progress is put down to the weariness of the way, and the many difficulties and disadvantages under which the learners have to labour. They are advised to use their spare moments to enable them to overcome these.”

With reference to the advice given in the above quotation, to use their spare moments for further study, we have met with the record of one man, who,

because he was afraid he might be dismissed for lack of progress, paid out of his wages a shilling per week for someone to give him private lessons, in order that he might keep pace with his class! Some excuses for absence are at least honest. Some confess that they have overslept, others that they have not sufficient interest in the class. For the people who found it difficult to avoid oversleeping, the Hartshead School, Sheffield, bought an alarm clock, which it lent to those who made this confession.

As we deal with the records of this period, a constant feature that impresses us is the method of Adult School extension. Almost always it appears to have been through personal effort on the part of those who had learned the value of the school through personal experience. This was true, not only of the founding of new schools, but of the winning of recruits for individual schools. In Doncaster, on one occasion, a test was made in order to discover how men had been brought into the school, when it was found that out of 161 members, ninety-seven had been brought in by personal invitation, several from receiving cards with the words "Come and try the School" upon them, and one from a window bill.

A school at Bradford, for example, was started as the result of a visit by H. B. Priestman to Hull in the year 1875. What he learned on that occasion led him to the determination to start a school in his own city, and a room was hired in Little Horton Lane, where sixteen men gathered at the first meeting. Their leader was a great enthusiast, and was wont to say that "six really well-concerned, spiritually-minded, inspired, enthusiastic, red-hot men, will make any Adult School go." In trying to win men

who took any interest in such activities to the school, he used to tell them that "pot-hooks were a great deal better than pot-houses." But the independence of the West Riding character is revealed in another of his sayings, to the effect that "Meetings, like foreign tours, may be spoiled by being too much personally conducted."

The Bradford School was also famous for interesting and novel experiments, thus proving true to the adventurous spirit of the city to which it belonged, a city that so often has led the way in social and educational experiments. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that one of the Bradford Adult School leaders allowed his imagination to produce a picture of his city in the year 1999. This dream is based upon his ideals of what the Adult School could effect, and may here be quoted for the benefit of others :

"Let us suppose that Bradford has enlarged its borders till its circumference includes Bingley, Pudsey and Clayton. Let us further think of every man and woman, rich or poor, as a member of an Adult School, and proud of it. Sectarian bitterness dead, the aloofness of the classes gone, Capital and Labour shaking hands with something of the love which thinketh no evil, places of worship crowded with intelligent and appreciative audiences fresh from the Adult Schools, every building put up for educational purposes being thrown open on Sunday for religious education, upon payment of a nominal fee to secure legal rights, and in the centre of each ward of the town, a massive building known as The Adult School Home, with its library of religious

literature, its extensive suite of class rooms, and its spacious assembly hall, and accessible by everybody on any day of the week."

Among the Bradford School's records we find that they experimented with a then popular method of phonetic reading, called *Phonotype*. This was an early attempt to print English phonetically, and simplified the difficulties of spelling. By its use, the Bradford reports say that reading was mastered in a few weeks by the scholars.

In 1883, the Bradford schools published a special edition of the Sermon on the Mount, taken from the revised version, in large, clear type, at one penny, all the longer words of which were divided into syllables. An experiment made in another centre for providing simple reading for scholars was the preparation of "Robinson Crusoe" in words of one syllable.

The school at Hull seemed in those days to have been an active originator of others, because in 1880 they offered to pay the expenses of two friends from London, in order to visit their school, if they would promise to start one in the metropolis. This was done, and in that way originated the well-known school at Bunhill Fields, which, in turn, became the training ground for many Adult School workers.

In 1888 the members of this school had it on their minds to start a school at Edinburgh, because they knew of a medical student then studying at that city. Nothing seems to have come of the attempt at the time, but it does show the missionary zeal of the members.

In 1898 a man from Bunhill started an Adult School in Jamaica.

Another noteworthy feature of the schools of the

period is their rapid growth in numbers. Severn Street is naturally the outstanding example, and their record of progress is given in their report for 1880, as follows: In 1846 they had thirteen teachers and thirty-nine scholars, while in 1879 they had fifty teachers and 2,299 scholars.

The second report of Hull, a school already mentioned more than once, was issued in 1873, and we learn that the school had been begun in 1870 with three scholars, in 1871 the numbers had risen to 87, and in 1872 to 105.

Very rapid growth is noted at Worcester in 1873, where numbers rose from six to sixty-six in three months.

In 1884 we find the first report of the school at Hawes, in Wensleydale, which had been started by Norman Penney, so well known later as the admirable librarian to the library of the Society of Friends. It was the sixty-ninth school started in this country by the Society, and its largest attendance in the first year was seventy-five.

Manchester School, started in 1860 by John Hodgson, had almost at once discovered a great field of service in helping the sufferers from the Cotton Famine of 1861, with the result that by 1864 it had grown very substantially. It was evidently a school of an advanced type, because it had received much help from doctors and professors in Owen's College, who had given addresses on scientific subjects. Writing lessons were confined to Sunday afternoons, and the membership is given as about one hundred.

The school at Cow Lane, Coventry, opened in 1883 with an attendance of five, reached a roll of 560 within ten years.

In 1889, at Gornall Wood, near Dudley, a Methodist local preacher met two men returning on a bitter winter morning from their school meeting in the neighbourhood. He asked them where they had been and discovered for the first time the meaning of an Adult School. As a result of conversation they determined to start one in their own village. Twenty-two assembled on the first occasion, but within four years the number had risen to 300, and the testimony of the leader was that not a single drone was in the hive, nor a dull moment in the service.

A vicar, who started a school in Birmingham in 1877 with eighteen members, found in five years' time the members had grown to 338, and his testimony concerning the work of the school is that it took no one from church but brought many back.

Sometimes the growth was slow, as for example at Dover Street, Leicester, which for the first twelve years of its existence had an average of twenty-five members, but in 1897 suddenly rose to over 120.

It is noted in the Annual Report of the Friends' First-Day School Association for 1896, that the high-water-mark of members in the Adult School had been reached at that date, but five years later we find the records still better, so that up to the opening of the twentieth century there had been steady progress in this record since 1845.

So far as methods of teaching are concerned, the years under discussion in this chapter do not show very much alteration in the main type of work. Bible subjects were, for many years, issued by the Friends' First-Day School Association, and these were used in a great many schools.

In answer to questions issued in 1888, as to school methods, replies were received from fifty-two schools to the following effect : That one-third used the list published in the *Monthly Record*, eight used the Sunday School Union International Lessons, and in one case the teacher himself chose the subjects.

Sometimes the lessons must have entailed considerable ingenuity on the part of the teachers to make them valuable, since it does not appear that they were always chosen with the idea of suitability for the audience, but rather from the idea that it was necessary to work through the Biblical record, for there is a quaint note in the Birmingham report of 1872, which says, "that the Egyptian Plagues have been very earnestly and lovingly laid before us."

The discussions were in some cases so lively that a certain school reports that the members did not give the teachers a chance. In other cases, however, the ingenuity of the teachers does not seem to have been very great, because we read of one school in which, after a chapter of the Bible had been read in the class, the teacher said : "There does not seem to be much in this chapter, so we will read the next."

The teaching of reading and writing was maintained, and indeed formed the chief incentive as a rule for afterwards winning new members.

A notice of a new school started in 1868 may here be quoted in proof of this statement. It read : "Working men of about eighteen years of age, who desire instruction in reading and writing are invited," and William White always put this in the forefront of his statements about the work of the Adult Schools. He was in the habit of saying :

"They will come if you advertise the school for reading and writing. Being crafty, we catch them with guile."*

* That these methods were adopted even as recently as the beginning of the twentieth century, the following copy of a bill bears witness. Clark Street School, Birmingham, when it launched out on this new venture had a membership of 400 men.

WE ARE OPENING A BRANCH
OF
CLARK STREET SCHOOL
FOR WORKING MEN !
next Sunday, 25th August, 1901,
at 9 o'clock in the morning.

The Room is in

No. 12 COURT, BISHOPSGATE STREET,

just below Tennant Street.

We shall work on Clark Street lines. We will teach you to read, write, work out sums, or help you to improve yourself in any way you like, to the best of our ability.

We shall have some good singing. Everyone likes good hearty singing. Some of our Clark Street men will be there with their fiddles and other instruments, to give us a good start.

Never mind your coat and collar. WE WANT TO SEE YOU—not your COAT ! Don't stop to black your boots. Come just as your are. There will not be room for any "swells" in this school.

The quality of the pudding is only proved by tasting it ; so if you don't know what sort of a time we get at our school, COME ALONG ON SUNDAY MORNING and try to bring a friend with you.

If you like the sample you will come again.

HENRY CLARKE,	}	<i>Superintendents of Clark Street School.</i>
E. J. FULLWOOD,		
CHARLES SKINNER,		

A recent volume affords a glimpse of some of the methods of propaganda, somewhere about the 'eighties in Nottingham. The writer recalls how Dr. Paton encouraged himself and a friend to recruit members for an early morning school on the lines of Severn Street, and relates how they went out on Sunday morning to Sneinton Market, which they termed the "Areopagus of Nottingham." "We hired a room," he writes, "and then went to the market-place to seek our scholars; the idea being to teach men who had no early education to read and write. We wanted to announce our project from the platforms to the men who gathered round them, who were of the class that needed our modest educational help. Our first experience was discouraging, for we were suspected by one half of a design to 'force religion down our throats,' and distrusted by the other because we were 'secularising religion.' "*

Sometimes difficulties were met with in discussion, and a note in 1867 states that those already getting too advanced were wisely set to teach others. It was a sensible way of dealing with those who showed more keenness in displaying their mental ability than in helping their less favoured brothers.

In York, in 1873, the scholars were allowed to choose the sections of the Bible to be studied, and the list given of their choice shows that Old and New Testament sections were chosen alternatively, historical books, in both cases, being favourites. In some schools, as at Leominster in 1886, the writing lesson was being exchanged for lessons on useful

* *All I could never be.* J. T. Makepeace. p. 48. (Blackwell, 1924.) This was the origin of the school subsequently located in University College, Nottingham.

information, and among the subjects named as being given by both teachers and scholars, are the Coal Fields of England, Our Local Poets, the Catacombs, and Egypt.

At Grimsby and Sunderland, in 1887, Adult School members had set themselves to learn Swedish, in order that they might influence Scandinavian sailors who frequented these ports, a foretaste of what has happened in much more recent years, when Adult School men and women have been studying French and German, for the purpose of coming into contact with their fellows in these countries on occasions of inter-visitation.

The Sheffield Schools, in 1886, had started a method of encouraging itinerating teachers, who visited certain schools once in three Sundays. In the same year at Oldham, a mutual improvement class was started in connection with the school on Tuesday evenings, its main feature being, apparently, botanical excursions on Saturdays, and the specimens then collected were brought to the meeting on Tuesday night, discussed and named.

The most intelligent leaders were those early alive to the necessity for a wider interpretation of education in the movement, and as an example of the view they took, we may quote from an important paper, written by Joseph Rowntree in 1874. He says :

“ How little, for example, an agricultural labourer in a Southern County may well think Christianity has done for him and his class. The Adult School teachers in their classes should have an intelligent understanding in all these questions that might be included in

the phrase—social well-being—and if, in their lessons on Sunday and the teaching that took place during the week, they were to show how Christianity benefited men, they would get hold of the hard-headed working men more than they would do if they confined themselves solely to their spiritual work.

“In looking at the position of society, it was evident that, if they could have such a thing as international relationship placed on a right footing, the condition of the people living in this island would be immensely benefited.”

The value of this wider education, and the difference it was making in the lives of the working men, is clear from the fact that as early as 1885 the question of providing Sunday Schools for the children of Adult School people had been raised. This is the earliest reference we can discover to the problem which, in later years, has occupied so much attention in Adult School circles, under the title of “Junior Work.” The effort to meet the needs of the wider educational demand was made in schools by libraries, but also by boxes of books which were sent out by the Friends’ First-Day School Association, from school to school, remaining for three months at one centre. This was an important supplement to school libraries, especially where, in some villages, there was no public library of any kind.

In 1891 we find regret expressed that seventy-five per cent. to eighty per cent. of the books taken out of the school libraries consisted of fiction, and there was little demand for poetry. Commenting upon this, the writer of the report asks :

“ Has the utilitarian spirit of Watt, Stevenson, and Arkwright quenched every spark of poetic fire which burns so brightly in the old Hebrew bards and prophets, not to speak of Greece, Rome and our own England ? ”

Another side of the wider education of the schools is shown in the social functions which almost every school record reports. In their simple beginnings these were tea meetings at intervals with some simple entertainments. Favourite functions were Christmas and New Year breakfasts, and summer holidays on organised lines were also begun at this period. Fuller reference to these will be found in Chapter XI.

What were termed “ Ingathering Teas ” were a feature that seems to have arisen in the seventies. These were social functions at the beginning of each winter, with the purpose of drawing together the members who might have become slack during the summer time, and to win new recruits.

Various athletic activities were also started, some of them naturally suiting the circumstances of the place, as at Scarborough a Rowing Club was one of the activities of the school, and the members owned a six-oared gig, in which they occasionally took fairly extensive excursions, on one occasion, at any rate, being out on the water all night.

A noteworthy expression of the social activities of the schools was the starting of Coffee Vans at many centres, among others Scarborough, Sheffield, Hull, York and Norwich being notable for this particular activity. The first seems to have been built at York in 1871, on the suggestion of Henry Isaac Rowntree. Before many years had passed over eight of these carts were at work in different parts

of the country, and the Birmingham Coffee House Company was a lineal descendant of this venture. At the end of the nineteenth century there were six Coffee Carts in Norwich owned by the Adult School members as shareholders in a company. The carts cost from £50 to £90, and the assistants were paid on a profit-sharing basis.

Adult Schools were increasingly attracting the attention of outsiders, and it was during this period that some of the best-known Nonconformist leaders bore their testimony to the unique value of the schools in the community.

In April, 1890, at Birmingham, Dr. Dale stated, at a large public meeting, that in his opinion the Adult Schools had largely solved the problem which had perplexed and baffled Christian people for many a long year. He said that for years he had looked upon the movement as the largest hope for the future of religious life in this country, and to what it might grow in the future no man could tell. He quoted in his speech what he declared to be the favourite verses of the famous physician, Sir William Gull, and commended the teaching contained in them to all Adult School workers. The lines are as follows :

“ If I were a tailor, I'd make it my pride,
The best of all tailors to be,
If I were a tinker, no tinker besides
Should mend a tin kettle like me.”

In the course of his speech he strongly supported the maintenance of the reading and writing lessons, and recalled how he had been assailed, twenty-five years earlier, for his strong support of these methods.

Three years later, in the same city, Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, then Principal of the Airedale College,

Bradford, made a strong speech in support of the schools, stating that they were expressly intended for the making of men. "It is not an easy thing," he said, "to teach. It is a harder thing than to learn." "I do not believe in fiddling men into goodness," was another of his utterances, and finally he showed his great sympathy with the women, and tried to impress upon the men how much they might do to help their wives. "I often feel," he said, "as if the wives were most hardly dealt with. The man's life is more varied. He has his newspaper, his politics, his factory, or his work-shop. He has even the informal parliament of the street-corner. All day his wife may be penned in the four walls of a small room."

F. Herbert Stead, the well-known Warden of the Browning Settlement, Walworth, bore similar testimony to the work as he knew it, and readers of this history must remember that he had Tom Bryan with him in close association.

"It is a movement," he said, "of laymen. The leader and his men make up a brotherhood, in which caste is as little known as condescension. No one who knows it can doubt that there is life, divine, regenerative life, in the movement."

In 1887 *The Nonconformist*, then the organ of the Congregational churches, had a series of articles on the movement.

In *The Independent* of 1891, Dr. R. F. Horton paid his tribute to the Adult School movement in the following terms :

"The humble Adult School Movement has been reading a significant lesson to the church. Acting on the principles of the New Testament,

expecting great things from brotherly love and mutual edification, it has begun to touch men who remain indifferent to the sterilised formula and inarticulate society which sometimes passes as a church, and it has evoked intense enthusiasm, even from men who have long been nominal members of the Church, but never before understood the blessedness of having fellowship one with another, and no experience of the cleansing power of Christ.

“The Adult School is becoming, in the noblest sense, a Church.”

Another interesting contact with the religious life of various churches was formed in 1875, when the “Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Movement” was begun by John Blackham.* He was a native of West Bromwich, where he was born in 1834, and had for many years been a worker in Adult Schools, but he realised that the school did not satisfy all the needs of its members, and also that certain types of men would be more easily drawn into a more popular service. He, therefore, started such a service in connection with his own school on the Sunday afternoon and the new effort speedily became so successful that his example was imitated by others, and an enormous work among men began, which is to-day known as “The Brotherhood Movement,” and is, undoubtedly, one of the most fruitful outcomes of Adult School activity.

It was only natural that men, trained in the spirit that the Adult School fostered, should seek

* It is said the title P.S.A. was chosen as being complementary to E.M.S. (Early Morning School), the familiar abbreviation in the Midlands.

NOTICE.

School for Working Men.

A School is held at the FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, East Stockwell Street, to which Working Men above 18 years of age are invited, who desire instruction in

READING AND WRITING

The School is open every SUNDAY MORNING from 9 o'clock to a quarter-past 10, and a SCHOOL is held in connection with it on TUESDAY EVENINGS from 8 o'clock to half-past 9.

to "turn to facts their dreams of good," and one of the best examples of this is to be found in the life of William White himself.

In 1875 he was made Chairman of the Improvements Committee of the City of Birmingham, largely because his knowledge of the people living in the districts to be altered was so intimate. It is said that frequently it was the result of his own personal visitation that made it easy for the improvements to be carried out, because he was better able than anyone else to persuade those who had to vacate their homes to do this reasonably and quietly.

It must be remembered that Joseph Chamberlain himself was, in early life, a teacher in an Adult School.*

Several conspicuous examples of citizens in Birmingham, who did much for their city, are to be found in the members of the Cadbury and Tangye families. Richard Cadbury began his association with the schools as a writing teacher at Severn Street, and later he became a teacher at a branch school, which developed into the Highgate Mission.

He began his work in very inadequate premises. They were bitterly cold, and illuminated often by but one candle. Stories are told of how he was never absent, and on many occasions came to the school through severe snow-storms, on one occasion filling his pockets with dry socks for the benefit of his less fortunate brothers.

His work was crowned by the erection of the Moseley Road Institute, opened in December, 1898.

* See *Life of J. Chamberlain* by L. Cresswicke, vol. I., p. 40. The author also remembers having pointed out to him in Birmingham some thirty years ago, the classroom in which Chamberlain taught.

He adopted "a bundle of sticks" as the crest of the Mission, thus revealing his idea that the unity of individuals in a new spirit of service was the solution of the social problem.

Richard Cadbury's brother George, whose name became known and loved all over the world, began his work as a teacher in the Adult Schools in 1859. During the first thirty years of his work in the schools he taught hundreds of men to read and write. The first four years of his experience was in the teaching of a class of boys, which he had been induced by William White to undertake. In 1863 he had a special class-room allotted to him, where Class XIV. met, with which, for fifty years his connection remained unbroken. It numbered finally 300 men, and as Mr. Gardiner says, in his life of George Cadbury, "it became not so much a class, as a companionship of old friends, of which George Cadbury was less a leader than an elder brother." The same writer, continuing, says :

"There was no standing on niceties in this work. If a man could not be induced to attend in a sober condition, then he must be welcomed in a drunken condition; if he was ragged he must be made to feel at home in his rags; if he failed to re-appear, then a search party must go out to bring him back. In this search work the leader would often be some ex-thief or drunkard, familiar with all the haunts of the vicious and submerged, and having the password of that class. Under the guidance of such a one—often a man of singular force of character—you would plunge, in the early hours of Sunday

morning into unimagined wildernesses of courts and alleys, pausing here at the door of an unspeakable hovel and passing there into a cavernous interior, like an ill-lit smithy, where, in the vague light, half-a-dozen fearsome-looking men would be discoverable in various early morning preparations, this one stripped to the waist engaged in cooking a bloater, that one sousing himself in a pail, a third awaking from his sleep on the floor, and so on. Perhaps the backslider was recovered; perhaps his old associations were too strong for him. But it was in such surroundings that the Adult Class of those days found its raw material and George Cadbury his most pleasurable activity. Business success came to him in overwhelming measure, but the material fruits of that success did not engage his thoughts. It was the victories of his Class in the slums that were the source of his happiness, and if in the crowds that he used to entertain at Woodbrooke and later at Northfield he could show you some new treasure torn from the dens of Birmingham his eyes would beam with delight. He had an infinite capacity for believing the best of people, with a view largely, of making the best of them. He could even believe well of housebreakers. One of these sent him a letter once in which he said: 'Some four years ago I came from Worcester Prison. Your advice to me then was, "You must live it down." I took your wise words to heart, and ultimately have won all along the line.'

" 'The man who wrote this letter to me,' said George Cadbury in speaking of it, 'brought

two or three other housebreakers into the class. I found them by no means entirely bad men, but they told me it was not only for the sake of the gain but for the intense enjoyment of the risk that they found it most difficult to give up the occupation. There was the element of what they termed good or bad luck as to the extent of the haul they would make in a house. This man took a situation, and is doing well in Canada. One of the men he brought to the class told me "he dared not walk through the streets of Birmingham lest he should be attacked by his old pals, who would be afraid now that he had changed his life he would betray them." He went to London. The old love of adventure came over another, and he was caught after an exciting chase over house roofs by the police. Since my intercourse with these men I have had a sort of respect for housebreakers—there is better material in them than in the ordinary street thief.' '*.

In 1887 the meeting-place of this class was changed from Severn Street to Bristol Street. Several offshoots were founded by members of this class, one at Selly Oak, in 1881. The district in which this latter was planted is said to have been marked by two twin evils, those of drink and jerry-building, and the supporters of the double evil manifested strong antagonism towards the Adult School, and especially towards its promoters. The Cadburys had founded their works at Bournville, close to Selly Oak, and the opposition was

* *Life of George Cadbury*. A. G. Gardiner. (Cassell.) 1923. pp. 44-46.

centred the more definitely upon the two brothers. George Cadbury was in the habit of riding from his house at Woodbrooke to the school in Birmingham every Sunday morning. One winter morning at six o'clock the road was so slippery that his horse could not stand. As he passed through the village he rode his horse on the footpath. A policeman who saw him, summoned him. The villagers were very indignant, but the incident helped the movement, for within a short time the policeman who had summoned him was convicted of a serious offence, and imprisoned, and, however illogically, the villagers associated the two facts, and their sympathy turned to George Cadbury.

He felt that the Adult Schools must be prominent in providing better housing and happier conditions for the workers, and consequently, in 1894, he built the Selly Oak Institute, and presented it to the public.

This was the first of several such institutes that he founded. He was up every Sunday morning at 5.30, and on his way an hour later. The five miles that had formerly been covered on horseback were later covered on his bicycle, because, as he characteristically said, "the cycle gives no trouble at either end."

We are told that his teaching was extremely simple. "I believe," he said, "that self-denying united service in Christ's name is a far closer bond of union than agreement as to creed. It is the spirit that makes alive. I do not ask a man what he believes. If he is a drunkard let him put away the drink. If he is a gambler let him put away the gambling. If he is a domestic tyrant, let him govern his temper. This is the living test, 'that he

put off the old man ' with his deeds and have the new man."

He was also accustomed to say that the cat would be the first person in the house to know if the man had been influenced for good by the class.

George Cadbury's experience was similar to that of many other Adult School workers, that it is often the simplest buildings that produce the best results. In a letter quoted in his biography, written in 1919 to Mr. Archibald, he refers to this, and says that some of his best work was done in two old factories, the only access to which was up very steep ladders. He goes on to say that for the first of these schools he later built a room costing £1,000, but the school never flourished afterward. In the second case, he bought an old public-house, where the class did continue fairly well, until a move was made into a good room in a Board School.

The most noteworthy result of George Cadbury's Adult School work was the creation of the model village at Bournville, which he was always accustomed to say he could never have conceived had it not been for his experience in Adult Schools. " This brought him," in the words of Mr. A. G. Gardiner, " into direct and unceasing contact with the poor, and supplied him with that first-hand knowledge of the problems of industry which make him a pioneer in social reform."

The year 1895, at Birmingham, was marked by the jubilee celebrations of the foundation of the school at Severn Street, and by the issue of a memorial volume, edited by William White, and also the striking of a medal, adorned by the portrait of Joseph Sturge. A Jubilee Hymn was also written for the occasion, a verse or two of which may be quoted, not

so much for their poetic value, as for the insight they give into the spirit of those who were the prime movers in the festival :

" We thank him that he called his faithful servants
 To work in ways not known or tried before ;
 To gather men and women into classes,
 The weak to help, the wanderers to restore.

Small was the seedling planted by those servants,
 How it would flourish little could they tell ;
 But thousands of the members past and present,
 They will bear witness, for they love it well.

So may we faithful be and grateful-hearted,
 For blessings of the past and present days,
 And hold forth hands to clasp in love fraternal,
 The hands of others whom our love might raise."

· On October 12th a great re-union met, and an exhibition was held in Bingley Hall to celebrate the occasion. It was reckoned that from twelve to fourteen thousand people attended the exhibition and meetings. The chair was taken by Joseph Storrs Fry, President of the Friends' First-Day School Association, and addresses delivered by William White, Miss Cadbury, J. T. Dorland, and J. Henry Lloyd. On the Sunday a great meeting was held in the evening, in the Town Hall, while during the day various schools were visited by Dr. George Newman, W. C. Braithwaite, J. Allen Baker, and others. These names suggest to us some of the younger personalities that, towards the end of this period, began to make their mark upon the Adult School world, and we shall find, in the next chapter, their growing influence upon the movement.

Already in London, the two brothers, William Charles Braithwaite and J. B. Braithwaite, were

taking a very prominent part in the work of the movement, as was also Dr. George Newman and J. Allen Baker, while J. T. Dorland, a native of Canada, had in 1894 been appointed secretary of the Friends' First-Day School Association, in place of Joseph Storrs Fry, who had held that position for about half a century.

He was a very earnest worker in Adult Schools, a keen evangelist, and yet deeply interested in many topics. His journeys in the East and his knowledge of the American continent gave him exceptional advantages in addressing his audiences.

J. T. Dorland had first come into contact with the movement during a visit to England in 1888. Returning to this country, he took the work up with much enthusiasm, and became a teacher in the school at Willesden. He seems to have impressed all who came in contact with him, by the beauty and graciousness of his character, as well as by the enthusiasm he always threw into his work. He regarded Adult Schools as one of the most hopeful agencies for the regeneration of the country, and it was this keenness that led to his being chosen for the editorship of *One and All* in 1894. His sudden and unexpected death in 1896 was universally felt as a severe loss to the movement. From the first editorial he wrote for the magazine the following sentences may be quoted, as they show his ideas about the movement :

“ It has not been largely given to the blowing of trumpets before it. It is sober, thoughtful and real. It eschews sensationalism, it declines to secure a temporary gain by questionable methods. It depends for its advance upon the

personal influence of its adherents. It trusts to their brotherliness, righteousness and faith becoming contagious among the men with whom they may mingle, and thus drawing them to it."

J. T. Dorland was immensely sympathetic to the evangelistic side of the Adult School Movement, an aspect of its work which may be said largely to have dominated the period with which we have been dealing. In the early days of the movement, certainly, the redemptive work that was done among men of the rougher type, who were frequenters of public-houses, and sometimes members of the criminal classes, had given the movement a special character, and also rendered its work peculiarly attractive to those who were mainly interested in the missionary side of Christian activity. Many of the men who had thus been rescued from lives of wretchedness were the most active agents in making very widely known throughout the country the ideals of the movement, and in winning their brothers into its ranks. Such men as Joseph Beardsley, an ex-prize-fighter, who in his early days was a brickmaker at Derby, and later a labourer in the Eagle Foundry at Birmingham, was for a quarter of a century a member of Severn Street School, and in 1877 started the school at Soho, in Birmingham. For the last twenty years of his life he was employed as a visitor in connection with Tangye's works, and during that period was well known throughout the country as an Adult School advocate.

The stories of the methods of many such men are to be found in the three books issued by Edward Smith, entitled: *Mending Men*, *Studies of Men Mended* and *Glowing Facts and Personalities*.

Edward Smith was born in 1849 at Twyford, near Winchester. He became a Sunday School teacher at the age of thirteen, and was sent to Dudley as manager of a woollen business in 1868. While resident in Birmingham, in 1879, he learned to know the Adult School Movement, and when he settled near Bewdley, in Worcestershire, he commenced a school there in 1886. His great interests were temperance, Adult Schools, and work among prisoners, and those who remember him will know how great a work he did by constant correspondence with hundreds of men. He believed in personal contact and continuous personal interest.

A story is told of him that on one occasion he said to Gipsy Smith, the evangelist, when showing to the latter the photographs of some of the men he had helped to reclaim: "What are these to the great crowds you gather?" "Ah!" replied the evangelist, "but yours are hand-picked fruit, and everyone knows that hand-picked fruit is best."

His loving disposition and happy temperament gave him an immense advantage in the work he undertook, and his enthusiasm, and joy in it, never failed till the end.

In the Bible that was his constant companion he had written lines which he regarded as of the greatest help to him throughout life, and the last verse may here be quoted, as significant of his main ideal:

"And if it be my lot to fall
Unnoticed and unknown by all,
Named only in the great Roll Call,
So let it be.
Give me my weapon and my task—
Timbre!, or sword, or water-flask;
To know my task is all I ask,
And to serve Thee."

As we have already seen, many of those who were foremost in the evangelistic aspect of Adult School work were also prominent in forms of social service, and in regarding the message of the movement as covering the whole of life. Thus, Dr. George Newman, who had been greatly influenced during his college course by Professor Henry Drummond, stated at Leeds in 1895 that he had learned four things from his connection with Adult Schools—and we must remember that this connection had been life-long, for in his father's home at Leominster he had practical experience of the movement from boyhood. The lessons he summed up as follows :

First, that in the Adult School Christianity was viewed not so much as a creed as an individual experience ; not a doctrine to be proved, but a life to be lived. Secondly, Christianity was not so much a restraint, as an inspiration. Thirdly, Christianity was not an insurance policy for the next world but a practical programme and policy for this ; and fourthly, Christianity was meant to be a life fulfilment of God's will.

Dr. Newman did splendid service in the training of young men in the Adult School at Westminster, and many of his scholars have become leaders of the movement in the present century. One of his intimate friends was John Wilhelm Rowntree, of York, one of the most remarkable personalities in the religious world at the close of the nineteenth century.

He was the second son of Joseph Rowntree, born at York in 1868, and, after leaving school, he became a member of the great cocoa firm to which his family belonged. He passed through an experience

of doubt and questioning on matters of religion, and, after a long wrestle with the deepest problems, issued in a very triumphant and certain faith.

"Life and religion are one," he was fond of saying, "or neither is anything,"* and that became the master idea of his teaching. He worked, along with his father, in the Adult School that met in Lady Peckitt's Yard, and later he established a school in the district of York known as Acomb. He put in an enormous amount of work in preparation for his classes, and dealt with the most varied subjects with his scholars. His studies in natural science and philosophy were freely shared with his men.

He had also to struggle with physical limitations, because he early suffered from deafness, and at a later period was threatened with blindness. But, like Robert Louis Stevenson, he enjoyed life in all circumstances, and never ceased to labour on behalf of others. His ideals for Adult Schools were of the very highest, and nothing could persuade him that anything was too good for the movement he loved so well.

His published addresses give the best conception of his message, and they remain to this day an inspiration to those who study them. We shall have occasion later to deal with his foundation of Woodbrooke, and elsewhere references will be made to the purpose he had formed for establishing, in the grounds of his own home at Scalby, a Rest Home for working men and women. He died in New York, in March, 1905, and his loss was felt as an

* These words were originally written by George Macdonald, and were chosen as one of the mottoes of Westminster Adult School, from which source J. W. Rowntree derived them.

irreparable one, not only by the Society of Friends, but by the Adult School Movement. It is true, however, to say that the inspiration of his memory has profoundly influenced more than were actually affected by his message during his life-time, and he may be taken as a most typical example of the Adult School spirit at its best.

The newer views as to Adult School work and its possibilities at this period are to be traced in such contributions to the pages of *One and All* as that written by Dr. R. H. Crowley in 1895, on Adult Schools as social centres. The writer speaks of the immense importance of the "First Half-hour" talks, of social evenings, entertainments and lectures, of the value of the club-room, of discussions and debates, and of a service on Sunday evenings in connection with the school. He further deals with the importance of having the premises in the heart of the population to be influenced, and of the necessity of securing and training good leaders. The main difficulty that he saw in the way of progress was the lack of a sufficiently broad view of the work, and the neglect of recognising the very different ways in which men's minds were constituted.

"It is not enough," says the writer, "to confine ourselves to what is sometimes called the religious side of a man's nature. Success will only come in proportion as we look upon man as a whole, and endeavour to meet him all round."

The wider outlook that was deemed necessary for the movement is splendidly put in the pages of the same journal, in 1897, by Edward Worsdell, B.A., of York. "Our outlook is wider than of old," says the writer. "People are not so ready as once to say—get a man converted and all the rest will follow.

Christ gave no directions about intellectual, social and political affairs, and why should we."

He shows the fallacy of this argument, and claims that it was the divine purpose that we should work out the applications of right action for ourselves.

"The intellectual life of the schools must be strengthened, all sorts of literature should be studied, and there need be no fear of the schools becoming secularised if economics and physiology are introduced into their curriculum. We must seek to train men with eyes to see God in creation, men best able to train their children, and men who are at once the best workmen and the best citizens."

He advocated further the basing of occasional lessons on men and topics of the day, and that a connected series of lessons should be linked with accompanying courses of reading, giving as an example a supposed series on the principles of the Reformation.

The books he would have men read are Reade's *Cloister and the Hearth*; Scott's *Abbot*; Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*; and the *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family*. Also Seebohm's *Era of the Protestant Revolution* and *Oxford Reformers*, Milton's *Areopagitica*, the essays of Macaulay and Froude, and the relevant passages of Green's *Short History*.

Secondly, he advocates the placing of school libraries under skilled direction. One may say, in passing, that where this has been done, as in a few schools known to the present writer, the results are admirable.

Thirdly, the establishment of reading circles.

Fourthly, the initiation of courses of lectures. Again, it may be noted how both of these suggestions have borne fruit in recent years,

Fifthly, that the school be represented on the local University Extension Committee, and prominence given to all opportunities of improvement offered by classes and clubs in the town or district.

Sixthly, that instructional excursions be organised.

Seventhly, that a publication department be established to advocate the use of good literature and stimulate the sale of the best publications in the school.

In 1897, we have William Charles Braithwaite writing on the present aims of Adult Schools, and laying stress upon the manufacture of men and women of character, the necessity for promotion, consolidation and fellowship, and once more stressing the message of his friend, John Wilhelm Rowntree that life and religion are one, or neither is anything.

In a letter written on a similar subject, published in 1900, he put, in his characteristic way, five methods in which we could present our message. First, by holding fast to the name school, because it was a wider one than the name church. In explanation of this statement, he says: "We are an association for learning the truth as it is in Jesus, not a church exclusively Christian on the one hand, nor simply a secular organisation on the other."

Secondly, we must always be keeping up a supply of "goats." In explanation of this he says that many schools fail in this respect and become mutual admiration, rather than missionary, societies. The goats will do the sheep a lot of good, and the sheep will do the goats some good.

Thirdly, we must always be helping the goats to change into sheep. In some schools, he says, men have been helped, but the greatest good it appears to have done them is to make them terribly

respectable ! They look askance at the goats when the goats creep in—perhaps criticise them. "Have you ever shaken hands with a goat? It sounds queer, but it can be done."

Fourthly, keep stoking your fires of fellowship ; and fifthly, be receptive of new life, and not an institution in process of fossilization."

These four men, Newman, Rowntree, Worsdell and Braithwaite sought to give the whole movement a more educational bias. But, following Mazzini, they associated education with human fellowship, and both with true religion. Thus, while genuine evangelism still characterised the movement, it became more feasible to assimilate the newer educational ideals of the time.

During the period under review in this chapter, the central organisation which assisted, and in large measure directed, the Adult Schools was the Friends' First-Day School Association. The conditions of affiliation of any school with this Society was that the teacher should be a Friend, and that the school should meet on premises belonging to, or under control of Friends. In addition to publishing reports, and after 1895, the publication of *One and All*, the association undertook the convening of conferences and the arranging of inter-visitation between schools. The greater part of England was divided into areas, under the control of District Committees, which reported to a general Central Committee. As a rule, in many districts, reports of the progress and needs of the schools were received by local Monthly and Quarterly Meetings.

We have already seen that Joseph Storrs Fry was secretary from the foundation of the Association in 1874 till 1893.

John T. Dorland succeeded him, and was a most able secretary until his death in 1896. He was followed by Frederic Taylor, who remained secretary as long as the Association had any direct connection with Adult Schools, and under his fostering care much advance was made in this direction, and great improvements took place in the form and contents of the annual reports.

In the early years of the Association's existence its chief concern was on behalf of the children, but the proportion of adult scholars grew so rapidly, ultimately forming the larger half of the membership, that it became obviously desirable to differentiate between old and young in the general policy and activities of the Association. William White had advocated some such procedure as early as 1863, when he read a paper on the subject at a conference of the Association. In the end the case was met by the appointment, in many districts, of separate committees to attend the two branches of the work.

It will be readily seen that the situation thus outlined presented an interesting and important problem to the Society of Friends. The Society itself had long been deploring a stationary or decreasing membership, and the Adult Schools seemed to present an opportunity of winning new recruits into its fellowship. Many Meetings, which otherwise might have remained in a state of passive quietism, had been stimulated to fresh enthusiasm by a visit from William White, and by the new life and interest which the starting of an Adult School as an adjunct to their church work had provoked.

The prize (if one may so speak) was worth winning. At the close of William White's life there were more

than 28,000 men and women members of Friends' Adult Schools. This was larger than the total membership of the Society in the British Isles, and while the Society's numbers were stationary, those of the Adult Schools were showing rapid growth.

There is reason to suppose that numbers of these Adult scholars would, in course of time, have applied for membership, had the Society adapted itself to their needs. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that many Friends looked to this virile and growing movement as a fruitful means of recruiting the flagging membership of the Society. William White himself, speaking at the important Manchester Conference of the Society in 1893, after referring to the growth of our great cities, and to the masses of the people in crowded slums, far removed from civilising or Christian influences, the victims of an environment that mocked their aspirations after a higher life, suggested to Friends the advisability of modifying some of their usages, so that, out of the ranks of these vast populations, accessions both to the numbers and the strength of the Society might be found, "to the honour of God and the increase of the kingdom of righteousness on earth."

Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, Junr., speaking after William White, told the Conference that in one year, 1894, out of 39,000 scholars in the First-Day Schools* only 213 had been admitted to the Society "by conviction," or less than one per cent. He added that many others must be really Friends at heart, and he felt it was a loss of strength both to the Society and to the scholars that they did not unite themselves in full Quaker membership.

* This figure apparently included juveniles.

He also pleaded for more pastoral care on the part of Friends over those attending the schools.

There can be no doubt that other influential Friends shared these views. The Society had been sometimes prone to exclusiveness and eclecticism, and here was a channel through which it was able to keep in intimate touch with the surging life of democracy.

But if the Society of Friends gained much from this intimate association with the schools, the gain was not confined to one side. It is, indeed, doubtful whether many of the schools would have long survived had it not been for the guarantee of continuity which association with an established Christian society ensured. Not only did the Friends provide a constant supply of competent leaders, but their watchful oversight served to maintain the general trend of the Adult School Movement along right lines, and to ensure its faithfulness to the great fundamentals of Christian truth and life.

Here and there, individual Friends were giving careful and detailed thought to the situation. Joseph Rowntree, in an interesting paper,* whilst hoping that the Adult School Movement would remain undenominational, expressed the view that any great accession to the Quaker Church would most naturally come through the schools. He declared that the desire for some kind of closer Christian fellowship on the part of the attenders of the schools was great, and that, unless the existing Churches met the demand, a Christian fellowship

* *The Problem of Bridging the Gulf between the Adult Schools and the Church*, by Joseph Rowntree. Printed for private circulation; August, 1905.

outside their borders might be formed, and he added :

“ Briefly the position in connection with the whole question which, to my own mind, is self-evident, is this, that Adult Scholars, who have been brought to a knowledge of Divine things through our schools, ought, at any rate, frequently, to be able to find a religious home among those who have been the means of their awakening.”

William Charles Braithwaite, speaking at Leeds about the same time, said :

“ It was difficult to set limits to the future place of the Society if we were only able to commend our spiritual gospel to the world. It would not be recommended by meetings of ten or a dozen persons, but by the living, warm, expansive, fellowship of the Church going out to those who desired to be drawn into it. The Society of Friends would not extend itself by its limitations, but by its life ; not by its exclusiveness, but by its love. We were terribly fossilized. We saw a vast mass of men and women at the doors of the Society whose spiritual life had been cradled in the Adult Schools, and for whose spiritual training Friends had made themselves responsible. We wanted to break down the monastic conceptions too prevalent in the Society. We were much in the position of a great monastery of the Middle Ages, with a great town as an appendage at its doors, but not in fellowship.”

The problem was further discussed in Rowntree and Binns' *History*, and in an article contributed in April, 1907, to the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* by F. J. Gillman, who pointed out the peculiar responsibility which Friends must inevitably feel for Adult School work, and, concurring in the view that many Adult Scholars were feeling after a Church of their own, concluded :

“ The question for you is, can you build your house large enough to make room for these, your half-grown, spiritual children—these men and women who are groping after God's hand in the darkness, who are thirsting for the living water, who are crying out for [the comradeship of souls travelling to the Light ? ”

It must not be supposed that the views here quoted were fully shared throughout the Society. The main volume of opinion was conservative. It was widely felt that anything savouring of proselytism must be avoided. But it may truly be said that the Society was at one in desiring to seek, not what was best for itself, but for the movement to which it had given in full measure its nurturing care, and for the men and women who individually constituted its membership.

The problem which thus presented itself was perhaps brought home to the Society most directly, when “ Christian Unions ” or “ Christian Societies ” began to spring up as adjuncts to Adult School work.

In various Adult School centres Sunday evening “ mission ” meetings were being held, which often attracted large numbers of attenders, most of whom were Adult School members and their families.

We read of such a meeting being started at the Leeds School in 1865, and another at Severn Street, Birmingham, in the same year. In some places—notably in Birmingham—the difficult problem of the oversight and management of these meetings was attempted to be met by the formation of a “Christian Union” or “Society.”*

At York, several years later, applicants for membership to a similar society signed a declaration that they “desired to live a Christian life and to work for the extension of the Kingdom of God upon earth.”

Monthly meetings of these Unions were usually held, officers were appointed, and some measure of pastoral oversight was instituted. In Birmingham there were in 1900 over 1,200 members of such groups, meeting in a number of centres and federated together in one association for mutual help.

The Society of Friends in Birmingham in 1890 entrusted to Richard Cadbury a message of sympathy from its Meetings for Ministry and Oversight to these “Christian Societies,” and, a year or two later, Hannah Cadbury was also found visiting them with a similar message.

Some few years later, about 1897, Friends established “Associate” or congregational membership, which enabled those attending the Christian Society meetings to enter into closer association with Quakerism, but without coming into full membership. Under this arrangement several of the Christian Societies became enrolled as Quaker Associates, and the membership of the Birmingham Christian Societies was, as a result, reduced to less than one half of its former numbers.

* See p. 86 for a fuller account of these Societies.

Samuel Price, at one time secretary of the Severn Street Christian Society, in an interesting account of these events, commented upon this development as follows :

“ We recognised it was the natural carrying out, by the changes that time brings, of the wish that we had at heart when we formed the Christian Society, viz. : to find a spiritual home for those whom we had drawn by our teaching in the Adult Schools, too near to Friends to care to go elsewhere, but whom Friends of that day were not prepared to receive into membership.”

From that time the general care of all such evening meetings in Birmingham was handed over to Friends.

It appears obvious that, while no one seems to have desired to establish another sect, some great need in the religious life of the people was expressing itself, and the difficult but important issue of the adaptation of the methods of religious worship to contemporaneous needs was before both the Society and the schools.

No one seems to have contemplated converting the Adult School Movement itself into an organised branch of the Society of Friends. Probably nearly everyone concerned saw the advantage of securing its broad undenominational character ; but what was happening was that the Adult School Movement, under the fostering care of Friends, seemed to be throwing out from its parent stem, so to speak, a branch, by virtue of which Adult School members who desired a closer form of religious fellowship than the school membership provided, could find it in association with the Society.

Meantime, events were shaping the future of the Adult School Movement along wider and more inter-denominational lines. Several Friends, in various parts of the country, deeply impressed with the value of the Adult School method, had sought opportunities to speak about it among their fellow Christians in other Churches, and, indeed, wherever groups of people could be got together to listen to their story. This resulted, as was naturally desired, in the opening of several "non-Friends'" schools. It is not easy to record the early growth of the non-Friends' schools, as in the nature of the case records of pioneer work of this kind are seldom available. But the widening of the Adult School fellowship proceeded along clearly defined lines. Firstly, in various parts of the country, non-Friends' schools were started. In Birmingham, in the early seventies, an Inter-denominational Committee was formed for the purpose of extending the movement. In the following decade a remarkable growth, almost entirely outside the Society of Friends, took place in Leicestershire. In a few years nearly one hundred schools were in existence in that county, of which only two or three were affiliated with the Friends' First-Day School Association. In 1903, there were some forty "non-Quaker" schools in Yorkshire, and in other parts of the country, in the early years of the nineteenth century, similar developments proceeded apace. With the growth of these schools, local Adult School Unions were established on an undenominational basis in Birmingham in 1884, at Leicester and London in 1889, in Somerset in 1890, and so on in other centres.

Secondly, in the Friends' schools themselves, it was sometimes difficult to find suitable leaders, and non-Friends began to take their share in the work of teaching. Sometimes, as was bound to be the case under these changing circumstances, it was difficult to say which was a "Friends' School" and which was not. The need for co-ordinating the work of all the schools existing side by side in the same neighbourhood was obvious, and much anxious thought was given by Friends to the best way of proceeding.

In a private memorandum which a group of them prepared, the difficulties of the situation were admirably summarized. Firstly, there was the circumstance, already described, that a number of undenominational Adult School County Unions were being formed, which federated both Friends' and non-Friends' schools, without distinction, for mutual help. The necessity for mapping out the whole country on the basis of County Unions was being forced by the rapid growth of the movement, and a denominational basis obviously could not meet the situation. The existence of the F.F.D.S.A., however, made all concerned hesitate to set up any other organisation, whether local or national, which might appear to be in rivalry to it, or to overlap its sphere of influence.

There was the further difficulty that F.F.D.S.A. conferences were usually not open to delegates of non-Friends' schools and this led, sometimes, to awkward misunderstandings which were harmful to the general health of the Adult School Movement.

Taking all things into consideration, the memorandum under review concluded that the right course would be to look to a Federation of undenominational

County Unions which should become the national body for the general fostering of the movement as a whole. Such a course would not of necessity mean that there would be nothing useful left for the F.F.D.S.A. to do ; it would only mean that its help would be of a somewhat different character, and it was hoped that local committees of Friends would still be appointed to watch the interests of Friends' schools in their own Quarterly Meeting areas, and that Friends would not fail to realise the importance of maintaining the active interest of the Society in its corporate capacity in Adult School work.

But if any such change were made it was clear that many, especially of the more conservative Friends, would be concerned as to its ultimate effect on the Adult School Movement. There was the fear that the movement might get into the wrong hands ; might place the emphasis on the wrong things ; might relegate the Bible lesson to a secondary place. There was also the perennial need of care in the election of qualified men and women teachers, and their proper education and training for the duties of leadership.

Perhaps such difficulties, we may to-day remark, were almost as likely to arise in Friends' schools as in non-Friends' ; but no one can fail to see the immense advantage in the early stages of the movement of having a body of earnest Christian people giving corporate, active thought to the development of Adult School work, nor can any surprise be felt that many Friends viewed any weakening of the link with some measure of trepidation.

