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Scottish Settlement Houses from 1886 – 1934

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Doctor of
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Abstract

This thesis examines the history of Scottish settlement houses from 1886 until 1934. The Scottish settlements have attracted little attention from academics and no overarching study of these organisations has previously been done. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna and situate their achievements within the wider context of the changing role of voluntary organisations in this period. Using archival resources, it argues that settlements made important contributions to Scottish society through social work, training courses and adult education. They pioneered new methods, explored new areas of work and provided their local communities with access to services that they may not otherwise have received.

This thesis demonstrates the way in which voluntary bodies evolved in response to local and national pressures and changing social attitudes in order to remain successful and relevant in a period during which their role was changing. There were six settlements in Scotland, each with their own agenda and areas of interest. The settlements remained distinct and independent organisations and there was a limited amount of cooperation between them. This diversity in both location and aims of the settlements gives rise to a range of themes that will be examined in the thesis. The original settlement ideal focused on ameliorating class differences by reforming the characters of working-class individuals through personal connection between them and middle-class settlers. The thesis will examine how this evolved over time. As the state at both a local and national level assumed more responsibility for social services, the role of settlements adapted to encompass training for professional social workers and as the working classes gained more political power the settlements sought to make them ‘fit for citizenship’. Likewise, as the original settlement ideal had denied the legitimacy of working-class culture and community, this attitude also evolved and settlements began to focus on developing strong communities within working-class areas.

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This thesis is dedicated to my Grandma.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature _____

Printed name LYNN BRUCE

Abbreviations

COS	Charity Organisation Society
DCA	Dundee Council Archives
DSU	Dundee Social Union
EUA	Edinburgh University Archives
EUS	Edinburgh University Settlement
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
GUL	Glasgow University Library
GUSS	Glasgow University Students' Settlement
QMS	Queen Margaret Settlement
TH	Toynbee House
WEA	Workers' Educational Association

Introduction

This thesis will chronologically examine the history of the Scottish settlements from their beginnings in the 1880s and trace their development into the interwar period, ending around 1934. This is in order to examine the developments of the early 1930s, including the expansion of settlements into adult education and new housing estates. Very little attention has been paid by historians to these organisations and this thesis will attempt to address this lacuna and examine their contribution to the development of social work and welfare in Scottish cities. It will look at how the settlements had to adapt to remain successful and relevant organisations in a period during which the role of voluntary organisations involved in social work was changing. There were six settlements in Scotland, each with their own agenda and areas of interest. This diversity meant that cooperation between settlements was minimal. However, it has also given rise to a number of different themes that require exploration.

The first settlement house was opened by Canon Barnett in 1884. Toynbee Hall was an attempt to ameliorate class differences and spread middle-class culture. It was based on the idea of residence in a poor area. Immersed in the life of the local community, settlers would attempt to ‘connect’ with and befriend the working classes in an effort to promote understanding between the classes. Settlements also provided a range of social, educational and recreational services.¹ The benefits of this work lay not only in the facilities provided for the working classes but also in the experiences of the settlers. It was a flexible idea that was adopted by a range of organisations, including women’s colleges, religious bodies and public schools. The idea spread across the United Kingdom and was also influential in the United States. Although the movement peaked in the 1920s, some settlements, including Toynbee Hall, remain active today.

Toynbee House

¹ See S. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform, 1880-1914: the search for community* (London: Yale University Press, 1987)

The first settlement to be established was Toynbee House in Glasgow, and, as the name suggests, this settlement drew heavily on the template established by Barnett at Toynbee Hall in London. Work began in 1886 and was based in Rotten Row, in the Cathedral district of the city. This settlement was founded by prominent academics, including Edward Caird and William Smart, whose contributions will be examined. To the founders of this settlement, the problems that Toynbee House was supposed to tackle in Whitechapel were mirrored in Glasgow. There was a feeling that a chasm in understanding had opened up between the classes in the city and it was the duty of the university to take its part in the life of the city and increase the levels of understanding and appreciation between the middle-class university men and their families and the working classes. This thesis will begin by examining how this was attempted and methods that were employed. It will argue that fellowship and community were motivating forces for the settlers, but that they acted on them in a way which was designed to promote their own values and agendas. Toynbee House existed until at least 1906. Thereafter, no records remain of the settlement, although a couple of mentions of the settlement's Literary Society appearing in the *Glasgow Herald* indicate that this branch at least survived until around 1910.



Fig. 1 Cathedral Court, where Toynbee House was based

Glasgow University Students' Settlement

Two settlements in Scotland had overtly missionary aims and the thesis will argue that they took their inspiration from an older tradition of home missionary work in Scotland. The first grew out of the home missionary department of the Glasgow University Missionary Society. The Students' Settlement began in 1888 and when the Missionary Society

abandoned home mission to concentrate on overseas work in 1894, the settlement continued this work. It continued working in the Garscube Cross area of Glasgow, where it opened a residence. For the first decade, of its existence the settlement retained the identity of a missionary organisation. However, as 1910s, it had begun to leave this behind as the work became increasingly focused on education. This thesis will examine the differences that opened up between the Students' Settlement and the second religious settlement - New College Settlement. However, unlike Toynbee House, both these organisations were largely driven by the students themselves, particularly the Students' Settlement and the effect that this organisation had on those who worked there will be examined. This settlement declined rapidly in the aftermath of the First World War, and the causes of this will be examined.

New College Settlement

New College Settlement, started in 1890, was part of Edinburgh's New College Missionary Society, New College being the training college for the Scottish Free Church ministers. This settlement was a continuation of the society's work in the Pleasance area of Edinburgh. Unlike the Students' Settlement, which drifted away from its founding body, links between New College settlement and the missionary society remained strong. In an era when missionary work was increasingly challenged, this thesis will examine the survival and, indeed, strengthening of the evangelical work of the settlement. However, it will also show how the settlement increasingly provided social welfare as it became part of a complex of buildings where other health and welfare providers were housed. This settlement continued until the 1960s when its buildings were taken over by the university and turned into the Students' Union.



Fig. 2 New College Settlement buildings

Dundee Social Union

The Dundee Social Union had been established with the aim of improving the physical conditions of the working classes in Dundee, with a particular focus on housing. However, after Mary Lily Walker, the driving force behind the Union, returned from working with Octavia Hill in London, the Union began to focus instead on enhancing the moral and spiritual wellbeing of Dundonian citizens from its base in the Hilltown area. The thesis will suggest that whilst the Grey Lodge, the settlement attached to the Social Union, was not formally inaugurated until 1913, the work that the Union had been doing was essentially that of a settlement and was retrospectively recognised as such. Although she remained a background figure, Mary Lily Walker provided impetus and direction for the settlement – a reminder of how important it could be in these institutions to have a strong leader. It was under her direction that the organisation's interest in the welfare of women and children was developed and emphasis was placed on giving practical aid. This organisation was also responsible for carrying out a survey into living conditions in Dundee that would become the most high-profile piece of work carried out by a Scottish settlement. It became a pioneer of social work and developed a strong relationship with

the local authority. This thesis will show that a sense of duty to the local community was what provided the rationale behind this work. This settlement is now a community centre.

Queen Margaret Settlement

Like the Dundee Social Union, the Queen Margaret College Settlement Association also focused on social work with women and children, but unlike the Social Union, it was an exclusively female settlement attached to the Queen Margaret College, which was the women's higher education college in Glasgow. This settlement, based in Anderston, ran the Charity Organisation Society for this district, and from the outset the leaders wished to provide the settlers with experience in social work. This led to the settlement forming the first training course for social workers in Scotland. Like other female-led settlements in this period, the work of the Queen Margaret was viewed as a way of providing its members with experience for future work and careers. Like the Dundee Social Union, the settlement saw itself as a pioneer of social work and worked with the local authority. Its work often centred on addressing lacunae in existing welfare provision. This settlement moved to Drumchapel in the 1960s and continued its work from there, still providing placements for social work students at Glasgow University. It continues today under the name 'Glasgow University Settlement'.

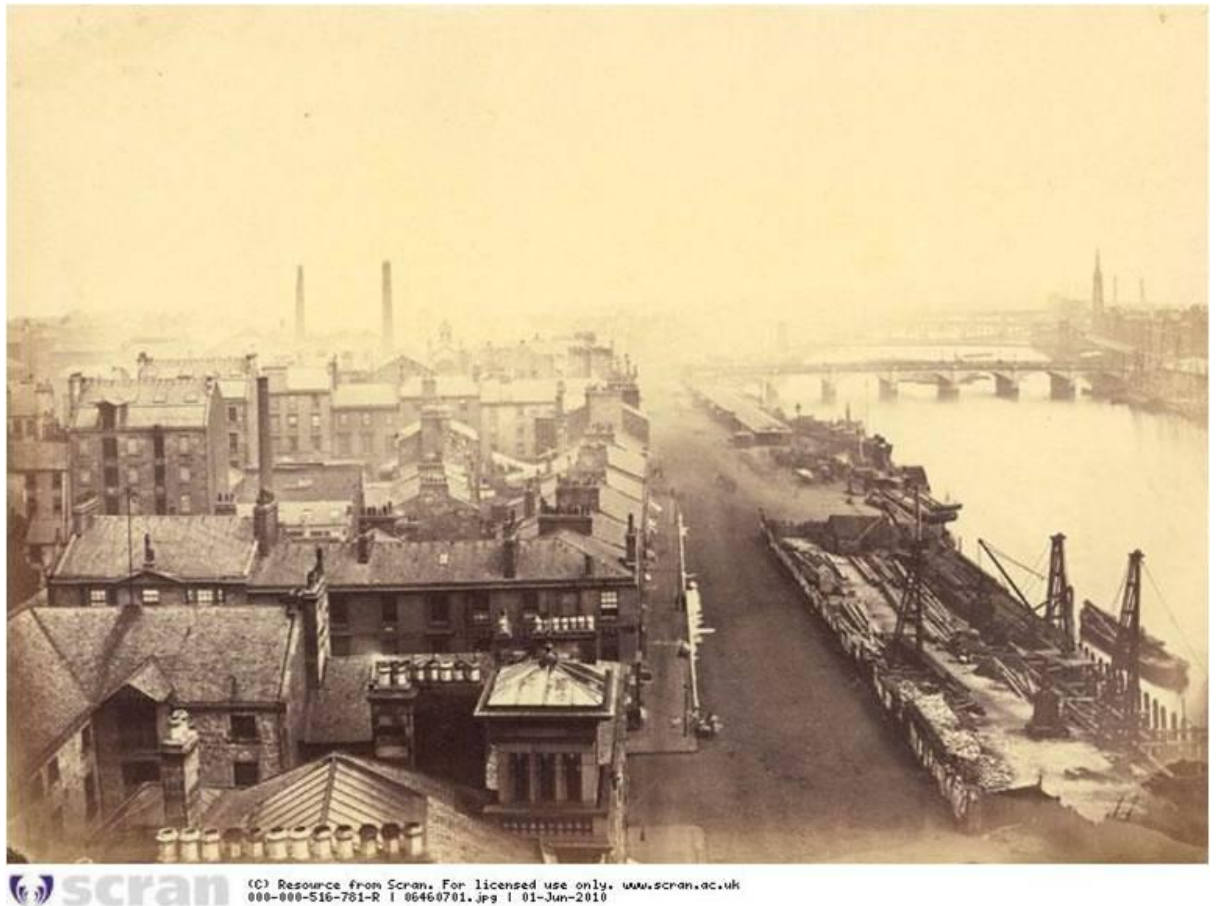


Fig. 3 Anderston in the 1890s

Edinburgh University Settlement

The final settlement established in Scotland was founded with the aim of becoming centre of social work for university men. The Edinburgh University Settlement was established in 1905, like Toynbee House, by well-known members of the university, and worked in High School Yards. Although this was geographically close to New College Settlement, these two organisations served distinct communities. Unlike Toynbee House, this settlement was not founded to foster fraternal relations between university men and the working classes, but with the ultimate aim of becoming a centre of social work which would provide training in social policy and work. This aim, however, proved abortive due, will be argued, to a lack of consistency and professionalism within the leadership of the settlement and a seeming inability to work out how to take the settlement beyond being a largely recreational facility. In the end, it was the female branch of the settlement, which was run as a separate arm of the settlement, that was able to work with other bodies and which would become the training arm of the School of Social Study and Training at the University, whilst the men's branch was disbanded. As the community that the settlement

was based in was moved to Prestonfield in the interwar period, the settlement followed them there and established a branch of the settlement to serve this new estate. During this period the settlement also began a working extensively with unemployed men and established the Kirk o' Fields College which provided them with educational courses. This settlement is also still existence today.



Fig. 4 Children playing in the settlements' nursery at High School Yards

This thesis will examine the circumstances that caused each of these settlements to be founded. They were disparate organisations and motivations that underpinned their foundation differed. It will also explore the extent to which these organisations built upon legacies of previous work and argue that in some cases the settlement idea was a convenient way of building on previous types of social action by these groups. The networks of people that brought them into being will be investigated and it will consider to what extent the settlements were expressions of civic duty on behalf of the middle classes. Unlike some London settlements, most prominently Toynbee Hall, where members came from outside the district, the founders of Scottish settlements were largely members of the

local civic community and the extent to which these organisations were the product of local issues will also be examined. Nevertheless, duty to the community was not the only motivating factor for the settlers and the thesis shall also look at the influence of religion and the extent to which it remained a motivating force into the interwar period, when some historians have argued that the influence of the churches was declining.

As well as being a part of the civic community, settlers attempted to ingratiate themselves into the working-class districts in which the settlements were based and this thesis will explore how they attempted to achieve this. The creation of a community spirit within the settlement organisation was of great importance to the settlers. This thesis will examine how successful the settlers were at creating an *esprit de corps* amongst their members and consider the nature of these communities – how the settlers envisaged them and how their vision was adapted. The idea of ‘connection’ underpinned the ideology of the settlements. Various methods were employed to try to ‘connect’ with the working classes, ranging from clubs to educational classes to drawing room parties. This thesis will explore the assumptions that underlay this work and the extent to which professions of friendship were underpinned by the belief that the working classes should adopt middle-class values. However, it will also attempt to discover how the working classes used settlement facilities and the extent to which they subscribed to the ideology promoted by the settlements. It will look at the extent to which ‘connection’ evolved into attempts to create socially responsible, ‘good’ citizens as political power began to fall into the hands of the working-classes. Over the years, the local settlement communities also changed and this work will examine how they adapted their work to suit these changing needs. They became centres of health, welfare and recreational facilities but by the interwar period were increasingly having to deal with the effects of mounting unemployment. People were also being moved into new housing estates and the settlements worked to create a sense of community within these.

The way in which this ideology evolved will also be examined. By the 1910s the idea of ‘connection’ was increasingly coming under scrutiny. This was partly due to the lack of tangible results this method produced. However, it was also increasingly seen as an inappropriate response to the social problems of British cities. Social investigation increasingly revealed that these issues were beyond the individual to remedy and calls for a collective, governmental response began to be heard. Politically, too, the climate was

changing: the impact of the Labour movement began to be felt as the Liberal government enacted a series of reforms designed to tackle social problems. This thesis will examine the effect of these changes on the settlements. As well as challenging the principles that underpinned settlement work, the changing social and political climate also impacted on the work that the settlements did. Settlements were part of a network of bodies working in their local areas. However, as local government began to play a greater role in the provision of health and welfare, the settlements increasingly worked with them to provide services. Although this mixed form of welfare provision has been associated with the interwar period, this thesis will show the extent to which this was a feature of settlement work from the turn of the century. It will explore why these relationships developed and way in which settlements increasingly saw themselves as pioneers of social services. Again, the extent to which these were shaped by both the local and national contexts will be examined. This work also saw the settlements increasingly regarded as experts in their fields of work and also required a more professional attitude to their work. For women in particular social work became a new career opportunity and female settlements were keen to encourage training courses. The way in which these developed from informal lectures to becoming university degree courses will be investigated. The need for trained social workers was increasingly recognised by society and the settlement model of intensive contact with the working classes and engagement in social work in a district was easily adapted to provide training for prospective professional social workers. The thesis will examine the manifestations of this trend in Scotland. It will consider how the different types of settlement engaged with the professionalisation of social work and the reinvention of several as training centres for social work. It will look at how successful they were and the effect of this trend on those ones which chose not to engage with it.