Before proceeding to record the actual steps which were taken to effect the desired transition, it may be worth while briefly to turn aside and notice

how, after an experience of nearly a quarter of a century, the change which the transition effected has reacted, both upon the Society and the schools. The Society of Friends, some of whose members had inaugurated the modern Adult School Movement, and fostered its life until it was able to stand on its own feet, was repaid a thousandfold by the new life and zeal which so great a piece of pioneer missionary work brought into the life of the Society itself. Abundant evidence of the value of this reaction is to be found in the writings of such leading Quaker historians as William Charles Braithwaite, A. Neave Brayshaw and Rufus M. Jones. The last-named, in his *Later Periods of Quakerism*, says :

" Here, again, we are especially concerned with the subjective effect, the reaction upon the Society of Friends itself. There can be no question that the effect upon the men and women who have joined the Adult Schools has been very great, certainly comparable in quality if not in extent to the effect which the work of Wesley and Whitefield had upon the labouring forces of England in the eighteenth century. But no less marked has been the transformation of the Society which has, in large measure, been the instrument of this spiritual service. More than any other single thing which Friends have undertaken previous to the world war, this work has taken the members of the Society out of themselves. It has made them unselfish and eager to live and to sacrifice for others. It has given them deep and intense human interests, sympathy and fellowship. The life and the problems of a different class of persons from themselves have

been brought home to their own experience, and their whole knowledge of the world has been transformed thereby, and not their knowledge only, but their entire human attitude as well. The teachers of adult classes have unconsciously found themselves woven into the human life of the world, and, without planning for it, and without any ordination, they have found themselves drawn into the pastoral care of a flock which before had been unshepherded. The effect upon meetings and upon the manner of conducting them has not been slight, though the central idea of direct worship and immediate communion has remained unchanged ; but after all the most striking effect has been the gradual change that has been wrought upon the individuals composing the Society, through the discovery by practical work of the meaning and power of Christianity." *

Professor Rufus Jones goes on to say that Friends, through their contact with Adult School members, were brought face to face with problems of social order which they would have known about only in an abstract way if it had not been for this direct contact.

The things they learned at the Adult School led them on to a study of these problems, and that study has had many fruitful results :

" It has gradually carried almost the entire body of Friends in Great Britain into a solid and serious consideration of the basic questions of economics, politics and social order, and it

* *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 1921, pp. 957-958.

has changed them from the most exclusive religious denomination—a peculiar people—into a body as deeply concerned as any in the world for the reformation and re-construction of the social and economic conditions, so that all who live and labour may have a full share of the joys and responsibilities of life."

Such work took the Society out of itself, and was an admirable training-ground for Christian service for its members. That great avenue of missionary effort, as a corporate proposition, the Society has lost, and nothing comparable to it has arisen in the home field to take its place; as a consequence, many Friends, who, under the old conditions, would have kept themselves in real contact with "the workers" by facing along with them common problems in the weekly meeting of the Adult school, have now lost the opportunity of such contact.

The Adult School Movement, in its turn, has lost something by the change. It has no longer behind it the steadying and guiding influence of the Quaker church; it has become more difficult to find suitable leaders for the schools, and perhaps the devotional life in some schools is weakened. There are serious losses on both sides, but it would be futile to lament the course of events, for there can be few who, on looking back, will doubt that the step which was taken to liberate the movement from its denominational setting, however advantageous in some respects that setting may have been, was a necessity forced upon the movement by its own growth, and urgently required in its larger interests. Nor must it be assumed that, when the transition was finally effected, there was any reason

why Friends should officially discontinue to watch the interests of Friends' schools in their respective Quarterly Meeting area. The annual reports of the F.F.D.S.A. offered abundant evidence that what was contemplated was that the two organisations should continue to work side by side, each bringing its own peculiar contribution, but co-operating in such a way that the movement should be able, when necessary, to speak and act with one voice.

To return to the narrative of events. Following upon a number of conferences, both formal and informal, between Friends and representatives of the undenominational schools, Frederic Taylor, in his capacity as secretary of the F.F.D.S.A., convened an informal meeting at Devonshire House, London, which was held on May 23rd, 1898, and at which Dr. George Newman spoke on the need for, and the desirability of, some further federation of Adult Schools. At that meeting William White presided, and urged that the extension of the Adult School Movement was much to be desired, but that any concerted plans for extension must be undertaken by the united body of all the existing schools. The meeting adopted the following minute :

“ Dr. Newman is asked to obtain the opinion of various Adult School Unions as to any possible federation of existing Associations and Unions with a view to the extension of the Movement.”

The “ Unions ” referred to were five in number, viz. : Midland, Leicestershire, Somerset, London and Norfolk, all of which were more or less

undenominational. There was also, of course, the F.F.D.S.A.

Dr. Newman accordingly wrote to these Unions asking for a full statement of their views, and replies were received from each of them in favour of some practical scheme of federation. Correspondence was carried on in *One and All* and in *The Friend* in support of some such policy. In the following month a meeting was held, when a detailed scheme was considered for the formation of a National Council of Adult School Associations. A further meeting was held in October, when there were present Alderman White, Mrs. Eddington of Norwich, A. F. Cholerton of Leicester, Frederic Taylor, and Dr. Newman. This group drew up a scheme for the constitution of a National Council. It was laid down that the Council should not be empowered to exercise any constitutional control over the Associations affiliated under it, but that it should aim at the advancement of Adult School work, and should form a united executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole movement. It was further decided to convene a meeting of the projected Council forthwith, and to request the following Associations to send delegates: the F.F.D.S.A. (4), The Midland Association (4), the London Union (2), the Leicestershire Union (2), the Somerset Union (1), and the Norfolk Union (1). Alderman White agreed to accept the chairmanship, and A. F. Cholerton (as representing Associations and schools outside the F.F.D.S.A.) the vice-chairmanship; Dr. Newman acting as honorary secretary.

The first meeting of the new Council was held at Leicester on 9th December, 1899. The meeting

was held in the Mayor's Parlour of the Town Hall, and in the evening there was a public meeting at Dover Street School, presided over by Theodore B. Ellis. Those present at this first Council meeting, in addition to the three officers above mentioned, were :

F.F.D.S.A. : J. B. Braithwaite, Jnr., H. Ernest Grace, Frederic Taylor, Hannah Mary Doncaster.

Midland Association : H. H. Barnard, A. S. Chovill, Joseph Keyte.

London : J. Allen Baker, Philip B. Baker.

Leicester : Edwin Gilbert, James Hackett.

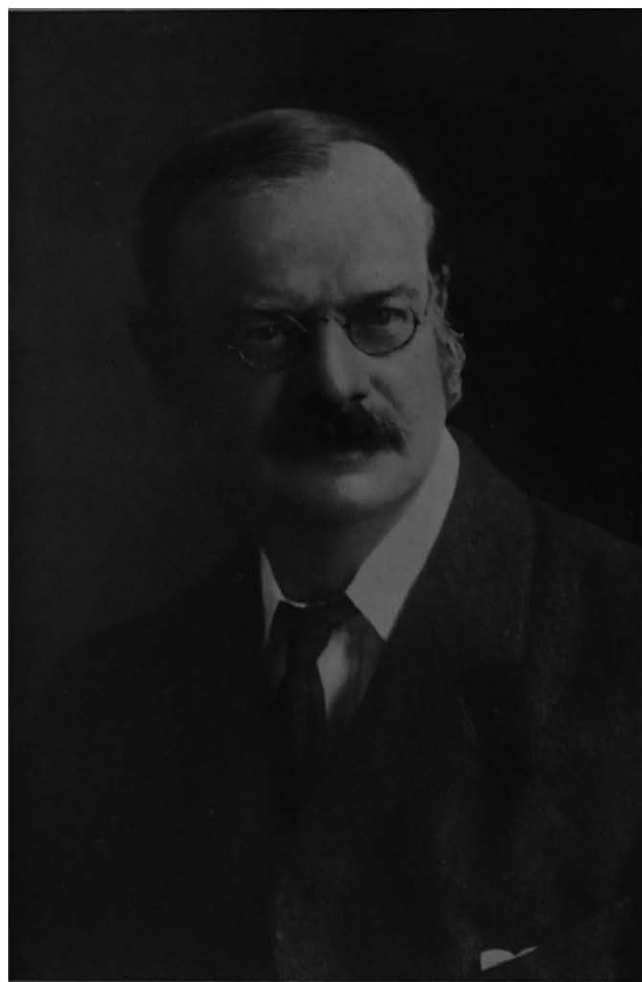
Norfolk : Frederick G. Hatch.

Somerset : No delegate.

Alderman White only presided at the first three meetings of the newly-formed Council. In the autumn of 1900 he died.

With his passing, and the formation of the National Council, the movement entered upon a new phase of its history. The work of the Council is described in another chapter of this book, but it is desirable to glance at the position, under the altered circumstances, of the F.F.D.S.A. For some years the two federations existed side by side. They each had their own work to do, and between them there was close and friendly intercourse. The F.F.D.S.A. continued to watch over the interests of the Friends' schools, which were federated under it, and the National Council pursued the policy of federating all schools, whether Quaker or otherwise.

With the continued growth of the undenominational schools, the existence of two central organisations inevitably meant some dovetailing



WILLIAM CHARLES BRAITHWAITE.

and overlapping in the organisation of the national work.

The attitude of the F.F.D.S.A. to the matter is clearly shown in the following extract from their annual report for 1902 :

“ In view of the rapid increase of the number of non-Friends Adult Schools, we have carefully considered what we ought to do in order that we may take our right share in this forward movement.

In some parts, Adult Schools which cannot join us are isolated because ours is the only organisation covering that portion of the country ; elsewhere, undenominational Unions have been formed to include all Adult Schools, and there is, consequently, a danger of unhealthy overlapping and duplication of organisations ; above all, we feel it very important that our schools shall not hold themselves aloof from other Adult Schools—often their own offspring—which are not able to unite with our Association.

After careful consideration, we conclude that the time has come when, in the best interests of the Adult School Movement as a whole, we may merge our District Committees in the various Adult School Unions which are affiliated to the National Council of Adult School Associations, or constitute them fresh Unions as circumstances in different parts of the country may require. We have no intention of slackening our interest in our own work—on the contrary, we hope to be able to register and keep in touch with Friends who are engaged in First-Day School work, and if possible, to accomplish even more, from

the Society's standpoint, than has been done of recent years."

No constitutional changes were, however, made until some time after this. In 1905 the F.F.D.S.A. recommended that, alike in its own interest and that of the wider movement, it would be wise for the Secretaries of the two Federations jointly to encourage the formation, as quickly as possible, throughout the country, of non-denominational County Unions. It was, however, felt to be very desirable that the connection of the F.F.D.S.A. with its affiliated schools should still be maintained and that Quarterly Meetings should continue to appoint committees to maintain the oversight of the Friends' schools within their borders. Finally it was argued that the changes should in no way be forced, but should come about as naturally as possible.

In the following year, 1906, matters were carried a stage further. Representatives of the two Federations met in May at a round table conference at Devonshire House to discuss the situation, and the important decision was arrived at to facilitate the abandonment of the still existing F.F.D.S.A. District Committees (Adult Section) and to leave the field free, so to speak, for the National Council's scheme of non-denominational County Unions. It was expected that it would take from three to five years to accomplish the transition, as some delicate negotiations were anticipated. Contrary to expectations, within eight months such progress had been made that there only remained three districts in which the change had not been effected.

In 1908, the F.F.D.S.A. revised its constitution, so as to bring it into line with the altered conditions,

and the occasion was taken again to express the hope that Quarterly Meetings would continue to interest themselves in the Friends' schools in their area, and would arrange occasional conferences of Friends interested, or likely to be interested, in Adult School work.

William Charles Braithwaite, who was then Chairman of the National Council, admirably voiced the feelings with which these events were viewed throughout the movement.

"The National Council," he said, "has entered into the heritage prepared for it by the invaluable work of the F.F.D.S.A. We do well to remember the service of the F.F.D.S.A. in holding the movement together in its early and critical years of growth and its fine self-sacrifice (all too rare) in stepping aside so that the growing work might be organised on a national basis. The lessons given us by the Association, and its secretary, Frederic Taylor, need to be taken to heart by every worker. The Association has had its reward. It has transmitted its spirit to the larger movement, and it is safe to say that the ideals which it had at heart have never been more strongly shown than they are to-day. 'He that loseth his life for my name's sake and the Gospel's the same shall find it.'"

By special request of the National Council the F.F.D.S.A. continued to nominate two representatives to sit on the Council, and when, many years later, the functions of the Association were merged in those of the Central Education Committee of the Society of Friends, there was a general desire to maintain the historic connection, and the

constitution of the National Council now includes a rule that that committee has the right to nominate two representatives.

It is, as William Charles Braithwaite so well suggested, impossible to look back upon the action of the F.F.D.S.A. without a feeling of admiration and gratitude for the fine spirit of self-abnegation which characterised their decision. The relinquishment of a great piece of work, such as they had initiated and fostered through so many years, the recognition that the interests of any particular church or sect are secondary to the wider common interests of all, was an act of self-sacrifice redounding to the true interests of the religious life of both movements.

Before the transition was quite complete, in 1907, the first really inclusive National Adult School Conference was held at Bristol. It was originally intended to be the annual meeting of the F.F.D.S.A., but ultimately, in view of the developments which were pending, invitations were sent to representatives of all County Unions and the proceedings included a sitting of the National Council. The process of covering the map, at least of England, with County Unions, was practically completed by 1909, when, at a great conference at Birmingham, the first national one ever held wholly under the auspices of, and definitely organised by, the National Council, the whole movement had fallen into line.

There were then 1,760 Schools, of which 592 were women's.

The following vivid reminiscences of the extension work in Leicestershire and elsewhere are from the pen of Edwin Gilbert, who did so much to foster it. Well might William Charles Braithwaite write in 1905: "Planting new Schools seems an easy thing,

the movement is in so vital and so vigorous a state, and certified by so many genuine and unsolicited testimonials."

"The truth of the old saying that 'the darkest hour is just before the dawn' was exemplified in the experience of the Adult School Movement. Its darkest hour was the period 1890 and a little onward. The Forster Education Act had been in operation twenty years and every recruit to the movement under thirty years of age had been through the Board Schools and had presumably acquired the art of reading and writing. Thus what had been one of the principle incentives for men to join was swept away, and it was years before there was an adequate adaptation to these changed conditions. Indeed, many of its supporters were gradually coming to the conclusion that the movement had had its day and must cease to be.

"It was during these dark days that new hope arose, though the circumstances of this uprising were unpremeditated and their importance hardly realised. The new life was doubtless working in many districts, but it found its focus-point at this time in the county of Leicester, and in the activities of the Leicestershire Union. Its chief agents were unknown men, or men known only in entirely different associations.

"A well-known Midland athlete and popular Rugby footballer had become active in Dover Street School, and, to the surprise of all his friends, had been appointed to the secretaryship of the County Union. To this new work Arthur T. Porter brought all his boundless energy and his unconquerable optimism. The influence of John Dorland had made a deep mark on his life. It was for him a new birth, and with all the zeal of a new convert he threw himself into the extension of the movement. Fortunately he was supported by a small committee of working men of strong practical experience, and although they had at times to put bounds to his enthusiasm, it was to the interplay of these different

temperaments that the success of the new campaign was due.

"At first progress was slow, but when, in 1894, Loughborough School was opened, events moved more rapidly, the success of this North Leicestershire school being made the starting-point for extension in the villages all round.

"In 1897 A. T. Porter resigned on account of constant absences in America and another unknown man was pressed into service. Two years earlier an old jobbing gardener of Leicester had promised to try to bring a new member to school the following Sunday and he had been able to cajole into attendance a man of whom he had no personal knowledge and one who had never heard even of the existence of the schools. It was to this man that the Union turned in its need, and once again a new secretary found in an entirely new sphere opportunity for the exercise of such power as he possessed. Four years later he became secretary of that Council and editor of *One and All*.

"The local movement had been long prepared for another forward step. The influence exerted throughout the country by Dr. Newman cannot be over-estimated. His repeated visits have sown seeds of expectancy in many lives. The Extension Committee, under Joseph Bradshaw's genial leadership, was quietly laying its plans, and 1899 saw the flood-tide of extension break in the county. It was entirely unexpected. Several attempts had been made on Mountsorrel, a quarrying village some seven miles north of the county town. In December, 1898, the Extension Committee went out in a body, determined not to leave the village until a school was arranged for. The fifteen men who had gathered to discuss it were all adamant. The school was needed, that all were agreed on, but leaders could not be found and, if they could, men would not attend. The hour grew late, and at length one of their number was pointed out as a likely-looking

secretary. He replied that he was not a Christian man and therefore not eligible. He, however, yielded to pressure and accepted to office. Here again was the unlikely man. Popular as an excellent cricketer and a budding politician, but not thought of as a worker in such a cause. (Yet this young man developed later into the President of the National Union—Alfred E. Wykes.)

"The school was opened on the first Sunday in 1899, which was New Year's Day, and its immediate success was regarded as a good omen for the year; within six months it had outgrown two different buildings. Early in February a school was opened at Market Harborough, an entirely new side of the county as far as Adult School work was concerned. Driving home after the initial meeting, one of the committee remarked: 'January, Mountsorrel; February, Market Harborough; why not a school for March?' 'Why not a school for every month this year?' was the rejoinder, and thus the slogan, 'a school a month'—which rang through the movement from end to end was born. By the end of the year sixteen new schools had been added to the county register, not counting two or three which had not survived the first few months of their existence.

"'A new school every month' caught on, and *One and All* saw that it did not languish. Extension pages became a feature of the journal. Extension hints and suggestions, full details of every new school, and notes of new extension leaflets gave life and practical value to the magazine.

"An Easter conference of the F.F.D.S.A. in 1900 was occupied in discussing the new adventure. Great enthusiasm greeted a recital of the Leicester experience and the first-fruits of the wider movement were appropriately reaped by Northamptonshire.

"The Wellingborough delegates decided, as they returned from the conference, to make an attempt on Rushden. Their immediate—and abiding—success

sent them further afield, and thus two adjoining counties were up to the hilt in extension work.

"Particularly interesting was the conference held shortly afterwards in Bull Street, Birmingham, to hear an account of the Leicester enterprise. William White presided, and, after an address by the writer, E. J. Fullwood volunteered for service, offering to be the secretary of an extension committee if such were formed.

"The veteran leader, William White,—so soon to pass into the larger service—and the new Leicester worker sat up late that night in eager consultation, and as he conducted his guest to his room he uttered his *Nunc Dimittis*, 'My day is done and I rejoice to know that the movement I love has a greater future before it than it has yet known. Good night! God be with thee!'

"Yorkshire was not long in following such a notable lead, Sheffield and Leeds districts being earliest to begin. The former were greatly encouraged by the success which attended the opening of an old public-house in Button Lane, and a host of activities are still carried on there.

"In the autumn of 1900 Tyneside was the scene of much enthusiastic extension. Schools were opened in rapid succession in all the townships along the river.

"In the West of England Bristol entered on the same quest, the leading spirit being H. Ernest Grace, who was able to introduce to the movement many of his professional friends, helping them to establish schools in every part of the city.

"Two other districts claim special mention. Kent—the smallest of the Adult School fields—suddenly took fire. In a very short time its ten schools had multiplied by ten. The work there had jogged along without much change for many years and its leaders felt much difficulty in believing that any great change could be effected, but to such consistent workers as Herbert Day and Charles Pine there seemed no limit to the

possibilities in the county, and scarcely a week passed without some new school being opened.

"A somewhat similar experience was recorded in the South Midlands, but at a later period. Luton had always had a very large school, but there were only three or four others in the whole of Beds., Bucks. and Herts., at Hitchin, Newport Pagnell and Leighton Buzzard. When, however, the leaders in these counties did decide upon a forward move they achieved an instant success, and for some time the activities of their newly-formed Union became a regular feature in the pages of *One and All*.

"But it would be tedious to follow the tide of progress as it flowed through the land. Suffice it to say that no single Adult School district was left high and dry before the inevitable ebb-tide succeeded. The number of adherents had risen to 100,000, and 25,000 copies of *One and All* were sold each month.

"Most of the work was conducted on extremely economical and mutual lines. The County Unions supplied the new schools with Bibles and hymn-books—which they obtained at very low rates on indefinite loan. It was tacitly understood that as soon as a school was able to repay, the money was to be used for the equipment of a further school, or the school itself should open and equip a new one in its own neighbourhood. This latter alternative was frequently taken and several new schools were proud to have been instrumental quite early in their existence in bringing a further school into being.

"An instructive example of the rapidity and success of extension work in one district is to be found in the series of reports of the Tyne and Wear Union from 1902-1907. The Union was founded in May of the former year and at once set itself seriously to the tasks of consolidation and expansion. One original method adopted was a report sent by post-card from each school in the Union to every other school within its

borders as to the weekly attendance. This created and maintained a healthy rivalry that, for a time at least, produced excellent results. The first report tells of the opening of eight new schools within the year, and of a total attendance increased from 312 to 658. In the next report we read of more than one school whose numbers had been doubled, and of seven new schools started. The third report shows that the total attendance had more than doubled, the figures being 6,539. Six new schools had been opened during the year, but the older schools also showed satisfactory increase in membership. One small school had been closed. Many new auxiliary agencies had been started in connection with the schools—another sign of life—including institutes, boating, swimming, rambling and sick clubs. The fourth report shows an increase of 107 on the women's side, but a decrease of forty-eight on the men's side. Again, six new schools have been added to the list, but this shows there must have been a considerable increase in the membership of existing schools. The fifth report tells of five new schools added, but regrets that the increase of membership has not been rapid throughout the year; but it is noted with satisfaction that the schools are not contented with existing conditions, but are eagerly anticipating progress."

CHAPTER VI

THE LIFE OF THE WIDER MOVEMENT.

"The end of Education is the loosing of man's soul into the region of wonder, the filling of his darkness with the light of understanding, the nurturing of his spirit on the milk of Paradise. The end of Education is to make the dead soul a living soul, and the living soul a growing soul, and the growing soul a personality that still hungers and still thirsts for the ultimate satisfaction of Divinity."

HAROLD BEGBIE.

"As gems unwrought serve no useful end,
So men untaught will never know what right conduct is."

—CHINESE POET, 1050 A.D.

"That kindly love of humanity, that sympathy with its smallest interests; that toleration of its errors, and of its conflicting opinions; that interest in local and familiar affairs, in which the highest culture is as one with the unlearned rustic mind."—J. H. SHORTHOUSE.

It was natural that the enthusiasm created by the establishment of the National Council, and the fresh sense of unity this evoked throughout the whole movement, should speedily show varied signs of life in many districts, and we are not disappointed when we turn to the records of the period for confirmation of this idea. It would be a mistaken view to attribute all these different activities to the new organisation of the movement, but there is clear evidence that the organisation itself was a natural outcome of healthy life.

Birmingham and the Midland Union still remained prominent in the work. One of the most noteworthy features of the early years of the century was the large part taken by the Birmingham Schools in transforming old public-houses into Adult School centres. This was partly the result of the new municipal life of the city, but it was the keenness of Adult School people, who saw in these necessary changes the opportunity for advancing their own interests. Altogether there were at least six of these centres opened in the city. The names of the public-houses were as follows: *The Prince of Wales*, *Beehive*, *General Havelock*, *The Old Sportsman*, *The Coppersmith's Arms*, and *The Swan With Two Necks*.

These places, which had been the resort of the men for many years, naturally drew them under the new arrangements, because they were familiar ground. A description of the transformation of *The Coppersmith's Arms* was given in the *Daily Post* for 1902. From it we learn that coffee urns had replaced beer taps. The old brew-house had become a bagatelle room. Upstairs a clean and comfortable meeting-room had been created for the Sunday morning classes, with extra rooms for library and other purposes. In eighteen months the number on the roll had risen to 150. Many of the wildest men in the neighbourhood had found their lives completely altered, and it was the testimony of the caretaker that a better lot of fellows could not be met.

The transformation of the old *Beehive* was one of the most thrilling stories in the Birmingham work. It was carried out on the initiative of E. J. Fullwood, then a superintendent of Clark Street School. The public-house had under the sign of *The Beehive* the following quaint verse:

“ Within this hive we’re all alive,
 Good liquor makes us funny ;
 If you are dry, step in and try
 The flavour of our honey.”

Fullwood's revised version ran as follows :—

“ Within this hive we’re all alive,
 Good nature makes us sunny ;
 If life is dry, step in and try
 The Clark Street Beehive honey.”

The first president of the school was Sam Allen, himself a man who knew in his own experience the benefit of the Adult School. He had been a hero of boxing matches and other sports and was for a time a “bookie” on the race-course. No one had been more popular, through his gift of song and story at the public-house, than Sam. One night, on his way thither, he felt compelled to enter the Baptist Church he was passing at the time, and something in the sermon so arrested him that he became a changed man henceforth, and the following Sunday joined the Clark Street Adult School. He did not feel, however, that the type of men gathered in that company was quite the one most necessary to reach, and as a result he himself formed a new class in a dingy little room in one of the slums. Here the work was very effective, and in time this school was transferred to the *Beehive*.

Many stories are told of the types of men whom Sam Allen was able to gather round him in this famous school. A large number of them had been many times in prison.

One of these men, known as “Old Sol,” had for many years a special cell reserved for him in the local prison, to which he returned so constantly, but under Sam Allen's influence he became a changed

man, and the story, as told by himself, was always an effective missionary appeal. He was a quaint and humorous character, and papered his back kitchen with 120 blue summonses that had been served on him from time to time. One of his Adult School friends said of him : " You know that man's face is changing every week. He once had the face of a beast ; now it is lighting up like an old cathedral."

Many of the stories are very amusing, as for example the one of the two young men who had put 28s. each into the savings fund, and came to their leader to ask permission to withdraw the money. He was suspicious of their purpose, but on enquiry discovered they had, for the first time in their lives, ordered a new suit and wanted the money to pay for it. They had not, however, thought of the necessity of a collar and a tie, and these their leader purchased for them, and took them to his own home to show them how to wear them. When they got them fixed they proposed to sleep in them all night, so as to be ready for the next morning, but Sam Allen said that would never do, and he himself went round the next morning to dress them for their school. The effect upon the other members was electrical, and a little while afterwards another man came to Allen and asked for his new suit of clothes. " What do you mean ? " was the question. " Why, I was told," was the reply, " that if I went regular for three months I should have a new suit." The man could hardly believe his ears when he was told that the fellows he admired so much had paid for their own suits out of their savings.

Simple and touching stories of this kind, which could be easily repeated all over England, are the

best evidence of the kind of work so many Adult Schools at that period were doing.

One simple character, so well known in the London Adult School Movement, and by his addresses in a much wider area, was Charlie Hess. He had been born in London in 1852, but as his parents were German, he returned with them to his own country while he was quite a child. He had many adventures in trying to escape from service in the German army, and eventually was befriended and brought back by some English sailors. Years of carelessness and drunken improvidence followed, but in 1894 he was induced to attend Bunhill School, and that marked the turning-point of his life. He had great gifts as a speaker, and was much appreciated for his combination of humour, pathos and straightforwardness wherever he went.

Saturday evening concerts were a great help, and there is at least one man known to the present writer who declares that it was a comic song that brought him into the movement, and led to his giving up the drink and becoming a new character.

At the other end of the scale we read of a youth who joined a school because he had read Macaulay's attack on William Penn.

Humorous examples of misunderstanding about the whole character of the Adult School are also prevalent, for example, on one occasion a man in London came to the first meeting of an Adult School with a towel in his pocket, under the mistaken impression that the place was a swimming bath.

Similar work to that done by Sam Allen was accomplished at Leicester by Matt Goodman. For some time he had missed several of his old friends in the public-house, and on one occasion, being

induced to attend the Oxford Street Adult School, he discovered them there. When his own life became altered, it was a natural desire to share the new blessing with others. His first convert was a man who had been eighty times in prison, and was serving a sentence at the time Matt sought him out. With difficulty he got into the prison to visit him, and then he and a friend bound themselves as security for his good behaviour, and fetched him out.

His next effort was to visit the Police Court daily, and gradually get hold of men who were habitual drunkards, and had often been imprisoned. Matt Goodman became a well-known figure in the Court, and the officials and police, before long, recognised the value of his work, and did all in their power to help him. He and his wife threw open their house as a home for his friends, and so in time there arose the idea of a Guest House for the ex-prisoners, which was eventually opened in the year 1909. The work has been carried on there ever since, and the Wardens tell with great joy that, though their guests have been mainly criminals of all types, nothing has ever been stolen from the House, nor any insult shown to either of them. As Goodman says, the only qualification for entrance is that a man has been imprisoned.

The police court work done in Leicester by Adult School men has been one of the most wonderful features of the movement in that city.

Amongst the workers in Leicester, who in these years was doing splendid service among the schools, was Edward Tookey. He was a member of Sanvey Gate School, and his colleagues saw in him one of those upon whom depended, to a great extent, the success of schools in Leicester at that time.



INTERIOR OF WEST END SCHOOL, LEICESTER.

When he left for Canada in 1904, it was felt that his unwavering belief in men, his unerring judgment, and his sound common-sense, were factors that would be greatly missed in future.

It was this personal touch of men so keenly interested in their fellows that largely accounted for the success in extension during these years. So earnest were members of the schools in winning their neighbours, and seeing to it that they kept their promises to attend, that, as one man said, referring to the diligent efforts to rouse him in the morning in time for school: "I had to go, or get a new front door!"

The younger teachers were often drawn into the movement by making the best use of their talents. For example, an elder teacher said to a young fellow: "Canst thou make a straight stroke?" "I think I can," was the reply. "Come along with me, then, and I will show thee a man who cannot." The recruit so won became a successful Adult School teacher.

While Leicester has just been cited as a strong centre for looking after the men who had fallen into the lowest ranks of society, it did not neglect the higher interests of education. In 1904, in that city, was begun one of the earliest classes for consecutive study of difficult problems formed in the Adult Schools. This was a class on the philosophy of religion, led by S. Stanyon, M.A., and it met with great success. It was in this period also that John Wilhelm Rowntree led classes in York for his school members, and his death in 1905 caused a great blank in the Adult School world.

A Week-end Lecture School was held in York in 1906 at the pavilion in the grounds of The Homestead, the residence of Seebohm Rowntree. There were over one hundred in attendance, and among

those who lectured was William Blackshaw, M.A., B.D., then in charge of a Settlement at Sheffield, and who, in later years gave a great part of his time to Adult School lecturing. This marked a very important forward move in the Adult School world, and in the last twenty years Lecture Schools have advanced by leaps and bounds, until at the present time, many such schools are held almost every week in the year.

The work of organisation was becoming heavier and heavier, and so it came to pass that Edwin Gilbert, who had been the leading spirit in the wonderful extension work in Leicestershire, and was so gifted in inspiring enthusiasm wherever he went, was chosen in 1902 Secretary to the National Council and also Editor of *One and All*. In 1906 David Boyd was chosen as his assistant, and in 1907 E. J. Fullwood was added to the staff.

In November, 1906, a well-planned Adult School building was opened at Windsor Street, Birmingham, as a permanent memorial of William White. Over the main entrance there was placed a medallion portrait in terra cotta and the following inscription:

THE WILLIAM WHITE MEMORIAL SCHOOL

Erected A.D. 1906.

By thousands of his friends and fellow labourers.

To the Memory of

WILLIAM WHITE,

Born 1821. Died 1900.

A Brother of Men,

And Pioneer of Adult Schools throughout England.

And Teacher of Severn Street School for over 50 years.

A leader in the cause of Temperance.

Councillor, Alderman, Mayor, and Magistrate.

His whole life was devoted to the welfare of the people.

The opening ceremony was performed by J Allen Baker, M.P., and many tributes were paid to William White's influence.

While these signs of progress have to be recognised, it is also noteworthy that about this period there began to appear anxious notes in many quarters about the decline in membership, and various reasons were assigned for this, among others the growing prosperity of working men. Cobden's saying was quoted as explanatory: "When the bellies of the working men are full, they care for nothing else." This may seem rather a hard saying, but there was undoubted truth in it. Secondly, some saw the lack of interest springing from a growth of militarism and imperialism in the country in general. Even thus early, the habit of week-end holidays was considered to play a part in the diminution of interest. A very real reason was the growing disinclination, and, in many instances, growing lack of interest, for reading and writing lessons, and leaders scarcely knew what to suggest to take their place. As a matter of fact, this decrease in membership, especially in men's schools, went on until the outbreak of war in 1914, when, of course, there was a slump, and the movement is now only recovering the position which it reached numerically at the end of the nineteenth century.

In discussing this subject in 1901 at Birmingham, William Littleboy, then President of Severn Street, used some words of permanent value on the subject :

"Let each class," he said, "determine to increase its numbers by at least one-third, but it is not a question of mere numbers. The only worthy object is the welfare of our

fellow-men, and we want our schools to increase and multiply, because we believe they may be a powerful instrument in God's hands for overcoming evil, and bringing in the age of brotherhood and love.

"The Adult School Movement is not played out, as a few of the faint-hearted have supposed. On the contrary, it is only beginning its work, and if we are faithful, there is scarcely any limit to the good our schools may accomplish. Our Adult Schools give scope for the full powers of each single man and woman."

When Dr. Newman was compelled to resign the Hon. Secretaryship of the National Council owing to the claims of his professional work, he was succeeded by Arnold S. Rowntree, who had himself known the Adult School movement intimately as a teacher, having lived for some time in a small house close to his own school at Leeman Road, in York, and so had practical knowledge of the life of the working classes. This, added to his keen interest in social problems, his parliamentary experience, and his position as a large employer of labour in a firm always noted for its consideration for, and interest in, the workers, gave him peculiar fitness for the position. He conceived the aim of the movement to be "to convert a shut-in, stunted, spiritually defective life into a healthy, vigorous, contributing factor of the kingdom." He was particularly fertile in new ideas, and was never satisfied with anything less than the best for the movement.

The ideal in the minds of many leaders of the movement is contained in an editorial in *One and*

All in October, 1902, where the aim of the movement is stated as follows : " The Adult School is a College, for men are taught there. It is a Club, for men are sociable there. It is a Church, for men find religion there."

In 1903 was published Rowntree and Binns' *History of Adult Schools*, which placed in the hands of all who read it an account of the story of the past, and a searching examination of the movement, as it stood at that time.*

One small outward sign of the growing unity and enthusiasm of the schools may be noted in the issue of a new Adult School badge (there had been several types of badges earlier) in 1905. The design consisted of intertwined lines, presumably symbolic of the idea of Fellowship, a badge which is still largely used throughout the country. In 1905, Principal Blomfield, of the Baptist College, who, when pastor of a church at Coventry had taken great interest in the Adult School there, delivered an address to the Baptist World Congress in London, on the movement.

Dr. George Newman was, in 1907, appointed Medical Officer of Health for the Borough of Finsbury, and in that year he delivered an important address on the permanence of the movement, which he believed rested on a threefold basis, first that of being ready continually to vary its methods and adapt itself to new environment ; secondly, by seeing that its roots go deep into the most permanent of human interests, viz. : the family ; and thirdly, by preserving at its very heart, the presence of the divine life. He quoted in this connection the saying of Sir Thomas Browne : ' We live by the invisible flame within us.'

* See p. 301.

An important testimony was borne in the same year to the value of the movement, by one of its veteran leaders, Joseph Rowntree, of York, who, looking back on the experience of many years, said :

“ Among the influences for which I have to be thankful, there are few more powerful than those which have come to me as an Adult School teacher. It is a great blessing for a young fellow, fresh from school, to have the opportunity of meeting, week after week, with a number of men seeking to improve themselves mentally and spiritually, and to live worthy lives. The association calls out human sympathy and the sense of brotherhood. It brings the teacher face to face with many of the facts of life.”

Among those whose words, by their wisdom, humour and inspiration, constantly inspired the movement, was William Charles Braithwaite. He delivered an address in 1908, at the great citizen meeting in Bristol, from which a few points may be given, as they serve to show what was in the mind of one of the ablest leaders the movement possessed, and one whose vision never failed to grasp the higher possibilities of the work in which he was engaged :

“ We have in the Bible,” he said, “ an unrivalled text-book, unrivalled alike in its intimate knowledge and setting forth of human nature, and in its exposition of the nature of God. A book true to the core, and in which biographies of sinners are not written as though they had been saints.”

"In our schools we have the method of Socrates, coupled with the dynamic of Christ, an irresistible combination."

"We are always more ready to give advice than to give ourselves."

"There are many derelicts floating about the ocean of life. It is no good giving advice through a foghorn to a derelict; the only way to help is to get into touch, to range alongside, to get them into harbour, and to do so, if possible, under their own steam."

One section of the address may be quoted in conclusion because it shows the quaint humour of which the speaker was such a master.

"The Adult School," he said, "is like a salad. There is room in it for all sorts and descriptions of people. An old Portuguese authority gives the following directions for making a salad. He says :

"Be a prodigal with the oil,
Be a miser with the vinegar,
Be a sage with the salt,
Be a madman with the stirring up."

which, translated into Adult School language, reads :

"Be a prodigal with brotherliness,
Be a miser with criticism,
Be a sage with education,
Be a madman with service."

This last passage reminds us of another famous address of William Charles Braithwaite's, to which Adult School people of the period often refer, viz. : the parable of the Roast Potato.

It appears that he was in the habit of producing a roast potato from his pocket on occasions, and drawing lessons from it to the following effect: first, the importance of the unseen growth; secondly, its nourishment; and thirdly its warmth.

In 1908 the movement lost a very helpful worker through the death of Edward Worsdell, of York. He was one of the founders, as a young man, of the School at Ackworth, and later engaged in similar service at Falmouth, Scarborough, and in John Wilhelm Rowntree's school at York. He was a man of high culture and acute and keen intellect, and one of his lectures on the Adult School Lesson, its Aims and Methods, influenced a large number of Adult School people. His was a type of manhood which the Adult School has frequently attracted, and to whose influence it owes incalculable debts of gratitude.

In September, 1909, the first National Conference of Adult Schools was held at Moseley Road, Birmingham. Between four and five hundred delegates, from all over the country, attended. Various subjects, such as Teaching, Fellowship, Social Clubs, and Women's Work were treated, and addresses on Biblical and other subjects were delivered. Schools in the district shared in the benefit of the Conference, through visits from the delegates, and the guidance and inspiration gained from the Conference were remarkable.

In 1911, the first dramatic society in connection with Adult Schools was formed at West End School, Leicester. Since that time many excellent plays and pageants have been produced there, and throughout the country the value of the drama as a means of education and the importance of

community playing has been increasingly realised to be a significant element in Adult School programmes.

The work of organisation was growing so rapidly that in 1913 new central offices were opened at the Central Buildings, Westminster, London, and the benefit was soon discoverable. Through the movement having a centre in London all sorts of people were more easily brought into contact with it, and the increased office staff made other developments more possible. The leaders of the movement had in mind increasingly the necessity for training leaders, and with this end in view, a permanent lecturer had been provided by the generosity of the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, at the end of 1912. It was possible for him to visit schools all the year round, and to give a great deal of attention to week-end schools, lecture courses, summer schools, and to informing other organisations about the nature of the movement. Many additional lecturers for occasional service, including J. Bruce Wallace, M.A., J. H. Wimms, M.A., W. Blackshaw, M.A., B.D., Archibald Ramage, Will Reason, M.A., were made available by the generosity of the same Trust.

In 1913 there passed away one whose name had, since the foundation of the F.F.D.S.A., been connected with Adult Schools. This was Joseph Storrs Fry, who died in Bristol at the age of eighty-seven. He had been an active worker in the movement, and an able counsellor in the various problems that, from time to time, had arisen during the long years of his secretaryship.

By way of stimulating interest throughout the country, and also sharing experiences and giving

direction as the result of experiments made in their own centres, Pilgrimages were arranged in 1912, by members of the National Council to various centres. These were found most profitable, not only to the centres visited, but also to those who took part in them.

Definite extension work always remained a part of the programme, and, in the year 1907, seven County Unions managed to open a new school a month, while one opened eleven, and another ten in the same year.

In the beginning of 1914, a specially arranged visit was paid to the four Universities of Scotland and one or two other centres in that country where schools existed. The University meetings at Edinburgh and Glasgow were of extreme interest, and many people were given a knowledge of the movement for the first time, and roused to see its value. The same was true as the result of an address delivered to the students of education in Dundee. Unfortunately, promising possibilities of this visit were hindered from reaching fruition by the war, which broke out soon afterwards.

In July, 1914, Arnold Rowntree attended the Annual Conference of the Student Christian Movement, at Swanwick, and delivered an address on "Some Thoughts on the Social Unrest." In the course of the address he laid before the students the importance of leadership in the education of democracy, and bade them aspire to "form a part of that priesthood of humanity, to whose commands the world will yield obedience."

It will thus be seen that in 1914 the outlook for the movement was of the brightest. In all directions progress had been made, save in that

of numbers, but it was felt that there were many reasons to account for this, and that in some cases the mere loss of members was not to be regretted. It was unquestionable that some schools owed their large attendance of men to the material benefits that were sometimes attached to attendance, and as National Insurance and similar schemes of self-help began to take the place of the older philanthropic activities, the temptation was removed of attending schools from any secondary considerations. As we have seen, the leaders of the movement were inspiring it with a wider outlook, and a fuller recognition of the necessity for education and service. Plans had been gradually laid for advance, and increasing opportunities were being given to the schools through lectures and literature, for widening their intellectual outlook, and obtaining a better grasp of the problems with which the democracy was being called upon to deal.

It was this new note of a wider and richer interpretation given to the word "education" that is most characteristic of the period described in this chapter.

At that moment there fell suddenly upon the Adult Schools, as upon the whole of Europe, the catastrophe of the Great War.

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR YEARS

AUGUST, 1914 TO DECEMBER, 1918

" Oh, God ! Oh, God ! That it were possible,
To undo things done : to call back yesterday :
That Time could turn up his swift sandy glass,
To untell the days, and to redeem these hours !
Or that the sun
Could, rising from the West, draw his coach backward :
Take from th' account of time so many minutes,
Till he had all these seasons call'd again,
Those minutes, and those actions done in them."

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

" If for, the age to come, this hour
Of trial hath vicarious power,
And, blest by Thee, our present pain
Be liberty's eternal gain
Thy will be done ! "

J. G. WHITTIER.

" Patriotism is regard for the well-being of the people of
a country as well as the affection for its flag."

LORD MORLEY.

WHEN Europe was overwhelmed by the burst of
the war-cloud in August, 1914, the Adult Schools,
in common with all other institutions, were staggered
by the sudden and terrible nature of the catastrophe.
In some ways they were specially hard hit. The
Men's Schools were the mainstay of their work,

and these were very rapidly deprived of many of their best and most effective workers, who were at once taken into the ranks of the army. As the months passed, this loss was increasingly felt, and long before the time of conscription schools were being closed, and in others only a few veterans were holding the flag flying till the boys came back again. Very valiant were many of these efforts, and the greatest sacrifices were cheerfully borne that the doors might remain open to welcome those who should return. Soon the Women's Schools felt the same strain. Domestic cares increased by absent husbands, the billeting of soldiers in the homes of many towns, the darkened streets, and ere long the alarm of air raids, rapidly thinned the ranks of many Women's Schools. In some places, the Men's and Women's Schools joined forces, and were thus better able to weather the storm. What the Adult Schools owe, in those years of stress, to the devoted work of their women it is impossible to express. Though all this is true, yet in the early years of the war scarcely a copy of *One and All* appeared without some mention of new schools being started. In June, 1916, we have a list of eight men's, twenty-four women's, six mixed, and several junior schools recently started, and which had not been previously chronicled in its pages. During these years there were also many new types of schools recorded, most of which arose owing to the special conditions of the war. To take a few examples. A school met regularly in Ruhleben Camp in Germany, beginning early in 1916. The hut used as a meeting-place was presented by the American Y.M.C.A. A week evening meeting was held for the study of international problems. From

a photograph taken of the school in October, 1916, we find it then had twenty-seven members, and an energetic Scot, W. Roylands Cooper, of Pollokshaws, Glasgow, was president. Crofton Gane, of Bristol, started an Adult School on board the hospital ship *Western Australia*, on which he was serving with the Friends' Ambulance Unit. Another was carried on by members of the same company on Hospital Train 17 that ran to and from Dunkirk. A school was held at Dunkirk itself, though it was frequently driven to hold its meetings in a cellar on Sunday evening, owing to the attentions of enemy air-craft, this being the only place in which lights were permissible.

A school was opened in Havre, in November, 1917, only one man among the members having known anything, by experience, about Adult Schools before. The movement also penetrated the huts of the W.A.A.C. in France, and though the girls were found to be strongly opposed to what they regarded as "religious," the idea expounded to them of it being the Divine Element *within* them that was the driving force causing them to desire the study of big problems and the discovery of the truth appealed to them.

The conscientious objectors in more than one prison rejoiced in their Adult School—at Dartmoor, for example a group of forty or fifty met regularly on Sunday morning.

A most interesting school was the one formed in the Knockaloe (Isle of Man) internment camp. Its president was Dr. Hermann Bräunig-Oktavio, who on his return to Germany wrote an excellent book on Adult Education. It met at 1.30 on Friday afternoons, and was conducted on regular Adult

School lines. More than one of the men had been members of schools in different towns of England. Outside the same camp an Adult School was also formed by members of the garrison.

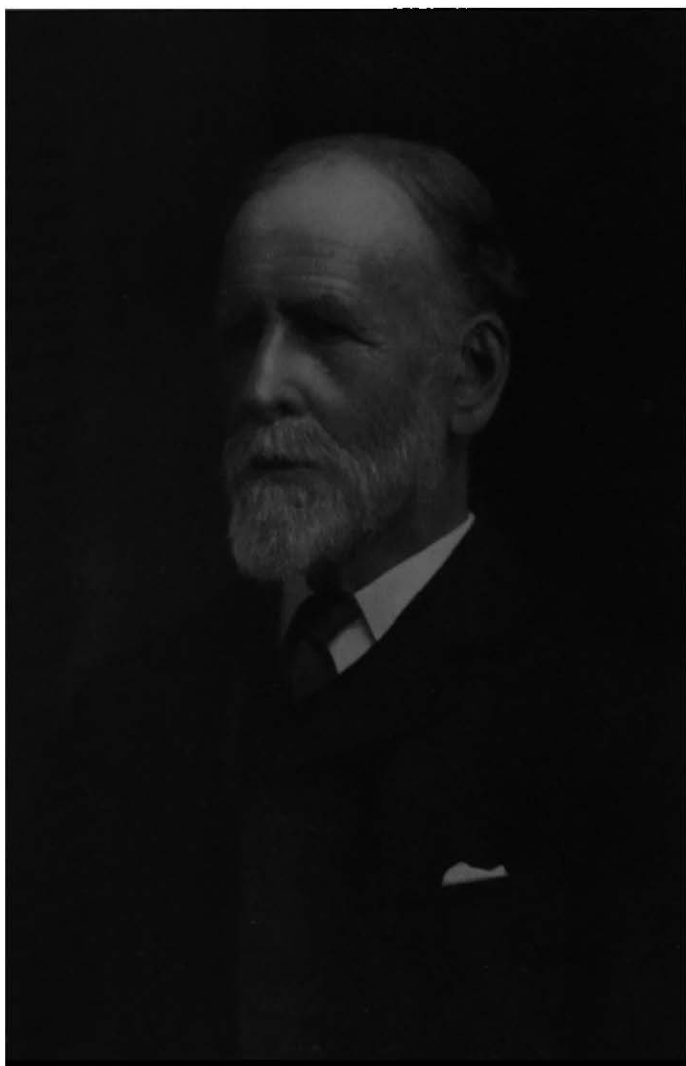
There is at least one record of a study circle being formed in a dug-out. This occurred in Macedonia. Adult Schools were also held in camps at home—the present writer having had the experience of starting one at the camp at Catterick (Yorks.), where about seventy men attended, and the blackboard method of teaching had very striking results. It is to be regretted that the organisation of the movement did not permit of far more concerted effort being made in this direction, for the opportunities were great.

One of the first lines of special service undertaken by the Adult Schools after the outbreak of war was assistance to the Belgian refugees. The Guest Houses at Penscot, Barming and Heys Farm gave hospitality to many, and it was only because Friedensthal stood in a prohibited area that it was not also utilised for the same purpose. The majority of schools throughout the country assisted in this good work, not only by gifts but by personal service. Many individual schools took upon themselves the charge of a whole family or families, and many took houses in which they could lodge their guests. The effect of this was very great upon those who undertook the work, and many of the Belgians became acquainted with the movement, not a few of them being regular in their attendance at the local school. In December, 1914, a leaflet was published in French and Flemish, giving some account of the meaning and methods of Adult Schools, and a translation of their aims. "Rich

and poor, employees and employed, learned and unlearned," our friends were therein informed, "all meet on an equality of brotherhood and friendship and try to help one another to understand the problems of life, and to enable one another to make the life of the community more healthy, pure, and happy. The central idea is a religious, but not an ecclesiastical, one." Friendships were formed, and many new links forged between the two nations, and these have been preserved, and intervisitation has taken place in both countries since peace was established.

Many schools which had premises of their own found them commandeered for military purposes, but, where this was not done, it was a common practice to turn the school-buildings into soldiers' clubs, and in a large number of cases untold good was done in this way. Social evenings were held for the men, canteens opened, and bright religious services organised. The message of the Adult School thus reached hundreds who would never otherwise have heard of its existence.