Literature Review

The settlement movement began in the 1880s as a reaction to society changing in the face of increasing industrialisation. The process of industrialisation that was ongoing in British towns and cities had created an unprecedented division between rich and poor and this led to concern on the part of the middle classes over the lack of control and knowledge that they had of the poorer classes. Meacham argues that Toynbee Hall was founded as an expression of the belief that before such issues as urban decay could be effectively tackled, a more ‘fundamental question of social organisation’ had to be addressed and answered. He believes that the existence of Toynbee Hall ‘proclaimed its supporters conviction that community was of transcendent importance.’ It was believed that industrialisation ‘subjected the English people to centrifugal pressures which, in league with the precepts of philosophical individualism, economic laissez-faire and class consciousness, had accelerated a dangerous, nation-wide drift towards social disintegration.’¹ As Keating has shown, this was both reflected and driven by a trend of sensationalist literature whereby ‘journalists, sociologists and novelists vied with each other in producing images and metaphors sufficiently bizarre to indicate the outcast state of east London.’² In particular he believes Besant to be most reflective of the mood of this time. In his novels, class differences were overcome by the moral reformation of the poor characters by an aristocratic role model.³ Just as in Besant’s novels, it was commonly believed that in order to preserve the social order, it was necessary for the middle and upper classes to reconnect with the lower classes. In 1883, Arnold Toynbee, after whom the first settlement was named, told an audience of London workers: ‘We have neglected you; instead of justice we have offered you charity, and instead of sympathy we have offered you hard and unreal advice.’⁴ As Finlayson has noted, the settlement movement was born of the desire to create a more ‘lasting, continuous and meaningful relationship’ between the wealthy and the poor than was created by the kind of indiscriminate charitable giving that was based on impulse rather than rationalism.⁵

¹ S. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform, 1880-1914: the search for community*, (London: Yale University Press, 1987) p.x.

² Keating, P., *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1971) p. 105.

³ Ibid. pp. 93-104.

⁴ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform* p.16.

⁵ G. Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain, 1830-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) p.141

There was a tradition of the middle classes going into poorer areas before the settlements. In the early nineteenth century, for example, Thomas Chalmers had used his deacons as overseers of poor areas in Glasgow.⁶ As Steadman Jones has shown, however, the settlement movement was born out of the specific crisis of the 1860s. He argues that the crisis of the 1860s was what gave rise to the idea that charity should not merely be the indiscriminate giving of money but should involve personal contact with and an understanding of the poor. He cites Denison who, in the 1860's spoke of giving the poor 'something more than money.'⁷ This claim is substantiated by Meacham who cites the intellectual origins of the settlement movement beginning earlier than the 1880s. Jones argues that the settlement movement was a part of the same social movement as the reform of the Poor Law, the foundation of the Charity Organisation Society and the work of Octavia Hill in rent collecting. As Evans has noted, what Jones demonstrates is that the reforming movement was a product of both short term and long term phenomena.⁸ As the city changed with industrialisation, so the classes became increasingly distanced from each other and the working class were removed from the supervision of the middle and upper classes. This led to the fear that the poor were being 'demoralised'. The need, then, was to reassert some control over the working class. Whilst historians have widely cited Beatrice Webb's contention that there was a 'new consciousness of sin among men of intellect and property' as evidence that the reformers were motivated by a feeling of guilt about the status of the working class, Jones believes that it arose more from fear of the working class⁹ and the concern that the 'whole traditional fabric of social control was being threatened by the metropolitan environment.'¹⁰

These changes and concerns led to attempts by the upper classes to discover more about the working class. As concerns over the gulf between the classes grew, so there grew the belief that in order to reassert control over the poor, the upper classes must first understand them. Settlements were a part of this wider social movement that aimed to discover the social and economic conditions of the working class. From the 1860s onwards, attempts were made to discover what life was like for the poor, what their living conditions were

⁶ D. Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) p. 225.

⁷ G. S. Jones, *Outcast London* (London: Penguin, 1971) p. 259.

⁸ T. Evans, 'The University Settlements, Class Relations and the city' in G. Grace (ed.) *Education and the City: theory, history and contemporary practice* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984) p.142.

⁹ Jones, *Outcast London* p.285.

¹⁰ Ibid. p.261.

like, what they thought and, generally, how they lived. This decade marked the beginning of attempts to improve the standard of living of the poorer classes, but before this could be effective, these areas had to be 'colonised' and in order for this to be done a few intrepid explorers had to make the first journey into this other world.¹¹ Therefore, in order to find out about the poor, individuals had to make a journey into the unknown to discover what life for them was really like. Social explorers, as they became known, were venturing into a strange and possibly dangerous land. As Keating has shown, social explorers equated themselves to the overseas explorers who did anthropological work on native peoples and historians have noted how the accounts emphasise the exotic nature of what they are describing, which was so much more alluring because of its physical nearness. This paradox is central to this form of social enquiry: the country had been divided into two nations, which were both in close proximity to each other and yet so far apart.¹² This conception is also true for the settlers. They too were venturing into this unknown land and they too absorbed the imperialistic language used by other social explorers. Looking at women's settlements, Vicinus also notes that colonialism was a pervasive metaphor and the poor were regarded in the same way that they would regard 'natives' of a colonised country.¹³ In the East End, regardless of what they did or how they dressed, their behaviour, accent and bearing all marked them out as middle class settlers.¹⁴ Many of these women were, therefore, able to eschew fashionable dress. Not only did this allow them a greater freedom, some also felt it made it easier for them to reach out to the 'more natural' poor.¹⁵

The intellectual foundations of the settlements were strongly rooted in the Oxbridge colleges and the settlements' idea of community and 'connection' with the working class was very much a product of this environment. The teachings of Thomas Arnold, the pioneering headmaster of Rugby on whom *Tom Brown's Schooldays* was based, were a prime influence. He fostered the belief that effective leadership, for which his pupils were prepared for, should be defined as 'disinterestedness.' The education that they received was based upon a belief in the universality of Christianity and the classics and would place

¹¹ L. Brunt, 'The Ethnography of 'Babylon': The Rhetoric of Fear and the Study of London, 1850-1914', *City and Society* 4:1 (1990) p.85.

¹² P. Keating, 'Introduction' in P. Keating, *Into Unknown England 1866-1913* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976) pp14-15

¹³ M. Vicinus, *Independent Women: work and community for single women: 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985) p.219-20.