Less popular forms of social service were frequently undertaken by Adult School members. In the earliest days, before the laws of internment for aliens became so severe, many of these people were visited and helped, and an effort was made to show them the Christian spirit in action. When, afterwards, the heads of households were removed to internment camps, the women and children were befriended. The visitation of internment camps and ministration of whatever nature that was allowed were often undertaken by Adult School people. At a later period, when the problem of



JOSHUA ROWNTREE

the conscientious objectors faced the nation, many Adult School men were found in their ranks, partly owing to their training in Friends' schools, partly owing to their study of internationalism, but mainly because of their real grasp of the principles of Christianity, and their loyal endeavour to carry them out in practice. Adult School people often supported them before the tribunals, visited them later in prison, and in one case an Adult School man was in charge of the C.O.s, first at Warwick and later at Wakefield, where work-centres were established for them. The ranks of the schools were frequently divided over these questions, but as a rule the members were faithful to their friends whether in prison or in the army, and nothing was more delightful than to feel the sympathy of the men for their comrades, whether their consciences led them to the trenches or to Wormwood Scrubbs. A good story is told of one witty C.O. The magistrate was trying to advise him to take non-combatant service in France. "No, sir," was the reply, "you see I prefer the Wormwood to the gall (Gaul)!" He, at least, might have been let off for his smartness! In certain schools one must admit that intolerance on either side led to heart-burnings and 'division, and schools were weakened, if not wrecked, by the controversy. Adult School men, on the other hand, were frequently found as members of tribunals, and as active recruiting agents, so that the movement, as a whole, could not be cited on either side of the controversy. The leaders sought to give guidance on general principles, in agreement with the aims of the movement, and to direct the members into sound lines of study and service.

On July 30th, 1914, it happened that a business meeting of the officers of the National Council was being held, and that along with them were certain members of the Brotherhood Council. A message was at once agreed upon, and within twenty-four hours 2,000 sets of letters were despatched to school secretaries, urging two important matters:—(1) a universal call to prayer, and (2) an instant call to strengthen the hands of those who were endeavouring to maintain our own peaceful relations with the Powers concerned in the struggle. Before the schools could consider this message the crisis had come, and another manifesto was at once issued, signed by Wm. Charles Braithwaite, Arnold S. Rowntree and George Peverett, the Chairman Hon. Secretary and Office Secretary, respectively of the Council. A few sentences from this letter may be quoted, as they are essential to an understanding of the spirit of the movement at that moment, and because they reveal a very high level of counsel at such an hour. The Adult School movement may for all time be thankful that it had men capable of writing such a message, and of summoning its members to so noble an ideal. The writers said:—

“ We appeal to all our people not to give way to panic-hatred, fear, or despair, nor to abandon the great ideals by which we are united, but to hold fast to faith and hope, strengthening by every means in our power the stricken cause of love and brotherhood Out of this terrible suffering and travail there may emerge new hope for mankind, but that hope is largely dependent on the thoughts and actions of us all We have accepted an expression of Christianity

which has proved powerless in the time of testing. . . . Now that we are plunged in the blackness of the night, let us stretch forth hands of succour to those around us in the darkness and await the dawn with courage."

The document then goes on to mention four suggestions by way of guidance for those in perplexity, viz. :

1. "The preservation of a peaceable spirit."

2. "The treatment of foreigners amongst us" (this paragraph is well worth quoting in full, in the light of later events). "There are thousands of men and women living amongst us who may be of foreign birth, bearing foreign names, or who may not have become naturalised in our country. It is very important that all such persons should be the object of special care and consideration at this time. Though guiltless of all offence, they may be made the subjects of unworthy attack and ill-treatment. We urge our members to seek opportunities for aiding and protecting them, and offering them such kindnesses and courtesies as are possible."

3. "The work of relief for sufferers, and of the organisation of production and distribution."

(This paragraph includes hearty support of the Prince of Wales's Fund, and urges members of the schools to aid the Government in every way they can.)

4. "Readiness for organised efforts in favour of a speedy settlement as opportunities offer."

The closing paragraph of the manifesto contains the following sentences. "Across the devastating storm let us hearken to the voice of Christ The nearer we draw to our Master's spirit the less we shall feel inclined to blame others for this

disastrous war, the more we shall feel that the guilt and responsibility are ours Let us pray for forgiveness for ourselves, for our country, for those who are called our enemies but who are our brothers still in God's sight. If this spirit of prayer controls our acts and thoughts and words we shall, each one of us, be doing something to bring nearer the Kingdom for whose coming the lips of men so often pray."

As soon as the Government Circular 856 was issued, dealing with social service and education, schools were urged to consider and discuss it in their meetings, to help the local Education Authorities in every way in their power, to find out and assist needy children in their locality, and the women were encouraged to study the "State Cookery Book." With a fine heroism the leaders of the movement declared time and again that these were the days for education. Many lectures were provided on European History and topics dealing with the causes of the war. Pamphlets for study circles on "The Health of the State," "Force or Faith," and the literature of the Bible were issued, and hundreds of students followed their guidance. The Rev. Wm. Temple (now Bishop of Manchester) edited a series of papers for war-time, and their use was successfully advocated in the schools. Two admirable Handbooks were speedily published—one by William C. Braithwaite in February, 1915, entitled *Foundations of National Greatness*, and the other by Ernest Dodgshun, in November of the same year, entitled *Study Handbook on History and Problems Relating to the War*. The former dealt with such subjects as National Consciousness, The Spirit of Freedom, The Ends of Representative

Government, and the Nation and other Nations. Its usefulness was by no means exhausted in the days of the first production, and it yet remains a stimulating and vital introduction to a great subject. The second book was a larger one, modelled on the lines of the Lesson Handbook, and described the rise and development of the great nations of Europe, contained a section on a hundred years of U.S.A. history, and one on the Race Problem and the Eastern Question. The second section of the book discussed such subjects as The Theory of Nationality, International Covenants, and The Approachment of Peoples. The rapid movement of events since 1915 has somewhat put the book out of date, but its purpose was well served at the time, and gave much-needed enlightenment to all who studied it.

A notable educational move was the establishment in March, 1915, of the Council for the Study of International Relations. The fertile brain of Arnold S. Rowntree conceived the idea, stimulated by an interview with Lord Bryce reported in *One and All* in April, 1914. He had therein advocated the provision of a cheap text-book on foreign policy, and the effort to spread a knowledge of the principles that should underlie a sane line of action in foreign affairs. In order to make this more possible, the new council was formed, and very distinguished men on all sides of politics gave it their support. Percy Alden, M.P. and George Peverett were made first hon. secretaries, though soon afterwards the latter took up special work for the Friends' Ambulance Unit, and his position was taken by Arthur Greenwood. The council encouraged in every way the formation of study circles,

issued valuable pamphlets and cheap issues of certain text books, and, during the period of its existence, rendered splendid help to the cause it was designed to further.

In March, 1916, the question of "Adult Schools after the War" was up for discussion at the National Council, and as a result a memorandum was issued, which contained a number of definite suggestions both to meet the special difficulties of the time, and to build better for the days to come. Among the suggestions offered were the fuller use of such educational aids as were already in existence; closer co-operation between men's and women's schools; the effort to help similar organisations, giving what this movement could contribute to their advancement. The main note of the paper was a fuller and more thorough co-operation of all sorts. Much stress was laid on sympathy with and consideration for the workers in munition factories and elsewhere, and the discovery of the best way to help them. Such counsels were not merely pious resolutions, for the schools genuinely endeavoured to carry them out, and that very memorandum contains evidence of the loyalty by which this was being done in an account of a recently started Social Service League at Wellingborough, with a very effective programme.

The general educational activities of the schools were kept up well, in spite of grave difficulties. No one had more opportunity of seeing this than the present writer, for his lecturing work took him all over the country, and it was simply amazing to see the earnestness of the great majority to know more on all sorts of subjects, and how, in many directions, the war and its attendant circumstances

had stimulated thought. Lecturers were also in demand in munition factories, camps, Y.M.C.A. huts, and many similar places. Adult School men and women helped in this way very frequently. Some of those lunch-hour (or midnight !) talks in the great works created by the demands of the war were most interesting occasions. Questions were often admirable, and the reception generally cordial, though certain gifts of readiness and humour were requisite for success. The Adult Schools were represented on the Universities' Committee of the Y.M.C.A. formed in 1917, a committee which united all types of educational institutions and movements that were doing work among adults. It gradually superintended all educational efforts for the troops at home and abroad, and for the munition workers at home, and its work became absorbingly interesting. At the beginning of 1918 it secured from the War Office its first permits to send lecturers up to the front lines in France, and the present writer had the honour of being one of the first group of lecturers who had this opportunity. On Vimy Ridge, round about Bethune, and in the neighbourhood of Lillers his work was done, and never were audiences more responsive or appreciative than these men who were all the while face to face with death. This was only the beginning of much bigger things, and before the army took over all educational work, just before the Armistice, the extent of work for which this committee was responsible was enormous. The committee did not cease its operations till September, 1921, until it could hand over the supervision of adult education to the more competent and representative hands of the newly-appointed Consultative Committee

on Adult Education appointed by the Government.

Early in 1915 the Adult School Movement lost a great leader in the person of Joshua Rowntree, who had served it so long and so well, and who made his own school at Scarborough a model one—a hive of ingenuity and industry. He wrote, a month or two before his death, "In looking back, as the day's work is nearly over, I know that if I had to live my life over again, I would try (even just for my own happiness) to live nearer to God and nearer to those who do the hard work of the world. This means I would long to be a heartier, more devoted worker in Adult Schools."

In November, 1915, an Adult School was started at Arequipa, in Peru, by E. M. Foster, who had learned the methods of the movement in schools in Surrey. The members were mainly artisans, and their founder was courageous enough to trust the democratic methods that are part of the genius of the movement, and to have one of the members appointed leader. Mr. Foster's testimony is that Adult School methods helped him to realise and remedy many difficulties that would otherwise have been a stumbling-block; and also enabled him to approach the people from their own point of view.

In 1916, another keen Adult School leader, especially on the evangelistic side, passed away in the person of Edward Smith, of Bewdley, to whose work reference has already been made in these pages. Probably very few ever kept up such long and close contact with members of their schools by correspondence as he did, and his gift of loving sympathy renders his memory a cherished one by many whom he had befriended. He believed

our work to be mainly "heart-culture—the most interesting, delicate, absorbing and important of all forms of culture." He never ceased to point out the indebtedness of the movement to the organised churches, a feature of the work frequently forgotten. "If there had been no Christian church, there would have been no Adult School Movement" was the form in which he expressed his conviction.

At the Scalby meeting of the National Council in 1916, a striking challenge was thrown out by E. H. C. Wethered, in which he examined the problem of Life and Religion after the War. He held that there was a great divine call to the British Commonwealth, and examined what share the Adult School Movement had in the response. It seemed to him to be three-fold. First, the demand to make ourselves fit for the new opportunity. Secondly, to answer the question as to whether the movement was to become an independent religious instrument in the community or to remain auxiliary to those already in existence. Thirdly, the new circumstances emphasised the need of centering all our teaching in the Bible, since that literature contained a unique record of the working and progress of the Divine Spirit, but there was at the same time the need of including in our curriculum all literature that revealed the same spirit. These were all very vital issues, and the movement owed a great debt to the speaker for so clearly focussing and emphasising them.

In 1917, the new position of President of the National Adult School Union—an annual office—was first created, and William Charles Braithwaite was enthusiastically chosen as the first holder of the office. His address was an examination of

the four-fold contribution the movement should make to the reconstruction of society. This should be done along the four lines of Religion, Education, National Service and International Service. He rejoiced in the freedom of our spiritual atmosphere. "We lay stress," he said, "not on any uniformity of experience or practice, but on each member discovering for himself first-hand experiences of Truth, and giving effect to them in his life under a sense of personal and social and religious responsibility." He saw in this the most hopeful basis for the building up of a truly catholic and spiritual church in the future. In education our task was to pursue, with far greater thoroughness, the lines along which we had been hitherto working, with faith in the capacity of all classes to acquire knowledge and to turn to good account what they had acquired.

In the sphere of national service he considered our chief contribution to lie along the lines of creating and maintaining a sound public opinion on all difficult problems affecting the community, and in spreading the atmosphere of goodwill and conciliation in which alone these could be best adjusted. In international service he looked forward to the creation of a real League of Nations and felt that the Adult Schools were peculiarly fitted to support and advance such a work of international importance.

Very fine, if little noted, service was done during the war years by an Easter School held at Penscot from 1915 onwards under the presidentship of E. H. C. Wethered. For three years the Quest of the Kingdom of God was the subject of discussion, and the varied applications of this topic to everyday

life were carefully examined. No-one can estimate the value of such quiet discussions, maintained under competent leadership, to those who took part in them, and who afterwards sought to carry the influence of the teaching into their own everyday work. It must also be remembered that similar work was going on all over the country, though not so thorough and intensive. It was also during these war-years—in 1917—that, as the outcome of a discussion at the National Council on the best way to help the rank and file of the schools, a new course of Correspondence Classes was started. Such work had been done very effectually from Fircroft for some years, but had been abandoned when Tom Bryan's health prevented his continuing this service. The work now started began very simply, with a course on the study of the English language, and in its first session numbered over 500 students. Most of these were gathered in groups, and helped one another, only applying to their tutors when in difficulty, and for the correction of home-work. In later years many additional subjects were added, courses were shortened, and the co-operation of the Y.M.C.A. secured, until now (1924) a very varied programme is presented to students, and as permission is now given to begin a course at any time, the usefulness of the scheme has greatly increased.

{In 1917, the movement suffered a severe loss by the death of Tom Bryan, whose splendid service is referred to elsewhere in this volume.* He bore with much courage, patience and cheerfulness, a long and trying illness, and throughout these months was a real source of inspiration to his friends, one

* See page 347.

of whom said that if Bryan's message could have been condensed into a phrase, it would have been in all probability, "Cut your cackle, and get on with something."

In 1918 two veteran leaders fell out of the ranks, Joseph Firth Clark, of Doncaster, aged 80, and Joseph Allen Baker. The former devoted his life to his own town and his local school, though the influence of his beautiful life was widely felt in the Yorkshire Union. The latter was a public man in London, where he was a prominent member of the County Council, and also sat in Parliament for East Finsbury. He was an untiring worker in the Peace Movement, and from 1879 to 1905 president of one of the classes in Bunhill.

In the same year York lost a keen Adult School worker in the person of Frank Rowntree, who founded the Layerthorpe School in that city. "His sunny humour was the light of many lives," was the tribute paid to him at the end.

In 1918, David P. Boyd retired from his official connection with the movement, followed by the gratitude of many, and not least by that of the present writer, for it was to Boyd's invitation that he owed his first introduction to the movement. Boyd was a splendid pioneer, and did lasting service all over the country in founding new schools, and bringing inspiration to those which had flagged by the way.

Out of the war-years also sprang the Fellowship Song Book, in the preparation of which Frederick J. Gillman and his fellow-workers spent so much careful thought and labour. It has proved a great heritage and each year increases its value.

At the autumn meeting of the National Council in 1918, it was decided to ask County Unions to consider the future work of the schools in a very careful way, and to prepare suggestions for a Conference of Presidents and Secretaries. A comprehensive list of subjects for discussion was sent to each County Union, and so the most careful preparation was made for a Forward Movement after the war.

On the 11th November, 1918, the Armistice was signed, and so this chapter of the Adult School history closes.

During these strenuous years there was much loss, but also considerable gain. All men's schools were greatly reduced in numbers, and naturally the work was left to the older members, who, in many cases, showed themselves true heroes. In general, every effort was made to keep in touch with absent members, and to give them a hearty welcome on their return. The strain was great, but it was nobly borne. *One and All* never ceased publication, though its size was compulsorily greatly reduced. The Central Office shared the burden, for during a good part of the period George Peverett was engaged in other service, and could only give portions of his time and energy to the movement, though this was done with wonderful self-sacrifice. By his colleagues the necessarily heavier burden laid on them was courageously carried. The Hon. Secretary, Arnold S. Rowntree, was a tower of strength throughout the whole period. He was always full of new ideas, and never permitted the enthusiasm of himself or others to flag. Lecture schools increased rather than lessened, and some new lecturers, such as Dr. Meyrick Booth

and Miss Effie Ryle, began their service during these years. Beechcroft was opened and the new Guest House at Guildford. Women's schools showed great increase, and everywhere the schools gained a new vision of opportunity. Loins were girded, and enthusiasm stirred for the next stage of the journey.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT.

"Don't call 'em unsound, because they have inklings inside 'em that Revelation didn't cease with St. John or interpretation with the Epistle to the Hebrews. Let 'em have visions of their own. Tell 'em to go out and make discoveries. Let 'em dare to be simple, really simple, that is, and trust God and human nature to do the rest."

The Corner of Harley Street.—ANON.

"The rapture of the forward view."—G. MEREDITH.

MR. J. Ramsay MacDonald (Prime Minister at the time of writing) in an address to the Adult Schools at Gosforth in 1913, said :—

"I do not believe that there is anything in existence at the present moment, more fitted to balance your judgment, to enlighten your intelligence, to awaken your imagination, to make your thoughts chaste and serious, and to give you a better preparation for the undertaking of the responsibilities of life, than the Adult Schools started long ago by . . . the Quaker community—and which have been developed until, to-day, they are composed of men and women untrammelled by the problems of squaring up the desires of God and the demands of Mammon—composed of men and women of simple, humble, direct intelligencies searching in the Bible, not merely for the way of individual

salvation, but for the way of social salvation and there, surely, the democracy of England can receive its best enlightenment, its best encouragement, its best inspiration."

In an interview during the following year, given to Mr. Percy Alden, Mr. MacDonald declared that one of the special services the Adult School could render to the country, was to get hold of the aristocracy of the democracy, the men of good mental calibre, men who have outlook and uplook, and who are something more than physiological machines. It would be the duty of these in turn to help their comrades, whose abilities were not so good, and whose opportunities had not been so large.

These testimonies are suggestive for two reasons. First of all, as indicating attention more and more widely given to the Adult Schools by politicians and social workers outside their ranks, which was an increasing feature after the war, and secondly, because the forward movement, which we are about to discuss, went back upon the inspiration and idealism that had filled the minds of the leaders on the eve of the war.

The first quotation given above, by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, was used as the heading to an appeal issued by the Chairman, Treasurer and Hon. Secretary in 1913, and in this appeal reference was made to the educational advance that had already taken place; to the removal of the central offices to London; to the appointment of Mrs. McKenzie as one of the organising secretaries; and to the wider opportunity that was felt to be at hand for the schools which were doing their part to help the people to be educated in order to become effective.



ADULT SCHOOL PREMISES, SUTTON, SURREY.

No sooner was the war over than the schools took up the challenge of the new age with enthusiasm. At a special meeting consisting of the members of the Executive Committee and representatives of the County Unions, held in London in February, 1919, plans were discussed which were laid before the National Council on the following day. This meeting was felt by all present to be an extremely important one, and as a result a pamphlet was issued, containing definite suggestions for lines of progress. It was felt that a special challenge to the Adult School Movement was presented by the statement that between eighty and ninety per cent. of the population were outside all churches.

In the Adult School Movement there was a fine tradition of plasticity and adaptability, and if to these could be added the gifts of imagination, the spirit of adventure and dedication, great progress should follow. Stress was laid upon intensive work in the schools themselves and County Unions, for only from such strengthening of the local centres could the next step, that of extension, be safely carried on. Diversity of method was recognised as necessary. No longer must we insist on schools being held on Sunday morning, for experience had proved that Sunday evening and week-evening schools were successful, and we should be prepared to meet at any time that men and women will attend. It was also urged that experiments should be made as to the proper length of a school session, and of the value of "mixed" schools, that is, schools for both sexes, which had been found specially valuable for younger people. It was felt necessary to widen the programme, so as to include all subjects whereby the human spirit could be led to a deeper

and truer view of life. The subject of worship was also insisted upon, and the need for a broader and fuller educational programme. A phrase occurred in this preliminary paper, "An All-the-week Programme," which became almost a slogan in the new movement. Other subjects dealt with were the Settlements, Guest Houses, and Summer Schools, the additional use that might be made of local newspapers, the advantage of schools having premises of their own where that could be wisely arranged. Indications were given as to the best ways of co-operating with other groups, and finally the subject of Junior schools, and of the discovery and training of potential leaders, were pointed out. Many of these suggestions were due to the fertile brain of the new Hon. Secretary, F. J. Gillman, who had served a long period of training in Adult School work, having been the originator of the London Union at the end of the nineteenth century, and a keen worker in the London schools, and later at York, and the editor of *The Fellowship Hymn Book* and its *Supplement*, and also promoter of *The Fellowship Song Book*.

He was warmly welcomed as Arnold Rowntree's successor, and found himself installed in office at a very critical and important moment in the history of the movement, which he faced with enthusiasm and courage.

At the Council meeting where this scheme was launched, Arnold Rowntree summed up, in a kind of A.B.C. of progress, the main ideas. First, advance by adaptation; secondly, building up by experiment; and thirdly, co-operation by loyalty to conviction. Gillman himself, at the same meeting, declared that the Adult Schools met three

great needs of the human soul ; first, by fellowship in life's strivings ; secondly, education ; thirdly, religion as the true cradle of character.

Professor Soothill, in his recent *Life of Timothy Richard*—the famous Baptist missionary—relates that early in his missionary career he had to go through a terrible experience in a famine district, and describes how splendidly he did his relief work. "He came out of the horror," adds the biographer, "with the one word *Education* branded into his soul, a word which became the keynote of his life ; not mere book learning, but true enlightenment in regard to all the wonderful works of God, for body, mind and soul." The experience of many Adult School leaders after the war was somewhat similar.

The forward movement could not be carried out without additional financial assistance, and the Treasurer stated that an additional £1,500 a year would be necessary. In the autumn of 1919, a pamphlet was issued called *Adult School Work*, which consisted of more detailed suggestions along the lines already indicated, and contained appendices on correspondence classes, on work among younger men and women, on literature, and an extract from the important address delivered by Dr. George Newman in 1913 on Education, Evangelism and Service.

At the autumn meeting of the Council in the same year, a Campaign Fund of £20,000 was agreed upon, and special arrangements were made for carrying this out. Assistance was obtained for a definite period from Henry Warrilow, who had done special educational work in the Y.M.C.A. in Oxfordshire. An additional office was opened in Leeds,

where Warrilow was assisted by William Moffat and Stanley Barritt, of that city. Arnold Rowntree invited a special conference of 120 men and women at Swanwick in January, 1920, to launch the new campaign. At this conference, in addition to discussions on the best methods of carrying on the campaign, special attention was devoted to the recently issued report on Adult Education and to the removal of the movement's headquarters from Westminster to 30, Bloomsbury Street. Admirable illustrations were given, one evening, of the way in which simple dramatic performances could be given in the schools, and how these could at times be given to illustrate Bible narratives.

In January, 1920, *One and All* contained a list that gave roughly the work for which the National Council was, in that year, responsible. Firstly, 1,800 schools meeting each week; secondly, more than 200 lecture schools during the year, attended by thousands of men and women; thirdly, twenty-seven summer schools, attended by at least 650 people; fourthly, a winter school for young women; fifthly, five settlements; sixthly, five permanent Guest Houses; seventhly, the production of literature; eighthly, junior work, and ninthly, international work.

At Whitsuntide, 1920, a National Conference was held at Swanwick, all the members being the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Barrow Cadbury. At this every county was represented, including the Unions in England, Scotland and Wales. All sides of the Adult School Movement were well represented, the physical, intellectual, spiritual, musical and dramatic all being amply met. Sir George Newman gave an admirable address on the contribution of

adult education to national life, in which he showed how one of our chief tasks was to create a public opinion in favour of a liberal interpretation of the meaning of education, and to insist on its application to citizenship and to humanism. Wisdom was requisite rather than knowledge; the historical spirit rather than history.

Five Adult Schools were held during the conference on the Sunday morning, and the effect of the meetings on all present was very great, the enthusiasm passing throughout the whole country.

The Adult Education Committee's report, several times referred to, was a very important document published in 1919. The committee had sat for two years, and among its members was J. H. Doncaster, M.A., of Sheffield, who admirably represented Adult School interests. The committee's findings were published in three reports, but the most important one was the final report, with which alone we need deal here. The report included a history of Adult School education since 1800, as well as a general review of existing conditions at the time of publication, and many suggestions and recommendations for the future. Adult Schools are frequently referred to in the document, and their value in the educational progress of the century thoroughly recognised. Adult education, the committee held, was a permanent national necessity, and should, therefore, be both universal and life-long. They felt that all possible assistance should be given to voluntary organisations, so that their work might be developed and strengthened. The report advocated the establishment, in all areas, of Adult Education Joint Committees, and laid great stress upon the importance of all voluntary

agencies in this work. They welcomed the extension of all such voluntary activities, and even in the case of organisations that were aided by the State, they felt large space could be left for self-organisation.

This Government report remains a permanent contribution to the whole problem of adult education, and demands in detail the careful study of all who are interested in it. It served to bring before a much larger public the work of the Adult Schools, and is, for that reason, an epoch-making document in their history.

After this report had been published, the Board of Education in 1901 set up a permanent Adult Education Committee, on which the National Council was invited to nominate one member, and Arnold Rowntree was chosen for this position. The aim of the committee is to provide a channel for the interchange of ideas, with respect to adult education, between interested persons and movements, to prevent overlapping, and to encourage co-operation in kindred efforts. It is also designed to provide a body of active workers in the cause, which can advise the Board of Education on matters relating to adult education.

An interesting development of adult education, showing one direction in which the recommendations of the report may be further developed, has been the establishment, in University College, Nottingham, of a department of adult education, under the direction of Robert Peers, himself a product of Adult Schools, because he obtained his enthusiasm for such work and his impulse to direct his life along these lines, in an Adult School at Birkenhead.

This college provides courses for the training of tutors and lecturers, and also for adult working-class

students who desire and are fitted for a period of continuous training. Its extramural activities consist of the provision of university tutorial classes, and the arrangement of lectures and university education courses. It is further hoped that the department will act as a Bureau of Information for all engaged in adult education in the district. Its committee contains representatives of various voluntary organisations, and two of its members are nominated by the Adult School Unions of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire.

The first report of the department was issued in December, 1921, and, in reviewing the work, it is stated that a striking feature of its development has been the growing diversity in the character of the demand. The W.E.A., the Adult School Unions, welfare departments of various firms, Women's Institutes, the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, had all been anxious to establish classes and lecture courses. An interesting feature specially noted was the spontaneous growth in the demand for classes on English Literature, these having increased from two to seventeen, and one of them being held in an agricultural village of only 300 inhabitants.

The forward campaign meant much to the country in many ways, largely because it created throughout the schools a new enthusiasm, and gave them a new vision of their purpose and possibilities. The actual money originally proposed was never, as a definite sum, reached, though more than two-thirds of it was obtained within a couple of years; but during the progress of the campaign the point of view somewhat changed, and it was felt that it would be much more important to raise the level

agencies in this work. They welcomed the extension of all such voluntary activities, and even in the case of organisations that were aided by the State, they felt large space could be left for self-organisation.

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This college provides courses for the training of tutors and lecturers, and also for adult working-class

students who desire and are fitted for a period of continuous training. Its extramural activities consist of the provision of university tutorial classes, and the arrangement of lectures and university education courses. It is further hoped that the department will act as a Bureau of Information for all engaged in adult education in the district. Its committee contains representatives of various voluntary organisations, and two of its members are nominated by the Adult School Unions of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire.

The first report of the department was issued in December, 1921, and, in reviewing the work, it is stated that a striking feature of its development has been the growing diversity in the character of the demand. The W.E.A., the Adult School Unions, welfare departments of various firms, Women's Institutes, the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, had all been anxious to establish classes and lecture courses. An interesting feature specially noted was the spontaneous growth in the demand for classes on English Literature, these having increased from two to seventeen, and one of them being held in an agricultural village of only 300 inhabitants.

The forward campaign meant much to the country in many ways, largely because it created throughout the schools a new enthusiasm, and gave them a new vision of their purpose and possibilities. The actual money originally proposed was never, as a definite sum, reached, though more than two-thirds of it was obtained within a couple of years; but during the progress of the campaign the point of view somewhat changed, and it was felt that it would be much more important to raise the level

of the annual income, and to have all schools contributing regularly and proportionally to the national income. This plan commended itself to the Hon. Treasurer, Barrow Cadbury, but he had for some time felt that he must resign his position, owing to the heavy claims of business, and his own health. He was succeeded in office by Thomas Wall, who had been for many years a keen helper of the movement, and had built the Adult School premises at Sutton, Surrey, which are the finest group of school buildings in the country. His great interest in all educational work, his delightful personality, and his generous and lovable temper, rendered him an ideal treasurer. In order to assist him in the work, Edmund Jones, who for some years had been president of an Adult School at Hereford, and had thrown himself strenuously into social service, was appointed as Treasurer's Assistant. He showed himself at once full of ideas as to the best way of advancing the regular income, and has, from the date of his appointment, been strenuously engaged in visits throughout the country, with the purpose of winning schools and local Unions to the new point of view, and to gain from them promises of substantial and regular assistance for the work of the National Union. He has the sound point of view as to finance that, while it is obviously requisite for the work, it should only be an expression of the spirit that moves the whole relation of the schools to one another and to their wider spiritual purpose. He has himself stated the aim of his work as follows:—

“As a result of three years' special effort a more comprehensive programme has been

developed, the range of activities widened, and the life made keener in many centres. There has also been a corresponding increase in the annual expenditure and an effort is now being made to bring the annual income to the level of the expenditure.

“ For four years prior to the Special Campaign the average yearly income from subscriptions was approximately £1,500, of which about £100 was contributed by the schools and Unions.

“ For the year ending October 31st, 1924, the amount given by the schools and Unions was over £700. This welcome increase is largely due to the growing union-consciousness among the schools.

“ Various financial schemes have been adopted but all are founded on what is known as the ‘ Penny-a-Week Scheme.’ It is a scheme to provide money required for Sub-Union, County Union, and National Union in one inclusive payment calculated on the basis of one penny per week per member. It is a recognition of the interdependence of schools grouped through County Unions under the National Union.

“ In some areas, while agreeing with this principle, members have adopted the scheme in a modified form. For instance, where local activities do not involve much expenditure it has been decided to modify the scheme in such a way as to secure necessary local funds and at the same time provide a substantial grant for the National Union.

“ It cannot be too strongly emphasised that ultimate self-dependence is not only desirable

but essential to the maintenance and future development of the Movement.

“Until the major portion of revenue required comes spontaneously from our members in all the schools and Unions, we cannot claim to be truly democratic.”

A novel proposal was made in 1921 on behalf of the Young Men's Fellowships, connected with the Independent Methodist Connexion, a body whose congregations are largest and most numerous in Lancashire, though there are also a few churches in other parts of England. The churches are somewhat akin to those of Congregationalists, in so far as each congregation has freedom in the management of its affairs, and they have the feature in common with the Society of Friends that they possess no stated and salaried ministry. Their Young Men's Fellowships had been in the habit, for some time, of using the Adult School Lesson Handbook in their weekly meetings, and hence the desire to affiliate more closely with the Adult School Movement. It did not seem the best course to adopt to follow the suggestion first made, viz., that the denomination might affiliate with our Council, and it was eventually resolved to encourage the local Fellowships to join with the local Adult School Union. This has been done satisfactorily in the case of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union, which has been strengthened very much numerically by the step, and it has also been of advantage to both sides to have this closer affiliation brought to pass. As a section of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union, the Fellowship will have its representation at the county meetings, and in that way

become eligible for membership in the National Council.

One of the most recent developments has been the establishment of Sunday evening Adult Schools, along the line of the morning school, but with certain new features. In the first place, both men and women are invited to these schools, and the service is made of a rather more free and attractive character than the average morning school supplies. The first experiment was made by Charles Pine, the enthusiastic President of the Westborough School, at Maidstone, and at this centre the hall is filled every Sunday evening. Carefully chosen and well-rendered music is an essential part of the programme, and the blackboard is used to illustrate the lesson. Hearty hymn singing is a feature of the meeting, and instead of a regular address, a kind of Socratic conversation takes place, the president seeking to draw from all present the essence and spirit of the particular lesson under consideration.

One who was present on an evening soon after the beginning of the experiment records his impression in the following words:—

“ It will stand out in memory, and remain as a religious service of purity and appealing simplicity; a foretaste of the fellowship of worship and service, and that loftier race which is even now emerging from the rack and ruin of the old and past order of things.”

. A similar school was started, and is being successfully conducted by Captain Wooller at Grimsby, and at other centres the experiment has been tried with much success.

The Grimsby School, at the close of its first year of existence, had a membership of 140. Great variety exists in the forms of service and, as many of the members attend the regular men's and women's schools, a new series of subjects has to be arranged for the evening school, and this is done at the choice of the members. The blackboard is always used. The whole membership constitutes the committee, and meets on a week-night to arrange lessons and do the necessary business. Each evening of the week, save Saturday, is occupied with some activity in connection with the school. Many discoveries have been made among the members of quite unexpected talents and gifts, and stories are told of effects upon individuals quite as striking as those which gave such an air of romance to the earlier schools at Birmingham. In one case a man came to the school who had not been to any place of worship since his marriage eighteen years before. On his return home he asked for a Bible, and when one was produced he and his wife and son went over the lesson again. In this home the lesson is regularly studied now every week, and the man's whole outlook upon life is entirely changed.

One other notable development at Grimsby may be mentioned. Working in conjunction with the "Suburban Lectures," the Adult Schools have since 1921 arranged winter courses of first-class lectures, with average audiences of 650-700 persons.

Early in 1922 the whole movement suffered a severe loss in the very sudden death of William Charles Braithwaite. Within a month of his death the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology had been conferred upon him by the University of Marburg, in recognition of the notable service he

had rendered to the causes of international friendship, history and education. The spring meeting of the National Council had a whole session devoted to a memorial service, when the leading address was delivered by Sir George Newman. He had so thrown himself into every activity of the movement that his loss was felt in all directions. One of those who paid tribute to him said that the greatest service Braithwaite had rendered the movement was to "keep its mind and heart fastened on essential things." Over and over again, in addresses delivered to the National Council and elsewhere, he had given, from various aspects, his conceptions of the central things in religion, and latterly the emphasis had been more and more upon the nature of God as revealed in the character of Jesus. Christianity, he said, was being shipwrecked to-day because of a low conception of God. It was noteworthy that the very last message he wrote for *One and All*, and which appeared in the February issue of that journal, 1922, dealt with the subject of education. He, in common with all the members of the Adult Schools, had been bitterly disappointed at the wreck of the Fisher Act by the false economy of the Geddes Committee, and the article consisted of an urgent recommendation that the schools should study the Government Committee's report on the *Teaching of English in England*. William Charles Braithwaite was never better nor more appreciated than in his own school, which met in a little transformed public-house called *The Windmill* at Banbury. One of the unique features of this school was a study circle in connection with it, to which the leader always gave of his best, and it is a fine tribute to his influence that this study

circle remains active and vigorous to-day. There is a story that on one occasion, during the war, only the school secretary turned up with Braithwaite at the study circle, but the two men went through the subject very carefully. The leader himself felt it quite worth while to spend those great talents, that so often shone in public, upon his fellow member.

Among the interesting experiments of recent years have been Demonstration Adult Schools given on many occasions and in different surroundings. Sometimes they have taken place in the open air at some seaside resort. On other occasions at Summer Schools, as for example at the great Welsh School of Social Service which meets annually at Llandrindod Wells, and on other occasions at the gathering of the Unitarian Sunday School Association. A prominent school of this kind was founded in Leeds by William Moffatt, and meets in the central Y.M.C.A. in that city. The average attendance is about forty. The school meets at three o'clock on Sunday afternoon, and after the regular lesson a lecture is always given, the lecturers being often the most prominent teachers in the city. At five o'clock all the members have tea together.

In October, 1922, George Cadbury passed away at the age of eighty-four, and though in quite recent years his active association with the Adult School had necessarily been lessened, his interest in it never slackened, and he was always ready to acknowledge the great debt of gratitude he owed to the movement. In a letter sent to his old class shortly before the end, he said :—" I believe that to this movement I am indebted for my happy old

age, as it has brought me into direct contact with the labouring poor and enabled me to understand the difficulties that surrounded them, and the privations that they had to endure, and although up till now fairly actively engaged in business, I have taken a profound interest in all progressive and ameliorative work."

Perhaps one of the most beautiful and touching tributes to George Cadbury's character was that of a little boy in Bournville who, on being told of his death, said, "Won't God be pleased when Mr. Cadbury walks in."

In April, 1923, by the generosity of Frederick Merttens, an addition was made to the monthly issue of *One and All*, dealing with international problems. This has proved a valuable and interesting feature of the magazine. It is important that first-hand information should be available on the many problems that arise through international relations, and that opportunity should be afforded for the expression of varied opinions on subjects of controversy.

A new opportunity for widening the interest of the general public in the Adult Schools was afforded by the creation of a class of personal members who, in virtue of an annual subscription to the National Union, were associated with the movement and also provided with the leading literature published from time to time. Leicestershire originated a method of increasing interest among the schools of that county by providing a series of groups, whereby schools in a certain district were encouraged to meet from time to time, say on a Sunday, and, by the increased numbers and fellowship this method afforded, bringing

encouragement, enthusiasm and assistance to local schools. Alf. Wykes, who originated the idea in 1923, carried it further and recommended to the Council the formation of County Groups. A conference of this sort was held at Birmingham in April, 1923, when delegates from Leicestershire, Northants, Nottingham, Hereford, Gloucester, Bristol and the Midland Union met at Moseley Road. The conference proved a great success, and brought much stimulus to those present and to the schools visited.

On the suggestion of F. J. Gillman in 1921, one Sunday was set aside in the year to be called "Adult School Sunday," for the purpose of reminding the members of the significance of the history of the movement, and to afford a special opportunity of consulting together as to the best method of advancing their work. This idea met with much favour, and in the following years developed in many directions, and now promises to be one of the most important activities of the Adult School year. Special provision is made for it in the Lesson Handbook, and increasingly schools are endeavouring, throughout the country, to render this Sunday of direct and constructive help to the movement.

In recent years, as has been noted, more than once the movement has been endeavouring to give more opportunity to the younger members of the schools to take part in both local and national activities, and many efforts have been made to arrive at the best way of attaining this object. In 1922 the editor of *One and All* requested all members between the ages of seventeen and twenty-seven to send letters expressing their judgment as to what Adult Schools could do for them, and

what, in their judgment, Adult Schools ought to be. Very interesting replies were received, from which it was obvious that the younger men and women were eager to do all they could to help the schools, but demanded from them the frankest and most full discussion of their own particular problems and also the desire to find their own place unhampered in the school fellowship. They did not show any desire to throw overboard the help of their seniors, but did desire further opportunities of meeting together as young people, and finding their own opportunities for development along their own lines. As a result, young people's schools have been opened at many centres, and also Summer Schools and conferences arranged for their benefit. At the autumn meeting of the National Council in 1923, a special committee of young people was formed, and doubtless new developments may be expected as a result.

The most recent development in Adult School activities is the formation of a new committee in the city of Bristol entitled *The Service to the Movement Committee*. Its purpose, as stated by its originator, Harry Cryer, is as follows:—

Aim. In the Spirit and Mind of service to work for the Movement.

Means. By inspiring and fostering between Adult Schools the wider fellowship of the Movement.

By developing in Adult Schools a deeper knowledge of the Movement.

By stimulating in Adult Schools the fullest use of all the facilities provided or suggested by the Movement.

Ends. To create a Movement: strong and effective in striving to realise, in life, its aims.

The committee realises that much of the present weakness of Adult Schools arises from their frequent isolation and from their lack of knowledge of the wider life of the movement. The undoubted sense of fellowship found within most schools must be so fostered as to extend to an inter-school fellowship. To this end, groups of Adult School men and women, filled with this spirit, are to be encouraged to undertake inter-school visitations as their special business. It is hoped that the effect of this will be to develop a new desire for communal activity and a new realisation of responsibility toward the movement. In definite ways the committee look to forming plans for training leaders for the lessons, to encourage schools to make experiments, and to develop a fuller knowledge of the history, significance and possibilities of the movement. A meeting to listen to an exposition of these ideas, and to express sympathy with them, was held in the Midland Union in January, 1924, and at the March meeting of the National Council the report of the committee's work was received with interest and enthusiasm.

The great Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship (familiarily known as C.O.P.E.C.) held in Birmingham in April, 1924, had many Adult School men and women among its delegates. Some of them had seats on the Commissions that prepared the reports then discussed, and of the Continuation Committee appointed to carry on the work George Peverett is a member. The attitude and method of the conference was distinctly on Adult School

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lines, and the report on education gave considerable place to Adult School ideals, and recognised the national importance of their work. All the resolutions passed would commend themselves to those trained in the schools, and many of the lines of action suggested were in agreement with the practical expression of Christianity that had been enforced time and again in Adult School publications and practice. No class of the community will rejoice more than Adult School members if the Christian public of this country are prepared to accept and carry out the suggestions made by the conference. It is certain that the schools will be in the forefront of the effort to make actual these "dreams of good."

An interesting and important step was taken at the Friends' Yearly Meeting, held at Llandrindod Wells in May, 1924, when, in response to a request from F. J. Gillman and others, a full session was devoted to the discussion of the present relation of the Society of Friends to the Adult School Movement. After an able and persuasive statement of the case, showing the advantages to both sides from closer co-operation, made by F. J. Gillman and others, supported by W. Arnold Viccars, who as a non-Friend, presented the plan from the purely Adult School side. The following minute was adopted :—

"The subject of 'Friends and the Adult School Movement' has been brought before us by a Minute of the Central Education Committee and by Minutes from Yorkshire and Bedfordshire Quarterly Meetings.

"Frederick J. Gillman has summarised for us some of the results that have ensued to the Society of Friends and to the Adult School Movement from the loosening of the official tie in 1899.

“ The Society has to some extent lost what was a natural source of new life, it has lost an effective training ground for service for its members, it has lost an opportunity for sharing in a natural way in a great variety of human experience. On the other hand the Adult School Movement feels a certain loss of a guiding and steadying influence, a loss of Biblical scholarship amongst its leaders, a weakening of the devotional spirit, and a greater difficulty in securing local leaders.

“ We have been reminded that both bodies are committed to the principle and practice of lay Christianity, to the democratic opportunity for all their members, men and women, to search for truth and to the principle of a creedless fellowship.

“ Arnold Viccars, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Adult Schools, who is with us to-day, has spoken to us of the value of the contribution made by Friends to the movement in years gone by, and has urged that they should return to a closer co-operation and fellowship in service.

“ We are impressed by the case that has been put before us, and we desire that our Particular Meetings will consider carefully in what ways such increased co-operation of Friends with the Adult School Movement can be fostered.

“ We commend the study of the suggestions in the Minute from the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting as being useful to this end.

“ The Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting suggestions referred to in the Yearly Meeting Minute :—

“ Among other ways in which Friends may help the Movement are :—

1. By the appointment of representatives of the Society on the Adult School Federations.

2. By Preparative Meetings undertaking the starting or assistance of Adult Schools.

3. By placing the needs of the Adult School before Preparative Meetings.
4. By encouraging isolated Friends to start and assist in Adult Schools.
5. By offering Meeting Houses for the use of Adult Schools.
6. By co-operation in Study Circles, Settlements and other work of an educational character.
7. By arranging for Sunday Evening Meetings to be organised on Adult School lines.
8. The older boys and girls in our Boarding Schools should have the aims of the Movement explained to them."

. On the Sunday morning an Adult School was held in connection with Yearly Meeting, at which about 250 were present, and hopes were expressed that this might become an annual feature in the Yearly Meeting programme.

So our story of over one hundred years draws to a close. We have seen a gradual development of the idea of Adult Schools as those who were interested in their leadership gained a clearer vision of their possibilities. Wherever the vision of purpose and possibility has been clear and definite, there progress has been inevitable, and it has only been the lack of these things that has led at times to degeneration and decrepitude. As we review the whole story, its most disquieting feature is that of fluctuation. The early schools had lost much of their energy and enthusiasm before 1845, when they were renewed by the fresh vision of Joseph Sturge. Toward the end of the nineteenth century we have noted increasing reference to decrease of membership and lack of enthusiasm, until a new

inspiration reached the schools from such work as that of the Leicestershire Union under Edwin Gilbert, when they received a fresh conception of their missionary possibilities. A more modern danger has been that of easy self-satisfaction within a small group. Men or women have been satisfied that a number of friends should meet together week by week and discuss problems that interested them without looking further afield all the time toward their neighbours beyond the circle of the school, and this has frequently led to inefficiency and loss. It seems true that the theory and practice of the Society of Friends, admirable in itself, but dangerous when carried too far, viz., the tendency toward quietude and lack of advertisement—has acted detrimentally upon the schools. In many places they have been regarded as an internal activity of the Society of Friends, and outsiders have not considered the movement as one that affected the general community, nor have the leaders of the schools themselves made much effort in the direction of interesting outsiders in their work. A tradition of philanthropic effort, which largely affected the schools in the middle of the nineteenth century and later, while good so far as it went, at that period lost more and more of its effectiveness as the democracy grew in self-respect and independence. Many schools suffered through maintaining that attitude of philanthropic benevolence toward their members, and the leaders did not awaken quickly enough to alter the conditions, though it is interesting to notice that George Cadbury clearly saw the danger and said, "An Adult School should be a manufactory of workers, not a union for paupers."

Again, there has been a misunderstanding and false emphasis upon the difference between evangelism and education, and the modern movement has suffered considerably in consequence. It is only in quite recent times that the rank and file of the movement has come to understand that the peculiar genius of the schools is to win men and women to a new life along the lines of the fullest interpretation and application of what is included in education. Lack of organisation and efficiency within many schools has also tended to deterioration. Slackness is a serious fault in any organisation, and peculiarly serious in one which depends, as the Adult School Movement must do, so largely upon voluntary service. There is often a lack of definiteness about school arrangements, and the easiest line has been too frequently followed. Mr. Peers was quite right in a recent criticism, when he said: "The Adult School Movement, by its very name, professes to be an educational movement, and it will find its true purpose when it becomes so in effect. Miscellaneous lectures should be kept for special occasions, and their place taken by regular class-work on Sunday mornings." Enthusiasm, as he also pointed out, is frequently not focussed, and this kind of diffused enthusiasm exhausts itself in reaction. It is directed by no steady purpose, and, therefore, reaches no certain goal. On the other hand, the Adult Schools are doing splendid service in relating all kinds of subjects to one another, and infusing them all with a religious inspiration. As F. J. Gillman says, "Life is one web. You cannot disentangle the skein without breaking it In diverse ways we are helping to stem the ravages of ignorance and increase

opportunities for fellowship, to guide men and women to a rational enjoyment of the leisure hour, to develop latent capacity, and generally to widen the frontiers of human happiness."

It has been increasingly felt that a great service is rendered by helping men and women to understand the value and significance of extending leisure, and to teach them how that leisure may be best employed. The Prince of Wales, speaking recently at one of the public schools, said very truly that the "proper and profitable use of spare time is a big part of education. To do things worth doing by ourselves for ourselves, and because we want to do them, that is the right way to use one's leisure."

The main purpose of the movement has never varied from its start. *Its purpose has been to aid men and women to gain a spiritual outlook upon life*; and, though the methods have necessarily varied, and will vary more and more as years go on, so long as the supreme purpose is kept in view the movement must increase in life and power, and spread its message over wider and wider areas. Its methods may change very much, and even, as some have suggested, its name may be altered, but under whatever title the movement is known, there will always remain a place in the life of the community for groups of men and women who are seeking to find for themselves the true meaning of life, and to blaze a trail for others amid the difficulties and dangers of life's conflicting elements.

CHAPTER IX

WOMEN'S WORK

"I want my daughters to have ears open to receive knowledge, so that, though they may have to live in the women's courts the wideness of the world may be within their minds."—Saying of a Chinese lady quoted in *Two Gentlemen of China*, by LADY HOSIE.

"Little harm

In Bible reading surely? I look forward
The whole week long to Sunday afternoons,
And mastering a chapter. Well worth while
Cracking those breakjaw names to get the kernel:
It always has a bite: and if you studied
The good book oftener you'd ken more of husbands—
A deal of human nature in the Bible."

W. W. GIBSON, in *Lovers' Leap*.

It will be remembered that the first school established at Nottingham, in 1798, was formed for young women, so that it is true to say that women had the honour of being the first members of Adult Schools.

A curious picture is given of a women's Adult School at Ipswich about this time, in which we are told members were not allowed to speak on any occasion, while the superintendent and teachers were only permitted to speak in a whisper. A contemporary report declares that everyone complied with the greatest cheerfulness!

This reminds one of an amusing story of a much later period. On one occasion John Stephenson Rowntree was taking the lesson in a Women's School in a town he was visiting. He found it very difficult to get any response to questions he put to the class, and finally asked the reason for the silence. "Well, sir, you see," came the explanation, "you do all the talking, and we do all the thinking!"