¹⁴ Ibid. p.230.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.220.

the new leadership above class.¹⁶ This belief was similar to that espoused by Toynbee. Whilst he advocated a fraternal kind of government and state intervention that would prepare the poor for their responsibilities as citizens, he also believed in the leadership of a disinterested elite.¹⁷ The settlers, with their background and education, would lead the working class to a new level of understanding that would prepare them for their role as citizens. This was, then, to be a two-way relationship. As Toynbee explained, ‘in return for giving up a life with books and those we love, the poor must pledge themselves to lead a better life.’¹⁸ The sacrifices made by the settlers had to be repaid by those they were aiming to help. This is exemplified by another intellectual influence on the movement – Edward Caird. Caird also believed in the necessity of personal contact with the poor, stating that ‘the only real charity ... is that which we pay not merely with our purses, but with our persons as well.’¹⁹

The way that this was to be done was through personal contact between the separate classes. That Bernard Bosanquet would remark of social work as being ‘something spontaneous, human, sociable; an effort to gain direct contact with the human nature of those around us’²⁰ reinforces the way in which this kind of work was seen primarily as a means of connecting people. It involved, he stated, the devotion to others of ‘not our particular acquired skill, but ourselves, our heart and soul.’²¹ The character of the poor was to be reformed by the moral guidance offered by their betters. It was, therefore, a personal, moral reformation, not an economic one which entailed the creation of a sense of community between the classes. Toynbee aimed to create a ‘social fellowship of one great people’²² and this theme was taken up with vigour by the settlements. Equality was, therefore, central to the ideals of community upon which the settlements were built. Barnett, for example, articulated this: ‘There is ... for the settler an ideal worthy of his sacrifice ... He looks to a community where the best is most common, where there is no more ignorance and sin – a community in which the poor have all that gives value to wealth, in which beauty, knowledge and, righteousness are nationalised.’²³ In practical terms, this meant having a ‘personal connection between those who were to serve and

¹⁶ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform* p.2.

¹⁷ Ibid. p.17.

¹⁸ Ibid. p.17.

¹⁹ Ibid. p.19.

²⁰ B. Bosanquet, ‘The Meaning of Social Work’, *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (April 1901). p.293.

²¹ Ibid. p.293.

²² Jones, *Outcast London*, pp.9-10.

²³ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform* p.34.

those who were to be served'²⁴ and Barnett also reiterated the idea of community as a mutually obligating relationship between the classes: In return for giving up 'the life we [the middle classes] love' the poor must also pledge to 'lead a better life.'²⁵

To Mencher, this was an attitude born out of Romanticism. This movement was a reaction against the increasing emphasis placed on materialism, rationalism and self-interest since the end of the 18th century, which the romantics wished to replace this with a recognition of social obligations and responsibilities. Unlike the rationalism of the Benthamites, this movement was firmly rooted in the past and they often looked to an idealised version of earlier societies as their inspiration.²⁶ Indeed, for Brian Simon, the ideas of the settlers represent 'a neo-feudal outlook'²⁷ whilst Nigel Scotland refers to the settlers as 'squires'.²⁸ This has led to them often being accused of paternalism and of being reactionary for, as Mencher has noted, a feature of this retrospective view of society was the belief in the rightful leadership of the more successful groups in society. Any belief in equality between the classes was strongly moderated by the belief in the superiority, largely by dint of their education, of the settlers. Meacham also believes that amongst settlers there was belief in the need for a hierarchy of values and a benevolent ruling class and that despite their claims of disinterestedness, the actions of the settlers were often authoritarian and dictatorial.²⁹ Barnett did not wish classes to be abolished, simply that they could agree on an 'ideal' so that they could live together in harmony, dedicated to a common end, the terms of which were, of course dictated by Barnett.³⁰ As Woodroffe has noted, the appeal of the settlements was that 'at most they aimed to mitigate class conflict – not to touch the economic and social order.'³¹ Abel has thus argued that the relationship with the working class upon which the settlers based their work was intrinsically unequal. The poor, she contends, 'were expected to acquire middle class patterns of behaviour while continuing to be denied membership in the middle class.'³² Furthermore, this change was expected to occur without any engendering any kind of conflict. Henrietta Barnett believed, for

²⁴ Ibid. p.16.

²⁵ Ibid. p.17.

²⁶ Mencher pp174-5

²⁷ B. Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974) p78

²⁸ N. Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: settlements and missions in late-Victorian Britain* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007)

²⁹ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.40.

³⁰ Ibid. p.41.

³¹ Woodroffe, K. *From charity to social work in England and the United States* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1962)p68

³² E. Abel, 'Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor: The Educational Thought of Samuel Barnett' *Social Service Review* (1978 52:4) p602

example, that by 'crushing envy' fellowship 'takes the sting out of poverty.'³³ As Mencher has noted, the settlers behaved as though 'class interests would vanish in a society of benevolence and spiritual cohesion.'³⁴

However, some historians have also seen this desire to connect with the working class in terms of gender distinctions, especially with regard to the emancipation of middle class women that was beginning at this time. Vicinus, for example, has argued that in the women's settlements, the primary goal of most women was the 'reestablishment of a network of friendships across class lines; between women of shared interests and concerns.'³⁵ They thus wished to create a sisterhood that encompassed women from all classes. She argues that middle class women's work in the settlement movement arose from their greater wealth and leisure and the way that this freedom allowed them to 'cross class lines through their philanthropic activities.'³⁶ The community that the settlements Vicinus examines wished to create was thus highly gendered. Koven also believes the concept of community in the male settlements to have been similarly gendered. In much the same way that Vicinus sees women's involvement in the settlement movement to have arisen from their changing social and economic position, so Koven believes that the male settlements wished to create a cross-class brotherhood as a reaction against the ongoing emancipation of women. With the rise of feminism, he argues, so men had to reconsider what it was to be a man. 'Re-making men and redefining masculinity' were explicit aims of many of the projects that attempted to bridge the gap between the classes and they arose from the 'need to understand their own gender and sexual identities.'³⁷ Koven argues that the language of brotherhood was so popular because it provided an alternative to that of class conflict that was so pervasive in this period. It was a recurring theme in Victorian and Edwardian society, arising partly from the ideals of Christian socialism that were exemplified in the teachings of Maurice. Kelly also concurs in this, arguing that the university extension scheme and the settlements were the twin offspring of Christian Socialism.³⁸ However, Koven also notes that fraternalism was a 'mongrel' ideology 'forged out of dispirit elements.' Along with Christian Socialism, it also came from other

³³ Ibid. p602

³⁴ S. Mencher, 'The Influence of Romanticism on 19th Century British Social Work', *Social Service Review* 38:2 (1964) p176

³⁵ Vicinus, *Independent Women*. p.212.

³⁶ Ibid. p.211.

³⁷ Koven, *Slumming* p.229.

³⁸ T. Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970) p.239.

sources, such as clubs, both social and political, and institutions such as friendly societies and trade unions. All created a bond between a group of men, although this was usually an interclass relationship.³⁹

Koven has also argued that asceticism was used by some settlements, particularly the overtly religious ones, as a means of creating this sense of fraternity with the working class. Whilst Toynbee Hall is the most recognised of all the British settlements, Koven contends that Oxford House, which was established just prior to Toynbee Hall, was the most influential as a model for other settlements.⁴⁰ Oxford House was deliberately simple and Spartan in both its physical conditions and its work in order to ‘sustain the settlers’ illusions that they were truly sharing the ‘primitive’ life of Bethnal Green.’⁴¹ This was very much a product of the settlement’s Christian ethos. The austere nature of the living conditions allowed the men of Oxford House to model themselves on the ‘early Christians who had brought forth the light of truth in a hostile world of heathen ignorance and unbelief.’⁴² The work of Oxford House clearly had missionary overtones, and this was recognised by contemporaries. The missionary spirit was noted by Edward Cummings who spoke of an ‘undisguised home missionary spirit among university students.’⁴³ With more than a hint of sarcasm he described ‘A great slum, reeking with vice and crime, and in its midst a sort of moral stockade, from which valiant and pure young men and women go forth to unknown dangers.’ It was, he stated, a ‘Central Africa conception of philanthropy.’⁴⁴ In this setting, even the term ‘settlement’ also seems to have had missionary connotations, for it implied that the settlers were a group of outsiders entering into a community.

However, for Prochaska, the idea that Christianity could lead to moral improvement is not an unrealistic one. He believes that ‘when delivered with sincerity and kindness their message was not without an effect on many poor people, which brought those philanthropic goals of a common culture and social harmony that bit closer to realisation.’⁴⁵ Meacham, too, has argued that Christian Socialists were better able to accept social institutions as a ‘positive contributors to general well-being’ in a way that

³⁹ Koven, *Slumming* p.236.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p.245.

⁴¹ Ibid. p.252.