In the story of the early schools, more than one reference has been made to the part that women took in the earlier developments. In the early days at Bristol, Adult Schools were held in the School of Refuge, for the women inmates of that establishment, and we are told that about forty attended the class, where they were taught to read the Bible, to make list shoes, and were trained in needlework and household service.

Work was also undertaken in those days among gipsies, and many of the women belonging to these wandering people were influenced.

There is a brief but interesting glimpse of one of these women's schools given by Katherine Fry, in her memories of Earlham*, near Norfolk, in 1813. She says:—

"On Sundays we went to Norwich Meeting, and between the morning and evening meetings used to accompany our Aunt Priscilla to an Adult Sunday School she had established for the poor. We used to dine in the schoolroom before the scholars arrived, on the cold contents of a basket brought from Earlham in the morning."

* *The Gurneys of Earlham*. Vol. I, page 250.

The practice here referred to survived to quite recent times in certain Friends' schools, and shows the devotion of the teachers to their work.

In *Winks' History*, many references are made to the old women who were taught reading and writing; for example, in the workhouse at Ipswich, an old woman of ninety-four who read without spectacles was said to have made better progress than the juniors, one of whom she undertook to instruct.

Dr. Pole tells of an old woman of eighty-five with but one eye, and that very dim, who read in the hearing of thirty visitors a chapter of the Bible, which she "opened upon accidentally." She read twice before the public congregation, and observed "that she would not part with the little learning she had obtained for as many guineas as there were leaves in the Bible," although she was the poorest of the poor.

At Liverpool, ladies conducted a female school at the Circus, and visited three to four hundred cellars of the poor, and, after much persevering exertion, 230 pupils were admitted; and in one school a young woman, her mother, and grandmother were scholars at the same time.

Some of the women influenced in these early schools seem to have been the best advocates of the movement, and to have been heroic missionary workers. There is a story told in the records of the Gainsborough School, about 1820, of a woman who attended the school, but was much persecuted by her husband for so doing. He threatened to break her neck if she ever went back to it. This did not, however, daunt her, and the record says

that at the period it was written she was still hoping to convert him.

As the Gainsborough School proceeded, the young women were removed to a separate building, a method which is strongly commended by the narrator to other schools. Week-evening sewing classes were opened, and one woman related that her daughter, who had left home and settled in Scotland, had written her a letter describing, in a most interesting way, her experiences on the journey. The woman added "she was taught at no school but yours, and what a blessed institution it is for poor girls whose parents cannot afford to pay."

In the records of a school opened in 1820, near Gainsborough, we have the following account:—

"Yesterday I had my two old scholars, one woman aged sixty-five, the other seventy-seven. I went and fetched another, who is in her eighty-fourth year. I wish you had been here to have seen what followed. It would have moved a heart of stone. Mrs. J—— came in with her little girl, who went and sat upon the old woman's knee, and began to teach her. To see a child, under six years of age, teaching an old woman of eighty-four, was a moving sight indeed. The poor old creature is quite a miracle. She made wonderful progress. She knew a few letters before she left. There were but six words on the card you sent me which she could not read. She is very anxious to learn, but says she has no one to teach her. She lives at the back of my house, so I have told her to come in

whenever she sees me at liberty, and I will teach her."*

Another of the women in the neighbouring village of Clayworth, who was upwards of seventy years of age, often rose as early as five o'clock in the morning, and sat at her window trying to make out letters in her Bible.

In the same records we find an interesting story of a woman who had had lent to her a book which made a great impression upon her mind. One passage of the book, in particular, she desired to remember, and in order to accomplish her purpose, though ignorant of writing, she made an ingenious attempt to chalk on a board the first letter of each word. These rude characters enabled her to recall the passage correctly. Soon afterwards she was induced to attend an Adult School, where she was taught to write fairly well, and filled with joy at the prospect of being able to correspond with her brother and other friends.

It appears that in Birmingham the first modern women's school was established in the year 1847, in connection with the Unitarian Church of the Saviour, whose pastor at the time was the famous George Dawson. His wife took a great interest in the formation of the school, and it attracted

* Cf. *The Devout Lady*, by Mary J. H. Skrine, p. 136. "Could he read? Dear, no! 'Twere a bad loss to Father that were, But Mother, she took a lot o' pains wi'n. Not as she could read herself more'n a little, 'cause there wasn' the advantages them days. But when we was come up to go to school, she did use to have up the oldest of us children as could read pretty well of a evenin' and Sundays particular, and Father sitting by. we had to read out a chapter, and when 'twas done, Mother she'd read it and we had to tell her the long words. And then, when we was finished, Mother'd instruct Father."

the attention of Miss Harriet Martineau, who wrote an article upon it in *Household Words* for 1852, from which a passage may be quoted:—

“Almost without means they began, one evening in September, 1847. A room was kindly lent them by a woman. A counter was their table, and for seats they had packing-cases covered with meal sacks. Thirty-six women appeared on the first night, all unused to be taught, and the teachers were no more familiar with the sort of teaching they had undertaken to give. One young woman undertook to give reasons for another’s wish to learn:— ‘Her wants to write to her chap.’ There was plenty of reason for others having the same wish, and the patience with which these women sat at their pot-hooks, makes us marvel. One woman made ‘o’s’ in her copy-book for weeks, and the delight of being able to add a stroke to this so that she could form ‘d’ and write the first letter of her name, was extreme. One woman complained that she was treated like a child in having to learn ‘o-x—ox,’ and on being asked what it meant, she said:— ‘As if everybody did not know that a’ ox is a cow.’

“Owing to a curious local circumstance writing is remarkably difficult to one class of scholars, those who polish papier mâché articles by hand. The palm must be kept perfectly smooth, and in the act of constantly preserving it from contact with what would roughen it, the fingers become stiff, and of an unusual formation, which, though favourable to the use of a needle, is much otherwise to that of the pen. Yet

the learners stick to their writing, as if nothing could discourage them."

The school above described got into very comfortable quarters half a year later by kindness of the Messrs. Osler, who lent a room provided with benches and desks. At a later time, the school removed to a building connected with the neighbouring chapel, and a paid leader was provided.

One of the practical features of the teaching seems to have been for the teacher to set an example in order to banish a harmful fashion. Miss Martineau, in her account, says :—

"As to the matter of dress, there can be nothing but good in telling the plain fact that the most earnest and devoted of the ladies have found it their duty to wear no stays, in order to add the force of example in their efforts to save the young women, who are killing themselves with tight-lacing. One poor scholar died almost instantly from tight-lacing alone. Another was presently so ill from the same abuse that she could do nothing, and a third could not stoop to her desk, and had to sit at a higher one, and many suffered from shortness of breath as a consequence of their folly."

The number on the books of this school was about one hundred, and the eagerness of the scholars was much commented upon.

Readers of Dickens will remember the account in *The Old Curiosity Shop* (written in 1840) of the writing lesson given by little Nell to Kit, who had a couple every week "to the great mirth and enjoyment both of himself and his instructress"

Though it has the marks of the author's usual exaggeration, we can see that he has some real experience in his mind as he writes, and we can well imagine his sympathy for such work as the early Adult Schools were undertaking. The scene proceeds as follows:—

“ To relate how, when he did sit down, he tucked up his sleeves and squared his elbows and put his face close to his copy-book and squinted horribly at the lines—how, from the very first moment of having the pen in his hand, he began to wallow in blots, and to daub himself with ink up to the very roots of his hair—how, if he did by accident form a letter properly, he immediately smeared it out again with his arm in his preparations to make another. How, at every fresh mistake, there was a fresh burst of merriment from the child and a louder and not less hearty laugh from poor Kit himself—and how there was, all the way through, notwithstanding a gentle wish on her part to teach, and an anxious desire on his part to learn—to relate all these particulars would no doubt occupy more space and time than they deserve.”

Kit's subsequent career is evidence that the early lessons were not wasted, and the loved memory of his little mistress was a guiding star through life, and he would tell his children how she had taught him what he was otherwise too poor to learn. The whole narrative has an Adult School flavour about its pages.*

* For a good modern illustration see *The Groombridge Diary*, p. 431, where the story is told of Miss Hale White teaching a young girl of 18, who was quite illiterate, but, in an incredibly short time learned to read and write well.

When the new movement started in Birmingham, in 1845, it was not very long before the women of the city felt the effect of the work. A meeting of women Friends was held in Edmund Sturge's house in 1847, where it was agreed that it was desirable to establish a First-Day School for women and girls, and that the class of scholar most important to invite were those not receiving instruction in other schools, and that those over twelve years of age should have a preference. Twenty-one teachers expressed their willingness to help, and Mary Ann King was appointed superintendent. The school was opened in January, 1848, when nineteen teachers and twenty scholars assembled. One of the teachers, giving reminiscences of those early days at a later time, says:—

“I can remember that the older members of my class lived at home under circumstances of extreme trial. Drinking fathers, faithless lovers, cruel masters, made up in their small horizon dominant humanity. The new age had not dawned that is doing so much for women.”

This might be true, but the humble effort in which these women were engaged was one of the first efforts towards the bringing in of that new age. Within a year the number of scholars had more than trebled, and a library and savings fund were soon added to the school's activities.

It is interesting to note that as early as 1853, arrangements were made for an annual visit to the Exhibition of Pictures given by the Birmingham Society of Artists, and by kindness of the artists

themselves this visit was always free of charge. It shows how clearly these pioneers recognised the necessity and value of widening the mental horizon of the women, and affording them some idea of the message of beauty.

In 1852, a week-night school was started, where lectures on simple science, domestic economy and other topics were given. These lessons were found to influence in a very marked degree the women who attended. A sewing-class was started in 1857 which soon had an attendance of over one hundred. The school moved to the spacious building in The Priory in 1861, and subsequently various branch schools were opened in other districts of Birmingham.

At a later period, popular lectures were arranged, and these had considerable educational value. A testimony of one of the early scholars may here be given as typical of the effect of the school upon its members. It refers to the period about 1850.

“ I was,” says the writer, “ a little Birmingham factory girl, very poor, very ignorant, and surrounded by few elevating influences. I often heard from the older girls how that ‘ real ladies ’ came to teach even girls like us, and not only to read and write, but also to understand how God’s large, loving heart was mindful of the least of us. And so it happened that, one Sunday morning, I presented myself in the school-room in Ann Street, and asked if I might be admitted. I cannot describe the gladness and brightness which the associations of this school brought to my otherwise monotonous life.”

It is impossible to trace in detail the development of the women's schools throughout the country. Suffice it to say that they spread very rapidly, and were, in the main, of the same class as that described in Birmingham:

We may note a rather special type of free Evening School for young women, begun at Nottingham in 1869, with sixty-two pupils, which within ten years had risen to over 200. Among the subjects taught were reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and drawing.*

It was not till 1895 that the first conference of women's Adult Schools was held in London, at 20, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury. William Charles Braithwaite spoke at that meeting, and laid stress on the great importance of the work. Delegates were appointed to visit schools where no women's section existed, and papers were read by Miss Crowley and Mrs. A. J. Crosfield on the nature of women's work. The latter pointed out how women's schools raised the self-respect of the members, and kindled a new sense of responsibility. It afforded splendid opportunity for women teachers giving themselves in the service.

At a later meeting, Miss Janet Moscrip continued the plea for the establishment of women's schools, and noted with satisfaction that men had ceased to patronise them, and to say amusing things

* Perhaps in some cases the reason for women not being taught to write may have been the same as that stated by George Macdonald's grandfather as his objection to his daughters being taught the art, "lest they should be writing to the lads." One of his daughters taught herself penmanship after she reached the age of sixty. See *George Macdonald and his wife*, by Greville Macdonald, p. 26. (cf. p. 232 above.)

about women's schools, having found in them the real completion of their own work.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there is frequent reference to a society for younger women, that existed in many schools. It was called *The Snowdrop Band*, and was founded in Sheffield by Mrs. Arnold Watson, about 1890. Girls were encouraged to study subjects of general interest to them, including questions of health, courtship, gossip, dress and books. The meetings were not confined to discussions on such subjects, but were brightened by recitations, music and other amusements. Each member made a definite promise "to discourage all wrong conversation, light and immodest talk, and the reading of foolish and bad books."

In 1900, an important paper was read by Mrs. Edward Brown, of Luton, on the importance of extending women's schools throughout the country. She noted that in the previous year the F.F.D.S.A. report chronicled 54 women's schools and 124 men's schools. She supported the method, already referred to, as most likely to be successful, viz., trying to found a women's school where there already existed a school for men; she noted some of the special difficulties, such as women being less likely to take part in the discussion than men, because they were more afraid of one another. Further, that they were often so tired, worried, and depressed that they wanted their thinking done for them. She felt that the brightening of women's lives, which the schools induced, might do much to save them from intemperance, and from other evils. Women, she had discovered, made splendid missionaries, for they were never satisfied until

they had brought their friends with them into the school. She then touched on the various activities that had been found useful in connection with the schools, and laid stress upon the importance of work among the younger women.

This may be said to have formed an epoch in the development of the women's work, and from that time onwards it has progressed with extraordinary rapidity and effectiveness.

It may be noted that the first women's school in Ireland was opened in 1902.

An interesting example of co-operation of the best sort between a men's school and one for women was shown at Leytonstone in 1903, when the men gave their time freely for the purpose of fitting up a women's school. A page for women's news was started in *One and All* under the directorship of Mabel Thompson, in 1904, and has more or less consistently been a feature of that magazine, under varied leadership, till the present time.

The F.F.D.S.A. report for 1906 notes an increase of membership in women's schools in connection with the Society of Friends, as over against a decrease in men's schools, and in the same report reference is made to the formation of women's committees in various County Unions in connection with the National Council.

In 1907 the Women's Committee of the National Council sent a letter to the secretaries of the County Unions, in which they urged the great opportunity of the work, the need of appointing keen delegates to the Central Committees, of choosing efficient secretaries, and of the regular attendance. Both the building up of existing schools and the increase of extension work were stressed. The importance

of making the Bible study fresh and interesting was insisted upon. The value of conferences was pointed out, and the local women's committees were urged to co-operate wherever possible in varied activities with the men's schools. The great good resulting from weekends at country cottages was shown, as well as the effort to provide schools of different types for different classes of people.

This document was another proof of the increased activity of the women's committees, and of the thought that had been devoted to their special work.

That some leaders among the men were as keen on the women's schools as the women themselves is indicated by a remark made by William Littleboy, when superintendent of Severn Street, that no man's school is complete without a woman's school.

With the appointment of Barbara McKenzie as secretary of the women's work, it was natural that great progress should be made. This was due, not only to one individual having time and opportunity to devote to the subject, but very specially to her wonderful personality. She had great gifts as a speaker and organiser, and even more important were her personal charm and enthusiasm. She was able to call out the best from all her fellow workers: The reports she wrote for *One and All* are full of that glow and warmth that proved irresistible in the schools. New literature was published for the women, and in the extension work this was found very useful. Barbara McKenzie had also the gift of discovering and making the best use of women workers in various parts of the country.

The National Conference, held at Croydon in 1908, marked a distinct advance in the history of the women's side of the movement. Many problems specially interesting to women were dealt with at that meeting, and stress was laid upon the great opportunities the women's schools possessed for helping in the study and solution of social problems.

In 1909, Barbara McKenzie took on, for a time, the editorship of *One and All*, and that naturally gave her opportunities for better advocacy of the women's work in its pages.

A Women's Conference, held in 1911, dealt mainly with the question of the younger women and girls, and valuable contributions were made by various speakers as to the best way of carrying on work among these classes. Handicrafts, dramatic classes, libraries, ambulance, folk songs, and Morris-dancing were all spoken of as valuable adjuncts, and much stress was laid upon the question of the moral education of girls. A resolution was passed urging the National Council to inaugurate a Junior Section.

In 1911 there was founded at the instance of the Hampstead Garden Suburb School an Adult School Rest Home for Women. A charming little cottage was acquired in the suburb, and a matron appointed in charge of it. This was designed mainly to afford a rest for a fortnight to working women with newly-born babies, and it has proved of immense value ever since its foundation. The London schools have shown great interest in its work, and have loyally supported it. Over five hundred mothers and babies have been its guests since it opened and the Mothers' Rest Home now carries on its work aided by substantial Government grants.

In the same year, Mrs. George Cadbury delivered a lecture in connection with the University at Birmingham, on the work of the movement,* which was published in a volume that dealt with the various social activities of the city.

Among Barbara McKenzie's most helpful colleagues was Ellen Mary Glaisyer, who was born at Huddersfield, and moved, after her father's death in 1896, first to Malton, and two years later, after her mother's death, to a home near Scarborough, where she threw herself very heartily into the service of the Adult School Guest House at Scalby. She was a very able teacher, and soon made her influence felt in the Adult Schools of Yorkshire, of which county she became hon. secretary for the women's work, and devoted much energy to the co-operative holidays. She then threw herself into the wider national movement, contributing largely to the programmes of summer schools, visiting Denmark, and everywhere she went shedding the radiance of a beautiful spirit. "She always seemed to me to personify the word gracious" was one tribute to her influence. Her work was especially important among younger women and girls.

When Barbara McKenzie felt compelled to resign her position, she was succeeded by Dorothy Braithwaite, who, as a young woman herself, naturally felt particular sympathy with the younger women's work, and threw herself into it with great enthusiasm. It was unfortunate that her time of office was short, but the Women's Committee were fortunate in finding one of its own members, Mrs. Parker, with long years of experience of Adult School work

* See *Adult Schools in Social Institutes of Birmingham* (1911).

behind her, and with much ready resource as a speaker, willing to take up the work.

In 1920, Gladys Harrison, B.A., was appointed as a full time secretary of the women's work. She had had much varied experience in similar service elsewhere, and the younger women's section of the work received her special attention. Unfortunately, her term of office was a very short one, but during it she made considerable impression upon the movement, and happily serves it still.

On her retirement, Mrs. Parker, with great generosity, took up the work again, and devoted as much of her time as she could spare in unstinted devotion to its interests.

As the years went on, new activities appeared in the women's sections, one of the most important among them being summer schools for women, which became more and more numerous. Also there was a large increase in schools for mothers, which were often ably assisted by the local Medical Officers of Health. An excellent pamphlet on "Citizenship" was published in 1914, and work among the younger women also received increasing attention. In the same year, Barbara McKenzie gave an address at the Yearly Meeting of Friends on "The Adult School Movement."

Fircroft College, Bournville, was thrown open for Summer Schools for women during July and August, 1914. Most of the students came for a month, and in addition to the lectures, individual coaching was given to the students. Two students attended from Denmark, one from Ireland, and one from Germany. This set a new model, which has been successfully repeated in succeeding years.

In 1916, Miss Effie Ryle, M.A., who had been lecturing in Bedford College, and had first come into contact with Adult Schools in Liverpool, was appointed a full time member of the staff. Her high educational qualifications, as well as her excellent gifts of exposition, and her ability to come into close, sympathetic contact with the women of the schools, made her a most valuable colleague. At first her work consisted mainly in courses of lectures, similar to those undertaken by the other lecturers, but naturally she devoted special time to the women's schools. During the war she spent some time with the W.A.A.C.s in France, and since 1919 has given six months of each year to a winter school for younger women. These have been held successively at Ford Cottage (York), Penscot and Scalby. The students numbered about twenty in each year, and on several occasions students from abroad were included. The work was of an intensive character, and covered such subjects as Bible Study, English Language and Literature, Economics, Industrial History, Handicrafts and Folk Dancing. The results have been extraordinarily valuable, and many of the students have proved of the greatest service in the Adult Schools in their districts on their return from these courses of study. In 1923, it was not found possible to obtain a sufficient number of students for a winter course, and Miss Ryle devoted herself to the recently formed settlement at Reading, and also gave three evenings in the week to training classes at different centres.

In a contribution to *One and All* in 1917, Effie Ryle expressed her ideals for the younger women in the following words :—

“ If we are going to meet the needs of the younger women of to-day, we must be ready for all sorts of new experiments. The place to which we invite them must be a human dwelling rather than a Hall or Institution—a room where pictures and flowers and beauty of form and colour can be found. There must be books that can be borrowed ; there must be an atmosphere of freedom and of sympathy, in which heresies and doubts can be expressed without fear of shocking the orthodox. There must be the companionship apart from which goodness remains barren. Somehow, and more than all, there must be a ministry which shows how these aims of the spirit—Beauty and Truth and Goodness—are realised as one in a God Who is revealed in the beauty of the universe, in the truth that science teaches us, and in the goodness of the highest Personality.

“ This is not going to be an easy task. We shall need to appeal to a wider circle than we have hitherto done, and to call upon those who have leisure, or education, or homes, to share them with us. In our towns we must create ‘ wayside inns ’ at which rest and refreshment can be found for body and for soul. In the country, we must have more hostels and guest houses, not necessarily large enough for a whole lecture school, but cottages, and little homes to which five or six young women could escape sometimes for a quiet week-end together.”

It was a distinct recognition on the part of the movement of the immense importance of the women's side of this work when Mrs. M. L. Whiting

was appointed president, and in her address in April, 1919, she dealt most appropriately with the spirit of community as her message to the movement. In the course of that address, she said :—

“ A vision presents itself of the Adult School highway. We see there a continuous and unbroken procession of men and women. Many of them stand out as leaders of men, others are in the humbler walks of life, poverty has been their companion, but they too have been the great-hearted, and have rendered royal service, in quiet ways but none the less effective. Sometimes the number has waned, sometimes swelled, but never has there been a break in that procession through the years it has moved forward.”

The second time a woman was chosen as president of the whole movement was in the person of Miss M. C. Albright, who for so many years had rendered varied service to the movement in connection with the Lesson Handbook and in many other capacities. She had often entertained committees at her home in Finstall, and had also made a bungalow, near by her house, a meeting place for women's gatherings. Her presidential address was devoted to the subject of Fellowship and Freedom, in which she found the two main demands and opportunities of the Adult School.

In connection with the reports issued by the Board of Education as the outcome of the work of the Adult Education Committee, the third report, dealing with the development of Adult Education for Women, is full of interest and significance for

the women's schools. The committee was well informed upon the various activities of Adult Schools for women, because Gladys Harrison was specially appointed to membership of the sub-committee that drew up the report, and she and Effie Ryle prepared a memorandum for the committee's information. The report itself forms an interesting and significant subject of study for the women's schools.

In 1920 an essay competition was announced for the best paper on the work and aims of the Adult School Movement, and the first prize was won by a woman member of the school at Blackburn, one of the most active and capable of the younger workers in Lancashire. A sentence or two may be quoted from it, as it shows the views of one of the most thoughtful of the younger people in the movement at the present day.

"We know," says the writer, "that Adult School methods are unequalled. Co-operation, self-determination and self-government, three vital principles of adult education, are in force in Adult Schools; whilst the open discussion, even of controversial subjects, in the spirit of fellowship and amongst a variety of people, is one of the main factors of Adult School education."

She lays stress on the importance of the central position of the Bible lesson, on the variety of Adult School activities, and rebuts the charge that the movement talks but does not work, by showing how its educated members affect the civic life of the community in which they live.

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Among the valuable workers on the women's side of the schools during the last few years has been Miss Chalmers, M.A., who was, for some time, on the staff of the central office, and had resigned owing to ill-health. During her period at headquarters, she proved herself to be very capable as a leader of young women's classes, and as a teacher of literature and kindred subjects. Since her recovery she had done very fine service in many parts of the country in stimulating and guiding young women's sections.

Mrs. E. J. Fullwood, who is so successful a leader in connection with the Balham Settlement, has also rendered great and important service to the whole movement as a frequent hon. warden of women's summer schools, and by her admirable pamphlets on the best methods for women to use the vote, and on the duties of school secretaries.

The Women's Committee have aided their influence and efficiency throughout the country by securing part-time service from one or two capable leaders who could give a share of their time to the work, and among those who have helped in this way, Mrs. Cowmeadow and Mrs. Staley may be specially mentioned.

CHAPTER X

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

"The hours of His 'visitation' and His 'return' are rare and solemn occasions, different essentially not only from the 'profane' life of every day, but also from the calm, confiding mood of the believer, whose trust is to live ever before the face of God. They are the topmost summits in the life of the Spirit. . . . Yet there must still be such times, for they show the bright vision and completion of our sonship, they are a bliss in themselves and potent for redemption."—RUDOLF OTTO.

"The National Council of Adult School Unions proves perennially fresh. A series of frank, big-hearted, tolerant discussions on great topics in such a *milieu* as Friedensthal cannot fail to be inspiring."

—WILLIAM CHARLES BRAITHWAITE, in 1907

IN an earlier chapter the steps that led up to the formation of the National Council have already been described. It was a somewhat bold experiment, but the twenty-five years of its existence have amply justified the venture. Its work has only been possible because of the magnificent spirit which has dominated its deliberations all the way through, a spirit which was the direct heritage of the F.F.D.S.A., and the other leaders of the movement who united with that body in the formation of the new Council.

The Council has been inspired from the first by personalities of men and women who have looked

with a single eye on the main purpose of the movement, and have set before all other considerations its true spiritual progress. That William White himself was the first chairman was a most fortunate circumstance, and though his period of holding that office was very short, it sufficed to link on the heroic past of the pioneers with the newer movement of consolidation and progress which had already begun. It is impossible for the historian to exaggerate the significance of this fact, because the more one records the story of the movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, the more one sees how serious might have been the result had the beloved personality of William White not bridged the stream of change.

The first meeting of the new Council, it will be remembered, was held at Leicester in 1899. A discussion took place on the constitution, during which it was decided that all existing Adult School Associations, and any similar associations which might thereafter be formed, should be entitled to affiliation; that each association should have the right to send one of its secretaries to the council as an *ex officio* member, in addition to its quota of delegates, that the Council should meet at least twice a year, and that the officers, including the treasurer, might be selected from outside the ranks of the appointed delegates. The Council then turned to the discussion of the provision of literature, and a sub-committee was appointed to deal with the matter.*

The first publication decided upon was a directory, previous issues of which had been undertaken by the then editor of *One and All*.

* See Appendix B., p. 409.



NATIONAL COUNCIL AT HOLIDAY FELLOWSHIP CENTRE, CONWAY.

In the matter of extension work it was agreed to seek opportunities for addressing Free Church Councils and other bodies, and a special committee was appointed to make arrangements.

In the discussion on finance, the decision was taken not to levy the affiliated unions, but to raise the necessary sum by voluntary subscription, and J. B. Braithwaite, Junr. was appointed treasurer.

In the discussion on *One and All*, the issue of local supplements similar to that already existing in Leicestershire was encouraged.

The second meeting of the Council was held in London, at Devonshire House, in March, 1900. At this meeting, the report recently issued by the minority of a Government Temperance Commission, under Lord Peel, was discussed, and the decision then come to is worthy of putting on record, as it has particularly governed the attitude of the Council on controversial questions since that time. A minute had been sent to the Council from the London Union, urging schools to hold meetings for the purpose of discussing the report, and of passing resolutions in its favour. The purport of the Council's minute was to encourage schools to undertake a careful consideration of the temperance question in light of the report, but the Council did not commit itself to details of the scheme. It expressed its desire that the schools should seek to exercise an educational influence on the subject upon all their members, and expressed its belief that much good might be done by means of conferences and meetings.

Very frequently, in subsequent years, strenuous efforts have been made to induce the Council to pass resolutions on various topics of public interest,

and sometimes feeling has run rather high on this policy, but consistently the Council has, up to the present, preserved the attitude then adopted, and on more than one occasion the feeling has been strongly expressed that more important results might be reached by a thoughtful discussion in the Council itself, and subsequent discussion in the schools, than by the members of the Council contenting themselves with passing resolutions to be forwarded to the Government or elsewhere.

At the same meeting, the Literature Committee recommended the issue of papers of a propagandist type, and also to offer a prize for an essay on the subject, "What is an Adult School?" Further discussion was devoted to extension work, and various plans proposed for the furtherance of this object.

From this year onwards, meetings of the Council appear to have been held regularly twice a year, in various parts of the country, and as was natural from the nature of the constitution, the number of delegates rapidly increased.

Among the early tasks undertaken was the drafting of the model Adult School constitution, a copy of which will be found in the appendix.*

On September 11th, 1900, William White died, and with his passing a great chapter in Adult School history was closed. During his life-time, 50,000 men and women had joined the Adult School Movement, and to them, as Frederic Taylor said in his address at the memorial service, William White's name was a household word.

"They recognised in him," he continued, "one of the fathers of the movement, and one

* See Appendix C., p 421

who had given of all that he had, in order that he might help his fellow-men, and of all ways of helping them none was more dear to the heart than the Adult School Movement."

In another tribute, by Walter Priestman, of Birmingham, it was said :—

"What the Adult School Movement owes to him it is impossible to say. The schools he helped to start, the thousands of miles he travelled, his consecration to its cause, his willing response to every call to serve it, his power to draw into this work so many young men whose natural timidity would have shrunk from teaching, but could not resist appeals to set a copy, work a savings bank, a sick society or library, and who, all unconsciously in so doing, found their spiritual life quickened, their sympathies with human need aroused, and thus prepared for those duties of citizenship which can nowhere be so well learnt as in the various activities and friendships begun in an Adult School."

As a result of William White's passing away, it was necessary to appoint a new chairman. This was done at the November meeting in the same year, and William Charles Braithwaite, M.A., LL.B., was chosen as his successor. For over twenty years he held this position, and the debt that the movement owes to him in this capacity can never be fully estimated. He was not only an extremely able chairman, but he devoted all his gifts of scholarship, religious insight, legal ability, and power as a speaker to its service. His readiness and humour

were invaluable gifts for the position, and all who were privileged to be intimately associated with him in his work well know with what wonderful skill he was able to produce, at the shortest notice, resolutions and statements that helped to solve difficulties, and to put a situation in the best form of words. His contributions in numerous addresses, full of insight and inspiration, also rendered the movement a service of incalculable value.

At this meeting it was reported that sixty-two essays had been received, and that the first prize had been awarded to George Peverett, a member of the Westminster School. The writer of this paper was destined to take his place, before long, as one of the leaders of the movement, and he happily continues in that capacity at the present time.

In January, 1901, the magazine *One and All* was adopted by the Council as its official organ, and a special committee appointed to supervise the conduct of the paper. In the same year the question was first raised of issuing a new Adult School Hymn-book, and the subject of extension work was also mooted.

In 1902, Edwin Gilbert, already so well known for his splendid service in Leicester, was invited to accept an appointment as a salaried secretary, while Dr. Newman continued to act as editor of *One and All* and hon. secretary of the Council.

Gilbert had himself been brought into the movement on the invitation of a humble old man—a member of Clarendon Park School, Leicester—in July, 1895. Subsequently he had been chosen honorary secretary of the Leicestershire Union, and had been the leading mover in its extension

work. He combined enthusiasm, a wonderful power of attracting men, and organising ability, so that he had ideal qualities for the position.

Edwin Gilbert was able to report that about fifty new schools had been opened during the year, and two new Unions formed, viz., Notts., and Tyne and Wear, and that a third was about to be formed at Northampton. The importance of social centres in connection with Adult Schools was emphasised at the same meeting, and a discussion on week-night social clubs initiated by E. J. Fullwood.

The suggestion for a new Adult School Hymn-book was not, at this time, proceeded with, as the well-known *Sacred Songs and Solos* was regarded as "so widely known and so much loved."

In the spring meeting of 1903, the formation of two new Unions was reported, viz., York and district, and Norwich, and at the same meeting Arnold Viccars moved that a committee be appointed to prepare a scheme of Adult School lessons to appear monthly, with notes, in *One and All*. This was the first step in the direction of the now well-known *Handbook*, and it is noteworthy that the proposition was made by the man who has, for so many years, acted as the able editor of that volume.

In 1903, the notice of the Council was called to the articles then appearing in *The Clarion* from the pen of Robert Blatchford, which severely criticised the doctrines of Christianity, and were creating considerable question in the minds of many. It was decided that the Council should issue a circular letter to each school president, to be read in the schools on New Year's Sunday, and to indicate in it a statement of the essential truths for which the Adult School Movement stood.

A Bible Lesson Sheet was this year first published under the auspices of the Council, and notes were written in *One and All* by W. C. Braithwaite, and in *The Friend* by William Littleboy.

During 1904, two new Unions were received, viz., Leeds and district, and Kent.

In May, 1904, when the Council met at Bristol, a discussion took place on the subject of "denominational" schools. The council was informed that a number of such schools were being opened, and the danger was felt that these might become sectarian and thus a source of difficulty to the movement. After-events have proved that this was not an unfounded fear, and in some centres the progress of the movement has been hindered by the community in which a denominational school has existed considering that the Adult School was only an adjunct of that particular denomination, and made no wider appeal. In other cases doctrinal difficulties have arisen, and the broad and catholic temper essential to the proper carrying on of Adult Schools has not been found possible, with the result that division has taken place, and a new school, not always under the happiest auspices, has in consequence been formed.

This point is here noted, because it is a proof how carefully the Council considered all possibilities of risk entering into the methods of propaganda.

In the October meeting of that year, John Wilhelm Rowntree read a paper on the importance of training and equipment of the Adult School teacher. In the course of this interesting address the author pointed out that, speaking generally, the Adult School was strong where the pulpits were weak and *vice versa*. Adult School weakness consisted mainly

in the realms of constructive problems of thought. In practical matters, on the other hand, the schools work well, but in creative religious and economical thought, in the writer's judgment, they worked badly. A warm heart was needed to win men into the fellowship of the schools, but a clear head was necessary in order to keep them there. He considered that a constructive period was close at hand, but more strenuous methods, more robust and virile teaching, were necessary if we were to play our part in that work. He conceived the duties of the National Council to be largely those of a central information bureau, which among other activities should endeavour to circulate books and provide handbooks on special topics. He would have liked to see each District Union send one student per year to Woodbrooke.

At the same meeting it was decided to issue a series of Daily Bible Readings. These have been continued ever since, and the Council and the whole of the movement is under a debt of extreme gratitude to Miss S. E. Rowntree, who has prepared these year after year, with admirable skill and patience.

The total number of schools is in that year reported as 900, with a membership of 76,000.

In January, 1905, in a meeting of the Council at London, Arnold S. Rowntree was elected as hon. secretary in succession to Dr. Newman. At the same meeting a Lesson Sheet Committee was appointed, and its duties were defined as being first to deal with the question of lesson notes, second to consider suggestions for aiding teachers through correspondence, articles in *One and All*, and other ways, and a hope was expressed that the newly-founded

training school at Woodbrooke might render assistance in this matter.

The important question of the relation of the Friends' schools to the wider movement was also under discussion in this year.

New Unions affiliated during this year were Devon, Cornwall and Huddersfield.

In the October meeting, held at Manchester, a special committee was appointed to consider the best means of giving additional help to women's schools, as these were growing rapidly, and their importance to the general movement was recognised. An interesting note of the same year is the report that the Y.M.C.A. secretaries, in their Annual Conference, had devoted two evenings to the discussion of Adult School work. This year foreshadowed the closer connection between the two movements that has already been noted as arising at a later period of the history.

As a result of the committee above referred to, it was decided, in 1906, that the women members of the Council should form themselves into a committee to deal with matters connected with women's schools.

Another sign of the increasing importance of the work is a decision arrived at by the council to arrange for the erection, in Bournville, of a house for Edwin Gilbert, with an office attached to it, in order that this might become the headquarters of the organisation.

The Manchester District Union was affiliated in this same year. An invitation was extended by the F.F.D.S.A., in the month of May, to representatives of the National Council to a round-table conference, at which suggestions were made for

the establishment of County Unions, wherever possible, into which the F.F.D.S.A. should be merged. It was supposed that it would take three to five years before these proposals could be carried out, but progress was made with such rapidity, and in such excellent feeling, that at the end of eight months there were only three districts in which the change had not been effected.

The meeting of the Council in June, 1906, was held at Scalby, the beautiful home built by the late J. Wilhelm Rowntree, and willingly thrown open by his widow for the Council meetings. This meeting extended for five days, and thus enabled many questions to be discussed in far fuller detail.

Scalby has become a kind of shrine of the Adult School Movement. Year after year meetings have been held there, and a spirit has been created in the beautiful Common Room, built close to Friedenthal, and dedicated to John Wilhelm Rowntree's memory, which it is impossible to produce at any other centre. No words can express the debt that the movement owes to Constance Rowntree's devotion to her husband's ideals, and the fact that, on the occasions on which the National Council has met there, her home has been thrown open, not only for common meals, but for the accommodation of many of the guests, displays the spirit of the movement in the most exquisite way. The common life, for the few days during which the Council meets, the intimate talks in the grounds and gardens of the house, and excursions to Scalby Nab and on the moors, as well as midnight talks in dormitories, and occasionally the wilder ebullition of spirits in the pavilion, all tend to link ties of spiritual fellowship, the effect of which, upon the whole

movement, is beyond calculation, but is of the most undeniable benefit.

At the conference of editors and secretaries held at Scalby in 1905, a song was produced and sung to the tune of "Coming through the Rye." It was a joint composition, and one or two verses, with the chorus, may be given here, not for their literary merit, but in order to give some impression of the atmosphere of happy freedom that prevailed.

" Braithwaite LL.B., the Chairman,
Loves a quiet smoke,
Leaves his dignity behind him,
Joins in every joke.

Hour by hour they sit in Conference,
Mighty matters loom ;
With a Sunday free and easy
In the Common Room.

Restless spirits in the bedrooms
Talking half the night,
Then join in the notes of corncrake
Till the day dawns bright.

Here's a health to all the circle,
Let the work go on !
Bonds of fellowship draw closer
Till our country's won.

Chorus.

Every Union's represented
On this holiday ;
North and South and Midland Counties
' One and All ' we say."

Later in the same year, also at Scalby, in much more serious vein, Braithwaite's hymn was written, published later in *Red Letter Days*.

"Look up, my heart, the morn is waking,
Hark, where God moveth on His way ;
Lo, on this hillside, He is making
His goodliest work, a perfect day.

Thy soul He fills : no less communing
With sister tree and brother sod :
He makes His perfect day, attuning
All to one family of God."

An atmosphere has also been produced at Scalby by the long series of Sunday evening meetings, held in the Common Room, where Adult School Fellowship has been displayed at its best, and where addresses by William Charles Braithwaite, George Newman, E. H. C. Wethered, and others have impressed the lessons of the Adult School message upon many hearts and minds.

During 1906, two important decisions were made; first a committee was appointed to prepare a collection of hymns for the use of schools, and David Boyd was appointed assistant secretary, with a definite commission to work in Yorkshire in the immediate future. At the same meeting, the secretary pleaded for the extension of educational classes, and it was decided to issue a list of topics suitable for First Half-Hour discussions, a feature that has been a permanent one in the Handbook.

During this year four new Unions were affiliated, Manchester; Yorkshire county; Berks and South Oxon.; Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

In 1907, Barrow Cadbury was appointed treasurer in succession to J. B. Braithwaite, Junr., who resigned the office. The latter had rendered splendid service to the Union in London for many years, and had been the founder of the school at Burnham, in Somerset, and continued his interest

and membership of the Council after his resignation of the treasurership.

Barrow Cadbury guided the finance of the Union during many difficult years, and his services were by no means confined to the work of his treasurership. He has been a most generous supporter of the movement's work, and his quiet, modest, self-sacrificing service has been a continual inspiration to all who have worked with him.

During this year the new Unions affiliated were Mersey Union; Bristol, Bath and Wilts. Union; and Beds., Bucks. and Herts. Union.

Special efforts were made during 1907 to extend week-end lecture schools, and E. J. Fullwood, so long an energetic worker in the Midland Union, was appointed an organising secretary, with special relation to the Midland Union at the beginning of his work.

In April of this year, a conference of Adult Schools was held in Bristol, with an attendance of over 500, and the effect upon the whole movement was felt to be highly advantageous.

In the year 1908, a strong recommendation was issued to the schools from the Council to use in their Bible lessons the Revised Version of the Bible. It had gradually been making its way in the schools, and in the lists of lectures and first half-hour discussions for many years the value of this version had appeared as a subject. In 1909, a special committee carefully reported on the subject, and on how to develop the educational work of the schools more thoroughly, and its report proves that the new problems that were arising in the minds of the members, particularly, perhaps, in the minds of the leaders, were receiving careful attention.

The first part of the report dealt with the methods of improvement in the Bible lesson, then the committee proceeded to the discussion of the best use of the first half-hour, and some attention was devoted to special subjects for women's schools. The matter of suitable grading had also interested the committee.

The next section of the report dealt with possible activities for week-night meetings ; these included University Extension lectures, W.E.A. classes, courses in connection with the Home Reading Union, handicraft and gardening. The correspondence study courses, which were taken in that year under the direction of Tom Bryan, were also strongly advocated in this report.

Further subjects dealt with were those of lecture schools, institutes, and the training of teachers.

In 1910, a carefully drawn up lesson-sheet was issued by the National Council, and the Norwich Union was admitted in the same year.

In the autumn of 1913, the first idea of preparing a history of the movement was broached on the Council, and the matter was left in the hands of the chairman. The question of lantern-lectures was discussed, and one was prepared with suitable slides which proved very useful in many parts of the country. At an earlier period of the movement there had been a lantern-lecture written and arranged by Frederic Taylor, which had served an excellent purpose, and the new proposition was designed to bring this up to date and include later activities.

In January, 1914, the name of the organisation was changed from the National Council of Adult School Unions to the National Adult School Union.

In 1912 the National Council had considered difficulties experienced by several Adult Schools in framing satisfactory trust deeds of property acquired for Adult School purposes, and had appointed a committee to consider and report. Ernest H. C. Wethered, M.A., of Bristol, generously gave legal advice and drafted a Model Deed and other necessary papers. The committee recommended that the Model Deed as prepared should be used in settling the property of the St. Anne's Park Adult School, at Bristol, and that this, with short forms of conveyance, should be issued for use by other schools wishing to settle property. The Model Deed, with other necessary papers and a memorandum on their use, was issued early in 1914. The Council stated that they were "*not desirous of stimulating the acquisition by schools of permanent premises.* They feel strongly that in many cases rented premises supply all that is necessary or desirable; but when the circumstances are such that the requirements of a school are not met in this way, and it becomes necessary to acquire property of their own, the need of a properly framed Deed of Trust arises."

It was further recorded that "where a Trust Deed is necessary, it is highly desirable that the trusts, while appropriating the property for uses in pursuit of the general aims of the Adult School Movement should permit the greatest possible latitude as to the means adopted in furtherance thereof. In particular, *anything in the nature of a doctrinal schedule, common in the Trust Deeds of most religious bodies, must be studiously avoided* as something quite foreign to the spirit of the movement. It has been thought best, therefore, to define an Adult School as '*a Society formed to further generally the advancement*

*of religion and the spread of education, and in particular the study of the Bible, and for purposes of social service,** federated to an Adult School Union, or otherwise regarded as an Adult School by the Council of the National Adult School Union or their successors.' " *The Model Deed for Adult Schools* has since been used in various centres, and copies (with other necessary papers) are obtainable from the office of the National Union.

The question of the Fisher Education Act occupied a considerable amount of time on the Council, both during the period of its preparation and after the Act was passed, and an admirable pamphlet on the subject was written by A. S. Rowntree. When in 1922 the economies introduced by the Geddes Committee postponed the Act, a strong resolution was sent to the Government from the Council, and extreme disappointment expressed at the results of the postponement.

In the same year the revision of the Constitution occupied much thought, and finally the existing form of the Constitution was agreed upon, and it was resolved that it should stand for four years, without further revision until the expiry of that period.†

The question of Adult School work in the villages had frequently been under the observation of the Council, and, in 1921, conferences on this subject were arranged, the first being held at Nottingham and the second at Croydon, and they were productive of many valuable suggestions and practical help.

While the women's committee had existed for several years, and had rendered splendid service,

* Italics ours.

† See Appendix B., p. 417.

it was not till 1919 that a proposal was made for a men's committee to consist of the male members of the Council. It held a meeting in that year, when the Council was advised to continue the experiment and to recommend the formation of men's committees in all the County Unions.

A new type of summer school was proposed and carried out for the first time in 1922 at Woodbrooke, and a second was held at Penscot in 1923. This was a joint school of Adult School members and Young Friends, with the special purpose of linking these two more closely together and enabling the younger members of the Society of Friends to realise the possibilities that lay before them in Adult School work, and to suggest to the Adult Schools themselves one direction in which they might look for assistance.

The Council, so far as a large part of its activities is concerned, works through its standing committees, of which there are now six, viz., the Lesson Handbook Committee, the Education and Social Service Committee, the Women's Committee, the International Work Committee, the Junior Work Committee, and the Executive and Finance Committee. Sub-committees are also appointed from time to time, as need arises, and there are certain activities which are undertaken by the Council as a whole. We shall give some account of the main work of these committees in their order.

The Lesson Handbook Committee. As we have seen, as early as 1903 a committee was appointed to prepare a scheme of lessons. In 1905 it undertook the publication of notes in *One and All*. In 1908 the committee considered the proposal of issuing a yearly book of studies, bearing on the



FIRCROFT COLLEGE, BOURNVILLE.

lessons, but the actual publication did not take place till 1911, when the first Lesson Handbook was produced, at the price of threepence, and consisting of ninety-six pages. The preface stated that the object of the handbook was not to create any uniformity of teaching or of method, but to offer help wherever help might be needed. Each school was advised to work out its own way of life, "accepting, amending, or rejecting suggestions as need demanded." The preface, therefore, not only recognised that the lesson sheets issued by the committee were very widely used (as a matter of fact, 80,000 copies had been circulated in the year 1908), but that the method of mutual, co-operative study was increasingly employed.

The handbook contained, in addition to the lesson notes, suggestive articles on the use of the black-board, what to do with the first half-hour, and how to treat social questions in the school. The handbook was a definite recognition, on the part of the Council, that the Bible lesson was to be regarded as the central activity of the schools' weekly meetings, and this policy has never been departed from. The handbooks have grown in size and efficiency and usefulness as the years have gone on, until, in the present year, 1924, the handbook consists of 244 pages, and costs, in its cheaper issue, one shilling and threepence.

The committee itself has been a wonderful training-ground for its members. Its personnel has constantly been renewed, and no-one has learned more from the handbook than the people who have prepared it. Some of them, in the course of the years, have become almost experts in Old and New Testament subjects, and have certainly

discovered wider and fuller interests in life and literature as the result of their work. The committee itself acts under the inspiration of the Adult School idea, and subjects are discussed with the utmost freedom, and every member has to prove his or her willingness to allow their most cherished ideas to be freely criticised by the rest, and often times their careful and elaborate work to be scrapped if the general good of the movement demands it.

The committee holds several meetings in the course of the year, and these usually extend over a week-end, so that the work is done in the spirit of fellowship and mutual discussion, the best possible preparation for lessons that have to be treated in a similar way in the schools of the country.

The annual circulation of the handbook has now reached 23,000, and it is used far more widely than in the Adult Schools themselves.

Not content with the production of the handbook, the committee has also issued, from time to time, volumes intended to be helps to specific courses of lessons. Among these have been *The Story of the Prophets of Israel* and *The Life and Ministry of Paul the Apostle*, by Eleanor D. Wood, M.A., studies in the Gospels, *Jesus Christ and the World's Religions*, by W. Paton, M.A., and helpful studies on Browning and Wordsworth, all with immediate reference to particular series of lessons, but with a wider and more permanent value. The character of three issues of *Daily Study Notes* on the Gospels of *Luke*, *Mark* and *John* may be inferred from the fact that they have been described as "A Bible for the 'bus." Quite recently the committee has also produced translations, in modern colloquia

English, of various books of the Old Testament, including Genesis, Jeremiah, Amos, Jonah and Ruth ; which are being produced not with the view of covering the whole Old Testament, but of providing such translations of the Prophets and some of the historical books as will appeal to the ordinary reader, and make the lessons of these old Hebrew writers more intelligible for present conditions.

The Education and Social Service Committee.

In the year 1907, O. S. Raistrick called the attention of the Council to the need for a committee dealing with the social side of the movement's work. His proposal was agreed to, and a committee appointed under his convenership. It undertook an examination of the existing work of a social type done in the schools, and made investigations as to the various forms of such service undertaken.

In 1910, an account was published by the committee, showing the types of work already being done, and the story proved most interesting. In 1911 the committee gave wide circulation to a memorandum, specially prepared by the secretary of the National Housing and Town Planning Council, on the powers and duties of local authorities under the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, and what district committees could do to ensure that the Act was made fully operative. This was followed by another memorandum dealing fully with the means by which organised study and service could be promoted by Adult Schools.

An enquiry in 1912 produced evidence of a great deal of work being done by Unions and schools in study classes, lecture-schools and conferences on social subjects, work for blind and crippled, police court, prison and after-care work, allotments and

small holdings associations, mothers' guilds and babies welcomes, ambulance and nursing classes, free holidays for children, handicraft classes and exhibitions, classes in conjunction with Local Education Authorities, boys' and girls' clubs, guilds of help and social service committees.

In the same year the committee, with the hearty approval of the National Council, issued to all schools a valuable memorandum on "the need for maintaining a higher standard of sexual morality throughout the country." This memorandum dealt with personal work, work in the locality and in local police courts, and desirable amendments of law, and gave information as to methods of study.

The keenness of Adult Schools and the organised work of this central social service committee were largely responsible for the issue of the valuable "Social Service Series" of books, under the general editorship of Percy Alden, M.A. Published by Headley Brothers, at 1s. and 1s. 6d., the volumes dealt with Housing, Child Life and Labour, Sweating, Land and the Landless, The Health of the State, Unemployment and Poverty.

In 1914 the committee produced a *Social Service Handbook*, which was largely a programme of the type of work that had been and might be undertaken by the schools, and advice as to how to proceed in the best way in inaugurating such work.

Unfortunately, the war breaking out almost immediately after the appearance of this book hindered its sale, and the alteration of conditions rendered much of it speedily out of date. On Mr. Raistrick's death, his place as convener was taken by John Barker, of Grimsby, a great enthusiast on the subject, and one well able to speak from

personal experience of social work in his own town. The close link between social service and education is an obvious one, and thus it came to pass that, in 1921, the Social Service Committee was re-organised, and given the double title of Education and Social Service, with the purpose of undertaking the wider range thus indicated.

One of the most active and energetic of the younger members of the Council, Frank W. Metcalfe, of Rugby, was appointed convener. One of the early actions of this committee was to send to all school secretaries a questionnaire, which was in itself an educative and challenging document, and the classified replies gave the committee a summary of the educational activities undertaken in the schools. The committee followed this up by the production of a statesmanlike and vigorous programme for consideration of the schools, and are now (1924) arranging special conferences to discuss this programme, and show how it can be made effective throughout the Adult School community.

The Women's Committee. It was not until 1906 that a committee was appointed to attend to the special interests of the women's schools, and this consisted, at first, of all the women members of the National Council, with Mrs. Barbara McKenzie as its convener. Efforts were speedily made to persuade County Unions to appoint their own women's committees. Seven districts at once responded, the remainder, with few exceptions, following in due course.

Barbara McKenzie was succeeded in 1911 by Miss Mary Glaisyer, who held the position till her death in 1913, when Barbara McKenzie resumed her office, this time with the standing of a member

of the staff. Much initiative work was undertaken by the committee, and admirably carried out.

On the resignation of Barbara McKenzie in 1915, the convenership was undertaken by Dorothy Braithwaite, the daughter of J. B. Braithwaite, who carried on the work with great vigour till her resignation in order to pursue special studies. She was succeeded by Mrs. Parker, who undertook the work in a voluntary capacity until the appointment of Miss Gladys Harrison, B.A., in 1920, who had had much experience with Girls' Clubs before and during the war years, and had rendered most valuable service to the Y.M.C.A.

On her resignation in 1922, Mrs. Parker again took up the office, which she holds at the present time.

Further reference to the work of the Women's Committee will be found in Chapter IX.

International Work Committee. In 1919, a provisional committee on international relations was set up, and in 1923 this became a standing committee of the Council. Frederick Merttens, who had for so many years done so much splendid service to the movement in emphasising the importance of international relations, and in organising several visits to Germany before and after the war, is convener of this committee. It undertakes much important work, not only arranging visits to various countries on the continent, but also directing the International Correspondence Bureau, and arranging special pages on international questions each month in *One and All*. Many more details of the work of this committee will be found in Chapter XIII.

The Junior Work Committee. In 1910, the Junior Work Committee was first set up by the Council, with

Arthur Wallis as its convener. Its work has always been rather difficult, because of the ambiguity of the term "junior." When the committee was founded there were about 200 junior sections, but as time went on it was increasingly felt that the young people from eighteen to twenty-five had also their special problems to be considered, and their case was frequently under discussion, and their interests particularly considered by the younger workers on the staff, such as Dorothy Braithwaite and Gladys Harrison, and in 1923 a special committee of these younger people was formed. The Junior Work Committee proper, devoted much of its time to the arranging of conferences, training classes, etc., and to the publication of several most admirable lesson handbooks. J. B. Braithwaite devoted himself specially to this work, and, along with Ethel Hutchinson, B.A., worked strenuously for its advancement.

In 1920, Arthur Osborne was added to the Council staff, and gave his whole time devotedly to the work for about three years.

The Young People's Committee, appointed in 1923, now undertakes the oversight of all this department for those between the ages of fourteen to thirty.

The Executive and Finance Committee. This important committee undertakes the general oversight of the many aspects of the work which are determined upon by the Council, and which are not dealt with by any of the other standing committees; and is particularly responsible for the finance and for staff and office arrangements. Finance is apt to become a very pressing problem with the growth of the Council's activities. The

more the Council endeavours to develop, the greater is the financial support required.

On the formation of the Council, and for a few years afterwards, it was thought best to rely entirely for support on private subscriptions, and not to appeal for help to the affiliated unions. As a more democratic temper began to be manifested in the Council, it was felt that it would be healthier for the movement to seek contributions from the affiliated unions, but it was not until 1920, with the prospect of a largely increased outlay, that an appeal was addressed to County Unions and schools to assist, as far as possible, in making the work more self-supporting. With this end in view, Edmund Jones was invited to join the staff as treasurer's assistant, and further reference to his work will be found in Chapter VIII.

It was felt by many to be a matter of legitimate pride that, in its life-struggles to obtain a firm foothold, and to 'extend its influence' throughout the length and breadth of the land, no appeal to the outside public was made, and it was only when Government recognition of the value of Adult School work was manifested, and to meet the requirements of an attempt greatly to widen its influence, that the Council felt compelled to seek for wider support.

The staff necessary for effectively organising the wider programme which has thus been outlined has always been too small for the volume of work which devolves upon its members.

The National Council offices were moved from a single room at Bournville to a suite of rooms in the Central Buildings at Westminster in 1912, and eventually, in 1920, a house was acquired

at 30, Bloomsbury Street, London, which provides admirable headquarters for the movement.

The main purpose of the Council, it is almost superfluous to say, is to provide a channel of mutual help between the schools and unions federated with it. It acts as a clearing-house, collecting and disseminating information that will guide and help Adult School workers, and it assists schools and unions to make the fullest contribution in their power to the social, educational and religious life of the community. It stimulates and directs new enterprises, and assists in the extension of the movement, both at home and abroad.

The fact that there is a national unit, able to speak for the movement as a whole, has undoubtedly lifted the schools out of the restrictions of mere parochialism or sectarianism. Schools and unions, brought into contact with the larger movement, have realised the benefits and the strength of such a bond. They knew themselves to be banded together in a great common enterprise, which meant something of true value, not merely to their town, but to the country at large; and in an atmosphere created by the clash of mind upon mind new ideas and larger purposes have sprung to life. "The wisdom of one has become the possession of many."

The constitution of the National Council is a simple one. It does not seek to impose—indeed it expressly prohibits itself from imposing—any control or authority over individual schools, excepting such as may be indirectly implied in a clause which attempts to define "the fundamental principles" of the movement—principles which are a spontaneous product of the past, embodying an unwritten understanding and tradition rather than a written law or creed.

This clause was not included in the earliest constitution of the Council, but was inserted in 1907, and has remained substantially unaltered to the present time. It declared that:

“ It is understood that Schools shall maintain our fundamental principles :

- (a) The reverent study of the Bible as the central feature ;
- (b) The School to be worked on democratic, unsectarian, and non-party lines.”

It is true that the aims of the movement have been defined in a series of propositions, well known in Adult School circles as the “ nine aims,” and that the purpose and bent of the movement have been widely advertised to the world through such a medium ; but the “ nine aims ” do not form a part of the constitution, nor are they an official production of the National Council. They are the utterance of one of its members ; but they have survived all other definitions of the purposes and ideals of the movement which they so faithfully summarised.*

* The nine aims are :

1. To make and develop men and women and to teach them the art of life.
2. To study the Bible frankly, freely, reverently, and without prejudice.
3. To establish an unsectarian basis for Christian effort and unity.
4. To bring together in helpful comradeship and active service the different classes of society.
5. To stimulate and educate public spirit and public morality.
6. To teach the responsibility of citizenship.
7. To encourage whatever makes for International Brotherhood.
8. To advance as far as may be the equality of opportunity.
9. In short, to help men and women to understand and to live the life of Jesus Christ, and to encourage them in their personal allegiance to Him.

In recent years it has been customary during meetings of the Council to include in the proceedings a public meeting at which well-known leaders of national thought have been invited to speak. These have included Lord Haldane, Viscount Astor, Professor Peers and Miss Margaret Bondfield. The general work of the Council has been extremely stimulative, and from its assemblies much valuable guidance and assistance have reached the schools, though it has frequently been difficult to enable the schools in certain districts to realise all that the National Council means to them and in turn how much they might mean to it. Much assistance has been given in this direction by the periodical holding of national or sectional conferences in different centres. Sometimes special conferences consisting of presidents, secretaries, treasurers, editors of supplements and so forth have proved of exceptional value. In 1912, a "Pilgrimage" was undertaken by members of the Council, and aroused great interest throughout the Adult School community, and was also fruitful in valuable suggestions to the localities visited. It is proposed to revive the pilgrimages which were necessarily stopped during the war period. Whenever possible, members of the staff visit various parts of the country, but the increase of work at the central office has not made this so possible as it used to be years ago, when such service formed a large part of the activities of Edwin Gilbert and David P. Boyd. Since the position of president of the Council has been created, it has become part of the president's duty to visit as large a number of schools during the year of office as it is found possible to accomplish.

Perhaps the Council has too often had before it the more unsatisfactory aspects of Adult School work. This is one natural result of the undue pressure upon the Council's time, owing to the necessarily short period of its meetings. One such aspect that recurs in the Council's record is the problem of declining membership. In the session 1911 this matter was acutely felt and it appeared especially in the men's schools, as if there was a general slackening of interest in many parts of the country. An endeavour was made to discover the causes of this, and in the report of the special committee of investigation presented to the Council these were arranged under two groups, one external and one internal. The former (external) were given as consisting mainly of the modern spirit of unrest—the decline in the outward expression of spiritual needs—the increasing demand for leisure—the industrial strain—the growth of the "Brotherhoods"—the extension of state welfare work. The latter (internal)—our failure to understand the genius of our movement—the absence of definiteness in our aim—our failure to make the Bible a living book—general slackening—our literature has been in advance of the average felt wants of our members—inadequate propaganda—the secretaries should be liberated from routine duties—a systematic effort should be made to find and train suitable leaders and workers.

Some of these reasons remain the same at the present time, but the war itself created new conditions, and in common with all sorts of religious work, the Adult Schools suffered from these effects. On the other hand there has been a steady increase and growth of schools since the war. The most

disquieting feature is that parallel with growth there is also decline ; for example, since the Armistice 250 new schools have been opened, but about 200 have been closed, giving in a period of about five years a net increase of only fifty. This is a problem that is acutely felt by the Council, and every effort is being made, not only to ascertain the causes, but to prevent the continuance of this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

In this account of the National Council it has been unavoidable that certain leading names have occurred over and over again, and that those of the great majority of the members have not even been mentioned. In a body democratically elected, and whose personnel inevitably changes from year to year, this must be the case ; but the reader must remember that each member counts not only as representative of his or her constituency, but each for himself and herself. The Council only reflects the genius of the movement. Adult Schools live and grow and exert their influence because they rest on the efforts and character of each individual member. This history would leave a false impression were that fact for one moment forgotten. The limitations of these pages can only give the true picture of the work by selection, but it is the selection of a group of friends and fellow-workers, not of certain individuals who control and guide a mass of followers. In no company known to us are the words of the poet more true than in Adult Schools :

“ The healing of the world
Is in its nameless saints. Each separate star
Seems nothing, but a myriad scattered stars
Break up the night and make it beautiful.”

It is the company of thousands of self-sacrificing loyal, patient, untiring men and women throughout the country that gives the movement its power. In a pamphlet, published over twenty years ago, this fact is clearly recognised in the case of the "canvassers" of a certain school—a body of men who did more to extend the movement than any other single body of workers that could be named. If the work is to extend in the future their work must be revived, imitated, and improved in our own day.

"In the early years of the history of the school," says the writer, "canvassing was, of course, undertaken. It was, however, spasmodic and intermittent, and the resultant success as shown by the figures was correspondingly small. In 1901 the work was entirely remodelled, a permanent Canvassing Committee, consisting of the most experienced officers and members of the school, was appointed, and, filled with enthusiasm for the work and fired with an ambition of the noblest character, these men devoted themselves heart and soul to the duties they had undertaken. The Canvassing Committee was fortunate in securing as its foremost leader a man specially endowed for the work. For, let me observe, canvassers, like poets, are born, not made. With a zeal that no rebuff could quench, a perseverance that no disappointment could daunt, this man has been instant in season and out of season, leading on his gallant band of canvassers from house to house, accepting no refusal, acknowledging no defeat, but persevering until success crowned the work. Wherever possible two canvassers are sent together, and after

working in one street for a time—say three to six months—a change is made. Their places are taken by other workers, and they are drafted into some other street or district. This course is adopted because it is frequently found that where one man has failed another may succeed.”*

It is characteristic that the pamphlet quoted was published anonymously. Its author, J. Lacon, was one of those of whom we have spoken, working energetically for years, without any desire for recognition, and faithfully serving his school, doing fine pioneer work in the creation of Ambulance Classes, and in the promotion of a Social Club. The National Council serves the movement best as the focus-point at which all such influences converge, and because it seeks to radiate out in turn the light and heat thus generated.

* *Canvassing and Visiting*. Birmingham, 1902.

CHAPTER XI

GUEST HOUSES, CO-OPERATIVE HOLIDAYS, AND SUMMER SCHOOLS

"If a 'tourist-ticket' is ever issued to a cantankerous man (of which I have serious doubts) he no sooner gets it into his waistcoat pocket than it acts like a charm. If we could only keep some of our acquaintances always on the top of a Highland coach, or crossing Swiss passes, or climbing Welsh hills, what a happy thing it would be for *them*—and for us!"—R. W. DALE.

"What a privilege it is to be human! How much that is wonderful leaps to the eye—how the presence of beauty causes the heart to throb with a voluptuous rapture that is almost pain! . . . No, it is not that good folk are lacking. It is that they need to be rounded off—better still, to be made anew."—MAXIM GORKI.

" 'Tis the open road for me,
Where I wander fancy-free,
Away to the purple hills
Or down to the dancing sea.

"Come along with me, I pray,
Come and banish care away,
For this is the open road,
And this God's new-made day."

WILLIAM C. BRAITHWAITE.

It has been truly said that in order to know a man thoroughly one must spend a holiday with him. This belief is deeply rooted in Adult School circles and it says a good deal for the effect the training



JOHN WILHELM ROWNTREE.

has upon average human nature that so many of the men and women who belong to them repeat so frequently the experience of holidays in each other's company.

William White was a great believer in the value of holidays. Within two years of the establishment of the school at Severn Street we read of a railway excursion taken by its members to Blackwell and Lickey, and other summer outings are noted in early reports to "Joseph Sturge's field." William White made many holiday journeys to the continent of Europe, and used to send long, descriptive letters to his class on these occasions. In 1896 he took six scholars of his class with him to Switzerland, and proved himself a splendid guide and helpful companion.

To Joshua Rowntree belongs the honour of first broaching the idea of an Adult School Co-operative Holiday. He proposed the idea at a meeting in Malton in October, 1896, and the following Whitsuntide the first experiment was made at Kirby Moorside, where nearly a hundred people shared in the delightful experience. By the next year the attendance was nearly 300, and these annual reunions are among the most valued institutions of Yorkshire Adult School life. Lodgings were found in the town for all the visitors, and this was sometimes not an easy task. On one occasion great reluctance was manifested to putting up any of the Adult School folk. When pressed for a reason, someone explained that the people were afraid of their valuables. Then it appeared that the good townswomen had been confusing an Adult School with a Reformatory or similar institution, and were apprehensive as to the fate of their

silver spoons! When things were cleared up no place could have been more hospitable than the town in which the visitors were at first suspect. Meals were prepared in some central hall, and the fellowship then and in the evening sing-songs was unrestrained and full of good humour. Lunch-packets (colloquially termed "nose-bags!") were provided for the outings, in the course of which splendid appetites were acquired for the evening meal! Talks on natural history, local antiquities and so forth brought an educational element into the excursions. The Adult School on Sunday was an important feature of these occasions, and the talks there had lasting effects upon many lives. Circumstances strengthened the impressions made, and the leisure gave opportunity for reflection. The loving fellowship of service was carried all through the days, and those who toiled hardest in order that their friends, with less frequent opportunities for rest, might reap the fullest reward from their holiday, often found themselves benefited in ways they would not have dreamed to be possible.

Leicestershire followed Yorkshire's lead in this matter, and held their first co-operative holiday at Hunstanton in 1906, and thereafter it became a regular feature in their annual programme, and the beneficial influence accrued. Similar work has since been done in other County Unions.

As a direct outcome of the Yorkshire co-operative holidays, the first Adult School Guest House was erected. The earliest attempt to start a Guest House seems to have been that in Yorkshire in 1903, when a prospectus was issued of one in Bridlington from Easter to September of that year, the secretary being J. H. Crosland. A matron was

appointed, and £100 from the reserve fund of the co-operative holiday income was voted for this purpose. The charge for men was to be a guinea per week, and for women one pound! Light refreshments were to be served each evening at nine o'clock, except on occasions when tea was very late! This praiseworthy effort did not prove a financial success, and was speedily abandoned. John Wilhelm Rowntree had built his house, Low Hall, at Scalby, near Scarborough, and, on the thirty acres that surrounded it, purposed trying various experiments of a social character. He knew the desire that was in Joshua Rowntree's mind for something more permanent than the Whitsuntide holidays could offer, and so offered the use of a commodious villa which he named Friedenthal (Vale of Peace). Its position is very beautiful, facing the moors in two or three directions, and with the sea within two miles. There are good lawns for various sports attached to the house, and an ideal children's play-ground. The lovely grounds and gardens of Low Hall were open to visitors, and the arrangements of the house, under the capable management of a sympathetic warden, promised ideal conditions for the experiment. By the kindness of the owner, a lovely Common Room was built, close to the house, equipped with an admirable library. Within the year he himself had passed into the life beyond, but his presence blessed the place, and his widow and children threw themselves whole-heartedly into the enterprise. A little later a large pavilion was built at a short distance. This building has a hall capable of holding about two hundred people, and dormitories for twenty guests. J. W. Rowntree

had planned his own house so that its spacious hall could be used as a meeting-place, and its upper storey consisted of a series of cubicles, so that guests might be put up under his own roof. On the occasion of conferences, such as the meetings of the National Council of Adult School Unions, all this accommodation was fully used, and the purpose of the founder most perfectly realised. At the end of 1919, Friedensthal was closed as an Adult School Guest House, and in 1924 the property was sold. The influence, however, exerted by Friedensthal on the Adult School life of the country can hardly be exaggerated. It was the pioneer effort in this direction, and is thus of immense importance, but, in addition, it was so often the meeting-place of the National Council that its spirit and influence were carried all over the country, and stimulated the provision of similar Guest Houses in other centres.

The second Guest House was provided by the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Barrow Cadbury in 1907. This was the mansion of Uffculme, near Birmingham, with grounds extending to twenty-six acres. It had been the residence of Mr. Richard Cadbury, and the devoting of his home to this purpose was designed as a memorial of his service to the community. The splendid hall of the house, with its organ, made an ideal meeting-place for large gatherings, and the centre became speedily popular, especially in the Midlands, for week-end schools and similar functions. The lovely and extensive grounds were a very attractive feature. From thirty to forty resident visitors could be accommodated at one time. The grounds were frequently used in summer for outings of larger parties, and

over 200,000 people enjoyed its hospitality in this way.

On the outbreak of the war in 1914, the place was turned over to the use of boys and girls from the poorer districts of Birmingham, who were boarded, clothed and educated there for three months. Later it became a home for Belgian refugees, and when no longer required for the purpose was given to the City of Birmingham by its generous owners, so that the house and grounds are now a permanent possession of the citizens. By hundreds of Adult School men and women its memory is cherished as a place of physical and spiritual healing and uplift.

The next Guest House to be opened (in 1912) was of a very much simpler kind than either of those already described. It was designed primarily for the Lancashire Adult Schools by its owner, J. Percival Davies, of Darwen. He found a small farm—named Heys Farm—on the fells on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, about three miles from Clitheroe railway station. It is a charming old stone house, lying on the slope of the hillside, with a fine view of Pendle Hill. The large kitchen of the original house makes a simple dining-room, and the old "shippen" (cow-shed) has been transformed into a delightful common-room. Various additions have been made to the house, and comfortable dormitories and bathrooms now give accommodation for about thirty guests. The owner and his wife have built their home adjoining the Guest House, and their presence makes the place a real home in a sense that is peculiar to this centre. Its promoters regard it as a church without a creed, a home of deepening fellowship where men and

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women lose their sense of isolation, and a school for the study of all that makes life richer in the gifts of service. As in the case of the other Guest Houses, yet to be mentioned, Heys Farm has become a place of meeting for conferences and "retreats," not only for Adult School folk, but for members of various churches and other societies.

"O! Thou loved guest house, set on hillside fair,
Where moorland winds send down their freshening
strength,
Where bounteous Nature, helped by loving care
Of skilful man, hath brought forth here at length,
Beauty of flowers, of greensward and fair fruits;
Where noble hearts, by high ideals led,
Have made of this old farm a place where roots
Of high endeavour may be strengthened;
Where faith, and joy, and fellowship, combined
With Nature and with Art, achieve the goal—
To give to every guest new breadth of mind,
Abounding health, and high-inspired soul—
Though changes come, thine influence shall not die,
Till grave old Pendle prone as sea shall lie."

These lines, written on Heys Farm by an Adult School woman, are worth quoting as giving evidence of its influence on one life.

Another Guest House that was the gift of interested friends—the late Mr. and Mrs. Woolcot Thompson—is Penscot, in the village of Shipham, two miles from Winscombe railway station, in Somerset. The house stands back from the village green, snugly ensconced near the church. It was greatly enlarged in 1920 by the addition of a commodious dining-room, over which was built an additional set of bedrooms. Behind the house a large wooden hut makes an excellent dormitory, and now about forty people can be comfortably

housed. As at Friedensthal, the common-room is separate from the house, and its verandah commands one of the finest views in England, with the great sweep of the Mendips on the left and the gleaming waters of the Bristol Channel about ten miles away, while the Welsh hills stand out in the distance. The village has its memories of the educational pioneer work of Hannah More, and her efforts seem somehow prophetic of this later enterprise. Glorious walks in all directions, the natural wonders of Cheddar Gorge, and the historical memories of Glastonbury and Wells, are within easy reach.

The Guest House is administered by a Trust representative both of the Bristol Adult Schools and the city branch of the Workers' Educational Association. A great feature of this centre is the Easter school, arranged, and often largely conducted, by E. H. C. Wethered, of Bristol.

This Guest House, owing to its two-fold interest, has probably a larger variety of conferences than some of those already mentioned, and there is an immense amount of local patriotism concerning it. On one occasion, during a visit by the present writer, he found a Somerset man who was making his twenty-fifth visit to the house. This Guest House has to pay its own way, but is enabled to do so only because a good many generous subscriptions are given, and the capital cost of recent additions was met in the same way.

The same year, 1913, that saw the opening of Penscot witnessed the start of another Guest House in Kent, at the Old Hall, Barming, near Maidstone. The house is the remains of an old manor, and one part of it dates back about 500 years. There is

a charming and extensive garden, and the neighbourhood of the river, and such places as Tunbridge Wells within easy reach, make it a very popular holiday centre. It lacks the excellent common-room and dining-room advantages of other Guest Houses, but it is only a rented building, so that there is not the opportunity for doing as much in these directions as in the case of Guest Houses which belong to the movement. During part of the early war period this house was a welcome refuge for a party of Belgians. Kent Adult School Union, inspired by Charles Pine, inaugurated the scheme, and did all in its power to foster its growth and growing success. This is now (1924) closed.

A new step was taken in the history of Guest Houses when, in 1919, the London Union acquired The Old Rectory, Stoke, Guildford, in the very heart of the loveliest country in Surrey. The cost of the place, its furnishings, and all capital outlay, was met by issuing one pound shares. These have been splendidly taken up by members of the schools and other friends of the movement, and the success of the venture is well assured. The rooms are very spacious, and a splendid lecture hall within the house is a great advantage. The lovely garden, with its shady lawns, the fine tennis and croquet grounds, and the seclusion of the spot, render it most attractive. It is a capital centre for all sorts of excursions, and there is the river very near with boating facilities.

When it became known that Friedensthal could no longer be available as a Guest House, the Yorkshire Union sought after new quarters, and were fortunate in securing an ideal place, only three miles further north than Scalby. This was the

mansion of Cober Hill, formerly belonging to Lord Airedale, and originally built by Sir Frank Lockwood. The house is a very fine one, and large enough to accommodate about a hundred guests. Its position is ideal, with views of the sea and the moors, and in the midst of very picturesque and extensive garden. There are two smaller houses on the estate, and in one of them is an excellent library for the use of visitors. In addition to the numerous public rooms there is a large extent of conservatory adjoining the main house, which forms ideal protection in wet and cold weather. Lord Airedale left many lovely pictures on loan, and altogether the place reaches a level of comfort, extent and roominess far in advance of any of the other Guest Houses yet opened. Its advantages make it an ideal meeting-place for fairly large conferences, and it is intended to use it as much as possible for such purposes. The National Council met there in 1920. The Yorkshire Union followed London's example, and issued shares to raise the very large capital expenditure involved. This would never have been met, in the first instance, nor could the property have been acquired, had it not been for the generosity of keen friends of the movement in the county. A unique feature at Cober Hill is the erection of several bungalows on the estate, close to the sea, where families or groups of friends can live together very simply, but comfortably, doing their own household work. These proved a very great success during the first summer (1921) that they were ready for occupation, and point a new direction for such enterprise.

The latest addition to English Adult School Guest Houses is the lovely Manor House at Bewdley,

Worcestershire. This is the only case in which a Guest House is in the heart of a town, and actually on the street, without even a yard of garden intervening between the windows and the pavement! But the gorgeous terraced garden behind amply makes up for their loss. The house is a very interesting one, for in the seventeenth century it belonged to a branch of the famous Herbert family, of which, at an earlier period, the poet brother and the philosopher brother were shining lights. The house, on the system of share-ownership already explained, belongs to the Midland Adult School Union, and replaces their loss of Uffculme. Bewdley is on the verge of the lovely Wyre Forest; the Severn flows through the town, and visitors are within easy reach of many interesting and lovely places, while motor-buses bring them from Birmingham. The usefulness of this Guest House will be greatly enhanced when it has received the addition of a convenient and quiet common-room for lecture purposes—all that is requisite for the completion of its otherwise delightful accommodation.

The rapid increase of Guest Houses in recent years proves the value they have been to the movement. Men and women learn there the secret of the best use of leisure, and the method of making the most of a holiday. Those who have previously considered a noisy week at a popular seaside resort the only way of spending their annual holiday, and to whom the thought of lectures during such a period seemed madness, have been known to confess, after their first week at a Guest House Summer School, that it had been the happiest time in their lives. There, men and women learn many lessons that are new to them about the real

meaning of fellowship and its joys. Class distinctions are rapidly forgotten, and the University man, the dock labourer, the civil servant, the typist, and the worn and tired house-wife all find common interests and renew the springs of life at the same fountains of peace. The conversations by the way, the new insight into nature and its beauties, the historic sites, and the significance of splendid cathedrals dawn gradually on the souls of those to whom such experiences are new, as well as acquire new meanings to those who have been long familiar with them, because they are sharing their knowledge with those who are eager to receive it. Guest Houses are also splendid centres for propaganda work. Some who come as visitors are thus drawn under the spell of the Adult School spirit, and go out to find their place in the school of the place whence they come, or to start a fresh one on their own initiative.

Economy is another feature of Guest Houses. They provide the maximum of comfort at the minimum of cost. Adult School members, rightly enough, have favourable terms, but even to visitors the rates are not high. At the date of writing (1924), the scale of charges per week varies from £2 to £2 12s. 6d. for Adult School members, and from £2 5s. to £3 3s. for others. Often schools assist a representative member to spend a week at a Guest House for a summer school, and frequently in friendship some are given there a free holiday.

In addition to the regular Guest Houses already described, there are simpler and smaller places, generally without any resident warden, where companies of Adult School men and women, some of them at certain centres under canvas, may spend a week-end or a week together in conferences

lecture school, or holiday, and enjoy together at the least possible expense the sweets of rest, fellowship and freedom.

Such centres are provided at Airton, Yorkshire; Allendale, Northumberland; Barnard Castle, Durham; Finstall Bungalow, near Bromsgrove; Nelson Lancs.; Dronfield Woodhouse, Derbyshire; Low Top Farm, Cheshire; and St. Oswald's Camp, Rubery, Worcestershire. In certain other cases hostels, farms, or boarding-houses are taken for similar purposes. A very favourite place—especially before the establishment of the Guildford Guest House—with London Adult School folk was the lovely hostel belonging to the Society of Friends at Jordans, Buckinghamshire. The London Summer School movement began in a much more humble way at Lambourne End, in a small farm-house on the edge of Epping Forest.

Summer Schools were begun in connection with the University Extension courses at Oxford and Cambridge as long ago as 1868. They have proved increasingly valuable and popular as the years have gone on, but not the least part of their value has been the suggestion and stimulus to other societies to follow along similar lines. In 1897, the Society of Friends held its first Summer School at Scarborough, and there is no doubt that the experiment then proved so successful as to kindle in the hearts of many the desire to give a wider range to such possibilities. But it was not till 1910 that the first Adult School Summer School (and that for women only) was held at Fircroft. In the following year, one for men and women was held at the same place. In the eleven years that have passed since, even in spite of the war, Summer

Schools have grown in power and favour. The Guest Houses, as we have seen, are favourite places for such gatherings. On more than one occasion, Woodbrooke has been used for the purpose, and its fine premises and lovely grounds render it very popular. In 1920, a school was held at Ruskin College, Oxford. For about ten years a school has met each summer at Bournemouth, through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Hume, of Loughtonhurst, who have welcomed its members there and given them every facility in Freedom Hall for lectures and social engagements. A Women's Summer School meets regularly at Capel, in Surrey, where lectures are held in the Friends' Meeting House, and lodgings are found in the village. We thus see that there are very many methods of carrying out the idea. Young People's Summer Schools have also been organised, and family schools, at which one or two capable volunteers have devoted their time to the care of the little ones, so that weary mothers might have a little rest, and be able to attend lectures if they wished, without distraction. Attendance at lectures at a Summer School is, of course, not compulsory, but very few avoid them, and the majority are eager not to miss one.

Occasionally there is a tendency to overcrowd programmes, but experience soon shows what is best. Usually, at smaller schools, numbering from twenty to thirty, there will be one or two resident lecturers for the week. In larger schools, such as those at Woodbrooke, where about eighty are present, there may be more lecturers, and occasionally alternative courses. Generally one main subject runs through the morning lectures (held usually from nine to ten thirty), while single lectures of

a more popular character will occupy the evenings. Often members of the school are able to supply these, as many are competent students in economics, music, literature, or natural science. Concerts, fancy dress dances, dramatic readings or performances, vary the evening engagements. Walks, games, and excursions of various kinds fill up the days. Generally there is one day in the week on which a long excursion is taken, and some place of special interest visited. Informal talks are often given during excursions on some subject of scientific, artistic, or literary interest that can be illustrated by places visited or specimens collected. There is usually some form of morning or evening worship, and on Sunday an Adult School is generally held in the morning, and a devotional meeting in the evening. Many pages could be devoted to descriptions of schools and to their effects on individuals, but their main significance has been well summed up by F. J. Gillman, when he says :—

“ The cumulative influence of the common life, with its open-hearted intercourse, its united study and prayer, its loyal comradeship, and its inheritance of thought and aspiration as the conversation turns to common avenues of service, is enriching and illuminating in a high degree. There is a saying of Novalis that religion is a social force and can hardly support itself without the mystical action of mind on mind. Many have found such support in rich measure through the medium of the Summer Schools.”

CHAPTER XII

ADULT SCHOOL LITERATURE

"A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

JOHN MILTON.

"Our Movement is big enough to have a literature of its own, and it is distinctive enough to demand it."

J. WILHELM ROWNTREE.

THE body of literature published by the National Council of the Adult School Movement is now considerable, and the story of its growth and development will form the subject of this chapter. Many of the early books are unfortunately out of print, and several of them very rare, so that some account of them should prove of interest and value to the readers of this volume.

The first publication of which we have any record was an address by Dr. Thomas Pole delivered on May 28th, 1813, to the Committee of the Adult School Society founded in 1812. This address was published by Charles William Dowall.

The first edition of Dr. Pole's book, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools* was published in 1814, and forms the chief source of the material contained in Chapter II of this present volume, supplemented by additional information given in the second edition, published in 1816.

Joseph Foulkes Winks, born at Gainsborough on December 12th, 1794, is the next on our list of historians. He was educated at the Grammar School of his native town, and later apprenticed to a draper at Retford. On his return to Gainsborough he became active in the Adult School there, of which he became one of the teachers, and also secretary. It is in this latter capacity that he becomes a historian. His pamphlet, of about ninety pages, is really a preliminary to his report of the work of the school at Gainsborough, given to the annual meeting in 1821. The information contained in the little book is largely drawn from Pole's earlier volume. Stories are told of the effect of the schools on the character and conduct of the members, as, for example, that of the master chimney-sweep at Sheffield, who had been a terror to his family and apprentices, but whom the Adult School had so changed for the better that his lads felt the effects and followed his example. They had learned "to sing hymns, and not obscene songs, when employed in their nocturnal avocations, and are so rejoiced at the change which has taken place in their circumstances, that, when they meet other climbing-boys, they say to them, 'You should get your masters persuaded to go to school and then you would be as happy as we are.'" A large section of the book deals with experiences in and around Gainsborough.

The only known copy of this history now exists in the Public Library at Leicester. Winks settled in that town eventually after having been a Baptist minister at Killingholme in Lincolnshire on the princely salary of £12 a year, and a school teacher, devoted himself to literary work, and was one of

A hymn.

We left our hearts in chorus
To God's great heart above:
His goodness goes before us,
Around us is His love:
He fixed the hills in splendour
And broadly-looked height;
And He, our sure Defender,
Shall gird us with His might.
His are the sparkling fountains,
The leather-covered hills,
The purple of the mountains,
The yellow daffodils:
Many song and life & story
To God their anthem give;
Earth's fulness is His glory
And in His light we live.

Capel Bang. Sunday 16. ix. 1906

the pioneers in the provision of magazines and other literature for children. He conceived the idea when living at Melbourne, Derbyshire, but his first publications were issued from Loughborough.

For nearly forty years Winks resided in Leicester, where he died in May, 1866. He identified himself with all movements for reform and social improvement of the people, and fought many hard battles in face of opposition and calumny. He was secretary of the Reform Society in the town, and was chosen a member of the Town Council. The newspaper report at the time of his death thus characterised him :

“ He was a man of sharpest contrasts. Of feeble frame, and yet of iron will ; living controversially, and yet fond of peace ; ever flaming out into indignant and eloquent protests against men, but always ready to spend a quiet hour in writing monosyllabic tales for children. . . . He was a Liberal in politics, but a Conservative in theology. . . . He could joke with the heartiest good humour, and show no trace of bitterness over ‘ shrewd brushes ’ he had in his younger days, and at the opprobrious nicknames invented by his antagonists.”*

A History of Adult Education was published by Dr. J. W. Hudson in 1851, and the first section of the book (pp. 1-25) deals mainly with Adult Schools, following in its outline Pole's sketch. Some facts, of a later date than Pole's time, recorded by Hudson have been given in an earlier chapter. An amusing story is given of one of the schools described :

* *Leicestershire Chronicle*, June 2nd, 1866.

“At the Rev. J. L. Poore’s Independent Chapel, Salford, there is a class of thirty young men learning to read. A remarkable feature in this class is the resolution they have passed not to get married until they can furnish a small house or suitable apartments with the necessary domestic requirements, including the wife. The pupils who carried off this prize during the last few years have been John Yates, Richard Collins, Joseph Grimshaw and Edward Newton.”

He tells of similar work on the continent of Europe. Twenty-six Adult Schools were formed in Paris in 1834, one women’s school in Brussels in 1855, while the better education in Denmark, Holland and Germany rendered them unnecessary in these countries. He concludes his brief sketch with the following paragraph :

“Notwithstanding the depressive influences which have occasioned the decline of Adult Schools, there is less reason for regret than would at first appear. A large proportion of these schools have ceased to exist not from failure, but from having, to a great extent, answered the object for which they were established. A rising generation has found an increased number of schools, with parents awakening to the importance of education : themselves rising in the scale of intelligence and desiring a wider circle of knowledge than merely reading one book, although that book is more precious than all the productions of man : and thus shall it continue during this world’s existence ; each generation rising in genius, and throwing out a

more extended circle on the wide ocean of un bodied mind."

Not till 1903 was any further history of the movement attempted. In that year a series of papers by J. Wilhelm Rowntree and H. Bryan Binns, that had appeared in *Present Day Papers* during 1902, reappeared with certain alterations in a small quarto volume of 88 pages, under the title *A History of the Adult School Movement*. The book was beautifully produced and contained portraits of Samuel Fox, Joseph Sturge and William White, two maps and two charts, and a very useful chronological record of the main features in Adult School History related to other outstanding events in the religious and philanthropic movement of the century. The early history, up to 1870, is dealt with very slightly, and much more space is devoted to the growth and development of the movement subsequent to that date. A chapter is devoted to the organisation of the class, and another to General Conclusions, so that the book is not only a history but a plea for the movement whose story it tells. The writers' belief is that the Adult Schools are capable of advancing the cause of Christian unity, and that if their ideal is faithfully realised they may do much in "healing the ailment of Society."

Short histories of individual schools and unions appeared from time to time, notable among them being *The Story of Severn Street and Priory First-Day Adult Schools* by William White; published in 1895; *The Story of the York Adult Schools*, by F. J. Gillman, 1907; *Fifty Years of Adult School Work in Leicestershire*, edited by A. F. Cholerton, published in 1910; and the *Jubilee Souvenir, Luton*

Adult School, published in 1912. Of these publications much use has been made in this volume.

Since Rowntree and Binns' History was published there has been no history of the movement attempted till the present volume, though several magazine and newspaper articles have appeared, notably one in the *London Home Monthly* for January, 1896, mainly dealing with London Schools; one in the *Quiver* (illustrated) by Edwin Gilbert in May, 1907; a series by the present writer, dealing with the early history of the movement, in *One and All* for 1918-19.

In the *Final Report* of the Adult Education Committee issued by the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919 is to be found a great deal of information about the origin and growth of the Movement, and its more recent activities.

We turn next to the story of Adult School Hymnology. In the first edition of Dr. Pole's *History* there is a hymn written specially for the schools by James Montgomery of Sheffield, and this is quoted on p. 51 of the present volume. Montgomery (1771-1854), the son of a Moravian minister, and for over thirty years editor of *The Sheffield Iris*, was one of the best-known hymn writers of his day. He was fully in sympathy with the desires for the emancipation of the people, and twice suffered imprisonment for the publication of his opinions. He wrote about 400 hymns, a fourth of which are still in congregational use. His hymn written for Dr. Pole, is not a good specimen of his art, but it is interesting to remember that our hymnology has so distinguished an origin. Later he wrote a hymn for the Gainsborough Adult School, sung at their annual meeting in 1820. This

school published *The Adult School Hymn Book* in 1822, and a reference to that volume will be found on p. 59 of this work. For the Friends' First-Day School at Preston a small selection of hymns was issued in 1838 entitled *A Collection of Hymns and Poetry, Original and Selected*. This appeared in a second edition in 1856.

Reference has already been made (p. 63) to the Hymn Book prepared by Thomas Cooper in 1842, and called *The Shakesperian Chartist Hymnal*, named after the room in which his school met. This collection was far ahead of its time in vigour and popular sympathy. In 1845 the teachers of the schools at Bristol issued a book in order to provide something more suitable for their purpose than the hymns of Dr. Watts. An attempt was made in 1848-9 by the F.F.D.S.A. to prepare a hymnal suitable for children's and Adult Sunday Schools, but the effort failed, as the opinion of the members of the Society was against anything of an official character being issued. In 1853 *Hymns and Verses for Adult Schools* were published by Messrs. White & Pike, at Birmingham, and this was probably the outcome of the abortive effort of the committee just referred to, as William White had been one of its members. A later selection, of which three later editions appeared, was issued in Birmingham in 1886, entitled *Hymns for Adult Schools and for Public Worship*.

Meanwhile in 1856 *A Selection of Hymns intended for the Use of Scholars of the Friends' First-Day Schools* was published in Manchester, and a section of General Hymns was obviously designed for adults.

In 1874 *The School and Mission Hymn Book*—compiled for the Bedford Institute, Spitalfields—

was adopted by the schools at Bristol, Bradford and Hitchin.

In 1887 a committee of the members of Ellen Street School, Birmingham, undertook the preparation of a hymn-book better suited for Adult School purposes than those then in existence. It was edited by Mr. J. Lacon, a leading member of the Midland Adult School Association. The hymn-book contained 144 hymns.

A great stage of progress was marked by the issue in 1893 of *A Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, by Joseph Storrs Fry, which F. J. Gillman characterises as "truly catholic and refined."

In the meantime *Sacred Songs and Solos* had become so generally used at all similar meetings that it was almost universal in Adult Schools. That selection corrupted musical taste for a generation or more, and early efforts to replace it by a more suitable and robust type of hymn were rendered difficult. In 1903, M. Catharine Albright, by her volume, *The Golden Hymn Book*, showed what could be done. The fact that the book had no musical edition hampered its usefulness. York Schools, stimulated by F. J. Gillman—whose services not only to our hymnology, but to the general standards of taste, and to the intelligent spread of the sense of the value and significance of hymns throughout the country cannot be too much emphasised—issued in 1905 a monthly hymn-sheet, with tunes. Later similar sheets were published monthly in *One and All*, the official organ of the movement. A committee was instructed to proceed with the preparation of a hymnal, and the task took three years to complete. The co-operation of the Brotherhood Movement was secured, as its promoters had also

been considering the production of a hymnal, and in 1907 *The Fellowship Hymn Book* was published. This book not only marked the highest reach to which Adult School hymnology had attained, but pointed the way for later hymn-books to follow. The fact that within five years half a million copies were sold is sufficient proof of its success.* One of the outstanding features of the book is its splendid selection of hymns—finer and more representative than in any other hymn-book—under the headings "National & Civic" and "Brotherhood & Fellowship." There are signs of compromise with the existing feeling in favour of *Songs & Solos* at the time the book was produced, and there are more hymns and tunes of that type in the book, one feels sure, than the unbiassed judgment of the editors would have admitted. It is a matter of experience that comparatively few of these hymns are in frequent use in our schools to-day. The book contains several hymns by Adult School members, and some of these are amongst the greatest favourites in the collection, e.g., F. J. Gillman's "God send us men!" Among these writers are W. C. Braithwaite, E. Dodgshun, E. Gilbert, F. J. Gillman, E. Grubb, W. V. Jenkins, L. Lovell, S. W. Meyer, and E. M. Priestman. Some of the composers of tunes are also from the ranks of the Adult School, e.g., H. J. Day, B. Franklin, W. V. Jenkins, and S. W. Meyer.

In 1920 a *Supplement to The Fellowship Hymn Book*, containing over 100 hymns, was published. The compilers say in their preface that their effort has been to secure "a hymnody worthily expressing

* See an article by F. J. Gillman in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for April, 1914, from which most of the above facts are taken.

the social message of Christianity and its implications in everyday life and conduct : and the music has been chosen to harmonise as far as possible with the sentiment of the words." Their endeavour has again been crowned with the highest success, for it is doubtful if within its compass (451 hymns in the combined book) any collection can compare with it for the purpose for which it was produced. The supplement contains a larger proportion of hymns by Adult School writers. In addition to the names, already mentioned, several of whom contribute further hymns, we meet among fresh writers the names of A. M. P. Dawson, G. Hoyland, T. Ives, and G. Currie Martin. The supplement rightly finds place for many modern hymns from the pens of writers like Chesterton, Kipling and Oxenham, and a large number of American writers. For the first time in an English collection a version of one of Bishop Grundtvig's hymns is included, written by Ella S. Armitage.

A very important and valuable feature of *The Fellowship Hymn Book* is the edition with notes at the beginning of the majority of the hymns in which F. J. Gillman tells of the author of hymn and tune, and often some specific incident about the particular hymn. These notes are not only of great interest in themselves, but call the attention of all the members of the schools to the part played in the development of the religious life by the hymn-writing of those of all shades of opinion, and of how far this has led towards the "catholicity of worship." F. J. Gillman has also written a historical companion to the complete *Fellowship Hymn Book*, under the title of *The Story of our Hymns*, which gives in clear and interesting form the main outlines of the

fascinating study of hymnology, so far as it is illustrated in *The Fellowship Hymn Book*.

The most important, significant, and influential publication issued by the Adult School Union is the annual Lesson Handbook.

It was in the year 1896 that the Westminster Men's School first produced an Adult School Lesson Sheet on new lines, and seven years later the London Adult School Union took over the idea and produced a similar sheet for the London Schools. In 1904 this method was adopted by the National Council, and the first National Adult School Lesson Sheet produced. The first Handbook was issued in 1911, with a circulation of 5,000, and now the circulation of that publication is 23,000.

In the year 1923 the *Daily News* published a series of weekly articles by Dr. T. R. Glover, Public Orator of Cambridge University, founded mainly on the Adult School Lesson Handbook for that year, and so the message of the weekly lessons reached a public of about one million.

The first issue of the Handbook was a small volume of 96 pages, issued in paper covers at 3d. and in limp cloth at 5d. Among the contributors to its pages were G. K. Hibbert, M.A., B.D., W. C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B., W. Arnold Viccars, and E. E. Unwin, M.Sc., while additional articles on "The Use of the Blackboard," by E. Gilbert, "First Half-Hours," by E. J. Fullwood, and "Social Questions," by Percy Alden, M.A., added to its usefulness.

As compared with the present-day Handbook, the introductions to the various sections were longer and more elaborate, but the notes on individual lessons were shorter. The preface states a principle that

has guided the policy of the Handbook Committee ever since. "The object of the Handbook," it is stated, "is not to create any uniformity of teaching or method, but to offer help wherever help may be needed. It is for each school to work out its own way of life; accepting, amending or rejecting suggestions as its own needs dictate." A feature of the Handbook, from the beginning, has been the valuable lists of books for consultation in illustration of the lessons recommended by the leaders. In 1913, W. Arnold Viccars, as chairman of the Lesson Sheet Committee, became editor of the book, and has held that position (save for one year) since. No one can estimate the service he has rendered to the movement in that capacity. Only those who have worked intimately with him can realise something of what his courage, wisdom, patience and humour have meant to the growing excellence of the book, and to its ever-increasing usefulness. Since 1919, when the book was called *Light and Freedom*, a general title has been given to each volume, indicative of the general trend of the year's lessons. The book is adopted in a very large percentage of Adult Schools and is widely used in Bible classes outside the circle of the movement. A good story is told of an enthusiastic Adult School man who one day met a certain Bishop, and said to him, "My Lord, I have a little book I should like to show you," and therewith produced the Lesson Handbook. "Ah!" said the Bishop, producing one out of his own pocket, "I always carry it myself!"

Six handbooks for junior classes have also been issued, and a large number of pamphlets and booklets on biblical, literary and social topics. *The Message, the Messenger and the Method*, by G. Currie Martin,

J. H. Wimms and E. Ryle, is a useful handbook on teaching methods applied to Adult Schools.

The first Adult School journal was *The Monthly Record*, begun by William White in 1869, which included Adult School news along with records of other activities of the Society of Friends.

In 1882 a cheaper issue began and the title took the form *The Monthly Record of Friends' Adult Schools and Home and Foreign Mission Work*. The earlier series cost 3d., and the later issue 1d. per month. This journal ceased in 1891, when its place was taken by *One and All*. This latter journal was begun by the Midland Association of Adult Schools in 1891. Its management was taken over by the F.F.D.S.A. in 1895 and by the National Council in 1900, by whom it has been managed ever since. Even during the difficult years of the war the magazine never ceased publication, and at the present moment has attained a standard never before equalled.

The editors who have successively guided its fortunes have been Dr. George Newman, Edwin Gilbert, Barbara McKenzie and George Peverett. For a considerable period an editorial committee assisted the editor, but now the editor is directly responsible for the conduct of the paper, under the control of the National Council. In its earlier years the magazine contained a larger amount of news of the individual schools than it does at present because of the gradual rise of local magazines in various districts, and of supplements to *One and All*. As the movement grew these became more and more essential.