⁴² Ibid. p.244.

⁴³ Cummings, E ‘University Settlements’, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (April 1892) p.272.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.258.

⁴⁵ F. Prochaska, *The voluntary impulse : philanthropy in modern Britain* (London : Faber, 1988) p50

Barnett, for example, could not. He believes that, due to their faith in the church being able to shape the community to their ideals, they were the most successful group of middle class reformers at viewing working class institutions as something positive to be judged on their own terms.⁴⁶ Koven noted how at Oxford House the dictates of Christian love came before the principles of scientific charity,⁴⁷ indicating that the settlement approached its work in a different way to that of Toynbee Hall, with its primary concern being the creation of a community united through God. That this spirit was integral to the identity of Oxford House is demonstrated by the way that they used the terms 'mission' and 'settlement' interchangeably.⁴⁸ Barnett had originally begun with the idea of a having a 'modern monastery' or a 'mission' in the slums. This was soon changed, however, to the idea of a Settlement instead.⁴⁹ Koven believes this to be because of the uncomfortable papal connotations that the word 'monastery' had in the eyes of most Englishmen.⁵⁰ However, as Vicinus has also noted, 'a mission was intended to bring people closer to God, but a settlement brought them closer to each other.'⁵¹ Home mission work flourished in the nineteenth century. This was due to the prevalence of evangelicalism within the middle classes. Hugh McLeod argues that it was a pervasive influence on middle-class behaviour.⁵² Callum Brown has also seen this as the 'distinguishing feature of the social identity' of this class and believes it provided the new middle classes with a code for conduct in industrial society.⁵³

However, at Toynbee House, and those settlements that followed its example, Oxbridge, rather than home missions, was the inspiration. They deliberately modelled themselves on a college in both outlook and appearance. Toynbee Hall was built to look as though it was a college and the routines within resembled those of a one as well. As William Smart put it, 'the residents keep up all the traditions of refined life.'⁵⁴ It was a piece of Oxbridge transported to the East End, and the residents could feel as though they had not left Oxford or Cambridge.⁵⁵ The reason for this was a belief in the importance of aesthetics. Barnett

⁴⁶ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.103.

⁴⁷ Koven, *Slumming* p.243.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.243.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.238.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.238.

⁵¹ Vicinus, *Independent Women* p.214.

⁵² Hugh McLeod, *Class and religion in the late Victorian city* (London: Croom Helm, 1974) p.152.

⁵³ Callum Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997) p.102.

⁵⁴ W. Smart, *Toynbee Hall: A Short Account of the Universities Settlement in East London with Suggestions for a Similar Work in Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1886).p.7.

⁵⁵ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.47.

and his followers believed that the ugliness of the slums trapped the poor in a cultural and spiritual wasteland.⁵⁶ As Ruth Gilchrist has noted, many leading members of the arts and crafts movement were involved in the settlement movement. People such as Ruskin and Morris sought in art an alternative to the harshness of industrialisation and division of labour, which, they believed, divided men.⁵⁷ Toynbee House was decorated in a sumptuous style in an attempt to inspire the working class to aspire to greater things.⁵⁸ However, as might be expected, this led to problems in creating the sense of community that the settlers envisaged. As noted above, at some of the settlements the residents maintained their middle class standard of living, which included having servants. Whilst they aimed to widen the horizons of the working class, this actually served to hinder connection. As Koven has noted, ‘the division of space and labour within the settlement reproduced precisely the social and economic inequalities that made cross-class fraternity such an elusive goal.’⁵⁹ Settlements often stood apart from the community that they worked in and with which they hoped to connect. As Meacham argues, the buildings where the settlers were to meet ‘one by one’ with the people stated that the ‘understanding was to be on terms established by the residents.’⁶⁰

The influence of Oxbridge extended beyond the physical appearance of the settlements to the work that was done within them. The work of the settlement was modelled around the ideal of an Oxbridge college and many of the methods that the settlers used were clearly influenced by their background in these colleges. Meacham explains how Jowett, the master of Balliol during this period, had used Arnoldian ideals to create a ‘revolution of the Dons’ where college tutors were increasingly seen as moral preceptors: ‘tutors found that in forming the character of the students, by which they meant restoring the influence of the teacher, they regained their self-respect.’ Friendships flourished between the dons and the undergrads in a community bound by the common experience of schooling.⁶¹ This ideal was carried over into the settlements. Tutorials were held on a one to one basis or, where this was not an option, a tutor would select a few students to come to an informal party after a lecture, where they could talk and discuss ideas.⁶² At Toynbee Hall, one of the

⁵⁶ Koven, *Slumming* p.230-1.

⁵⁷ R. Gilchrist, ‘Settlements and the arts’ in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) pp174-5

⁵⁸ Koven, *Slumming* p.230-1.

⁵⁹ Koven, *Slumming* p.245.

⁶⁰ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.49.

⁶¹ Ibid. p.8.

⁶² Ibid. pp.51-53.

main means of interacting with the working class was through informal tea parties and just as sports were used as a means of creating an esprit de corps in public schools, so the forging of a community through clubs and sports was one of the main tactics of the settlements. Nigel Scotland, for example, emphasises how the settlements used football teams and scout troops to try to create a bond between them and adolescent boys especially.⁶³

As Mark Smith has also noted, the 'power and educative value of association is a long standing strand in adult educational thinking and practice'.⁶⁴ At the settlements, he argues, the 'club' and club life, or 'la vie associative'⁶⁵ came to represent settlement life.⁶⁶ Tony Jeffs has argued that the aim of the settlers to offer 'a practical demonstration of co-operative living' meant that their work with youths went beyond the traditional emphasis on sport and the control of 'hooligan' behaviour, imbuing it with an intellectual dimension that had previously been absent. The club was regarded as a 'component within an integrated or extended programme' and it was always assumed that the club was a part of the wider settlement, which offered other groups and activities to the members of the club. The club was there to foster a 'constant interplay between individuals from diverse backgrounds'.⁶⁷ Bradley is also keen to remind us of the importance of clubs. These were, she notes, the way in which the majority of people accessed settlements: they were the 'apogee' of settlements' role in the community. They were the crucible in which 'good citizens' were created yet their role in creating friendships should not be underplayed.⁶⁸ Robert Woods, one of the American settlement pioneers, argued that a settlement's true mission lay in fostering 'every helpful form of association, from neighbourhood improvement groups to labour unions, that would strengthen their tendencies towards co-operation and mutual tolerance.'⁶⁹ The settlers were aiming to create a community where, through learning, the classes could come to appreciate one another.

⁶³ Scotland, *Squires in the Slums* pp. 101-131.

⁶⁴ M. Smith, 'Settlements and adult education' in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) p129

⁶⁵ See <http://www.infed.org/association/b-assoc.htm> (accessed 6/2/2008)

⁶⁶ Smith, 'Settlements and adult education' p128

⁶⁷ T. Jeffs, 'Something to Give and Much to Learn: Settlements and Youth Work' in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) pp161-3

⁶⁸ Katharine Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State: charities and the working classes in London, 1918-1979* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2009) p. 101.

⁶⁹ Smith, 'Settlements and adult education' p128

The settlers thus had a broad conception of education. Their educational work was not aimed at providing vocational or occupational education but was instead designed to provide the workers with a liberal education. Along with running their own tutorial classes, the settlements were also homes to the University Extension Scheme. This was a movement set up to try to provide university level classes on to the working class in the form of evening schools.⁷⁰ According to Harrison, for Barnett this movement denoted a continuation of the Oxbridge tradition of 'liberal education, cultural rather than vocational and humanistic rather than technical.'⁷¹ Education was, Barnett believed, for providing 'the means of life, not of livelihood.'⁷² As Tony Evans has noted, Barnett saw the purpose of the settlements' work as the 'spiritual regeneration of the masses through humanitarian education.'⁷³ The settlements wished to use education to reform the whole character. Indeed Barnett would argue that 'till people are educated they cannot be free'.⁷⁴ However, it is unlikely that the settlements managed to reach many of the very poor and many of their members came from the upper working class and lower middle class.⁷⁵ This was often because the fees were high, but also may have been due to the fact that, as noted above, the settlement remained aloof from the community. Moreover, as Harrison has observed, most pupil teachers in the Extension movement were interested in vocation subjects, leading to tensions between this utilitarian approach and the more liberal ideas of the leaders of the movement. As he observes, this is one of the great tensions in adult education.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Mark Smith has emphasised the informal nature of much of the settlements' educational work and the way in which much of it was also not curriculum based. He argues that this flexibility allows the 'chance to connect with the questions, issues and feelings that are important to people rather than what the workers think might be significant'.⁷⁷

However, settlers aimed to use this education to disseminate their own culture and values to the working classes. Despite all the sentiments espousing equality between the classes, the settlers never managed to fully leave behind their middle class prejudices and values.

⁷⁰ See Fieldhouse, R., 'University Adult Education', in Fieldhouse, R. and Associates, *History of Modern British Adult Education* (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 1998).

⁷¹ J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living 1790-1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961)p235

⁷² Abel, 'Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor p607

⁷³ Evans, T 'The University and the City: The Educational work of Toynbee Hall' *History of Education* 11:12 (1982) p117

⁷⁴ Abel, 'Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor p611

⁷⁵ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.58.

⁷⁶ Harrison, *Learning and Living 1790*, pp234-35

⁷⁷ Smith, 'Settlements and adult education' p127

In some ways, they never intended to. The alienation of the working class was to be overcome by preaching a higher culture, yet it was a culture defined by the settlers.⁷⁸ The settlers were representative of their class and the culture they hoped to broadcast was that of their own class. Many historians have seen this kind of cultural education as a form of social control. Social control has been a recurring theme in the historiography of educational history, especially for Marxist historians. Part of the problem regarding this concept is that it is, as Johnson has noted, ‘a concept in search of a theory’, or as Donajgrodzki suggests, perhaps this should be theories,⁷⁹ for it has been utilised by many different social theorists and imbued with different meanings in different contexts. It was first used by Ross in 1906, who argued that the social order was a product not only of law but also of a much wider set of phenomenon, which he described as social control.⁸⁰ Since then, it has become an integral part of social theorising and education has come to be seen as a vehicle of social control. It has therefore been used as a concept in histories of education. Educational history once involved only histories of great men and social reformers. Increasingly however, it has moved away from these institutional histories to become an ever more important part of social and economic history. This has naturally led historians of education to engage with social theory and thus to address the concept of social control.

Historians have suggested that, by trying through education to impose cultural values on the working class, the settlements were engaging in a form of social control. Meacham has observed that to Barnett, the East End, ‘represented a cultural void into which his own culture had to be poured’.⁸¹ Abel has also argued that Barnett ‘had no conception of indigenous working class culture.’ The poor, she contends, were viewed by Barnett as the ‘tabulae rasae upon whom middle class culture could be inscribed.’⁸² As Ruth Gilchrist has noted, the settlements saw the arts as an important means of allowing the conveying culture to the working class and she too argues that the settlers equated ‘good’ culture with ‘good’ morality.⁸³ The recreational pursuits of the working class were, in the eyes of the settlers, crude and uncultured and in order for them to improve as moral beings, the working class had to be introduced to more a refined culture. Abel thus further contends

⁷⁸ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.10.

⁷⁹ A. Donajgrodzki, *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Croom Helm 1977) p14

⁸⁰ Ibid. p10

⁸¹ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.60.

⁸² Abel, ‘Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor’ p599

⁸³ Gilchrist, ‘Settlements and the arts’ p178

that Barnett believed the rise in the leisure time of the working class in the latter half of the nineteenth century was a test of character. He sought to provide them with 'rational pleasures' which would divert them from the 'lure of unworthy activities' and instil them with self-restraint and moderation.⁸⁴ These beliefs led to a diverse range of educational activities at the settlements. Tea parties were organised in order to give the working class some idea of gentrified social gatherings. As Keating notes, there can have been few more uncomfortable philanthropic occasions.⁸⁵ Prints of masterpieces were hung on the walls to expose the people of the district to this form of high culture and musical recitals were also arranged.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, however, does not see this in negative terms. She does not regard the settlements' emphasis on cultural education as an attempt at social control through the imposition of cultural values. Instead, she argues that, in actuality, this illustrates the commitment to democracy of the leaders of the movement such as Barnett and Jane Addams. She believes that the settlements saw the dissemination of culture as a bridge between the classes because it allowed 'the establishment of a common denominator of citizenship that made the tolerable the other distinctions which were natural and inevitable but which should not be exacerbated and should not be allowed to obscure a common claim to citizenship.' This was, she argues, part of an experiment in democracy, not socialism. This common culture was a testament to the settlers' belief in a common human nature.⁸⁶ For Tony Evans, also, the idea of social control is an oversimplification. Whilst he admits there was a strong paternalistic air to them, he applauds them for their insistence of 'the right of all to share a culture that was too often the preserve of the elite.'⁸⁷ Gilchrist also regards the effect of this cultural education as being ultimately positive, arguing that Toynbee Hall in particular was revolutionary in moving art out to the slums by staging exhibitions there. Further, they widened the definition of the arts by including in their exhibitions posters and items such as architects plans and models of buildings and gardens that were designed to stimulate the interest of the local populace in local issues. In this way, she argues, they linked the arts with social concerns.⁸⁸ These views represent the alternative to the social control argument, which emphasises the ultimately liberating effect that adult education can have.

⁸⁴ Abel, 'Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor' p608

⁸⁵ Keating, P. *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction* (London : Routledge & K. Paul, 1971) p111

⁸⁶ Himmelfarb p380-381

⁸⁷ Evans 'The University and the City: The Educational work of Toynbee Hall' p123

⁸⁸ Gilchrist, 'Settlements and the arts' p178

As noted above, Jones argues that the settlement movement was a part of the same social movement as the COS and Octavia Hill's rent scheme and Barnett initially allied himself with the COS. In 1895, however, he spoke out against it.⁸⁹ This rejection was a reflection of a wider change in society. Studies of the poor, such as Booth's and later Rowntree's, revealed not only the extent of poverty but the inadequacy of contemporary responses to it as the Boer War revealed the appalling level of fitness of much of the British population, prompting a frantic debate as to the how to improve the state of the nation.⁹⁰ The effect of this change of mood was also felt in the settlement movement and Barnett's criticism of the COS was indicative of a more general shift within the movement. As Vicinus has argued 'sooner or later most thoughtful settlement workers were brought face to face with the incongruity of teaching folk dancing and Shakespeare to underemployed and hungry Londoners. Personal friendship was an inadequate or incompatible solution to the social inadequacies Booth's survey revealed.'⁹¹ As Evans has noted, the increasing recognition of the need for collectivist solutions to social problems, in light of the failure of the individualistic, laissez-faire approach, meant that the contribution of a single voluntary agency, such as the settlement, would inevitably be limited.⁹² This led within the settlement movement to a shift in the emphasis of their work. At Toynbee Hall, for example, critics cited the decreasing numbers partaking their the educational programmes and the fact that fewer and fewer students came from Whitehall, with the numbers increasingly being made up by middle class students, as evidence of the failure of current policies at the settlement.⁹³ Therefore, from around 1900 onwards, the educational side of the settlements' work decreased in importance and they increasingly looked to social enquiry as the future mainstay of their existence.