Among separate magazines issued for a time, was *The Adult School*, a penny quarterly, published

were in circulation, viz., those belonging to Birmingham, Bristol, London and Leicestershire. By 1911 the number of Supplements had grown to eleven, and were at that date distributed as follows; the number of their pages monthly being given in each case:—

Midland Union, 16 pages; Bristol, Bath, Wilts., Somerset and Dorset, 8 pages; Dorset, West Hants. and South Wilts., 8 pages; Kent, 4 pages; London, 4 pages; Leicester, 12 pages; Northants, 6 pages; Norfolk and district, 8 pages; Yorkshire, 12 pages; Gloucester and South Worcestershire, 4 pages; West of Scotland (issued quarterly), 4 pages.

In addition there were for the sub-district of Luton and District, a 4-page Supplement; in North-east Lancashire a magazine of 8 pages, called *The Link*; and for Loughborough Sub-union, a 20-page magazine of its own called *The Beacon*. The Sutton Schools possessed a magazine of their own, which had a large circulation owing to the constituency of the Sunday afternoon men's meeting. Also the School at Skipton, Yorkshire, started in 1907 a 4-page magazine of its own, 300 copies of which were distributed free each month.

A few more details about some of these Supplements may prove of value.

The Midland Supplement began publication in 1901, under the much more cumbersome title *Severn Street and Priory Schools, Birmingham and District Supplement to One and All*, but, as the writer of the account says, the little Supplement "had changed its name almost as often as an American bride." It had begun as a 4-page publication, but had grown in the ten years to 16 pages. Its

in the interests of the London Adult Schools under the editorship of William Charles Braithwaite, and lasting from 1888 to 1892.

There also appeared in London a small four-page journal entitled *The Weekly Record*. A "new series" was appearing in 1892, but when it started we have not been able to discover. A somewhat similar leaflet was issued by the London Schools of the N.W. district, the first number of which appeared in October, 1894. *Onward and Upward*, a journal issued in connection with the Bedford Institute, London, was started in 1883, and contained news of Friends' Adult Schools.

In Sheffield, in 1890, there was published a monthly magazine, entitled successively *The Sheffield Monthly*, 1890, *The Sheffield and Yorkshire Monthly*, 1891, and *The Yorkshire Monthly*, 1892.* The last issue was published in December, 1892, at the cost of one penny. It was an excellent quarto of 16 pages, well-printed, containing original articles, editorials, news of the schools, and children's corner. The circulation was not large enough to cover the outlay, and so regretfully the editors announced its discontinuance, though gratified by its appreciative reception.

In the *Monthly Record* and in the earlier issues of *One and All*, news of the individual schools was given at as great length as space permitted. But as the schools grew in numbers and influence it was frequently felt that extra news would be welcomed, and to this end local Supplements began to be published. In 1901, four of these Supplements

* The first number was published in May, 1890, under the title of the *Doncaster Street Monthly*, price 1d. In July the name was altered to *The Sheffield Monthly*.

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first editor was E. E. Stuart, who was succeeded by H. A. Lacon. At the present time this Supplement is edited by H. M. Joiner, the capable and energetic secretary of the Union. At one period there existed also a special Supplement in connection with the Moseley Road Institute.

The Supplement covering the Bristol Union was started in 1900 for the whole of the West of England. It was successively edited by A. S. Fryer and F. Newton Colborne. The present editor is C. J. Waterfall.

The Supplement for Dorset and West Hants. and South Wilts. was begun in 1908, first as a quarterly and subsequently as a monthly issue. The editor was H. S. Carter, who succeeded in making it a very lively magazine, and who showed himself possessed of great gifts as an editor. Some of his opinions are well worth quoting, as they are certainly of permanent value to those who find themselves in a similar position. The gift of humour, which he places as a necessary asset for the successful editor, he certainly himself possessed. He thinks the editor should be discreet, and by temperament a peace-maker. He should have courage to re-write his reports, in order to make them comprehensible and readable, and to appropriately season them when necessary. "He should never carry school reports about in his pocket, and forget to send them to the printer."

The London Supplement originally covered not only London, but Surrey, Sussex, Hants. and Kent Unions, and was largely aided by the F.F.D.S.A., the early editors being S. Graveson and J. E. Tuke. When separate Unions originated in the other counties, the London Supplement was, for a time,

discontinued. In 1908 it was revived by help of a special fund, and was under the able editorship of George Peverett, who is now editor of *One and All*. Subsequent editors have been C. E. H. Carrington and A. M. P. Dawson.

The Leicestershire Supplement was begun in 1899, under the editorship of Edwin Gilbert, who was succeeded in office by W. S. Wallin, and has remained one of the most vigorous of these issues.

The Yorkshire Supplement, edited in 1911 by D. P. Boyd, was one of the largest and most successful of the issues, but, like others, found it difficult to pay its way. Of course, that was not the primary purpose of any of the Supplements, and the Unions that were willing to spend some money in their circulation were doing admirable missionary service and propaganda work by this means.

The Luton and District Supplement in 1911 had as co-editors a man and woman—A. E. Patterson and Mrs. Edward Brown. It was started in 1909 with the purpose of aiding the village schools to get a clearer view of Adult School ideals. A. E. Patterson's enthusiasm for extension work did much to give life to this Supplement.

The Link was begun in 1910, and published every second month. It was issued free to the schools, and its income derived almost entirely from advertisements. It was a bright little paper, under the energetic and able editorship of C. M. Apperley, whose loss in the war was not only a great blow to North-east Lancashire, but to the whole movement, as he was a young fellow of the greatest promise. In earlier days, Manchester district had a Supplement, but that had been for a considerable time

discontinued, and at the present time no district of Lancashire possesses a Supplement.

The Loughborough *Beacon* had been started in 1898 under the editorship of Dr. Symington. As in the case of *The Link*, the chief source of income was derived from advertisements, the schools being charged only a small sum for each 100 copies. Dr. Symington was succeeded by Arthur Bonser in the editorship, and the magazine was felt of great value to the Sub-Union.

During the war many of the Supplements were compelled to cease publication, and at the present time (1924) the existing Supplements are as follows :

Bristol, Bath, Wilts. and Somerset, 4 pages ; edited by C. J. Waterfall.

Kent, 4 pages ; edited by T. J. Forbes.

London, 8 pages, including a page for Surrey ; edited by A. M. P. Dawson.

Dorset, West Hants., and South Wilts., 4 pages ; edited by Dr. Winslow Hall.

Yorkshire, 4 pages ; edited by Edith M. Whiting.

Beds., Bucks., Herts. and Northants., 6 pages ; edited by T. A. Spencer.

Midland Supplement, now entitled "In the Midlands," 8 pages ; edited by H. M. Joiner.

Leicestershire, 12 pages ; edited by Arthur Bonser.

East Anglian, 4 pages ; edited by L. L. Burnham.

Much thought and time have been devoted to the Supplements, and it is to be hoped that, in the near future, some extension will again be possible, as it is of the utmost importance to the health of the movement that regular and interesting reports of the local schools should be available for the wider constituency of each Union.



COBER HILL GUEST HOUSE.

For a short period, beginning in 1923, Arthur Osbourn edited a publication (in type-script) entitled *Now and Then*, for the assistance of the leaders of Junior Schools.

On the formation of the National Council in 1899, *A List of Adult Schools* was published, edited by the Honorary Secretary. The schools are given as 350, with a membership of 45,000, those in connection with the Society of Friends showing a membership of 29,000. In 1901 this publication was for the first time termed *A Directory of Adult Schools*, and is prefaced by a short statement, entitled *What is an Adult School?* It is stated to be a society of men or women (over 17 years of age) formed for the purpose of mutual helpfulness. It is based on the practical teaching of Jesus Christ. A free but practical and reverent study of the Bible conducted in common with full opportunity for discussion is deemed the centre of the school work.

From that time the Directory has appeared at regular intervals, and has frequently contained interesting articles bearing on special aspects of Adult School work. The latest issue—for 1924-25, contains 100 pages, and gives the total number of schools as 1,395 (Men, 721; Women, 555; and Mixed, 119). The total membership is 51,917, nearly equally divided between men and women. In addition is a list of 107 Junior Schools, with a membership of 3,882.

In recent years the range of publications has greatly widened. The Lesson Handbook has been largely instrumental in creating new demands from the schools 'for help along various lines of study. Among the earliest of such publications were two excellent books by Miss Eleanor Wood, one on the

Prophets of the Old Testament, and another on the Life and Ministry of St. Paul, both most useful textbooks. Studies on the Gospels, and on Paul's Epistles, have also been issued by members of the Lesson Handbook Committee. In conjunction with the Society for Old Testament Study a series of new translations into colloquial English have been published, already including the books of Amos, Genesis, Jeremiah, Ruth and Jonah, Joel, Obadiah and Nahum, to give them in the order of publication. These publications have done real service in promoting clearer understanding of the Bible, and so have been true to the aims of the movement, and have carried its teaching far beyond the limits of the schools.

Similar service has been done in literature by pamphlets on Browning, Wordsworth, and two novels of George Eliot's; two plays founded on two short stories by Tolstoy, and a booklet that deals in a practical manner with the subject of *Community Playing*.

In the realm of Social Service there was issued just prior to the war a *Social Service Handbook*, that gave not only an account of work being done in this direction by the schools, but also contained valuable practical hints for undertaking such work. In 1924 a most admirable booklet, at the moderate price of 6d., entitled *Social Survey*, was published, and forms a practical guide to good citizenship. It is one of the best introductions to the whole question of Regional Survey, and the authors, G. Peverett and A. T. Pike, have first-hand experience of dealing with the problems of which they treat.

Pamphlets on the women's *Use of the Vote*, and on organisation, on *Penal Reform* and *Industrial*

History furnish guidance in various directions of practical service.

William Charles Braithwaite's fine outline for study circles on the *Foundations of National Greatness*, served a very important purpose when issued, and has elements of permanent value.

Reprints of various sets of lessons from the Handbook have from time to time been issued, e.g., *The Road of Life*, *The Fourth Gospel*, *Paul the Pioneer*, and these have been found of great value in starting new schools, or in providing alternatives to sets of lessons found by individual schools difficult or unsuitable. Pamphlets illustrative of, or helpful to, the lessons have also been issued, e.g., *In Praise of Freedom*, an anthology of prose and poetry, and *A Little Book of Meditation and Prayer*, and *The Literature of the Bible*.

Pamphlets of a more general character are also included among the publications of the National Council. Among these may be mentioned *Adult Schools, their Aims and Methods*, in various editions—the most recent, mainly from the pen of Ernest Dodgshun, B.A., was published in 1923, and forms an admirable account of the present-day school. There is also one on Women's Schools, and pamphlets dealing with *Boys' and Girls' Fellowships*. Pamphlets dealing with teaching in Adult Schools include *Our Aims and Methods as Teachers in Adult Schools*, by William Littleboy, 1902; *Canvassing and Visiting*, by J. Lacon, 1902; *The Bible: and its Place in our Schools*, by G. B. Wilson, B.A., 1903; *The Christian Basis of Adult School Work*, by Edward Grubb, M.A., 1904; *Some Essentials to Success in Adult School Work*, by B. Franklin, 1902; *Education, Evangelism and Service*, by

G. Newman, and a very important and enlightening one by the same author entitled *Education and the Democracy*, 1915; *Strengthening the Teaching Power*, by E. Dodgshun, B.A., 1910.

Of a more general character, but dealing with various aspects of Adult School work, may be mentioned *The Trend of the Adult School Movement*, by E. H. C. Wethered, M.A., LL.B., 1913, and *The Spiritual Need of England*, by W. C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B., 1914.

Reports of Conferences, e.g., those held at Birmingham and Swanwick, have also been issued.

Altogether the bulk of Adult School literature is fairly large, and has been growing in importance in recent years. The constituency demands a special knowledge of its needs from the writers, and, though all sorts of text-books are from time to time used and recommended, it is again and again found requisite to produce something specially suitable for its members.

It is quite impossible here to give any account of the much wider ranges of literature written by Adult School men and women for the general public. Suffice it to say that this is of considerable bulk, and much of it of very high quality. Most of the writers would gladly confess that their work has gained in vision and popular appeal through their connection with Adult Schools.

CHAPTER XIII

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

"Patriotism is not enough."—EDITH CAVELL.

"We want to get behind the idea that the highest loyalty we can owe is to our country; we want to feel the full force of the truth that all men are brothers, and that we owe to everyone a common debt of inexhaustible and immeasurable love."—LORD HUGH CECIL.

"The grace of friendship, mind and heart,
Linked with their fellow heart and mind,
The gains of science, gifts of art,
And sense of oneness with our kind,
A thirst to know and understand—
A large and liberal discontent—
These are the goods in life's rich hand,
The things that are most excellent."

WILLIAM WATSON.

In the history of the Adult Schools by J. F. Winks, a paragraph is devoted to Adult Schools in foreign countries. He states that Samuel Prust, of Bristol, sent a copy of Dr. Pole's *History* to D. Bethune, of New York, extracts from which were inserted in a religious newspaper, and aroused much interest. Women appear to have been the first to realise the possibilities of the new movement. The reflection of the writer upon this fact is quaint. He says:

"The ladies commence the work with commendable alacrity, as if suitably impressed that, as woman was first to take of the forbidden tree,

so she should now be the first to apply to sin-sick souls the leaves of that tree of life which is for the healing of the nations."

The testimony of one of the earliest of the workers is that she never undertook anything that afforded her so much joy. The first scholar in the United States was a woman, aged 52. A school was opened soon afterwards in Philadelphia, which, within two months, was compelled to remove to larger rooms. Speedily schools were opened for "men and women of colour," and the masters of the slaves encouraged them to attend, in one case 150 being present when the school opened. Some of the schools were obviously not for slaves alone, but must have consisted of coloured freemen, for the following interesting list of their occupations is given:— 30 labourers, 8 servants, 3 sweepmasters, 2 riggers, 1 merchant and 1 sugar-merchant, 17 sawyers, 20 seamen, 6 shoemakers, 2 farmers, 1 victualler, 1 mason, 4 carpenters, 1 bootblack and 2 slaves.

It is also stated that Adult Schools had been opened in Holland and in France. The extension to France was apparently due to the action of a Protestant clergyman, who, at the close of a Sunday service, desired those who could read and those who could not to sit on opposite sides of the chapel. He then requested volunteers from among the readers to teach the others. Winks goes on to declare that if English ministers would only follow this example of their French brother, illiteracy would soon disappear in this country. It is also stated that Adult Schools had been founded in various parts of Africa, in the West Indies, in India, China and the South

Seas. There can be little doubt that much of the work so described simply referred to efforts of missionaries to teach reading to those whose language, in many cases, had not been reduced to writing, and in others, as in China and India, to people who had never learned to read, a practice which is continued to-day in all mission fields. It does not appear that, for the latter half of the nineteenth century, any direct effort was made to establish Adult Schools beyond Great Britain. Many schools, especially in connection with the Society of Friends, were, of course, practically interested in foreign mission work, and both by gifts of money and addresses on the subject, kept their sympathies directed toward the men and women of other lands and faiths. But this cannot be regarded as in any sense international work of the schools as such. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, we find frequent reference to Adult Schools being founded in our colonies, largely as the result of Adult School men making their home in these countries. Thus, in 1884, an advertisement was inserted in a newspaper in Sydney, N.S.W., requesting any who were interested to attend a meeting for the purpose of founding an Adult School, and ten assembled in consequence. By the year 1890, we find Adult Schools established in Sydney, Hobart, Rockdale, and Melbourne. In similar fashion schools were started in various cities of Canada, in the West Indies and in New Zealand, and some of these remain as flourishing schools at the present time.

The first attempts to form connections with the continent were from holiday excursions to France,

Belgium and Holland, mainly undertaken by individual schools. Several of these were originated by Bunhill School, London. At Easter, 1895, a party of twenty-two members of the Adult Schools of York paid a visit to Paris, and on the Sunday held an Adult School.

In 1909 an Adult School party, numbering twenty-four, from the Birmingham Schools, visited Holland, and were greatly interested in their experience. There may have been more than one experiment at holding an Adult School on board ship. The only one of which we have discovered any record was during a voyage to Australia in the year 1909. On several Sundays Wilfrid Littleboy and Elliot Thorp, a deputation to the Society of Friends in Australia, held an Adult School on board the Royal Mail steamer "Ormuz."

In the year 1906 a carefully drafted letter was drawn up and adopted by the National Council to be sent to all countries on the continent of Europe. It dealt with the questions of International Peace and General Brotherhood, and expressed the desire of the Adult Schools to convey their own feelings of fellowship and friendship to their brothers and sisters in other lands.

The letter received 30,000 signatures and was sent to France, Holland, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden. In the two latter countries, as might appear probable, it received the widest circulation, in some of the others its publicity was fairly good. A very interesting and encouraging reply was received from Sweden.

In the same year correspondents were appointed by the National Council to keep in communication with the schools in America, Australasia and South

Africa—an excellent idea, which does not appear to have borne much fruit.

A great forward step in the international work of the National Council was taken in the summer of 1909, when Edward Smith, of Bewdley, proposed that an Adult School delegation be sent to Germany during 1910, but at first it was not thought possible to carry this idea into practical effect, as the work at home was too pressing in its demands upon the time of the officers. However, later in the year, the proposal was again made, and a guarantee fund of £150 offered by those most concerned in the project. In December, Frederick Merttens and Edwin Gilbert paid a preliminary visit to Germany to make arrangements, and as a result, cordial invitations were forwarded from Düsseldorf and Frankfurt, representative of various workers' organisations, to visit these cities. For the hundred places open to Adult School members, over three hundred applications were sent in, and, in the final selection, representatives of twenty-four Unions were included in the party. The visitors started on July 30th, 1910, and had a warm send-off from Victoria Station, where Barrow Cadbury, treasurer of the Union, entertained them to dinner. Two German friends met them at the frontier, and magnificent receptions, public meetings, and happy fellowship in German homes marked the whole visit. William Charles Braithwaite accompanied them throughout, and his profound knowledge of history and literature, his brilliant wit, his perfect sense of brotherhood, and his acquaintance with the language, proved invaluable. On the Rhine steamer, at the close of the tour, warm tributes were paid to the helpfulness of all the leaders, and on the return

to England, Frederick Merttens entertained the travellers to breakfast, and a most impressive farewell meeting followed. The German newspaper press was most cordial, and our own people, for many of whom this had been their first opportunity of foreign travel, were most eloquent in their expressions of gratitude. The lessons of human brotherhood had been learned in a new and unforgettable way, and many hearts were deeply touched. As it was the first of these occasions, one or two testimonies written at the time may be given here, but it must be remembered that what was true of this first visit, was even increasingly true of subsequent ones. No one can estimate how much the movement owes to such visits, and how much of our later, and ever increasing, international service is due to the courage, devotion, and skill of these pioneers. One or two examples of the impressions made must here suffice. "One man who had not been able to speak with his host on the morning of his departure, was able to pray with him. It came about in this wise. The German pointed upwards, and said, '*Unser Vater*' ('our Father') then pointed to his guest and himself, and whilst the one said the Lord's Prayer in German, the other said it in English, and they understood each other better than if they had known each other's tongues." Another wrote, "I would like to put on record the brotherly kindness shown to me by my hosts and hostesses—Herr. B in Düsseldorf, and Herr W in Frankfurt. The kindness shown to me by these gentlemen and their wives I shall not soon forget. When I was leaving Düsseldorf, Mr. B put into my hand a splendid book of views with something written in

German, which a friend has translated for me, 'In remembrance of the happy visit to Düsseldorf, and as a souvenir of the family of Herr B And now abideth faith, hope, love, but the greatest of these is love.' " In an address presented to the leaders by the members of the party, it was truly said, " This has been no mere sightseeing excursion, for through all the festivities there has been running the golden thread of true fellowship so characteristic of the Adult School."*

During the above visit, plans were laid for a return visit from Germany, and on July 8th, 1911, one hundred and ten German visitors arrived in London, representing all schools of thought in that country. " Never before," writes Edwin Gilbert, " has such a party left the Fatherland in one united band."† Municipal receptions were given in London, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Stratford-on-Avon, York and Leicester, and in all these places the visitors were guests in the homes of Adult School people. On their arrival they were entertained to breakfast by the Adult School Members of Parliament, and throughout the tour mass meetings, garden parties and visits to places of interest, schools, factories, and institutions were the order of the day. " These hospitalities may cost something," said one of the visitors, " but they are a thousand times cheaper than war." Another confessed that his former ideas of the English had been that they were a stiff and unapproachable people—now he knew them as warm, loyal, friendly and kind. These are the results that such interchange of visits between nations bring about, and

* *One and All*, Vol. XX., pp. 193-213.

† *One and All*, Vol. XXI., pp. 158, 159.

that are the chief measure of their importance. Some of the messages of German visitors reveal the value of new points of view. Says one:—"I stayed with a very rich manufacturer who put me into his magnificently furnished best bedroom. Would our upper classes do the same thing for working-men?" It should be said that the wealthy Germans did so when a visit was made to Berlin and Hamburg in 1914. Another asks, "Is a day coming when the German Social Democratic leaders will openly stand for the Christian message?"* One valuable result, as seen not only in the statements of the visitors, but in the pages of the German press, was the conviction borne in upon the visitors that governments did not always represent the minds of the people, and that it is essential to know the ideas of the rank and file before a judgment can be passed as to national sentiment. How deeply one desires that this knowledge could have been much more widespread before 1914; and how essential it still is to work for this end!

At Whitsuntide, 1912, a party of one hundred English visitors paid another visit to Germany. In the interval after the first visit, both in this country and in Germany, many had been making strenuous efforts to learn each other's language, so that intercourse would be more easy and valuable—another important result of such efforts. The places visited on this occasion were Düsseldorf, Elberfeld, Crefeld, Cologne, Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, and the Rhine trip. The experiences of the former visit were repeated and intensified, and old friendships, many of which afterward stood the strain of war, were strengthened.

* *One and All*, Vol. XXI., pp. 203-206.

In July of the same year, fifty-five workers from Frankfurt and district were welcomed in London, and spent three or four days in the city as guests of Adult School friends, being entertained to lunch in the House of Commons by Arnold S. Rowntree. Later they visited Reading, Guildford and Northampton. The party split up into groups, and thus many more centres in England shared in the experiences of the visit, and the knowledge and interest were spread. In all these centres Adult Schools were held at which our visitors were present, and were thus enabled to realise the mainspring of our actions and source of our power.

A second group arrived from Düsseldorf in August, and were entertained in a similar way, only that different centres, including Wisbech, King's Lynn, Bournemouth, Beccles, Salisbury, Bristol and Hereford were visited. Again the Adult Schools on Sunday were made a special feature. The value of distributing the guests over so many schools was distinctly realised by everybody, and the importance and effect of the visits were in this way greatly intensified. It is always difficult to decide whether the gain is greater in revisiting the same places, and renewing friendships already formed, or in "spreading the light," but, assuredly, the combination of both methods is the ideal arrangement.

The year 1912 also saw the first trip organised to Denmark. This was undertaken by the Women's Committee and organised by their secretary, Mary Glaisyer. The tour extended from August 3rd to 18th, and the party consisted of forty-two women and three men. As Tom Bryan and his wife were already in the country, and knew it so well, they

made excellent guides, and Danish friends, especially Pedr Just, an old Fircrofter, aided most loyally. His experience in England enabled him the better to understand his guests, for, as he said, he had found in their country "people with the same wishes, the same hopes, the same longings as in his own, and more similarity than difference between them—and he found that though his patriotism was deepened it was too narrow a feeling if it omitted the love of humanity." The party saw Danish life in town and country, and were specially impressed by their visit to Koerhave, where they saw the school for small-holders. The Askov High School was also visited, though it was not in session, and much learned from Holger and Mrs. Begtrup, and an illuminating lecture on the development of Danish agriculture from a Copenhagen merchant.

The war and the high cost of travel since the armistice, have prevented a repetition of organised trips to Denmark, though individual members of the movement have been in the country. The Dane and ourselves have so much in common, and their People's High Schools are so closely allied to our Adult Schools, that the more we can see of one another, the better,

In May, 1914, the third visit of English Adult School men and women was arranged to Germany, and on this occasion new ground was broken, the cities visited being Hamburg and Berlin. The most admirable arrangements had been made, and by the influence of F. Merttens and his friends civic receptions of an elaborate order were given to the party at both cities. On Sunday morning at Hamburg an Adult School demonstration was held,

at which about 300 were present, and the greatest interest manifested.

In each city great public meetings were held, with speeches by English and German members on questions of international relationships. The meeting in Berlin was a particularly striking one, when about 6,000 people assembled in the largest hall in the city, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. About twenty members of the party were received in the Reichstag by the Home Secretary, and at the closing dinner all the speeches augured peace and goodwill. Nor was it true to say that members of our party were living in a fool's paradise, only that the majority of those we met were people of goodwill, who, like ourselves, desired to maintain peaceful relations, and to find a saner and better way than war out of all our troubles.

During the war the Society of Friends maintained relations with the powers of Central Europe, and where stricken peoples in any country, prisoners of war and others could be aided they were always in the forefront. The moment the opportunity arose, their members were present in Austria and Germany. The Quaker relief work rendered their name a talisman of good-will in the stricken lands of Europe, and as one outcome of their efforts in Vienna, an Adult School was started in that city.

After the war Frederick Merttens, William Charles Braithwaite and Edwin Gilbert were among the earliest Adult School visitors to Germany, and at once sought to re-establish relations with friends who had been in association with our movement before the war. They found that a great popular educational movement had sprung up since the war, which had attracted to itself many of the finer

spirits of the country, and much of the youth of the land. There had been established thousands of People's High Schools, though this general term includes many different types of training. Some, as in and around Vienna, are very much akin to our tutorial classes, and are in close relation with the university. Some are aided by state or municipal funds, while others are absolutely free. Some unite all sorts of social and religious types, while others belong exclusively to one denominational or political colour. But the common element in all seems to be the desire to share in knowledge and to have it reach the homes of the humblest in a spirit of freedom from definite, dogmatic teaching, that is generally regarded as the curse of the types of education common before the war. In a book written in 1920 by Dr. Braünig-Oktavio, who was fairly intimately acquainted with our English systems, he acknowledged that three factors in the production of the new type of working-class education, had been the Danish People's High Schools, the W.E.A., and the Adult Schools in England. Oktavio himself had spent nine months at Woodbrooke, and then had been over three years in an internment camp. He wisely argues that though Germany might and ought to learn from these two countries, it would be folly slavishly to imitate the methods of either. What he singles out for special commendation, and as worthy of imitation in the case of Adult Schools, is their stress on the building up of character, their freedom in discussion, and their bringing into vital contact and understanding all classes of society.*

* *Die Englische Arbeiterbildung und die deutsche Volkshochschule* von Dr. H. Braünig-Oktavio.



ADULT SCHOOL PARTY AT ROUEN, 1922

In the autumn of 1921, a small group of Adult School men and women paid informal visits to several centres in Germany, including Cologne, Eisenach, Remscheid, Darmstadt, Cassell, and Frankfurt, and were greatly impressed by all they saw, but still more by the yearning of the many men and women they met for a new outlook upon life. They found how many were seeking to turn for inspiration to Goethe in literature and philosophy, to nature, and to the double agencies of song and simple dance. They came into close touch with the *Freideutsche Jugendbewegung* (the German free youth movement) and were much fascinated by its enthusiasm, though fully awake to its risks. It had its origin as far back as 1896, but has only risen into real power since the war. Again it has many forms, and is difficult to summarise, but the following sentences from a recent book describe well its general features.

“ In part influenced by the Boy Scout and Girl Guide organisations, these German *Wandervögel*, as they are called, had from the beginning definitely national characteristics. Their origin is also partly due to the many new streams of thought and experiment in education, in which Germany has never been backward. The new freedom which was creeping into school methods fostered the freedom of young people who revolted against school altogether. Organised excursions of children into the forest or country had been long customary, under the guidance of teachers, and later on University students and others continued the practice on their own account. That these glorified picnics gradually

included both sexes was a natural enough development after the entrance of women into industry and the learned professions. On the one hand these groups betoken a return to love of nature, folk song and dance and simple country pleasures, as against the lure of the towns. But there is a germ of something more serious, an effort towards a young political, a young religious, a young critical movement. The comradeship of men and women is practised in reality, as well as being theoretically advocated, and a certain natural communism inevitably results from these gatherings, where no distinction is made between rich and poor, men and women, but all are received on equally friendly terms, and all are expected to contribute their individual capacities to the common store. The movement has no direct concern with literature, and, so far as I know, has, strictly speaking, no literary exponent. It is the protest of youth against (1) Philistinism and austerity, in favour of harmless gaiety and irresponsibility ; (2) the loose morality of University students ; (3) laxity and grossness of tone in literature and art, and here indirectly its literary influence may be considerable. A division already appears between two sections of the *Jugendbewegung*, the one advocating a dogmatic or definitely religious basis, and the other resting on the need for freedom of thought. Girls who claim equal comradeship and friendship with men, and still more men who desire nothing but comradeship from girls, are regarded in some quarters as abnormal types. It would appear, however, that in spite of, or because of, " temperance in

sex relations, many happy marriages have taken place among *Wandervögel*."*

The volume from which the above quotation is taken is most valuable for the picture it gives of present-day conditions in Germany. Personal observation supports the accuracy of the above description, and it is noteworthy that the members of the youth movement set themselves against the use of alcohol and tobacco. They also refrain from applauding speeches or music that they appreciate, simply remaining silent as a sign of approval. If they disapprove they begin to fidget and talk, or even leave the room! They believe strongly in the value of small groups for study and discussion, and many of them are inclined, in their revolt against authority, to distrust even competent teachers and books. It can be seen, therefore, how great an opportunity is presented for a wise and tactful introduction of Adult School methods to youthful Germany.

As a result of the visits already referred to, a Summer School was arranged in August, 1922, at Schloss Brühl, near Cologne. This building was granted for that purpose by the Education Department of the German Government, and the school was officially visited by the President of the Rhine Province and several of his subordinates. The German Chairman of the school was Pastor Emil Fuchs, of Eisenach, and the English Chairman was Miss Joan M. Fry. Lectures were given in both languages, and not generally translated, but for English members synopses in English were provided

* See *The German Mind*, by Fanny Johnson. Chapman and Dodd, pp. 222-223.

of the German addresses, and for German members German synopses of English addresses. The discussions took place in both languages, and the main points of the fine speeches were translated. This method worked very well. The main theme of the school was "Toward a New World Order," and this thought was worked in such provinces as Education, Industry, Art, Science, Economics and Politics. General introductory and closing addresses were given. In addition to Adult School speakers, who included Arnold S. Rowntree, George Peverett, Basil Yeaxlee, Horace Fleming and G. Currie Martin, there were Wm. Graham, M.P., E. Cunningham, M.A., and R. H. Tawney, M.A.

On the German side we had Dr. W. Epstein, Dr. Resch, Rektor Heinen, Dr. Honigsheim, Dr. Luebbecke, Herr Franz Asteroth, Dr. Gerloff, Dr. B. Guttmann, and Dr. Gebhardt. The rank and file took ready part in the discussions, to which the only limit was that of time. Various excursions of interest were made, and the members of the party spent two nights in Frankfurt, thus being enabled to see the most lovely part of the Rhine. The experiment was in all respects a great success, and was felt by all to be a happy augury for future repetitions of similar gatherings.

As early as 1915, suggestions had been made to the National Council for visits to countries other than Germany, but the war prevented any actual attempt to carry this idea into practical form. In 1921, however, a Whitsuntide visit was paid to Belgium. This was due to the initiative of the International Committee, and the organising ability of E. J. Fullwood. A party of about sixty were

comfortably housed in the Pension Willems at Ostende, from May 13th to 20th. The Anglo-Belgian Union greatly assisted our arrangements, and Mons. W. Serruys was a splendid friend on the spot. By his aid we had two fine lectures from Dr. Sagher on "Belgium and England in History," and from Mons. Beyaert on "How to look at Bruges." We had a civic reception in the Town Hall at Ostende, and a conference on Internationalism. Visits were paid to Bruges, where a special programme on the carillon in the famous belfry was provided for us, and also a motor-trip on the canals; to Ghent, to Brussels, and to Ypres and some of the Belgian battlefields. We learned of the difficulties presented by the sharp distinctions in politics and religion that beset any attempt to start a movement similar to our own in Belgium, but much sympathy was shown to our ideals, and seed sown for a future harvest.

In 1922 a similar visit was for the first time arranged to France, the headquarters being at Rouen and Paris. In the former city we were entertained by the Société d'Émulation, and a most interesting lecture was delivered by Mons. Brisset on "Rouen." We visited a Protestant Settlement, and had there an opportunity of explaining our position and work. A civic reception was also accorded our party, which had many opportunities of seeing Rouen and its neighbourhood thoroughly. Two nights were spent in Paris, and excellent motor tours arranged. We laid a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Warrior under the Arc de Triomphe, and sang "Where is the true man's Fatherland?"—a proceeding that evidently immensely impressed the French onlookers.

The first attempt to arrange a Summer School in France was successfully carried out at the Chateau d'Argeronne, at Whitsuntide, 1923. The Chateau is beautifully situated not far from Rouen. The party consisted of twenty-five Adult School members and several very interesting French friends joined them at the Chateau. Lectures interpretive of the French point of view were ably given by R. H. Soltau, M.A., and Will Reason, M.A., spoke on "Social and Religious Movements in England." The speakers on the French side were Mons. Emanuel Sautter, the Abbé Maubec, Mons. Blanchard, Mons. Tabrizi and Madame Guieyette-Bréal, who dealt with Peace Movements in France. It was felt that the School marked a distinct advance in international work, and created a desire, especially amongst French friends, for a repetition of the experiment as soon as possible.

In June, 1924, the first organised visit by an Adult School party to Italy was made by thirty-five men and women, who spent ten days in Florence. The British Institute in that city made them heartily welcome, placed their spacious rooms at their disposal, and gave them a reception on their arrival. Principal Goad and Professor Ferrando delivered lectures on Italian History and Social Problems, and one evening was devoted to a concert illustrative of the development of Italian music, with explanatory notes by Signore Ricci. Educational visits were paid to many galleries, churches and palaces in Florence, and a lecture was delivered one evening on "Dante and his associations with the city." It is hoped that this promising opening may be followed by subsequent visits, when the opportunities thus made may lead to further

and fuller results in fellowship with the Italian people.

Up till 1919 the International work of the National Council had been mainly the personal interest and concern of Frederick Merttens, but in that year an International Committee was formed (now a Standing Committee of the Council) of which he was naturally chosen convener. The Committee has largely been responsible for the visits already described, and for the general stimulation and supervision of all International work undertaken by the Council. At the moment of writing, it has under consideration the publication of a Handbook on International Relations.

At the Conference held at Swanwick in Whitsuntide, 1920, there was begun a scheme that had been for some time in the minds of several—an International Correspondence Bureau. Fortunately at that conference there was present a young journalist from Norwich, T. D. Copeman, and he took up the work with zeal and much organising power. Very soon he was in contact with correspondents in most of the countries in Europe, and within a year 1,500 of our members were actually corresponding with friends on the Continent. Naturally many of these did not continue, and the times were very difficult, but the obvious desire for such opportunities was most encouraging. Many correspondents revealed almost pathetic longings for opportunities similar to what they supposed were our privileges in Adult Schools, and one man in Italy desired to join the Union right away! A very short statement as to what an Adult School is, was printed on the back of each application form, and these were issued in the main European languages, as well as in Esperanto

and Ido. The distribution of these led to many further enquiries and fuller statements with specimen programmes of study have been issued in French and German. As the direct result of the Correspondence Bureau a group was speedily formed at Lille, where the members use our Handbook. Unfortunately just as Mr. Copeman had got the work well started, and was ready to follow up with fuller information many enquiries from abroad, he felt the call to join Famine Relief work in Russia, and spent the winter of 1921-22 at Buzuluk. Owing to a series of misfortunes arising from sickness and other reasons, a successor was not easily or quickly found by the Committee. After many disappointments, the work was generously undertaken in autumn, 1922, by David Bentley, of Leicester, an experienced, able, and keen Adult School man, and the Bureau is reorganised, and again in working order. The expense of postage in most countries of Europe militates against its efforts at the present time, but many encouraging messages are received, and from what has been already said readers can easily understand its enormous possibilities for propaganda. Friendly letters descriptive of our work and aims are the best method of introducing its ideals into other lands, and of stirring up the endeavour to found similar societies in places where such meetings are unknown.

In May, 1919, a Spanish lady, Senora Maria Perez de Ecroyd, in the course of a Protestant Congress at Madrid, spoke of what she had seen of Adult Schools when in Manchester on a visit to her husband's friends in that city. The report was received with enthusiasm, and many questions were asked, one theological student offering to do his best

to introduce the movement into Spain. Articles were written on it by Senora Ecroyd in the pages of the journal "*El Cristiano*," and some of the notes on the lessons translated. She herself became a student in our correspondence classes, and she started a Women's Adult School in her own house. Opposition was at once raised by the Romanist priests, and several members withdrawn, but the work went on, and some of the scholars became correspondents in our International Bureau.

One of the latest international efforts is the establishment of an International People's College at Helsingör in Denmark, under the Presidentship of Peter Manniche, M.A. This college was opened in the autumn of 1921 with twenty-four students, and the number has increased at the period of writing to forty-two. The main subjects of study are history, sociology, literature and modern languages, including Esperanto. The effort is made during the first period of study to gain sufficient familiarity with either English or German to enable the lectures to be followed with comparative ease. All subjects are studied from an international standpoint. From the beginning of April to the end of July, 1924, there is to be a special course of lectures and tuition on social and international problems given in English, and a special fund has been put at the disposal of the National Adult School Union in order to assist students to gain the benefit of a sojourn at this special session.

In 1921, George Peverett wrote an article in a leading missionary journal on "The Education of Adults in England and in India," in which he drew an interesting parallel between the condition prevailing in this country more than a hundred

years ago, and those with which missionaries are now faced among illiterates in India, and showed how the pioneers of the Adult School movement faced the situation, and made suggestions for the use of similar methods in the foreign field to-day. The article created a good deal of interest, and its author has had a valuable interview with Mr. K. T. Paul, the National Y.M.C.A. Secretary for India, who felt the great value of the suggestions put forward. In other directions the International Committee are endeavouring to follow up this line of advance.

In the Missionary Station at Tungliang, in West China, Benjamin H. Jackson, of the Friends' Mission, established an Adult School, and in the report of 1913 we read of lectures being given on the Chinese Postal System, Ducks and How to Rear Them, Chinese Leather and its Preparation, and on Sunday mornings, in addition to the Bible lesson, such subjects as the Republic, the Revolution, and the famous Confucian saying, "All under Heaven are one Family" were discussed. The men were very keen, and the effect of the teaching on life and conduct was manifest.

In other parts of the mission field the experiment has also been tried, and it only remains to have the method better known among modern missionaries, one believes, to find it largely extended, because one can imagine few better auxiliaries to mission work than the Adult School, if it were properly understood by students at home, and adapted to the various fields of service, as it is so easily capable of the necessary modification.

The Adult School spirit would not suggest, nor even tolerate uniformity of method, but if,

as many outside as well as within our movement feel, it is true that we possess a unique talent and power after which others are longing, surely it is our duty, not less than our privilege, to share this gift with men and women everywhere, that in giving we may enrich ourselves, and bring the joy, hope, and freedom of vision that we have discovered, to millions all over the world.

* At the time of going to press there has just appeared the latest publication of the National Adult School Union, viz., a study handbook entitled *International Affairs*, with sections dealing with Foundation Ideas, History and Geography, International Affairs To-day, and the New Spirit, contributed respectively by Norman Angell, J. Fairgrieve, C. Delisle Burns, and G. Currie Martin.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ADULT SCHOOL AND KINDRED ASSOCIATIONS

“Appropriate Christian fellowship is as necessary as explicit Christian teaching, and perhaps the change of method most needed in practice to enable the Church’s members to do the work of Christ in the world is a change in their relations with each other.”—C.O.P.E.C. REPORT ON *The Social Function of the Church*.

“Bondage to self, whether in the family or the Church, means spiritual deafness to the voice of God. So long as your sympathies are turned inward instead of reaching out and searching all the nooks and crannies of life, so long God must remain invisible and silent, for your eyes and ears are bent on the one spot on earth where the manifestation of His presence is denied. He is not really silent; He continually speaks in the hearts and through the lives of countless men and women, did you but listen.”

J. WILHELM ROWNTREE.

THE history related in the preceding pages has shown that, from its beginnings, the Adult School Movement was ready to welcome assistance from all kindred activities that were useful to it, and also, on the other hand, to aid societies to which it could give any acceptable help. We have traced a reference to various educational societies in the early years of the nineteenth century, to the Mechanics’ Institutes and Working Men’s

Colleges at a later time, and most closely, of course, to the F.F.D.S.A. and to the Society of Friends itself. But we have seen that many other denominations welcomed the idea of the Adult Schools, and originated schools in connection with their own churches, while both the Baptist and Congregational Churches, from time to time, had addresses on the movement in their assemblies. These links were, however, very slight, and cannot be called organised.

In the chapter on the activities of the movement during the war period, we have noted the organisation of the Council for the Study of International Relations, and the close association in which it stood to the movement, but it has been in recent years that the Adult Schools have stood in new and intimate relations to various kindred societies of recent growth.

The first of these to be noted is the Settlement, or College—because it partakes in character of both—founded at Woodbrooke in 1902. This was the direct outcome of the advocacy of members of the Society of Friends, several of whom have been intimately associated with Adult Schools, notably Edward Worsdell, John William Graham and Edward Grubb. These Friends had advocated, in various connections, the necessity for further guidance and study for the younger members of the Society. With them was associated Joshua Rowntree, who had done such magnificent work for the Adult School at Scarborough.

At Manchester, in 1895, a conference was convened, attended by over a thousand members of the Society, and the addresses there given pleaded for a more adequate presentation of the message of

Friends, in relation to the thought and need of the times, and, as one essential to this end, provision of opportunities for a better equipment of Friends' ministry. One of the most keen advocates of the movement, who was himself present at the conference, was John Wilhelm Rowntree, who had for several years been working to bring about some such result. He was editor of the *Present Day Papers*, which appeared from 1899 to 1902, and in which the history of the Adult School Movement, later published as a volume, first appeared. One of the papers he contributed to this publication was called: "A Plea for a Quaker Settlement," and in it he said:

"What is suggested is, in effect, a Wayside Inn, a place where the dusty traveller, stepping aside for the moment from the thronged highway, shall find refreshment and repose. . . . It is proposed that a permanent Bible School—not a Theological College—be established, open to any person of either sex, above, say, eighteen years of age. While the curriculum would probably be of special value to those who feel called to serve as teachers or as ministers of the Gospel, it would only be so because it aimed at placing pointedly before Friends 'the practical, spiritual, non-sacerdotal aspects of divine truth, in relation to individual and national life.' "

In order to further this end, a series of Summer Schools were arranged at Scarborough 1897, Birmingham 1899, Windermere 1900, Scarborough 1901, and Woodbrooke 1903. These schools

effected what had been desired, and aroused much interest in the newer methods of putting truth, that the lecturers of these schools rendered familiar to those who attended them.

As a result of his personal interest, George Cadbury entered into a correspondence with John Wilhelm Rowntree, and eventually, in 1903, the former Friend offered his residence at Woodbrooke, near Birmingham, along with the grounds that surrounded it, as a home "for the purpose of a College or Hall of Residence, or Institution, where members of the Society of Friends or Quakers and other persons not being members of the Society of Friends may in the first place receive instructions with regard to and study the Christian religion, especially as it bears upon the doctrines held by the members of the Society of Friends and in connection therewith receive and enjoy the benefit of practical training and experience in Christian work especially as carried out by the said Society; and secondly, study social and economic questions; and thirdly, study the classics and theological and psychological and other branches of learning; and fourthly, receive the benefit of spiritual and intellectual culture and intercourse, or do any one or more of these things."

It was specially hoped that Adult School leaders would be drawn to the new college, and that hope, especially in recent years, has not been without some degree of fulfilment. This is not the place to give any history of the college at length, but reference should be made to *Woodbrooke; Its History and Aims*, by Arnold S. Rowntree, 1923, from which the above facts have been taken. The college has grown greatly in the intervening years, and round

about it have now been grouped quite a number of other educational establishments.

In 1907, there was set up a Woodbrooke Extension Committee, with Edward Grubb as secretary, and one of its definite purposes was to help forward the work of the better training and equipment of those who were teaching in the Adult Schools. In this direction it did much to arrange week-end lectures for the movement, the first of which was held at York in 1906, being arranged by a group of Adult School members who had visited Woodbrooke, and were desirous that their friends should share in some of its privileges. The committee responded as generously as possible, and there soon averaged about a lecture school per week, a large amount of the work being done by Tom Bryan and his colleagues at Fircroft.

Commenting upon this, Arnold Rowntree says: "That the need for such help was, and still is, great on the part of Adult School workers, and particularly those who lead the discussion of the weekly lesson, is obvious. The Lesson Handbook, issued by the National Adult School Union, based as it normally is upon courses of study from the Old and New Testaments, calls for intelligent handling, and it is no disparagement to the average Adult School leader to acknowledge that he is not always well-equipped to conduct an open discussion on such themes. It must be remembered that many who come into the schools, have little interest in the Bible and are suspicious of organised Christianity. The Socratic method favoured in the schools, and the fact that there are many thoughtful but critically-minded men and women in the movement, makes it all the more important that the leaders should be



LEMINGTON-ON-TYNE ADULT SCHOOL SETTLEMENT.

able to keep in touch with progressive religious thought and to deal with the doubts and difficulties with which they may be faced with intelligent and informed minds."

Many Adult School men and women have come in contact with Woodbrooke through the series of Summer Schools that have been held there for a number of years. Mere residence in the college helps to introduce the visitors to the atmosphere of the place, and has an indefinable but very real effect upon their life. Some of them have also attended the Unity History Schools, which have been organised by F. S. Marvin and Edwin Gilbert, and the lectures delivered at them issued in important and interesting volumes.

It is more than probable that, in years to come, the connection between Woodbrooke and the Adult Schools will become still closer, and there are many signs that fuller advantage may be taken of its assistance by Adult School men and women, while, on the other hand, the college is considering plans for extending its action, in rendering the help it is so well qualified to give.

One of the colleges in the Woodbrooke group is Fircroft, which was founded in 1909 as a Residential College for working men, who could there devote themselves to a short or long period of organised study. Its first Warden was Tom Bryan, M.A., who had himself been long identified with the Adult School Movement, first in Leicestershire, and later as Sub-Warden of the Browning Settlement in London.

Bryan trained for the Congregational ministry, at the University of Glasgow, where he took his degree, and at Bradford. While at college in the

latter city, in 1893, he became one of the original members of the Independent Labour Party. On leaving college, he joined Herbert Stead at the Browning Hall Settlement, in Walworth, and in 1902 became the first Labour Mayor of Southwark. In 1903 he joined the staff at Woodbrooke, and while there became President of the Bristol Street Adult School, which position he held until illness compelled him to abandon it. In 1904 he paid his first visit to Denmark, and was enormously impressed on that occasion by the People's High Schools in that country, and what he there learnt was one of the main factors in moulding the programme for Fircroft when it came into existence.

He was wont to say that it was to the Adult School Movement that Fircroft owed its birth. It was at a meeting of the National Council in 1908 that a group of leaders of the movement discussed the question of founding a settlement, where scholars might come for a week, a month, a term or a year, to study seriously, with a view to equipping themselves better as citizens, Adult Scholars, or teachers. In the course of a discussion in the Council, George Peverett expressed the wish "that some place existed where men might go and study under the shadow of some such teacher as Tom Bryan." A building was found at Bournville, and adapted for the accommodation of twenty men. George Cadbury, Junr., threw himself heartily into the work, and on January 12th, 1909, the first term began with twelve students.

In the life of Tom Bryan, written by H. G. Wood and Arthur E. Ball (published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., at 2s. 6d.) we are told (page 53) that, from the Adult School side, Bryan took the ground

that : " the teacher and the scholar should meet on a footing of equality, as comrades in the quest after truth."

It was this element of open discussion, characteristic of the Adult Schools, that became a familiar feature at Fircroft. From them also was derived the early morning reading, with hymn and discussion, which was so marked a feature of the Fircroft fellowship. He had learned in the Adult School the value of patience. It is said that he had spent a whole winter teaching one man to read and write, and that he always considered the least intelligent member of his class as his test. If he could not interest him, he felt he had failed.

From the Danish High Schools the system of residence was adopted, and the importance of this Tom Bryan never failed to emphasise. The curriculum included Biblical work, Literature, History, simple Natural Science, Economics and Citizenship, but above all, the main teaching of the Warden was to induce such a spiritual view of life among his students that, as has been said, they might learn to see that there is " some sense in their existence."

The old students of Fircroft created a Guild, and one of its latest activities, started in 1922, was to arrange for first-class lecturers to visit Adult Schools and Unions, either for single lectures or week-ends. The lecturers gave their services free, only requiring from those they assisted, hospitality and out-of-pocket expenses. If the latter proved too heavy a strain upon any school, the Guild was further prepared to assist them.

The Fircroft tradition has been well maintained by subsequent Wardens, W. F. Harvey, M.A., M.B.,

who succeeded Tom Bryan after the latter's death in 1917, and by the present Warden, W. J. Wray, M.A.

The association between the Adult Schools and Fircroft has become closer in the last few years by the creation of bursaries for Adult School men who are able, and willing, to become students at the institution. As this develops, the effect upon the schools will, undoubtedly, be of marked benefit. A special effort is being made (1924) to raise a Tom Bryan Memorial Scholarship Fund.

One of the most significant social and educational experiments of the latter years of the nineteenth century was the establishment of settlements in the great cities of England. First, and for a time the most famous of these, was Toynbee Hall, in East London. The first conception of this settlement arose in the mind of Edward Denison, a keen follower of Ruskin as early as 1866. His death in 1870 prevented his carrying out the scheme, and it was not until the late Canon Barnett met Arnold Toynbee, who was a frequent visitor to Barnett's vicarage at St. Jude's Whitechapel, where he used to devote part of his vacation to delivering University Extensions lectures to popular audiences, that the scheme matured. The year after Toynbee's death, Canon Barnett formed the settlement in his memory, and the first group of men took up their residence in 1884. The idea in its origin of these settlements was that University men, or later women, might reside for a time in the heart of a working-class district, and share their knowledge and outlook on life with their less fortunate brothers and sisters, while, at the same time, they might themselves learn, at first hand, conditions of life so different

from their own, and be enabled to gain by experience the knowledge that was necessary for altering and improving these social conditions. Adult School connections with the settlement were not infrequent, for example, T. E. Harvey, M.A., was for a time Warden of Toynbee Hall, while at the settlement at Hulme, in Manchester, an active Adult School existed.

The type of settlement just described was, however very expensive in building and equipment, and demanded University people as residents, so those who were interested in such work felt that something along simpler lines should be attempted, and as the outcome of their consideration of the subject, within the Society of Friends two experiments were made in the year 1909, by the opening of a non-residential settlement at Leeds, named Swarthmore, and at York, named St. Mary's. The first Warden at Leeds was G. K. Hibbert, M.A., B.D., with Maurice L. Rowntree, M.A., son of Joshua Rowntree, of Scarborough, as his assistant. Its committee consisted of a Council of Friends in Leeds and the neighbourhood, but membership of the Council was not confined to the Society. The building used by the settlement for the first ten years or more of its existence, was a substantial private residence, with a small garden, near the heart of the city. In 1920 the home of the settlement was changed to a building on another side of Woodhouse Square, which, though lacking a garden, has the advantage of being directly entered from the street, and thus more easily attracts the outsider. The result has been a large number of new students, the weekly average in 1923 being 450. The courses of studies are varied, and special attention has been paid to the needs of Adult School

students and teachers. The biblical and religious side of the work has always been prominent, and the Sunday evening discussions, a feature upon which great stress was laid by G. K. Hibbert, were peculiarly valuable.

The settlement was also made the home of University Tutorial Classes, and Adult School week-end lectures, and courses of week-evening lectures by Adult School lecturers were also held at the settlement. A system of extension lectures was also carried out in neighbouring towns.

When G. K. Hibbert resigned to become headmaster of Ackworth School, the Wardenship was taken for a time by T. E. Harvey, M.A., who was later succeeded by Dr. C. E. Hodgson.

St. Mary's, York, had as its first Warden, Richard Westrope, M.A., who had as his assistant Wilfred Crosland. The Warden's personality, which was of an original order, impressed itself upon the settlement and great freedom was one of its marked features. The general courses of study were similar to those already described at Swarthmore, and there also, groups of Adult School members were welcomed for week-ends of an educational character. One of the visitors thus recorded his experience:—

“ It was a time,” he says, “ that I shall not in a hurry forget, and it has led me to search into my own heart and life, and to ask myself ‘ What am I doing to extend the Kingdom of God on earth ? Am I satisfied with educating myself in the material things of life, and leaving out the spiritual ? ’ The one cannot really and truly exist without the other. The whole gathering has been a revelation to me.”

In 1915 a women's class on European History was started in one of the suburbs of York, and attracted about forty students.

In 1921 Richard Westrope was succeeded by J. A. Hughes, M.A., and under his leadership various new features have been introduced, particular attention being paid to Music and the Drama.

An early effort in the direction of the smaller settlements was the establishment of The Homestead at Bulwell, Nottingham, in February, 1911. The sum of nearly £500 was raised by the school, and a three-storied house on the main road purchased. In addition to an excellent meeting room, the house contained a women's parlour, a billiard room, reading and card rooms, and a bathroom. This was the outgrowth of the local Adult School, which, under William Leaning and his wife, had from 1906 made immense strides. The whole town had been divided into four districts for visitation, and a wide list of interesting subjects was provided for discussion, with the result that the school soon numbered 400 men, and one of the members of the men's school, a collier, pressed successfully for the establishment of a women's school, which, under Miss Fyson's presidentship rapidly rose to 350.

The first Adult School Settlement proper was started at Birkenhead in 1914, in a pleasant villa residence named Beechcroft. There the Warden, Horace Fleming, himself a business man at Liverpool, resided with his wife and family, and this close connection with the students gave Beechcroft a unique and peculiar privilege, though it demanded, of course, an exceptional strain upon the Warden and his wife. The settlement speedily became a home for local trades unions, among whom

many classes were organised. Admirable lectures were given to the district Trades Councils, by the most eminent authorities, and this feature of Beechcroft has given it peculiar significance and value.

A recent testimony on this subject is worth quoting: "Discussion and controversy," says the writer, "are in the very atmosphere. There is no proselytising or facile conversion. On the contrary, the individuals tend to become stronger in the principles they profess. Essentially the typical Beechcrofter knows his mind and expresses it. But the difference within and without our walls is that these men can disagree on creeds and purpose, but believe in one another. So the Pleb and the W.E.A.-er may have a battle royal in the hall before repairing to their respective class-rooms; both may be filled with a noble scorn of the other fellow's views, and a sense of the rightness of his own, but neither questions the other's honesty, or denies his right to his own way of thinking.

"Women also, in the settlement, have truly come to their own. Equality is never mentioned, it simply exists. Women do everything in the settlement that men do, and one or two things besides. Feminism, and its opposite, are never heard of."

It was also made the headquarters for the Workers' Educational Association, and for many Adult School meetings. Classes for women are also held there, and a "play nursery" established, so that women might attend the classes with an easy mind, while their children were cared for by trained volunteers. Another interesting feature was the establishment of a Christian Political Fellowship, attended by

members of the Anglican and Free Churches in the neighbourhood.

In recent years a wonderfully successful Pageant of English Literature was held in the grounds of Beechcroft. In 1923 Halcott Glover's play, *Wat Tyler*, was also produced. Quite recently a little theatre has been erected, with a seating capacity of 350, and it is hoped to develop community drama on new lines. The study undertaken by the students will include, first of all, technical equipment of all sorts, and secondly, the study of the best examples of dramatic art, by actually acting the plays. Beechcroft also possesses its dramatic wardrobe, under a voluntary director, and is rapidly specialising in the drama department. Plays have been given and many novel features, from time to time, have marked the activities of this extremely interesting and important centre. Horace Fleming resigned his wardenship in April, 1924, on becoming secretary of the World Association for Adult Education.

A settlement of a different type, which was the direct outcome of an Adult School, is to be found at Lemington-on-Tyne, near Newcastle. The President of the School for years was Dr. Andrew Messer. He had drawn round him many of the most intelligent workmen of the district, and his school was a thoroughly live institution. He was not, however, satisfied with the premises available, and felt that something more should be done for the community in which he lived, if a better centre could be obtained. As the Medical Officer of Health for the district, he knew better than most its needs, and he had the highest ideals for the service of his fellow men and women.

In 1913, a building was acquired, which had served formerly as a temporary laboratory for Armstrong College. The building was a wooden one, and was re-erected on different lines, so planned that extensions could be readily made. A substantial extension was made in 1921, when the new wing, the gift of Earl De La Warr, was opened. It forms a substantial and well-designed building, with a large open space in front, which will eventually make a good bowling-green. The men of the school were set to work on the extensions at a time when unemployment was very common in the district, with the result that the movement got a fine building, and the men a trade union rate of wages for many weeks in succession. A special feature of this settlement is that the whole place is maintained at a minimum cost. There are no paid officials, even the caretaking being done by members of the school, who take their turns according to a rota arranged each quarter by the secretary. The building is light and bright, and admirably adapted for its purpose. The Adult School on Sunday morning forms the centre of the settlement's activities. It meets for a longer period than most schools, and has tried various interesting experiments by dividing into two parts, one of which has been devoted to special subjects, such as Regional Survey, New Testament study, Industrial History, etc., while the second part of the united school is devoted to regular Bible lessons. The women's Adult School, classes for boys, Mothers' and Babies' Welcome, folk dancing classes, ambulance and natural science classes, and so forth, meet on the week evenings, while popular lectures and concerts are given on Saturday nights. It is the object of the Warden to

lay great stress upon the humanities, and his own exceptional knowledge of English literature, and his gifts of exposition, make him an ideal teacher. On Sunday evenings there is a delightful fellowship meeting of the simplest but most attractive character.

As will be seen from this brief description, the settlement has many unique features, and one of its most encouraging aspects is the wonderful influence it has already had upon the community. Its members have been largely influential in creating the new town-planning extension, which is regarded by authorities on the subject as one of the most ably conceived and excellently carried out of such experiments in the country. Lemington is a splendid example of what may be done by the introduction of a settlement into a comparatively small community, and of the effects that such centres could exert upon the life of England, were they sufficiently multiplied, under leaders as well-equipped and as single-hearted in their aim and effort as Dr. Messer.

An experiment with *The Homestead* was begun at Wakefield in 1913, as the outcome of Adult School work carried on in this neighbourhood for about ten years. It was a fine example of what a group of working-men could do on their own initiative. Much of the actual work was done by the men themselves, and by their own effort they raised the necessary amount to build a little house, the two top rooms of which were made into one. The outbreak of war, soon after the foundation of *The Homestead*, much crippled its activities, and several of those who were active in its initiation have since left the town. Quite recently, however, new life has come to *The Homestead*, and its future seems

secure. It is a good example of the simplest form of non-residential settlement, which it is difficult to distinguish from an active Adult School. As a matter of fact, the settlement idea is one which should be developed much more by all Adult Schools who have, or can acquire, the necessary premises.

The founding of "Bide-a-Wee" in 1919 was a notable contribution to the welfare of ex-service members of Bunhill Adult School, the oldest in London. Nearly ninety young men from this School happily returned from military and naval service. Through the generosity of the School president, J. B. Braithwaite, these young men were provided with a gathering-place which is at once a club, an educational centre, and a "home." "Bide-a-Wee" is a house in Alwyne Square, North London, simply but tastefully furnished, and under the wardenship of Gordon Rose, B.A. Primarily intended for social intercourse and class-work for the ex-service members of the School, the house is now also open to the lads attending the Junior Section of Bunhill School, and is proving of the greatest value in aiding them to gain a truer and nobler view of life.

Many more recent experiments must be named. First *The Folk House*, Bristol. This building, originally a mission of one of the Baptist chapels in the city, had, for many years, housed an Adult School as one of its activities, but in 1920 a special arrangement was made by which a new Council, composed of members of the chapel and of Bristol Adult Schools, was given control. A large number of structural alterations were made in the building, and a resident Warden, Paul Sturge, B.A., was appointed. *The Folk House* is designed as a centre for Adult School

activities in the city, and follows the lines of other settlements already described in its lecture courses and classes. Its situation, next door to the Public Library, in the Cathedral Square, is an admirable one for its purpose, and should mean, in coming years, much benefit to the Adult School activities of the city.

The John Woolman Settlement. The idea for settlements in London, in connection with the Society of Friends, was first mooted in 1916, and the hostel opened at Duncan Terrace, Islington, in the following year. The present Warden, Charles R. Simpson, was appointed in 1918. There is a boarding-house for students and others in connection with the settlement, and many foreigners have been attracted to it. There are now ten classes meeting regularly, and these cover a variety of subjects, from lectures on the Bible to those on Appreciation of Music, Economics, and Political Philosophy. A special feature in connection with the work of this settlement, has been the Warden's lectures in the prisons at Pentonville, Wandsworth, and Wormwood Scrubbs. These have proved of great value. At the settlement, the Women's Adult School meets, and there is also held an Infants' Welfare Centre.

The Walthamstow Settlement. The headquarters of this settlement are Winchester House. The first effort to start the settlement was made by the Adult School, which met in this building. A committee of the Society of Friends, meeting at Greenleaf Road, undertook the arrangements, and some three years ago Arthur Gage became the first Warden. Within a year his health broke down, and Maurice Rowntree, admirably suited for the work by his long experience at Swarthmore,

undertook the management. Unfortunately he was speedily compelled to resign, as he had undertaken special service in Constantinople, and the present Warden is Arthur S. Le Mare, B.A., formerly a master at Leighton Park School, Reading. Under his care the various activities of the settlement are vigorously maintained, a special feature being work among the juniors, which attracts an attendance of nearly 100 boys and girls.

Bensham Grove Settlement. This settlement is beautifully housed in the former residence of Dr. Spence Watson. It is situated in the very heart of Gateshead, a district that, as much as any other in England, requires the type of service that the settlement can render. It is the only one, so far, with a lady Warden, Miss Jowett, M.A., who had served in a similar capacity in the university settlement at Bristol. She is assisted by Herbert N. Davy as Sub-Warden, who is doing admirable work in the lads' club and other activities. There is room in the settlement for a number of residents, and this gives it the character of the older and larger settlements. Lectures and classes form the main activities. The Adult School also meets regularly on the premises.

Letchworth Settlement. A settlement was opened at Letchworth in 1920, under the Wardenship of James Dudley, M.Sc. This settlement is centred in the well-known garden city, so that its surroundings are very different from the majority of such institutions. There is a wide range of subjects taken in the various classes, the Warden himself lecturing on History, and Music, under the care of Miss Ibberson, is an important feature, much pioneer work being done by the monthly concerts of

chamber music. The settlement also endeavours to spread its influence in the surrounding villages, help being rendered in this work by the Students' Fellowship.

The Venture, 138, Portobello Road, Kensington. This was founded in 1920, and Miss Chadwick is secretary. It conducts various classes, and is designed as an educational centre for the borough. An Adult School meets on the premises.

Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire. The Folk House in this town was founded in 1921. The Warden is Walter Bone. Lectures, study groups and a W.E.A. tutorial class have their centres in the building, and a branch has been formed at Doncaster.

The Educational Settlements Association was founded in 1920, with Arnold S. Rowntree as chairman, and Basil A. Yeaxlee, B.A., and C. E. Elcock as joint secretaries. Its headquarters are at 30, Bloomsbury Street, so it is in very close association with the Adult School Movement. Many of the settlements described above are directly affiliated with it, and its aims and purposes are set forth in the Rules and Objects of the Association as follows :

1. *Name.*—The Association shall be called "The Educational Settlements Association."

2. *Affiliated Bodies.*—Institutions calling themselves "Settlements," or which are of the nature of "Settlements," and mainly engaged in adult educational work, are invited to apply for membership in the Association. The letter should be accompanied by a full statement of the work they are doing, as well as by relevant literature, etc.

The Association will then decide upon each case, being guided in its decision by the terms of the memorandum printed on pages 7 and 8.*

3. *Annual Fee.*—The affiliation fee has been fixed at a minimum of £1 1s. per annum from each institution, payable to the Honorary Treasurer immediately on joining, and renewable on the 1st January each succeeding year.

4. *Representation.*—The Association shall consist of representatives of affiliated institutions, co-opted members, and the officers. Each affiliated institution is entitled to two representatives, and it is desirable that one of these should be the warden or other officer in charge. The Association shall have power to co-opt members from among persons interested in its objects: the number of co-opted members shall not exceed twenty-five per cent. of the number of elected representatives. Each of the above shall have the right to vote.

5. *Meetings.*—The Association shall hold meetings at such times as the members shall decide, and in any case not less than three times a year, one being the Annual Meeting.

6. The objects of the Association shall be to assist in the development of Adult Education, particularly in the following ways:

- (a) To encourage the formation of Settlements and similar institutions.
- (b) To keep Settlements in touch with each other by means of Conferences of the members of the Association and others.

* *The Educational Settlements Association : Objects and Rules, 1920,*

- (c) To assist Settlements (in an advisory capacity) in the development of their work.
- (d) To collect and circulate information as to :
 - (1) Available lecturers, demonstrators, instructors, etc., with fees and charges ;
 - (2) Names of persons desiring to assist in Settlement work, as Wardens or in other ways ;
 - (3) Possible openings for social service for such persons ;
 - (4) Organisations, publications, etc., of service to Settlement workers in administration, research, and the general development of the work ;
 - (5) The work of other educational and social organisations.
- (e) To prepare and publish literature which will assist in the fulfilment of the general objects of the Association.
- (f) To initiate Conferences, Summer Schools, and other gatherings calculated to assist in the development of Settlement ideals.
- (g) To advise upon the training of Settlement workers, and to create facilities for such training.
- (h) To encourage Settlements to engage in Research and Experimental work.
- (j) To represent, when so authorised, the views and claims of the affiliated Settlements to the Board of Education, Local Education Authorities, and Universities in matters of policy and finance.

- (k) To investigate methods of adult education abroad, and disseminate information thus gathered among affiliated Settlements.

In London in 1920 a very simple type of settlement was started at Balham, largely owing to the enthusiasm of E. J. Fullwood and his wife. It consists of the basement and ground floor of a semi-detached house. The ground floor rooms make pleasant class-rooms, while the whole of the basement is turned into a hall, brightly decorated and furnished with a useful stage. Many excellent educational classes are held, and the study of French is particularly popular, on occasions French services being held on Sunday evening. These are much appreciated by the students. Drama and music are very special features of this settlement, and within six months of its foundation its Dramatic Society obtained a prize at a Crystal Palace competition. There has also been formed a well-attended and enthusiastic class for Greek Dancing, under the tuition of a teacher from the Margaret Morris School. The settlement has also become a home for a branch of the Dickens' Fellowship.

The latest Settlement we have to record is *The Folk House, Reading*, which was begun in 1923, under the guidance of E. Talbot and R. H. Robson, B.A. It is a distinct outgrowth of the Adult Schools, and their meetings form a definite part of the programme. There is a full week's course of lectures on literature, economics, foreign affairs, music, drama and country dancing, with popular lectures on history on Thursday evenings. During 1923, Effie Ryle devoted herself to assisting this settlement.

A very interesting work was undertaken two or three years ago by Edwin Gilbert at Plymouth, when a social club was opened in connection with the Friends' Meeting House in that town. Edwin Gilbert's enthusiastic leadership soon made the club a great success, and he has been succeeded in the general oversight by Arthur S. Gage, and in the winter of 1923-24, growing educational work has been undertaken. Various classes have been arranged, and dramatic groups, orchestras, folk-dancing and children's lectures are all included in the programme.

As was noted in the chapter on the war activities of the Adult Schools, the Y.M.C.A. invited special help from several Adult School leaders during that period. On the other hand, in various war areas Adult School men were drawn into the Y.M.C.A. huts, and came into close contact with Y.M.C.A. leaders in many parts of the world. It was probably, however, in the association of the Educational Committee of the Y.M.C.A. that new plans were developed, at first almost unconsciously, for helpful association in later years. When the war was over, the huts that were established in many places by the association, were obviously possible centres for Adult School work. Some of the hut leaders had learned to understand the methods of the movement, and used in their Bible classes the Adult School Handbook. In Yorkshire, for example, a definite offer was made by the local Y.M.C.A. leaders to the Adult School authorities, to open Adult Schools in all their huts, if leaders could be found. This was, of course, too large an order for the depleted ranks of the Adult Schools after the war, but efforts were made in a few places to meet the demand. Definite endeavours are on foot, at this date (1924) to carry

on joint activities in different districts in England, and it seems likely that the two societies may be mutually helpful in many ways. Adult School lecturers have given much help to Y.M.C.A. centres, and at Leeds a peculiarly interesting Adult School is held on Sunday afternoons, in the central Y.M.C.A. premises.

When the Y.M.C.A. training centre existed for a few years at Mildmay, in London, assistance was given to the students by one of the Adult School lecturers, and that assistance has also been continued in Y.M.C.A. Summer Schools. Y.M.C.A. lecturers have also aided the Adult School Movement. The Correspondence Study Classes, since 1921, have been jointly carried out by the Y.M.C.A. and the National Adult School Union, and the assistance the former have rendered has been invaluable, and has gone far to render these classes as admirable as they now are.

The Adult School Movement has special facilities for, and a natural tendency towards, association with similar bodies, and it appears as if part of its contribution to the educational work of England could be developed along these lines. On the other hand, it is obvious that it should not so work as to lose, or even lessen, its peculiar individuality. Criticisms are sometimes passed upon it for being so ready to aid others that it forgets itself, and it sometimes appears as if it were quite ready to lose its identity in endeavouring to be broad-minded and generous enough to do the work that is nearest. If it has a special contribution—and who that has read these pages can doubt it—it should be sufficiently clear as to what the value of that contribution is to make it necessary to preserve its significant character and value.

One of the Educational Associations that has been brought most closely into contact with the Adult School Movement, which indeed through its Council is affiliated with it, is the Workers' Educational Association, which was founded under the leadership of Dr. Albert Mansbridge, in 1903, as a non-sectarian, non-party and democratic association for the development of the education of workers. Its lines of work consisted mainly in the organisation of lectures, the founding of one-year classes, and, what is regarded as its chief contribution to the education of the community, the foundation of tutorial classes, which consist of students who promise, so far as circumstances will permit, to continue the work of a definite class for three consecutive sessions. The class teachers are all of University standing, and the committees that supervise the classes consist of equal numbers of representatives of labour and representatives of the Universities. In some centres the closest association between the W.E.A. and the Adult Schools has been formed, and joint series of lectures and classes arranged.

Probably Bristol stands first in the list of centres that have made this arrangement though it may be noted, e.g., that in 1911 such a joint committee for the Birmingham district organised 964 classes or lectures. In Warrington and other towns very excellent work is done on these lines, and at several settlements tutorial classes are held. Adult School men and women form a large proportion of the students of the W.E.A. throughout the country.

In some cases, the Adult School Correspondence Classes have become very interested in their subjects, and the desire to study with greater thoroughness

has led to the foundation of tutorial classes. Fuller details of the movement will be found in Dr. Mansbridge's history of its work.*

The Central Library for Students was founded in 1916, and upon its Council the N.A.S.U. is represented. It was due to Albert Mansbridge that this splendid idea was brought to fruition. "To each student his book" is its motto, and its purpose is to send free to anyone who is working at a special subject, in however remote a part of the country they may be situated, the best books on the particular problem with which the student is dealing. Various trust funds contributed generally to the foundation and maintenance of the library, and its importance and value are obvious.

Dr. Mansbridge also originated, in 1919, the World Association for Adult Education, and one of the joint secretaries from the foundation of this new society has been Horace Fleming, formerly Warden of Beechcroft. Other Adult School men and women are associated with its Council.

The purpose of the Association was, in the first place, to obtain information about all adult education work going on throughout the world, and its central office is doing its utmost to supply the place of a bureau for international exchange of information on the subject. It has also issued a series of most interesting quarterly bulletins, with more or less detailed accounts of the work that is being done all over the world. It has also in mind the arranging of conferences, and several of great interest have already been held, and it aims at arranging, as soon as possible, a World Conference

* *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, by Albert Mansbridge. 1920.

on the subject. To sum up its mission in the word of its founder—"The Association seeks to bring into co-operation the mutual relationship of the adult educational movements and institutions of the world, in order that peoples may proceed in greater power through wisdom—the mother of all things knowledge and help, to bring about on earth the final working of such a social and political order as may minister to more complete individual lives, and which the several nations, in their degree and place, may deem it wise to adopt."

As an outcome of this Association, there has been established the British Institute of Adult Education, under the Presidentship of Lord Haldane. Its main purpose is to "seek, by all possible means, to commend the idea of adult education as fundamental in society." The institute hopes to make careful investigation of all problems connected with the subject, and to give assistance to the Committee, appointed by the Board of Education, on Adult Education, through the calling of conferences, and considering of reports dealing with the subject. Its first conference was held at Balliol College, Oxford, in the autumn of 1922, and the second at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the autumn of 1923. Reports of both these conferences have been published.*

The Adult School Movement was brought into close contact with an organisation founded in 1914, called the Holiday Fellowship, whose secretary, T. A. Leonard, had previously had many years' experience in the Co-operative Holiday Association. Arnold S. Rowntree became president of

* The third was held at Manchester University in September, 1924.

the new society, and, with his own vision of the great value to be obtained through co-operative holidays, did much to secure the enthusiastic inauguration of the movement.

It was from the first determined to have centres abroad, but the outbreak of the war entirely prevented this branch of the work at its outset, and much hampered activities at home. However, the energy and enthusiasm of the organisers surmounted great difficulties and the H.F. has gone on with increasing power from year to year. Many Adult School men and women have taken part in the holidays, and several have acted as hosts and hostesses on various occasions, while others have given lectures at different centres. The Fellowship wisely considers that holidays are not fulfilling their best function unless some stimulus is given both to the intellectual and spiritual life of those who take part in them, and consequently these are both well catered for at all centres.

The Fellowship also does fine social work, by enabling those who would not otherwise be able to obtain them to have free holidays, the money for which is generally contributed by the guests at the various centres. At the British centres, in 1923, £454 were collected for this purpose. Over one hundred children of the unemployed were also given holidays at two of the centres during 1923. In the same year 277 men and women were able to enjoy this privilege in addition to forty-four who were granted the privilege at half rates. Many of the guests had never seen sea or mountain before, and their gratitude, not only for the rest, but still more for the change of company, and the kindly human fellowship, filled their lives with abiding joy.

The latest report of the Fellowship shows that for the year 1924, fifteen centres will be available, including various districts in England, two in Scotland, two in Germany, one among the French Alps, one in the Italian Lakes, and one in Switzerland, while special excursions will be arranged, one at Easter to Holland, and one to Denmark.

In 1921 a somewhat kindred society was founded under the title of the Workers' Travel Association, whose purpose is to promote foreign travel and comradeship among nations. Some Adult School members have already benefited by the help of the association, and in coming years the relationship between the two societies may very likely become still closer.

The National Adult School Council is officially associated with the following organisations and in most cases has definitely appointed representatives upon their governing bodies, namely :

- The Workers' Educational Association ;
- The Central Library for Students ;
- The League of Nations Union ;
- The World Association for Adult Education ;

and, through its Women's Committee, with the following :

- The National Council of Women ;
- The National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Child.

CHAPTER XV

WHITHER ?

" A liberal education is based on studies, but is an atmosphere rather than a curriculum. It is an education through discipline for liberty. It opens windows in the mind. It means that the body shall be developed by systematic and vigorous exercise, that the eye shall be trained to see and the ear to hear with quick and sure discrimination, that our wills shall be kindled by an ideal and hardened by a discipline which enjoins self-control, that we shall learn something of the records of the past, and how the great poets and sages have interpreted the experience of life. It teaches us by what toil and patience we can alone make our way along the road to truth. Its highest purpose is to give us insight into reality and to give us the power of distinguishing between what is true and half true or false. Central in it is the element of Character."

SIR MICHAEL SADLER,

" The sky is dark enough, but I still believe in the old Christian ideals, the conversion of the individual, the equal priesthood of every Christian, the free exploration of God and Christ by every Christian, the untrammelled investigation of the truth of Scripture, and the reality of Religion. There are plenty of people, of course, ready to give lip-service to these ideals and to get them "canned"; but there are still many who believe in them in earnest."

T. R. GLOVER.

" The test of growth in truth is growth in fellowship."
The Dean of Bristol (Dr. E. A. Burroughs).

IN the course of our long study of the rise and progress of the Adult School Movement, we have traced its development from the days at the end of

the eighteenth century when the little company of women in the early hours of Sunday morning gathered round the Scriptures to learn afresh their meaning, that in turn they might teach them to their less fortunate sisters. A very simple beginning it was, without any vision of a larger and more important future.

Then we saw the groups of unlettered men and women gathering in each others' houses on Sunday evening in the City of Bristol early last century. Their effort was to learn to read and write, and when they had attained sufficient proficiency to read a chapter of the Bible they considered their task completed ; but these groups also learned the lesson of the application of the principles they acquired from their study to the conduct of every-day affairs, and so it was that the fire kindled by William Smith spread within a few years over the whole country, and, as we discovered, produced many varying effects and presented numerous indications, as at Gainsborough and Leicester, of the lines along which the movement was to progress in later years.

After the movement inaugurated in Birmingham by Joseph Sturge had found its feet, we saw a new trend of ideas and accomplishment. Early morning hours were those fixed upon for study, and somehow the fascination of the novel time and fresh methods led rapidly to popular developments. There was no longer any thought of a temporary purpose in the schools, but men came to regard them as life-long engagements and looked to the fellowships of their fellow scholars as the richest experience in life. For the first time a definite religious society made itself in the main responsible for the conduct of the schools, and this change, though it had its attendant

weaknesses and dangers, gave also a sense of continuity and purpose that the earlier work had lacked. The essential catholicity of the movement also soon became clear in its extension to other denominational centres and to schools which arose apart from any denominational connection. One outstanding feature of the movement at that period was its emphasis upon the distinctly redemptive side of its service. Those who were "down and out," to use the modern phrase, were the people for whom the Adult School felt itself not only privileged but best fitted to work. This side of the movement's activity is illustrated in the narrative of the transformed public-houses in Birmingham and elsewhere; in the character of many of the best-known advocates of the work in the latter part of the nineteenth century; and in the fervid enthusiasm for the movement shown by those who found in it the best outlet for their missionary and evangelistic fervour.

It was, however, the essentially educational purpose of the movement from its outset that saved it from any extremes of sensational or sentimental zeal. We have noted how the educational side developed quite naturally as new needs arose, and that the leaders of the movement were careful to counsel the members wisely and yet courageously into new channels of knowledge and service.

It is also noteworthy that the social side of the work developed with considerable rapidity and harmony throughout the years and that the Adult Schools themselves were frequently in the forefront of such new activities in the country as Garden Cities, Guest Houses, Summer Schools, Prison Reform, Settlements and Maternity Centres. In quite recent years they took a prominent part in the

establishment of more systematic training for working men and women, while, in another direction, the Brotherhood Movement was a direct outcome of Adult School effort and experience. The place that the movement had taken in the life of the nation was clearly recognised in the final report issued by the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

This document included a very careful examination of the various activities of the Adult School Movement and recognised with gratitude the immense service rendered to the community by the movement as a whole. The report describes the purpose of the Adult School as being "to intensify the social spirit by associating men together for the free study of the deeper problems of life, viewed in relation to the ideal of manhood set before them in the Gospels."

The Committee also declared that as a result of the work done by the Adult Schools a demand had been created for more extended and intensive study amongst the working classes which the schools themselves and other allied societies must supply. This was recognised as specially important and satisfactory in connection with women's work and emphasis was laid upon the value of self-government in Adult Schools, because that feature was considered to be essential if educational opportunities in the villages were to be widely developed. Much space was devoted in the report to the value of Settlements. The Committee also recognised that the advance of adult education depended almost entirely upon the speed with which voluntary agencies could stimulate, focus and organise the demand for it. They therefore laid emphasis upon

the great importance of supporting and extending the work of such voluntary organisation. These and these alone could serve in the most effective way to spread humane education throughout the country. The Committee therefore gave great encouragement to the Adult Schools, but also laid upon them new and extensive responsibilities. The Committee recognised that the work of bringing a group of students into existence is one for which such voluntary organisations as the Adult Schools are especially adaptable. They say "It is work of a missionary character, requiring special knowledge and a special organisation. These bodies open up new sources from which students may be drawn; they prepare the ground, they stimulate the demand for education; they ascertain the needs of students, and bring together those with similar interests and tastes; they arrange for the type of class which in the circumstances is most suitable. They consult the students on all matters connected with the organisation and conduct of the class. They infuse into it a corporate spirit. The students organised by voluntary agencies conduct the internal affairs of the class and become responsible for its success. In this way freedom and responsibility are combined. Moreover, voluntary educational movements are able to bring groups of students in the same and even in different towns into touch with each other by means of common discussions, week-end lecture schools, and social functions. Students by these means become associated with others enjoying the same interests and come to realise that they are identified with a wider movement than membership of a class would otherwise appear to involve."

The Committee's whole summing up of the situation is to draw attention to the value of voluntary agencies as an integral part of the fabric of national education, because, through their power of keeping the work varied and spontaneous and responsive to the ever-widening needs of the human mind and spirit, they can render service that is not possible for any other type of organisation.

The Adult School Movement has in recent years become much more known and recognised by all classes of the community and it may be well here to give one or two testimonies to its value from recent books dealing with kindred subjects. Let the first quotation be from J. W. Graham's *The Faith of a Quaker*, pp. 316-318.

“Adult Schools . . . represent the most signal service which the Society has rendered to the nation in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and continues to render to-day. An Adult School is the simplest form of religious, social and intellectual fellowship that could be found. A group of men sit round an amateur teacher, study the Bible, and are possessed with the spirit of fellowship. ‘The spirit of fellowship’ works the miracle. It is like an early Christian community before the evolution of the clergy. Comment is free, questions shower in. . . . The theology is as many-coloured as the Pied Piper and every kind has to meet criticism. . . . Horizons are wonderfully enlarged for the hard-working men find there at once their church and their university. . . . It is not too much to say that the Adult School marks the greatest expansion of the lives of working men that has

occurred in our time. . . . The pastoral and redemptive work done by working men for their fellows as members of the same class can hardly be over-estimated. Not least among the services rendered by the Adult School Movement is its breakdown of class distinctions."

The next witness we shall cite is one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, Mr. F. S. Marvin, who has himself done such splendid service in his volumes on the Study of History and in organising successive summer History Schools. He states in *The Making of the Western Mind*, pp. 334-5.

"The vitality of religion we may not judge only by the church statistics of established bodies: we must look outside to the vast and growing numbers of looser organisations.—the Adult Schools, the Student Christians (*sic*), the Christian Endeavour members—the multitudes enrolling themselves in a new and freer spirit under the Christian banner. 'Authority' in the old Catholic sense they have not. But they differ from those who cultivate a religious sense without the Christian name, in looking back to a definite religious tradition and a personal Divine and human Founder. If this divides them from the hosts of others, Buddhists, Confucians, Mahometans, who have another tradition and name another prophet, it is a source of strength and unity within their own ranks. Their universal purpose is service, control and devotion of themselves to the interests of others, and in all cases they have no limit to the sphere of their benevolent activity but mankind. They rank also the

cultivation of the mind as part of their human duty, and thus come into relation with the general intellectual movement of the age."

The testimony of the writer of *Painted Windows** is also significant :

" Let us suppose," he says, " that the whole Church of Christ has engaged in teaching men this high mystery [viz., that Reality is God, and that God is Father], this open secret, that all such great associations as the Christian Students' Movement, the Adult Sunday School Movement, the World Association for Adult Education, and all the numerous Missionary Societies throughout the whole earth—let us suppose that the entire Church of Christ was at work in the world teaching Christ's teaching, *educating* men, bringing it home to the heart and mind of humanity that 'life is mental travel,' that it is in our thoughts we live and by our thoughts we are shaped, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, that all terrestrial values are radically false, that to hunger and thirst after anything is to get it, that the power of 'the dominant wish' is our fate, that in love alone can we live to the full stature of our destiny, that the Kingdom of God is within us, that the engine of faith has not yet been exerted by the whole human race in concert, that conquests await us in the spiritual world before which all the conquests of the material world will pale into insignificance, that we are spirits finding our way out of the darkness of an animal

* Published by Mills and Boon, 1922.

ancestry into the Light of an immortal inheritance as children of God ; let us suppose that this, and not dogma, was the Voice of the Church ; must we not say that by such teaching the whole world would eventually be rescued from our present chaos and in the fulness of time be born again into the knowledge of spiritual reality ? ”

All such testimony to the value of the Adult School Movement is important and encouraging, but the matter of supreme interest to the historian who has followed the history of the movement thus far is, what is to be its future ? Were the matter only one of historical interest this story would not be nearly so significant as if the movement is to be regarded as only on the threshold of far more important developments than the past century has seen. Are there any indications that this is the case, and what are the directions in which improvement and extension are to be expected ? There can be no question that the Adult School Movement at the present time has difficulties to contend with that fifty years ago did not exist. At that time, and for many years afterwards, it was possible to entice men and women to enter schools on the promise of teaching them reading and writing. These were attainments that almost everyone desired to possess, but now that they have become the common lot of all children in Great Britain there is no single subject that can be offered as a substitute upon the desirability of which everybody is agreed. This throws back the Adult School advocate upon either of two lines of approach. First, he may claim that a wide, free and intelligible

religious teaching is to be found in the Adult Schools; but unfortunately many people feel no interest in religion, or they are perfectly satisfied with the form of it with which they are identified, and may even be very little inclined to discuss in a very free atmosphere its nature and implications. Secondly, the Adult School enthusiast, who desires to find fresh members, may take refuge in a very vague and general description of its *spirit of fellowship* and of the advantages that come from association with its activities; but this is usually too indefinite an appeal to meet with much response, and therefore the very benefits of which such advocacy speaks are only to be realised after some experience of the movement from within.

It is clear that, generally speaking, the modern movement must be content with a slower growth and with smaller groups than in former days. This line of advance has distinct advantages, because it means greater simplicity of accommodation and the saving of expense in buildings, which large schools running into several hundreds necessarily entail. By simpler methods also greater variety in programme and easier experiments are possible.

Another direction in which there is every indication of rapid progress is that of "mixed" schools, where men and women are members of the same class. A very few years ago mixed schools were absolutely discouraged by the leaders of the movement, but, since the war particularly, they have grown in numbers and in efficiency, and some of the most recent and successful experiments in Sunday evening schools have been of this description.

Probably two factors have contributed to this change, first the war itself, with the much larger

sphere of activity given to women in the nation as a consequence, and the experience they had of freer fellowship with men in all sorts of practical services; secondly, the larger place taken in municipal and political life by women since the extension of the franchise. It is no longer true that women are unaccustomed or unwilling to state their opinions and discuss problems in the presence of men, and men also feel less shy than formerly in taking part in such discussions when women are present. Just as the Adult Schools have always endeavoured to be in touch with the most up-to-date activity of the men and women they sought to influence, so it seems likely that much of their future action will move along lines which appear to the present writer most sound and natural, the lines of joint action, education, fellowship and service in which both sexes will play their appropriate parts.

There has been another direction in which the forward movement of the Adult Schools has been manifest in recent years, viz., the increased activity of younger people. Many schools had for too long a period been satisfied with their stable membership, and had not attempted to get younger men or women into their ranks. Consequently, there was a wide break between those well on in middle life and any junior members who might be induced to attend. Naturally these younger men and women did not feel at home in such a society, and quickly ceased attendance. In the majority of cases, the only way out of the difficulty was to found new schools for the younger people. In many parts of the country this work has been rapid and encouraging, either in mixed schools, or in experiments on fresh lines for men and women in separate societies. Sometimes the

difficulty has been met by starting a class for younger men or women in connection with an existing school. There are, of course, many cases in which schools have wisely kept up a constant supply of recruits, and in such cases the difficulty has not been acute. As conditions stand, however, the progress of these younger schools must be watched with great care, lest in time they repeat the mistakes of their seniors; but for some years to come it is clear that the younger schools recently established will play a large and prominent part in the future of the movement.

These considerations lead us to the next point of importance, viz., the lack, in many quarters, of missionary zeal and extension efforts. Too often these have been haphazard, with the result that in certain districts school extension has been steadily kept before the local leaders as a distinct part of their programme, while in other places no such regular endeavour has been made. As we have seen, about a quarter of a century ago, a very simple but admirable method led to great extension of work in Leicestershire, namely, the idea of starting a new school each month. If we take a rapid survey of Great Britain at the present time, so far as the Adult School world is concerned, we shall find that the only two counties which have been anything like fairly occupied, in a geographical sense, are Leicestershire and Yorkshire. This does not mean that these counties are completely covered with a net-work of Adult Schools, but that it is broadly true to say that in most parts of these counties Adult Schools do exist, and that definite efforts have been made to consider the geographical aspect of the work.

The counties next in order to these are Surrey, Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Somersetshire. Some districts of these counties are fairly well supplied with schools, but in other parts of the same county the movement is not represented at all. The districts of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire, that are close to the city of Birmingham, are well supplied with schools, but in the remaining districts of these three counties they are almost lacking. A very notable omission is the whole district of the potteries in North Staffordshire, a most admirable field for Adult School activity, which up till now has been scarcely touched.

The next group of counties are those in which Adult Schools are found in only scattered districts of each county. These counties are Lancashire, Kent, Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Northumberland, Durham and Wiltshire. In some of them, for example Devonshire and Northumberland, they can hardly be said to exist outside the immediate neighbourhood of large cities, like Plymouth and Newcastle. The last group of counties may be said to cover all the rest of England. In some of these, as in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, there are good centres here and there, but the main parts of the county are untouched, while such counties as Cheshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Sussex, Rutlandshire, Oxfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Shropshire, have hardly a school among them.

When we look beyond England we find that in Wales the only schools existing are in Glamorgan-shire. In Scotland there are only one or two centres, and in Ireland nothing except in the city of Belfast and its neighbourhood. If, instead of thinking in terms of counties, we consider the great cities, we

shall find conditions better. London is fairly well represented by schools in most districts, but in many only one or two schools exist, and it cannot be said that any organised attempt has been made to meet the needs of the population. At the present time, Manchester and Liverpool are probably the least effective in Adult School organisation, while on the other hand, Birmingham and Leicester stand easily first. As we have said, the Scottish and Irish cities are either untouched, or represented by but one school. It is clear, therefore, that the first necessity for an advance in the movement, is that a systematic survey should be taken of the country, and organised effort made to consider, not only the centres at which the need is greatest, but in what way the existing forces can be best employed in extending the activities of the movement. Too much in the past has probably been left to local effort, and too little time and thought given to a well-organised campaign from headquarters. Another weakness seems to have been the idea that definite planning was somehow contrary to the genius of the movement or to its highest spiritual aspect. Another real difficulty has been the fact that many local schools have found it almost impossible to provide practical help for new districts, and experience has shown that it is very hard to get a new centre to work on its own initiative without assistance from those who have longer and fuller experience. If we are right in the view that smaller groups will be the line of extension in future, then some of these defects should be removed, and the simplest form of organisation, with even a small number of members, should give rise to much more wide-spread possibility of extension than in the past.

It must also be remembered in this connection that association with other societies, such as the Brotherhoods, the Y.M.C.A., the Student Christian Movement, and the Young Friends' activities, has already offered new lines of advance, and may, in the immediate future, present still further facilities for the opening up of new centres.

There are one or two further directions in which this question of extension must be examined and explored. First, the progress of the work in the colonies of the British Empire and in the United States. At present there are few schools existing in either the Colonies or the States, and extremely little has been done to foster them. Those which do exist have, in the main, been started by Adult School people who have gone to Australia, New Zealand or Canada, while a few schools that exist in the United States of America have been the outcome of Friends' Meetings, which have adopted the home mission activities in England. It must be granted that the difficulties are great in doing anything to spread the work in these countries from the home centre, but it is also clear that if the movement is to be as strong as we are convinced it should be, the effort to extend its message in both the Colonies and the States must be much more thoroughly and courageously made. Assistance should be given in every way to the schools that now exist, and it may be necessary to send deputations to these countries from time to time, in order to study local problems on the spot, and work out such solutions as will lead to progress in different conditions. In many of our colonies, as appears from the statement just made, there are no schools, nor has any attempt been made to found them. On the other hand, when we turn to the continent of

Europe, we can already trace the endeavours made by visitation in several countries to present our message, but, with one or two exceptions, no schools have yet been founded. Here, of course, the difficulty is much greater, because it is intensified by difficulties of language, educational methods, intellectual and religious outlook. It would not be reasonable to expect that Adult Schools exactly after the British pattern should be formed in such lands, nor would it be wise to attempt this, but if we are firmly convinced of the value of our methods and message, it should be possible to devise some such modification of our British type of school as would be of immense value to the various peoples of the continent of Europe. In this direction the work of the International Committee should be definitely and largely extended in the future. The work may be slow, but it is certain to be profitable, and if we value sufficiently what we have to contribute to national and international life, success would eventually be attained.

The third direction in which extension is to be considered, is on the various mission fields of the world. Already sporadic efforts in the direction of Adult Schools have been made in China, the South Seas, and India, but no serious attempt has yet been made to place our particular form of service before the Missionary Societies at home, or to train outgoing missionaries in the special genius and adaptable forms of our work. It has been felt by many, within and without the movement, that much may be possible along these lines, and it certainly appears to be a very wide field of labour ready to hand, and with excellent opportunities for effectively carrying it into practice.

The question of the mission field suggests another very important consideration for the twentieth century Adult School Movement, viz., its relation to the existing churches in this country. Our examination of the history has shown us that the movement began, and for a long time continued, as a sort of handmaid to the churches. The purpose in the mind of its originators was to teach men and women in the first instance to read their Bibles, and while they gave them this instruction, to influence them also in the spirit of the religion that the Bible presented. Their aim, however, was to avoid all sectarian, or even credal, teaching. Indeed, it has been the purpose of the schools to embrace all forms of religious belief in their ranks, and to welcome many who accepted no kind of definite religious idea. But as the movement spread, after the middle of the last century, very largely in connection with the Society of Friends, it was inevitable that their special religious views should be reflected in many of the schools, and this has also been to some extent true wherever other denominational schools have arisen. There are centres in which the schools have been known as Baptist Schools, and there may be instances in which, if the only school in the town meets in a church or chapel belonging to any one denomination, the general idea is that the school is an activity of that particular section of the Christian Church.

One result of the wider growth of the movement is that an increasing number of men and women regard the Adult School as their religious home. They soon discover that the regular weekly meeting of the school does not supply all that is requisite for religious worship, and so the demand has arisen in

many quarters for a meeting of a more devotional character to be held at some other hour than the school itself. For this reason we have seen the growth of Fellowship Meetings in many centres, a notable example being the Severn Street Christian Society, to which reference has been made in an earlier section of this history.

Where only a men's school has been formed, there has been a frequent demand for some other meeting to which the wives and children of the members might come, in order that they might share in the new life that the members of the school have already discovered. In recent years these varied demands, and the efforts to meet them, have been frequently discussed in the National Council, but no definite policy has as yet been devised for meeting the needs. Naturally, the leaders of the movement have been chary of anything that looked like creating a new denomination. The responsibilities of such action have been felt to be very great, and no clear line has yet been devised for dealing with the problem. Experiments have been encouraged, but it is clear that such casual methods will not long suffice.

It appears as if there were only two possible lines of progress. One, so to leaven existing religious communities with the special methods and spirit of the Adult School Movement, that they will, in their own societies, create such opportunities for their members as the Adult School affords ; that is, that they will allow perfectly free examination of religious questions and discussion, and stimulation of thought in an atmosphere of absolute liberty. It is found, for example, that many churches do use, in their Bible classes and other meetings, the

handbook annually published. Many religious societies are feeling after something along the lines of Adult Schools, and expression is frequently given to the desire to have some opportunity, similar to what the schools afford, in the regular activities of various denominations. There are cases, at the present moment, in which a Sunday morning service has definitely taken the form of an Adult School, but these are very rare, and it has yet to be seen whether or not religious denominations are inclined to move further in this direction.

It may be that the greatest service that the Adult School Movement can render to the religious life of the community is to leaven it with its spirit of wider and fuller freedom, and to encourage in all sections of the Christian Church a method of freer inquiry and less formal discussion than has yet been found possible. A step in this direction is seen in many places where the ministers of churches and chapels give opportunities, after a regular service, for question and discussion, and this may point in the direction of action that may be more definite and prescribed on the part of the Adult Schools in their relation to existing religious communities.

The only possible alternative to such permeation of other religious bodies with the spirit of the movement, is to form the Adult Schools into a new religious organisation of their own. There have been sporadic attempts in this direction quite recently, where associations by the name of "Fellowships" have been brought into existence. and this may point in the direction indicated. It would, however, be a new experiment to found a church with no definite creed, the main basis of

which would necessarily be to find and apply truth, and the central conviction of which would be the belief that truth was discoverable.

The aims of the Adult School go even further than this, because they indicate that the ultimate purpose of the movement is to apply the ideals of the life and teaching of Jesus to everyday conduct. This does not, of course, pledge anyone to a theological theory about the nature of the message and person of Jesus, but it does indicate that, in the judgment of the movement, its highest ideals applicable to present social national and international relations are those discoverable in his life and teaching.