Neither were these changes confined to secular organisations. The certainties which had underpinned missionary work were disappearing in this period. McLeod, for example, argues that during this period religious certainties were being challenged and 'the theme of "lost certainties" was recurrent'.⁹⁴ The salvation of the soul, which had given the churches a 'clearly defined purpose', was no longer as effective as it had been and, whilst still

⁸⁹ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* p141

⁹⁰ See Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971)

⁹¹ Vicinus p242

⁹² Evans, *The University and the City*

⁹³ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p122

⁹⁴ McLeod, *Class and religion in the late Victorian city* p.214.

having a significant following, evangelicalism was shrinking.⁹⁵ Brown also argues that the middle classes began to withdraw from missionary work and it was increasingly left to full-time paid missionaries who were increasingly drawn from the working classes.⁹⁶ A further problem for missionary bodies came with the increase of leisure opportunities for the working classes.⁹⁷ This left missionary organisations competing against commercial leisure providers. Brown argues that many missionary bodies thus had to offer an increasing array of recreational pursuits in order to attract members.⁹⁸ As Macdonald, is keen to remind us, though, this does not necessarily equate to being anti-evangelical and that the relationship between the two cannot be reduced to a simplistic relationship. A concern for better social welfare did not necessarily result in a repudiation of private conversion.⁹⁹

At Toynbee Hall, Meacham also believes that in the face of the increasing disinterest of the local community, the settlement withdrew from the neighbourhood and that this facilitated the decision to emphasise the settlement as a centre for social analysts and investigators. This was reflected in the appointment of Beveridge as sub-warden of Toynbee Hall in 1903. He went there, he said, ‘because I view [social] problems in a scientific way.’¹⁰⁰ Beveridge did not possess the charisma or approachability that made Barnett such a successful leader. Instead, his appointment heralded the new dimension of social investigation in settlement work. ‘If anyone ever thought’, he said, ‘that colossal evils could be remedied by small doses of culture and amiability I for one do not think so now.’¹⁰¹ However, this attitude, so Meacham argues, led to an increasing lack of interest, or even hostility, to the settlement from within the neighbourhood.¹⁰² It also attracted the scorn of some commentators. This new type of work in the settlement movement attracted a new type of settler. Whereas many of the early settlers would become, like Barnett himself, clergymen, by 1900 these were increasingly replaced by civil servants, lawyers and journalists.¹⁰³ Male settlers thus tended to use their experience as a stepping-stone

⁹⁵ Ibid. p.246.

⁹⁶ Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p.130.

⁹⁷ See Cunningham *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*.

⁹⁸ Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p.131.

⁹⁹ Lesley Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930* (John Donald, Edinburgh: 2000), p.65.

¹⁰⁰ Briggs, A. and McCartney, A., *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) p60

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p60

¹⁰² Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p.123.

¹⁰³ Abel. ‘Toynbee Hall 1884-1914’ p614

towards a career in the civil service or a similar vocation.¹⁰⁴ George Lansbury, who later became leader of the Labour Party, voiced his disdain for the settlements in this respect: 'Men who went in training under the Barnetts ... could always be sure of government and municipal appointments. [They] discovered the advancement of their own interests and the interests of the poor were best served by leaving East London to stew in its own juice while they became Members of Parliament, cabinet ministers, civil servants.'¹⁰⁵ For Tony Evans, this aspect of the movement led to its continued importance because of the influence that many of the settlers would have in the 'administering the developing machinery of state provision.'¹⁰⁶

The last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth thus exposed the limitations of the voluntary response to poverty¹⁰⁷ and by 1906, with the Liberal welfare reforms, the state was taking an increasing role in the provision of welfare services. These were, according to Finlayson the result of an acceptance that the 'old synthesis of providence, paternalism and philanthropy – designed to build up individual character and initiative and relying heavily on voluntary and local effort – could no longer bear the weight of circumstances and the probing of convictions.'¹⁰⁸ The effect of this change can be seen by growth of the Guilds of Help movement. The emphasis that this organisation placed on the duty of the middle classes towards their municipality was reflective of the wider movement in society. By 1909, this movement was larger than the COS, representing an increasing focus on the importance of the civic community. Unlike the emphasis the COS placed on the responsibility of the individual, the philanthropic drive of the Guilds of Help movement arose from a belief in their civic responsibilities and the good that they could do for the local community.¹⁰⁹ In this climate, therefore, it seemed more appropriate for the state to take on an increasing responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. Finlayson has further argued that this was partly the outcome of a redefinition of citizenship in this period. In the nineteenth century, citizenship was seen in terms of contribution, of the performance of certain duties and obligations. This, he argues 'implies giving, rather than taking; contribution rather than acceptance.' It also means a 'contribution to the welfare of others by service to the community' and thus is particularly

¹⁰⁴ Vicinus, *Independent Women* p.226.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p.215.

¹⁰⁶ Evans, *The University and the City* p.122

¹⁰⁷ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* p.160

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.165

¹⁰⁹ See K. Laybourn, 'The Guild of Help and the Community Response to Poverty 1904 –c. 1914' in K. Laybourn, *Social Condition, Status and Community 1860-c.1920* (London: Sutton, 1997).

associated with voluntarism and the idea of personal service to the community.¹¹⁰ By the end of the nineteenth century, however, increasing enfranchisement meant that the term 'citizenship' came to mean a belonging to the political community. The possession of political rights went hand in hand with the entitlement to social rights also for it was the latter that gave meaning to the former. This was a type of citizenship that was 'to be provided by as an entitlement by an active state rather than aspired to by active citizens outside the state.'¹¹¹ It was this change in citizenship that led to an increasingly active state in the provision of welfare services after 1906.

Again, this led to changes in the settlement movement. As the state began to take on an increased role as a welfare provider, welfare services became increasingly institutionalised and this led to the creation of a professional class of social workers. Yeo has situated the call for professional training for social workers in the context of an exponential increase in middle class salaried jobs, especially in local government, the civil service and healthcare, in light of the social climate. Their aim was, she argues, 'the creation and communication of knowledge and other common sense largely to the working class.'¹¹² She has also connected the increasing call for trained social workers with the new legislation for such positions as Medical Officers and sanitary inspectors.¹¹³ However, as she also argues, it also 'proved a hopeful answer of how to give dignity to the life-long public work of single women.'¹¹⁴ For this reason, the women's settlements tended towards this kind of work far more than the men's. Indeed, men accused the women's settlements of resembling training colleges, rather than true settlements.¹¹⁵ Vicinus argues that as men had already 'pre-empted the intellectual and ideological work of the settlements', in the first instance, women associated themselves with an area of service that was 'explicitly antitheoretical and proinstructional', and which conformed to ideas of a special, domestic sphere of women's work, they gradually came to see themselves as professionals with a distinct identity.¹¹⁶ For many young women, the settlements provided an ideal introduction into social work, which was one of the few professions open to them. Thus, whilst men tended

¹¹⁰ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* p9

¹¹¹ Ibid. p162

¹¹² E. Yeo, *The contest for social science : relations and representations of gender and class* (London : Rivers Oram Press, 1996) p217

¹¹³ Ibid. p218

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p218

¹¹⁵ Vicinus, *Independent Women* p.215.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. pp.215-6.

to emphasise 'undifferentiated' helpfulness, women were keener to gain experience in a specific area, such as care of the handicapped or in case work.¹¹⁷

The idea of separate spheres for men and women has been emphasised by the conception of middle-class women as 'the angel in the house'.¹¹⁸ Lewis, for example, believes, that in women's social work 'the language of duty and injunction to serve were all-pervasive'.¹¹⁹ However, this has been challenged by historians including Davidoff and Hall,¹²⁰ and more recently, Smitley¹²¹ and Gordon and Nair,¹²² who have argued that the ideology of separate spheres does not adequately reflect women's experiences. The expansion of women's education and the opportunities presented by social work, subverted the idea that women's role was confined to the domestic. Women settlers therefore embraced greater professionalization. In 1893, the first one year course in social work training at the Women's University Settlement was established.¹²³ Other settlements followed and by 1912, the department of Social Science and Administration at the London School of Economics was created, establishing social work as a profession for good.¹²⁴ Bradley identifies this trend, with settlements becoming increasingly reliant on paid workers and funding tailored to particular projects or areas of work.¹²⁵ However, Vicinus has suggested that the results of professionalization for an organisation could be mixed. Whilst the full-time residents could view themselves as experts on poverty and welfare, they often felt superior to and apart from the part-time settlers and she suggests that settlements became divided between the 'committed and uncommitted'.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, Checkland believes their role in the evolution of social work to be one of the settlements' greatest achievements. Whilst she concedes that their attitudes towards the poor were not any different to men, she argues that the women settler's 'enthusiasm, their practical ability and even their novelty value, enabled them to make a link between earlier charitable effort and

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p.215.