It may be, then, that as a natural growth and development of the movement as it now exists, definite societies may be formed which will thus present new points of attachment for men and women who are in search of a religious home which they cannot find in existing associations. It may be that it is along these lines that the Adult School is destined to assist in the great work of Christian union, which is exercising so many minds at the moment. To the present writer it certainly appears that many of these endeavours are being made along false, or at all events, imperfect lines. Surely not the external, but the internal points of contact are the most vital and important. These internal realities are fewer, but much more significant than the others. It may seem at first as if they are too difficult to deal with satisfactorily, but, on the other hand, they promise much more stable foundation. One has great sympathy with the saying attributed to Abraham Lincoln that he would not 'join any church until he found one with the courage to

state as its only creed the two commands that Jesus selected from the Jewish law as the basis of all religion, viz., Love of God and Love of Neighbour.

We shall, of course, be told that this is an utterly impossible foundation for any church, because it is too general and indefinite for any society to make it its basis. This is, however, to beg the question, for Jesus believed that these two commands constituted the foundation of the highest life that man could lead, and their application would, in his judgment, mould a perfect society.

It is, no doubt, clear that no group of people has yet endeavoured to apply these to life and conduct without further addition and interpretation, and it may be reserved for the followers of this movement to put them to the test in their simplicity and significance.

Another acute question that is frequently raised in Adult School circles is the supposed difference that exists between the evangelistic and educational sides of the movement's activities. Many have written and spoken as if the two were mutually antagonistic. Nothing, however, can be further from the facts. The hundred years of the movement's history, that we have examined, have shown that at every moment of fresh advance it has been on educational lines that the movement has made progress. This educational work was inspired in the minds of the promoters of the schools by a definite evangelistic purpose. That is to say, they sought the highest spiritual attainment for those on behalf of whom they were working, but they had faith in the educational method as to the best way to attain their ends.

As a matter of fact, education is only one method of evangelism. One method, that is to say, of leading men to understand the divine purpose concerning them. It would be quite correct to say that the whole of the Old Testament was the record of a great divine educational experiment ; law and prophets alike were divine educators, and the New Testament, whether in the person of Jesus or in the teaching of his disciples, recognised the same truth. In common with other great religious educators, such as Buddha, Socrates and Francis of Assisi, Jesus thought it worth his while to spend most of his time on a handful of intimate followers. The training of the twelve, as A. B. Bruce taught us, was the most significant part of his ministry. It may be said with perfect truth that the story of the relation of Jesus to that group of men is the first record that we possess of Adult Schools in that sense of the term. Though in going further back in the records of human story, the Schools of the Prophets in Israel, Socrates and his disciples, and Buddha with those whom he illuminated, are all kindred enterprises.

The education that such movements desired could only be attained through a life of fellowship, wherein every mind was important, and where even the leader himself could accomplish nothing apart from the co-operation of his followers.

"Religion," says Principal Jacks, "might be defined as education raised to its highest powers." "What most of us need," he says again, "it not so much a new definition of education as a new vision of it. Visions are more potent things than definitions."* It must be one of the chief functions of the Adult School to assist the nation to rise to this

* L. P. Jacks, *A Living Universe*. Hodder and Stoughton.

conception of education, which ought to be one of the main forms in which the religious consciousness declares itself and impresses its power upon the community. Too long have narrow views of education hindered among children and adults the real meaning of the purpose of Christ for the world. When men say that education is the chief necessity for the democracy, it is of primary importance that they should understand what is meant by the term, and how it is to be applied to the problems of thought and conduct.

It is faith in this method that has given to Adult Schools in modern times the success they have attained. There is no need to disguise the dangers that this method involves, but it has always seemed to such great leaders as we have named, and to their modern successors, that the risk is worth while, and that the greatest tasks are only accomplished when men are willing to make great ventures. The pressing problem for Adult Schools is to find proper leaders. That has always been the problem, and one of the modern tasks to which we are called is that of discovering new methods of training leaders.

It is to this end that many of the more recent activities of the movement, such as Lecture Schools, Winter Schools for Women, Settlements, Fircroft College, etc., have been directed. The danger is considerable that men and women, in the first excitement of new discoveries, should make great mistakes. Bishop Creighton used to speak frequently of the tremendous risks of what he called "half culture," which he said was apt to claim the right to give an opinion on every possible subject, while the first beginning of true culture was humility.

In an address on one occasion to the Worcestershire Union of Workmen's Clubs, he said: "Times of ignorance have advantages of their own. People know they are ignorant, and are, in consequence, willing to be guided by others. Times of perfect knowledge, in which everybody is capable of forming an intelligent and wise opinion on the materials submitted to them—these also have their advantages. But what we are now confronted with is a time of half-knowledge, when everyone thinks he is called upon to form an opinion, and thinks he is as capable of doing so as anyone else, and when he considers that it is not the wisdom of his opinion but the loudness of his voice and violence of character with which he enunciates it, which will carry the day. We need greater humility. A man should know what he knows and what he does not know."

Similar language has been recently used by Canon Barnes, who has often shown great sympathy with our movement, and therefore more attention should be paid to his warning. "Are we safe," he asks, "from an irruption of intellectual barbarism? Such barbarism corrupted the legacy of Greek thought of the Golden Age long before classical civilisation was destroyed. There are some signs that a similar period of decline is beginning in Western Europe and North America. Universal education, if it is of the right kind, may check such deterioration. But in actual fact such education as the masses now have has done harm. When men of ability who belonged to, or entered, the ruling classes were the sole source of ideas a fairly high standard was developed. But now that everyone can read and write certain superstitions are becoming respectable because they are so widely held."

“Crude thought is published. It attracts crude minds and the men who by superior mental power ought to mould the thought of their time are ignored. The spread of crude pseudo-Christian and non-Christian religious cults, which nowadays show deplorable vitality, is a most discouraging phenomenon.”

To save men and women from the dangers indicated by these two leaders is one of the chief purposes of the Adult Schools, and it must remain a primary endeavour of the movement to steer clear of the risks so admirably pointed out in the passages quoted.

The application of the lessons learned is not less important than the efforts to reach truth itself. Service has always been recognised as a necessary part of Adult School activity, but the best way in which to render service has not always been clear. There are certain minds which demand that the movement, as a movement, should express in resolutions and similar directions the mind of the members on all current topics.

As we have already seen, the National Council has discouraged this line of action, and in our judgment, wisely. Two dangers beset such methods. First, that when men and women agree upon some resolution, they are too often apt to think that their duty is then fulfilled, and they have delegated their own action to others, whereas the clear recognition of definite lines of action should be made a personal call to service.

In the second place, resolutions passed by a majority are frequently the starting point of controversial division. It is impossible that all minds should agree as to definite lines of political and

social action, as is clearly seen, for example, by recent statements of Adult School members who have criticised the movement on two exactly opposite grounds, some because it does not ally itself definitely with the Labour movement, and others because they felt that the general trend of the movement is too much in the direction of sympathy with the Labour programme.

From the point of view of the wisest leadership in Adult Schools, the possibility of these two views being taken at one and the same time is the best proof that the movement is going along sound lines. The ultimate task that faces us seems to be the maintenance of a spirit of freedom, brotherhood and charity, which will not be content with vague and indefinite idealism, but shall always seek clearer conviction and some definite effort for effective social service.

To quote the words of an unpublished paper written some years ago by the late William Charles Braithwaite :

“ The education is through fellowship, and the education and fellowship are directed to the great ends of character building and the service of humanity.

“ The education is to small groups, where everyone can do his part, rouse himself to mental effort, extend his own personality in a bracing, sincere and friendly atmosphere.

“ The education is in the closest touch with life, not the dissection of dessicated problems, but the grappling with realities of the things that matter. It takes men of sincerity, and insight, and sympathy, to make full use of so fine a means of helping their fellows, but those who devote this to the work are

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richly repaid. They learn more than they can give. They are exhilarated by a new fellowship, and their service is among the highest given to mortals, the making of men and women, which is the making of England."

A FEW IMPORTANT DATES

- 1798 Adult School began at Nottingham by Wm. Singleton.
- 1812 Adult Schools begun at Bristol by Wm. Smith.
- 1845 Severn Street Adult School begun in Birmingham by Joseph Sturge.
- 1847 F.F.D.S.A. founded.
- 1869 *Monthly Record* started.
- 1891 *One and All* started.
- 1899 National Council of Adult Schools formed.
- 1900 *One and All* becomes organ of National Council.
- 1902 Edwin Gilbert appointed first whole-time Secretary.
- 1907 First National Conference held in Bristol.
- 1910 First organised international visit.
- 1913 Removal of Headquarters to London.
- 1914 Name altered to National Adult School Union.
- 1917 First President chosen.
- 1919 Forward Movement inaugurated.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL COUNCIL

CHAIRMEN OF COUNCIL.

- 1899-1900 William White.
1900-1922 Wm. Charles Braithwaite, B.A.,
LL.B.
1922- Arnold S. Rowntree.

HON. SECRETARIES.

- 1898-1905 George Newman, M.D.
1905-1919 Arnold S. Rowntree.
1919-1924 F. J. Gillman.
1924- Ernest Dodgshun, B.A.

HON. TREASURERS.

- 1899-1907 J. B. Braithwaite.
1907-1922 Barrow Cadbury.
1922- Thomas Wall.

PRESIDENTS.

- 1917-1918 William Charles Braithwaite, B.A.,
LL.B.
1918-1919 W. Arnold Viccars.
1919-1920 Mrs. M. L. Whiting.
1920-1921 Charles Pine.
1921-1922 Miss M. C. Albright.
1922-1923 Edwin Gilbert.
1923-1924 Alfred E. Wykes.
1924-1925 Wilfred Southall.

APPENDIX A.

Extracts from Dr. Pole's *History of Adult Schools* (1814) relating to Constitution, Rules, etc., for Adult Schools, Conductor and Teachers. (Pages 89-98—Appendix.)

RULES PROPOSED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF ADULT SCHOOL SOCIETIES, WHICH MAY BE HEREAFTER ESTABLISHED IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY; AND FOR THE REGULATION OF THE SCHOOLS THEMSELVES, TAKEN FROM THOSE OF THE ORIGINAL SOCIETY IN BRISTOL; IN WHICH SOME ALTERATIONS ARE MADE, AND A FEW REGULATIONS ADDED, RESULTING FROM EXPERIENCE SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE FORMATION OF THAT SOCIETY.

1.—That the great object of this Society be to teach persons to read the Holy Scriptures; and that all poor persons, of both sexes, and of any religious persuasion, of sixteen years of age or upwards, be considered eligible for admission into the schools as learners; and shall be admitted by the conductors according to their discretion, and be dismissed by them as they may think proper.

2.—That this Society shall consist of Subscribers, Conductors, and Teachers.

3.—That a Committee* be chosen out of the Subscribers; one of whom shall fill the office of President, another that of Treasurer, and two† that of Secretaries. That the Committee shall meet once every month,‡ with full powers to adopt any regulations that may appear to them beneficial to the Society; that —§ shall form a quorum; and that all Clergymen and Dissenting Ministers, being Subscribers, be considered members of the Committee *ex officio*.

4.—That any three members of the Committee shall, with the concurrence of the President, Treasurer and Secretaries for the time being, be empowered at any time to call a meeting of the Committee, or of the Society.

* The number of Committee-men according to the extent of the Society.

† One or two, as circumstances may require.

‡ The times of meeting to be fixed by the Society.

§ The number forming a quorum to be determined by the extent of the Society.

5.—That all annual Subscribers of five shillings or upwards shall be considered members of this Society during one year from each time of paying such subscription ;—and Donors of five pounds and upwards, be members for life.

6.—That proper places be obtained in this ——*, and within —† miles of the same, for the establishment of schools ; and that suitable Conductors and Teachers be provided by the Secretaries, with the assistance of other members of the Society.

7.—That each School shall have at least one Conductor, and a proper number of Teachers ; that each Teacher shall have a class, consisting of not more than six learners ; and that both Conductors and Teachers shall be punctual in their attendance at the time and place appointed for holding the Schools.

8.—That the Schools shall be opened on the first day of the week (Sunday), at two o'clock, and closed at four, unless otherwise fixed by the Conductors, with the approbation of the Committee ; and that the learners be admonished to be at their Schools ten minutes before the time appointed, to allow for the variation of clocks, that the Teachers may not be kept waiting after the time for commencing the business of the Schools.

9.—That personal cleanliness, in the learners, be particularly attended to, as far as their circumstances in life will enable them.

10.—That no learner be permitted to remove from one of the Schools to another, without first obtaining approbation, in writing, from the Conductor of the School he belonged to ; which notice of approbation shall be presented to the Conductor of the School such learner wishes to enter into ; subject to the acceptance or rejection of the last-mentioned Conductor.

11.—That a portion of the Scriptures shall be read, at the commencement and close of the School, by the Conductor or Visitor ; and that silence be strictly kept, not only during the reading, but also for a short time before and after the Scriptures are read.

12.—That to encourage the Conductors and Teachers, as well as to stimulate the learners to diligence in their attendance, and attention to the discharge of their duties, two or more suitable persons shall be selected by the Secretaries, every six months, as Visitors ; whose office it shall be to visit the Schools every fortnight, and endeavour to find out proper subjects for instruction, and call on absentees when necessary.

* City, Town, &c.

† Fix the number of miles.

13.—That the learners be considered as having obtained the object of this Society, when they can read distinctly and readily in the Bible ; and shall then be dismissed.

14.—That there be a meeting of the Conductors and Teachers on the —* day in every month ; and a general meeting of the Society on the —† day in every year,‡ of which due notice shall be given ; at which meeting the Secretaries shall produce and read a written report of the progress of the Institution, the number of Schools opened since the last general meeting, the total number under the Society's jurisdiction, the number of learners in each School, the average attendance of the learners, the number of Conductors and Teachers ; likewise a statement of the finances of the Society, with any other information they may judge expedient and satisfactory to the Subscribers. Which meeting shall be open to the attendance of strangers of both sexes, who may feel interested in this undertaking, and who shall be at liberty to offer such observations as they may judge likely to promote the object of the Society, or encouraging to those already engaged in this labour of love to our indigent fellow-creatures. At every such yearly-meeting, the names of suitable persons for filling the several offices of President, Treasurer, Secretary, Committee-men, and Collector, shall be brought forward to be ballotted for, who shall undertake the management of the affairs of the Society for the ensuing year ; and those who have served in these offices to the satisfaction of the Society, shall be eligible for re-election.

15.—That the Collector shall call upon the several Subscribers for their annual subscriptions, who shall pay the same into the hands of the Treasurer, who is to report the amount thereof to the Committee.

16.—That the several offices of this Institution be held, and their duties fulfilled, without any pecuniary reward whatever.§

17.—That in order to prevent any prejudice or jealousy, on account of little differences in religious opinions, and to favour the uniting of well-disposed persons of all Christian Societies in this laudable work of Christian charity, no controversy on doctrinal subjects, or religious points of any description, shall be allowed in any of the meetings of the Society, or the Schools belonging thereto ; but all parties are recommended to cultivate a spirit of reciprocal love and harmony.

* Time of meeting to be settled by the Committee.

† The week-day of the week, and month, to be fixed by the Society, or Committee

‡ May be yearly, or half-yearly.

§ A Collector may not in all cases be obtained without pay ; Societies must, therefore, act according to circumstances in this case.

RULES TO BE FAIRLY WRITTEN, PASTED ON A BOARD, AND HUNG IN A CONSPICUOUS PART OF THE SCHOOL-ROOM, WHICH SHOULD BE AUDIBLY READ TO THE SCHOOL ONCE IN EVERY MONTH.

1.—That the time of meeting be ten minutes before two o'clock, every first-day (Sunday) afternoon; and that precisely at two, the business of the school shall commence.

2.—That a portion of the Holy Scriptures shall be read, at the commencement and close of the school, by a Conductor;* and that silence be strictly kept, not only during the reading, but for a short space of time before and after they are read.

3.—That any orderly poor person,† above sixteen years of age, may be received into the school, or dismissed from it, by the Conductor, or Conductors*; and that personal cleanliness be particularly attended to, as far as their circumstances in life will allow them.

4.—That no learner belonging to any other school be admitted into this; unless it be certified, in writing, by the Conductor,* that it is with his approbation such learner makes application for admission into this.

PRIVATE RULES FOR THE REGULATION OF THE TEACHERS; EACH OF WHOM SHOULD HAVE A COPY IN HIS POSSESSION.

1.—Each teacher to be furnished with a class-paper, to keep an account of the attendance of each learner; which is to be filled up, and laid on the conductor's table before three o'clock.‡

2.—As soon as a teacher finds a learner in his class is fit to be advanced to a higher one, he is to inform the Conductor who officiates for the day.§

3.—The teachers are requested to be punctual to the time of meeting; that they endeavour to preserve stillness in their classes during the school-hours; and that they particularly observe the mode of instruction adopted in the school, in respect to reading and writing; when the bell rings to remove the lessons, to see that each learner cleans his own slate, waiting for the second ringing of the bell to remove them.||

* Conductress, if a female school.

† In a female school, we may say—an orderly female.

‡ Supposing the School to begin at two o'clock.

§ In some instances, several conductors officiate alternately.

|| In a particular school for the government of which these rules were framed writing is taught; which, I believe, is the only instance in Bristol and its vicinity. For the Reader to understand the latter part of this rule, it may be necessary to say, that one-half of the number of Scholars (of those who learn writing) are employed in that department, the other half in reading, during the first hour; at the expiration of which, the conductor rings a small bell, as a signal for changing their employments when those who have been writing are to go to reading, and those who have been

4.—A reading teacher to attend to one class only; and a writing teacher to two classes.*

5.—At the close of the school the bell is rung; then the class next the door is to move out first, led by the teacher to the door; the other classes following in the same manner, according to the order of their seats, until all the learners are dismissed.† After the room is cleared of the learners, the teachers are to put away the slates, pencils, lessons, &c., in the proper places appointed for them.

6.—When a teacher cannot conveniently attend, he is to apply to the alternate teachers‡ of the same class to supply his place for that day; if unsuccessful in such application, he is to supply the deficiency from the list of supernumeraries§; and should no supernumerary be at liberty, he is to inform the conductor, the day before that on which the school is to be held, that a person may be procured to supply his place.

7.—In case a teacher wishes to resign his office, he is requested to mention it to the conductor at least one month previously to his leaving the school.

N.B.—The list of supernumerary teachers to be added to each copy of these rules.

RULES FOR THE CONDUCTORS OF EACH SCHOOL.

1.—That there be four conductors chosen annually, whose office it shall be to regulate the school, and make rules for its internal government: two to attend the school alternately,

reading, to writing. On the bell's first ringing, the writers clean their slates; when about one minute has elapsed, the bell is rung a second time, as a signal for moving the slates to the other end of the desk, for the use of those who had been reading; and the reading lessons are moved to those who had been writing.

* One class will require the constant attention of a teacher, whilst learning to spell or read from a lesson before them; because the eyes of the teacher and learners are all to be fixed on a certain letter or word, upon which the pointer is placed; but the case is not the same with writers—a whole class may be permitted to write a line each, from a copy given them, whilst the teacher is instructing another class at the next desk; by the time that line is written, the teacher will be at liberty to turn from the other class, and point out any errors he may observe, or give any instructions that may be necessary; thus he is alternately employed between the two classes; for a short absence from each, is not attended with any loss to the learners.

† This desirable regularity and order cannot well be observed, excepting in a room furnished with desks and forms, arranged as they commonly are in proper school-houses. But most of the Adult Schools are held in private houses, and not supplied with desks, as writing is not taught.

‡ In some of the schools, two teachers undertake the instruction of one class and attend the school alternately, not being able to attend every week.

§ A list of teachers is kept, under the title of Supernumeraries, over and above the number employed in the school at one time; who have given in their names to supply the places of such who may occasionally be prevented attending their classes.

who shall examine all applicants, and admit such as may be considered eligible persons; but shall not dismiss any whose names have been entered in the books, without the concurrence of all the conductors.*

2.—That the business of the school be divided between the conductors who act for the day; and that a book be kept, in which shall be entered the age, name, residence, and time of admission of the learners; also, an account of the number present of both teachers and learners, and a class-paper provided for each class, headed with the teacher's name.

3.—Should either of the conductors wish to resign his office (before the usual time of electing new ones), he is requested to send notice thereof, in writing, to the other conductors, one month previously to such resignation, who are to provide a properly qualified person to fill the vacancy.

4.—Should either of the conductors be prevented attending in his turn, he is to engage one of the others to act in his place.

5.—That no tracts or publications be introduced into the school, without being previously examined and approved by all the conductors.†

6.—That the conductors shall appoint the learners to their respective classes, and remove them to higher classes as they advance in learning; and also appoint what teachers they may think requisite, and properly qualified.

7.—That a school-secretary be appointed, whose business it shall be to keep a fair book of the minutes belonging to the school; to write all notices, if required; to attend, and enter the transactions of the quarterly-meeting in a book for that purpose; and, with the conductors, to prepare a report, to be read at the general annual meeting of the Society.

8.—That a quarterly meeting of the conductors and teachers be held on the — day, —†; in every year; and that at the meeting next preceding the annual meeting, a report be drawn up, to be laid before the said annual meeting, mentioning the number of learners admitted since the commencement of the school, the number admitted in the present year, and the number now in the school, with the average attendance of the scholars; also the number and names of the conductors

* It is desirable to have more than one conductor, that they may occasionally relieve each other, or supply each other's places, in case of illness or absence from home. Most of the schools in Bristol have but one conductor or conductress.

† It might be proper for the Committee to appoint a Sub-Committee, to examine all tracts; to prevent the bias which particular opinions might have upon the minds of the learners.

‡ Enter here the particular day of a particular week, in four certain months of the year, so as to have the meeting last preceding the annual meeting of the Society a week or more before it is to take place, that the Secretaries to the Society may have time to make out their general report before such meeting shall occur.

and teachers, as well as a general account of the conduct and progress of the learners, with such other information as they may think necessary, in order to enable the Secretaries of the Society to make up their general annual report, to be printed and laid before the public.

Dr. Pole also gives the following :

RULES OF THE FEMALE ADULT SCHOOL AT IPSWICH, IN SUFFOLK.

1.—That three of the Committee be appointed, in rotation, to attend during school-hours ; who will be requested to take a general superintendence of the school, and give their attention *particularly* to the higher classes.*

2.—That if one of the superintendents be prevented attending, she shall signify the same in writing (addressed to the school), in the *forenoon* of the same day ; otherwise request one of the Committee, or someone already *approved by them*, to attend in her place.†

3.—That each of the Committee *in attendance* shall be allowed, after one month, to introduce one visitor each evening to the school.‡

4.—That the Committee continue in office one year, expiring the last day of October, when a new Committee shall be formed ; but that any of the former Committee may be eligible to be re-elected.

5.—That a Secretary be appointed, who shall also be annually chosen.

6.—That as it is of great importance the Committee should be punctual in their attendance, a book shall be kept, in which those who attend shall be requested to insert their names, with the *precise time* of their entering the school.

7.—That a meeting of the Committee shall at any time be convened, at the request of three of its members, delivered in writing to the Secretary.

8.—That the Committee be requested to attend in the following order.§

* The reason of this is that they have Monitors to attend the lower classes.

† The Superintendents here mentioned are those who attend the Evening-School, which is a distinct establishment ; so that notice sent to the Day-School, gives the mistress time to procure another person to supply the place of the absentee at the Evening-school.

‡ One month after the commencement of the School, to give time for it to be properly organised and regulated, before any visitors be admitted ; and by this rule the number of visitors are limited.

§ To this rule is subjoined a list of eighteen persons, composing the Committee ; these are formed into six divisions, each containing three persons, connected by a circumflex, opposite to which is written the day and month on which they are severally expected to attend the schools.

For comparison is here added a set of rules for the government of a later school.

COLCHESTER FRIENDS' FIRST-DAY ADULT SCHOOL,
1868.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE WORKING MEN'S SUNDAY
SCHOOL.

I.—All scholars are to be admitted to the School by the Superintendent, on Sunday Mornings.

II.—No scholar is to be admitted to the School under eighteen years of age.

III.—Any scholar absent from Sunday Morning School more than five times in the quarter, without sufficient reason, will be considered to have left the School, and his name will be omitted in the list for the next quarter, at the discretion of the Committee.

IV.—Each class or division is to appoint one Committee Man from their number, to assist the teachers in managing the School. The appointment is to be made quarterly.

V.—No scholar is to be eligible for the post of Committee Man who has been absent more than four times from the Sunday Morning School, without sufficient cause, during the previous quarter.

VI.—The General Quarterly Meetings of the School are to be held on the first Wednesdays in the months of January, April, July, and October of each year, to receive an account of the state of the School during the past quarter, to appoint the Committee Men for the ensuing quarter, and to transact any further business that may require attention.

VII.—If any difficulty or difference occurs in the School, the matter is to be brought before the Committee by the Superintendent. The decision of the Committee is to be binding on all persons concerned.

APPENDIX B.

CONSTITUTION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL.

1899.

1.—That the name shall be "THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ADULT SCHOOL ASSOCIATIONS."

2.—That the objects of the Council shall be to federate together the existing Adult School Associations, and any similar Associations which shall be hereafter formed, in order to advance the Adult School Movement as a whole, and to form a united executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole movement. The Council is not empowered to exercise any constitutional control whatever over the Associations affiliated under it.

3.—That Associations or Unions having 5,000 or more members on the books shall be entitled to send four (4) delegates; that Associations having a membership of 2,500 or more, but less than 5,000, shall be represented by two (2) delegates; and that Associations with a membership of under 2,500 shall be entitled to one (1) delegate. That Associations affiliated to the National Council shall be entitled to send one of their Secretaries to the meetings of the Council as an *ex officio* member, in addition to the quota of delegates provided under this Rule.

4.—That the Council shall consist of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a Treasurer, and a Secretary, and, in addition, delegates and *ex officio* members as provided in Rule 3. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary shall be elected annually by the Council, who shall have full power for that purpose to go outside the ranks of the appointed delegates.

5.—That the Council shall not be responsible for the payment of the expenses of its delegates.

6.—That the only condition limiting proposals to be discussed at the meetings of the Council be that the matter is introduced through one of the officially appointed delegates, or by minute from each, or any, of the affiliated Unions. Notice of proposals to be dealt with should reach the Hon. Secretary fourteen clear days before the meetings of the Council.

7.—That the Council shall meet at least twice in the year, and at more frequent periods if necessary. At least one meeting

in the year shall be held in London. The Council year shall end on the 31st of December in each year.

8.—That delegates shall be appointed annually, and in the event of their inability to attend the Council, the Association whom they represent, or its Secretary, shall appoint a substitute. This liberty shall not apply to *ex officio* members.

9.—That these Rules shall not be rescinded or altered except at a general meeting of the Council or a special general meeting called for the purpose. Notice of any proposed alteration should come from one of the federated Associations, and be made to the Secretary of the Council not later than one month prior to the Meeting of the Council.

By Order of the National Council, December 9th, 1899.

CONSTITUTION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL.

REVISED AT BRISTOL, 1907.

1.—The name shall be "THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ADULT SCHOOL UNIONS."

2.—The objects of the Council shall be to federate Adult School Unions in order to advance the Adult School Movement as a whole and to form a united executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole movement. The Council is not empowered to exercise any constitutional control over the Unions affiliated with it.

3.—Any Union seeking affiliation with the Council shall make a written application and this must be accompanied by a written statement by the Secretary of the National Council. It is to be understood that Schools comprising such Union shall maintain our fundamental principles: (a) the reverent study of the Bible to be the central feature; (b) the School to be worked on unsectarian, non-partisan and democratic lines.

4.—The Council shall consist of delegates from Unions as hereinafter provided. A Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Treasurer, and Hon. Secretary shall be elected at the first meeting in each year. These officers shall be nominated by a Committee specially appointed at the previous meeting of the Council, and such Committee shall have power to nominate persons who are not delegates.

The Adult School Trustees of the Fellowship Hymn Book shall be eligible to nominate one of their number to represent the Trust on the National Council: such nomination to be subject to confirmation by the Council.

5.—Unions shall be entitled to send one delegate for every 2,500 members or part of 2,500 on the books on January 1st. (See note A.)

In the event of any delegate being unable to attend, the Union represented may provide for the appointment of a substitute, whose name should be sent to the Secretary of the National Council. The Council may invite others to be present at any of its meetings.

6.—The Council shall not be responsible for the payment of the expenses of its delegates.

7.—Questions for discussion must be introduced by a member of the Council, or by a minute from an affiliated Union. Written notice of such questions should reach the Secretary twenty-one clear days before the meeting of the Council.

8.—The Council shall meet at least twice in the year, and oftener if necessary. The Council year shall end on the 31st of December.

9.—No alteration in these rules shall be made by the Council until it has been reported on by a Committee appointed for that purpose, but upon such report being made the Council may adopt the alteration with or without amendment.

Note A.—Delegates should be appointed for at least one year's service, ending December 31st, and it is strongly recommended that the Secretary should, where possible, be appointed.

NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION.

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED JANUARY, 1914, IN LONDON.

1.—The name shall be "THE NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION."

2.—The objects of the Union shall be to federate Adult School Unions in order to advance the Adult School Movement as a whole and to form through its Council a united executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole Movement. The National Union is not empowered to exercise any constitutional control over the Federated Unions.

3.—Any Union seeking federation with the National Union shall do so by means of a written application, which must be accompanied by a written statement by the Secretary of the National Union on presentation to the Council. It is to be understood that Schools comprising the Unions shall maintain as fundamental principles: (a) The reverent study of the Bible; (b) Unsectarian, non-partisan and democratic methods of working.

4.—The business and affairs of the National Union shall be managed by a Council consisting of (a) delegates from the Federated Unions as hereinafter provided; (b) A Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and other Officers; and (c) one of the Adult School Trustees of the Fellowship Hymn Book.

5.—(a) Federated Unions shall be entitled to send one delegate or every 2,500 members or part of 2,500 on the books on January 1st in each year. (See Note A.) In the event of any delegate being unable to attend, the Union represented may provide for the appointment of a substitute, whose name must be sent to the Secretary of the Council. (b) The Officers of the Council shall be elected at the first meeting of the Council in each year; they shall be nominated by a committee specially appointed at a previous meeting of the Council, and such committee shall have power to nominate persons who are not delegates. (c) The representative Trustee of the Adult School Trustees of the Fellowship Hymn Book shall be nominated by the Trustees; such nomination to be subject to confirmation by the Council. (d) The Council may invite persons who are not members of the Council to be present at any of its meetings.

6.—The National Union shall not be responsible for the payment of the expenses of its delegates or members.

7.—Questions for discussion must be introduced by a member of the Council, or by a minute from a Federated Union. Written notice of such question should reach the Secretary twenty-one clear days before the meeting of the Council.

8.—The Council shall meet at least twice in the year, and oftener if necessary.

9.—The National Union year shall end on the 31st of December.

10.—No alteration in these rules shall be made by the Council until it has been reported on by a Committee appointed for that purpose, but upon such report being made the Council may adopt the alteration with or without amendment.

Note A.—Delegates should be appointed for at least one year's service, ending December 31st, and it is strongly recommended that the Secretary should, where possible, be appointed.

NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION.

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED MARCH, 1918, IN LONDON.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

1.—The name shall be "THE NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION."

2.—The objects of the Union shall be to federate Adult School Unions in order to advance the Adult School Movement as a whole and to form through its Council a united executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole Movement. The National Adult School Union is not empowered to exercise any constitutional control over the Federated Unions.

CONSTITUTION.

3.—Any Union seeking federation with the National Adult School Union shall do so by means of a written application, which must be accompanied by a written statement by the Secretary of the National Union on presentation to the Council. It is to be understood that Schools comprising the Unions shall maintain as fundamental principles: (a) the reverent study of the Bible, (b) unsectarian, non-partisan and democratic methods of working.

4.—There shall be a President and President-elect of the Union, nominated in the same way as the officers of the Council, or, if the Council should so desire, by the Executive Committee of the Council. The President shall hold office from one Annual Meeting to the next, and shall not be eligible for re-election two years in succession. During his or her year of office, and during the year in which the President is President-elect, and during the year succeeding his or her year of office, the President shall be ex-officio a member of the Council and of the Executive Committee.

THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION.

5.—The business and affairs of the National Adult School Union shall be managed by a Council consisting of (a) the President, President-elect and Past-President; (b) a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and other officers; (c) one of the Adult School Trustees of the Fellowship Hymn Book; and (d) delegates from the Federated Unions as herein-after provided. Further, in order to maintain the historic connection of the Friends' First-Day School Association with the Adult School Movement, that body shall be invited to continue to send two representatives to the Council.

6.—(a) Federated Unions shall be entitled to send to the Council one man and one woman delegate for the first 1,000 members or part of 1,000 on the books on September 30th in each year. Unions consisting of more than 1,000 members may elect one additional delegate for each additional 1,000 members or part of 1,000. Delegates shall be appointed for one year's service from the date of the Annual Meeting of the Council in each year. (See Note A.) In the event of any delegate being unable to attend, the Union represented may provide for the appointment of a substitute, whose name must be sent to the Secretary of the National Adult School Union.

(b) The Officers of the Council, other than Vice-Chairmen, shall be elected at the first meeting of the Council in each year, and shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting of the Council: they shall be nominated by a Committee specially appointed at a previous meeting of the Council, and such Committee shall have power to nominate persons who are not delegates.

(c) The Vice-Chairmen of the Council for the ensuing year shall be elected by ballot, following nomination in open Council, at the meeting preceding the Annual Meeting. The number of Vice-Chairmen shall be limited to six.

(d) The representative Trustee if the Adult School Trustees of the Fellowship Hymn Book shall be nominated by the Trustees: such nomination to be subject to confirmation by the Council.

MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

7.—The Council shall meet twice in each year, once in Spring, to be considered the Annual Meeting, and once in Autumn. A Special Meeting of the Council may be convened by the Executive at any time.

8.—Federated Unions shall be invited by the Executive to contribute items to National Council Agendas. The Agendas shall be prepared at least one month before the meeting of the National Council, and shall be circulated among the Federated Unions so that the subjects may be considered by them before being debated in National Council.

9.—Questions for discussion must be introduced by a member of the Council, or by a minute from a Federated Union. Written notice of such question should reach the Secretary twenty-one clear days before the meeting of the Council.

10.—If any delegate has failed to attend two consecutive meetings of the Council, the Union shall be invited to elect another delegate for future meetings.

11.—The Council may invite persons who are not members of the Council to be present at any of its meetings.

12.—Each Federated Union shall be invited to ask the National Adult School Union to delegate some member not belonging to the Federated Union to attend, when possible, meetings of the Federated Union in order to stimulate its interest in the work of the National Adult School Union.

DELEGATES EXPENSES.

13.—Federated Unions shall be asked to make arrangements for paying the expenses of their delegates to National Council Meetings, similar to those made by the National Adult School Union for paying the expenses of its Executive. The National Adult School Union is prepared to find balance of expenses for hospitality during its meetings over and above what the Federated Union can provide.

ALLIANCE WITH OTHER BODIES.

14.—When a proposal for any alliance with other Bodies which may be regarded as co-workers is submitted to the Council the object of the proposed alliance must be clearly set forth.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

15.—The Executive shall (subject to clause 16) be composed of :—

The President, President-elect and Past-President of the National Adult School Union	3
The Chairman, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the National Council	3
The Conveners of the Standing Committees of the National Council	3
Ten women and fifteen men to be elected by the Council from the members of the National Council ..	25
	<hr/>
	34

16.—Each Federated Union may nominate members of the Council for election to the Executive Committee up to the full number of the elective part of the Executive in such proportions of men and women as may, from time to time, be determined, but for the year commencing with the Annual Meeting in 1919 in the proportion as given above.

17.—The Executive Committee shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Council in each year, and shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting. Voting shall be by ballot, and the ballot papers shall show names of Federated Unions proposing each nominee. Nominees to be approached by the Secretariat of the Central Office, prior to the meeting of the Council at which the election takes place, as to ability to serve if elected.

18.—The Executive shall have power to make use of the services of others besides its own members on Sub-Committees, etc., as it may find desirable.

MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

19.—The Executive shall hold four week-end meetings each year, and shall plan a devotional meeting during each week-end session. The meetings shall not be confined to one place.

20.—The Executive may elect an Emergency Sub-Committee from among themselves to deal with urgent matters arising between their meetings. It may also invite visitors for special purposes either to its meetings or to those of the National Council. Visitors thus invited shall not be entitled to vote.

EXPENSES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

21.—The funds of the National Adult School Union shall bear the cost of travelling expenses of all members when attending purely Executive Committees. A form of application for expenses shall be sent by the Secretariat of the Central Office to each member.

In cases where loss of working time is unavoidable, a further sum of not more than 7s. 6d. may be claimed.

Travelling expenses, etc., of Sub-Committees of the Executive shall be paid on similar lines.

When free hospitality cannot be found it must be paid for by individual members.

OFFICERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

22.—The Executive shall appoint its own Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

23.—The scope of the work of the Executive Committee shall embrace :—

- (a) Supervision of Office Staff : general propaganda.
- (b) Supervision of Lectures, including Study Circle work.
- (c) Supervision of Finance and control of expenditure of all Committees of the Council subject to direction of Council.
- (d) Supervision of Literature and "ONE AND ALL."
- (e) Social Service work to come under the direct supervision of the Executive, who shall deal with all such sections of this work as have been approved by the Council, either direct or by delegation to Sub-Committees.
- (f) The Executive shall deal with all matters referred to it by the Council and suggest new matters to the Council.
- (g) In an emergency the Executive shall have a general authority to deal with any matters within the competency of the Council.
- (h) The Women's Committee, Lesson Sheet Committee, and Junior Work Committee shall continue to be appointed by and to be directly responsible to the Council, though the Executive shall maintain an interest in their work.

24.—The financial year of the Union shall end on the 31st of October.

25.—No alteration in these rules shall be made by the Council until it has been reported on by a Committee appointed for that purpose, but upon such report being made the Council may adopt the alteration with or without amendment.

Note A.—It is strongly recommended that the Secretary of the Federated Unions should, where possible, be appointed as a delegate to the Council.

Note B.—The Council has resolved that prior to the Annual Meeting in 1919 men and women members shall meet in separate session and report to the Council their respective proposals for the future organization of men's and women's work.

Extract from National Council Minutes—London, September, 1918.

582.—" CONSTITUTION " OF NATIONAL COUNCIL.

The Chairman has submitted a draft of the revised Constitution, embodying the alterations and additions rendered necessary by the re-organisation Scheme adopted by the National Council in March, 1918.

It has been moved and seconded that the revised Constitution be approved and this has been carried.

Constitution as revised March, 1918, in London, proposed for adoption, but to be submitted for re-consideration or confirmation in March, 1922, so far as regards the changes approved in March, 1918.

NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION CONSTITUTION.

AS REVISED AT ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, HELD IN MARCH, 1922. TO BE SUBMITTED FOR RECONSIDERATION OR CONFIRMATION IN MARCH, 1926.

1.—The name shall be " THE NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION."

2.—The objects of the Union shall be to federate Adult School Unions in order to advance the Adult School Movement as a whole and to form through its Council a united executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole movement. The National Adult School Union is not empowered to exercise any constitutional control over the Federated Unions.

3.—The business and affairs of the Union shall be managed by a Council consisting of :—

- (a) President, President-Elect, and Past-President of the Union.
- (b) Chairman, not more than six Vice-Chairmen, Treasurer, Honorary Secretary of the Council.
- (c) Conveners of Standing Committees of the Council.
- (d) Delegates from Federated Unions.
- (e) One of the Adult School Trustees of the Fellowship Hymn Book.
- (f) *Two representatives of the Central Education Committee of the Society of Friends.

The President of the Union shall be President-Elect during one year preceding and Past-President during one year succeeding his or her term of office as President.

* These two representatives are included in the Council of the Union in order to maintain the historic connection of the Society of Friends with the Adult School Movement, the Friends' First-Day School Association being now amalgamated with the said Central Education Committee.

The before-mentioned officers of the Union and of the Council shall be elected annually by the Council, after nomination either by the Council or by a Committee appointed for that purpose by the Council. The Council or its Committee shall have power to nominate persons who are not delegates of Federated Unions.

Each Federated Union shall be entitled to send to the Council one man and one woman delegate for the first 1,000 members or part of 1,000 on the books on September 30th in each year. A Union consisting of more than 1,000 members may elect one additional delegate for each additional 1,000 or part of 1,000. Delegates shall be appointed for one year's service from the date of the Annual Meeting of the Council in each year. In the event of any delegate being unable to attend a meeting of the Council the Union represented may send a substitute.

The Chairman and Honorary Secretary may invite persons who are not members of the Council to be present at any of its meetings.

4.—Any Union seeking federation with the National Union shall do so by means of a written application, which must be accompanied by a written report by the Honorary Secretary of the National Council on presentation to the Council. It is to be understood that Schools comprising the Unions shall maintain as fundamental principles : (a) the free and reverent study of the Bible ; (b) unsectarian, non-partisan and democratic methods of working.

The Council may at its discretion admit on application representatives of other associations or bodies whose fundamental principles approximate to this rule.

The Council may make provision for the admission of personal members of the National Union, but such personal members shall have no right to representation on the Council.

5.—The Council shall meet at least twice in each year. A special meeting of the Council may be convened by the Executive and Finance Committee.

6.—The Council shall appoint an Executive and Finance Committee, which shall meet at least twice a year. It shall also appoint such Standing and other Committees as from time to time it may deem desirable.

7.—The Executive and Finance Committee shall consist (a) the President, President-Elect, and Past-President of the Union ; (b) the Chairman, Treasurer and Hon. Secretary of the Council ; (c) a Convener of each Standing Committee ; and (d) fifteen elected by the Council from amongst its members, in such proportion of men and women as may be determined by the Council.

Each Federated Union may nominate members of the Council for election to the Executive and Finance Committee up to the full number of the elective part of the Committee.

8.—The Executive and Finance Committee shall appoint an Emergency Sub-Committee to deal with urgent matters.

9.—The President of the Union, and the Chairman, Treasurer, and Honorary Secretary of the Council shall be *ex officio* members of all Committees of the Council.

10.—The financial year of the Union shall end on the 31st October, or at such other date as may from time to time be fixed by the Council.

11.—The following Standing Committees, and such other Standing Committees as may from time to time be decided upon by the Council, shall be appointed:—Lesson Handbook, Women's, Education and Social Service, International Work, and Junior Work. Unless otherwise directed by the Council, each such Committee shall consist of not more than ten elected members of the Council, and not more than five co-opted members, who may be elected by the Committee concerned, in addition to the Convener of the Committee (who may or may not be a member of the Council) and the *ex officio* members. Each Committee shall have power to fill vacancies as they occur.

12.—No alteration in these Rules shall be made by the Council until it has been reported on by a Committee appointed for that purpose, and upon such report being made the Council may adopt the alteration with or without amendment. One month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be given in writing to the Honorary Secretary by a member of the Council or by a Minute of a Federated Union.

STANDING ORDERS.

1.—A draft copy of the preliminary agenda of each Council Meeting shall be sent to each member and to the Secretary of each Federated Union at least twenty-eight days before such meeting.

2.—Questions for discussion must be introduced by a member of the Council, and by a Minute from a Federated Union. Written notice of any such question should reach the Secretary thirty clear days before the meeting of the Council.

3.—It is strongly recommended that the Secretary of a Federated Union should, where possible, be appointed as one of its delegates to the Council.

4.—The functions of the Executive and Finance Committee shall include supervision of all Finance; of the office and staff; and, unless otherwise directed by the Council, of 'ONE AND ALL' and other publications; and of such other matters as are not specifically referred to other Committees.

5.—Each Federated Union shall be requested to furnish to the Office of the Council the names of its delegates to the National Council not later than January 31st in each year. The Council shall set up a Nominating Committee who, from the names so received, shall submit to the Council at its Annual Meeting names for election to the Standing Committees, with the exception of the Lesson Handbook Committee, which shall be elected at the half-yearly meeting of the Council. At an early period of the Annual Meeting of the Council, members of the Council shall be entitled to submit further names from among its members. Unless otherwise determined by the Council, the vote shall be taken by ballot at a later sitting.

6.—Conveners of the Standing Committees shall be appointed by the Council. Each Standing Committee shall be helped in its work by such member or members of the Staff as may be arranged in consultation between the Convener, the Honorary Secretary, and the Staff.

7.—The travelling expenses of members attending Committee Meetings shall be paid on application from National Council Funds. Travelling expenses incurred in attending meetings of the Council cannot be similarly paid. It is understood that an endeavour will be made to secure hospitality for members attending Council or Committee Meetings.

8.—A representative of " Fircroft " shall be invited to attend National Council Meetings as a visitor.

APPENDIX C.

SUGGESTED MODEL CONSTITUTION FOR AN ADULT SCHOOL.

NAME.—That this School shall be called the
Adult School.

AIM.—That the aim and object of the School shall be to encourage the reverent study of the Bible, to carry on educational work, to make life and religion one, and to form a bond of union and friendship between its members.

MEETINGS.—That the School shall meet on
..... from to The Bible lesson shall be regarded as the central feature of the School.

MEMBERSHIP.—That any man (or woman) if Women's School, above the age of seventeen may become a member of the School by making four attendances within three calendar months. If a member does not attend the meetings of the School for a whole quarter without giving any satisfactory reason, he or she shall cease to be a member.

GOVERNMENT.—That the government of the School shall be vested in its members. A meeting of members shall be regularly held to transact the business of the School. It may appoint Committees to attend to the various branches of the work, as the necessity for these arises. Every Committee shall report at least once a year to the School.

OFFICERS.—That the business meeting shall appoint annually a President ; one or more Vice-Presidents ; a Treasurer ; one or more Secretaries ; and any such other officers as may be deemed necessary by the meeting.

FINANCE.—That the School shall be supported by voluntary contributions of members and their friends ; properly audited statements of all School funds shall be rendered annually to the School.

APPENDIX D.

THE following particulars of an Adult School in Wigan in 1835 are taken from an article by Mr. W. J. True in the *Wigan Observer* of September 27th, 1924 :—

THE RULES.

1st. That this Institution be for the religious instruction of Adults ; and that the School open in the morning and close in the evening with prayer.

2nd. That this Institution be under the management of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, two Stewards, a Secretary, and a Committee, any two of whom shall be competent to act.

3rd. That the scholars shall attend every morning at nine, and every evening at six o'clock, or forfeit a penny.

4th. That every teacher shall, for his services and attendance, receive five shillings per quarter, and that non-attendance without leave or being too late he shall forfeit sixpence.

5th. That, with leave of the Rector, there shall be an annual collection after a sermon in the Parish Church, for defraying the expenses of the school.

6th. That every scholar shall have been regular in his attendance six months before he be relieved in case of sickness, and that the relief be one shilling a week while the funds allow such relief.

7th. That any scholar be excluded for gross irregularities, either in or out of school.

8th. That the Committee shall not grant assistance to any scholar, whose sickness is caused by impropriety of conduct.

9th. That every member of the School attend Divine worship, morning and afternoon of the same day.

10th. That the Committee meet in the Free Grammar School of Wigan, every quarter day.

11th. That the Secretary be empowered to convene the Committee, as occasion may require, or at the request of any member.

12th. After any sick member has received relief for three successive months, his pay shall be suspended, and he shall not be entitled to relief until he has again attended the School regularly for six months.

13th. That no sick member receiving relief for shorter periods, can again be entitled to relief until he has attended the School for three months, from the last time he was on the books.

14th. Every member who shall have received relief for three months, or for a shorter period, and shall be so stricken with infirmity as to be unable to attend the School, shall upon the case being satisfactory certified, be allowed to continue a member of the School, and not be chargeable with forfeits for non-attendance.

15th. All members absenting themselves from some place of public worship or from the School, for four successive Sundays (unless by reason of sickness or infirmity) shall cease to belong to the School, and their names shall be struck off the books.

A Sermon will be preached in the Parish Church of Wigan, on Sunday Morning, February 12th, 1837, By the Rev. Joshua Paley, A.M., Incumbent Curate of Pemberton, And a Collection made to increase the Funds.

This School has been established twenty-four years.

The Scholars now amount in numbers to one hundred and eighty-one, of all ages from sixteen to seventy-four, and they continue to meet in the Free Grammar School. The effect of reading the Scriptures, and of the quiet serious way of spending the Sabbath, are visible in the contented appearance of the Scholars; and their brotherly love to each other has induced them to enter into a Voluntary association for the purpose of providing by small subscriptions, for funerals, and of assisting the widows of the members who depart this life, which in every instance has been found a source of consolation and relief in time of great distress and affliction.

The forfeits are applied to the further relief of the sick. The School has hitherto been supported by Church Collections, without any subscription. The last Collection was made at the Parish Church in April, 1835.

(J. Brown, Printer, Standishgate, Wigan.)

According to a broadside preserved at the Library, dated 1813, it is stated:—"More than 25 years ago that the Church Sunday schools of Wigan were instituted. This brings the date of inception back to 1788."*

* Though the final note is interesting, it does not prove that the School referred to was an Adult School.

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