¹¹⁸ See Catherine Hall, 'The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology' in Burnam, *Fit Work for Women*; Elliott, *The angel out of the house*.

¹¹⁹ Jane Lewis 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States': The British Case', *Social History* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan., 1994) pp.55-53.

¹²⁰ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes* (London : Hutchinson, 1987).

¹²¹ Megan Smitley, *The feminine public sphere: middle-class women in civic life in Scotland, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

¹²² Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public lives: women, family, and society in Victorian Britain* (London : Yale University Press, 2003) chapter 1.

¹²³ Yeo, *The contest for social science* p218

¹²⁴ See J. Harris, 'The Webbs, The Charity Organisation Society and the Ratan Tata Foundation: Social policy from the perspective of 1912' in M. Bulmer, J.Lewis, and D. Piachaund, *The Goals of Social Policy* (London: Unwin Hyman , 1989).

¹²⁵ Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State* p. 193.

¹²⁶ Vicinus, *Independent Women* p.228.

the newer form of social work.’ Their work with women and children ‘created an important precedent, and one which was to push them and the community into much greater concern with maintaining standards of good health.’¹²⁷ Women, therefore, forged their careers in social work based on their experience in the settlement.

The trends of increasing professionalisation and state involvement in social services have proved to be pervasive themes in the literature of twentieth century social history, culminating in the creation of a ‘welfare state’ in 1946. As Finlayson has noted, the historiography has shown a ‘tendency to see the history of welfare in terms of the development or evolution of the welfare state.’¹²⁸ It has been ‘virtually preoccupied with the state and, he cites Briggs’ statement that there has been a ‘reorganisation of twentieth century history around the term ‘Welfare State’.¹²⁹ This can give a false impression of a ‘fairly smooth and steady growth in the activities of the state’. Finlayson has termed this approach as the ‘welfare state escalator’.¹³⁰ However, this emphasis on the increasing ‘enjoyment of rights from the state’ is misleading, for the British welfare system has always been a mixed economy.¹³¹ The historiography for the interwar period, however, has focused almost entirely on the development of state welfare services, to the detriment of voluntary provision. Increasingly, however, historians have come to see this period in terms of a partnership between the state and the voluntary sector where the latter still had an important part to play in the provision of services. This new form of cooperation has been termed the ‘new philanthropy’, after a book published in 1934 by Elizabeth Macadam that outlined the partnership between the state and the voluntary sector. The new philanthropy was characterised by experimental schemes whose worth was not yet recognised by the state, work that was flexible, tailored to the needs of the individual and highly specialised along with the creation of associations in order to represent a particular group and bring pressure to bear on the state to protect their interests.¹³² Prochaska has argued that Macadam overstated the increasing cooperation between charities and the state and did not appreciate the fact that many remained independent of the state entirely.¹³³ However, as Finlayson has noted, the idea of the new philanthropy did highlight the

¹²⁷ Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* p309

¹²⁸ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* pp2-3

¹²⁹ Ibid. p10

¹³⁰ Ibid. pp2-3

¹³¹ Ibid. pp5-6

¹³² B. Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Society, state and Social Welfare in England and Wales 1800 -1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) p188

¹³³ Prochaska, *The voluntary impulse* p80

‘convergence of frontiers of philanthropy and those of the state as both sought to meet social needs in a professional manner and with an increasing professional staff’.¹³⁴

An example of this kind of cooperation with the state was the National Council of Social Services. Established in 1919, the NCSS had the aim of encouraging and coordinating voluntary social work. An important part of its work, however, was to cooperate with government departments and local authorities. Stevenson has argued that the establishment of the NCSS was indicative of the ‘still strongly voluntaristic and laissez-faire attitudes found up to and beyond 1945’. As he notes, the NCSS was, essentially, a voluntary organisation that received official backing and funds and that this was a form of compromise between state provision and private initiative.¹³⁵ Owen also regards this as an ‘explicit recognition of voluntary and statutory agencies concerned with similar problems and a working understanding, if not formal partnership, was essential.’¹³⁶ In 1947, Hilda Jennings would argue that the establishment of the NCSS was partly due to the ‘need to devise effective machinery through which to put forward suggestions and programmes to the powerful government departments’.¹³⁷ She goes on to note that during this period, ‘wherever there was a group of voluntary services with similar aims and functions, the tendency was to form local associations, often affiliated to national bodies, in order to give expression to a particular point of view or interest to plan for a comprehensive service and in the local sphere.’¹³⁸ The same thing occurred in the settlement movement with the establishment of British Association of Residential Settlements (BARS) in 1920.¹³⁹ Like all voluntary services in this period, the settlements were having to use increasingly sophisticated tactics in order to retain their public position.

It was increasingly believed that private charity was unable to cope with the economic problems caused by poverty. Whilst this was a trend that was continued from the pre-war era, the huge problems caused by unemployment only served to highlight the inadequacy of their efforts. As Finlayson has noted, the voluntary services had shown themselves to

¹³⁴ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* p279

¹³⁵ J. Stevenson, *British Society 1914-45* (London: Allen Lane, 1984) p319

¹³⁶ Owen, *English Philanthropy* p530

¹³⁷ H. Jennings, ‘Voluntary Social Service in Urban Areas’ in H. Mess, *Voluntary Social Services since 1918* (London: Kegan Paul, 1947) p32

¹³⁸ Ibid. pp33-34

¹³⁹ A. Olechnowicz, ‘Unemployed Workers, ‘Enforced Leisure’ and Education for ‘the Right Use of Leisure’ in Britain in the 1930s’, *Labour History Review*, Vol. 70, no. 1 (2005). p37

be ‘unequal to the challenge of circumstances’.¹⁴⁰ Whilst this might be regarded as symptomatic of their continued marginalisation, Jennings saw it as an ultimately liberating development for charity. She argued that the ‘assumption of responsibility in the material sphere by the state released volunteers from the burden of obsessions with poverty... and soon they were able to lead the way to new forms of service ... In such new forms of service there was at least an attempt to integrate the sciences in the service of the individual, and to give the different sides of his nature their due weight.’¹⁴¹ As the socialist writer G. D. H. Cole would note in 1945 of voluntary service, whilst ‘this meant in part that their function came to be that of supplementing state aid instead of providing an alternative to it’ it also meant ‘that the dispensing of money came to be secondary in importance, and the function of acting as advisors and consultants to the poor ... leapt into ... first place’.¹⁴² The voluntary services thus became, so Stevenson has argued, ‘the pace-setters for official action’, and this was where their significance in developing policy lay.¹⁴³ The settlements were not backward in taking on this role, either. As Tony Jeffs has noted, their autonomy gave them ‘unprecedented opportunities for experimentation’ and the space to ‘take risks’. For example, in youth work, special-needs groups ‘deemed “unproductive” by state bodies came to be catered for and initiatives such as play work, which offered little in the way of measurable outputs came to be developed’.¹⁴⁴ Bradley also argues that settlements continued to act as a ‘buffer’ between the state and effects of poverty.¹⁴⁵ She suggests that in areas such as health care, settlements welcomed the involvement of local and national government and that they worked to ‘ensure the gaps in health provision were filled’.¹⁴⁶

The settlements also began to react to the changing needs of society by expanding into the new estates that were springing up around the country, rather than just confining themselves to the inner cities. Again, Cole would argue that as the voluntary sector became less concerned the provision of cash benefits, it became ‘more concerned with the spirit of “community” and it was no accident that the new social service fixed upon the equipment of community centres and the funding of community councils as its most vital activities. It set out to become the point of focus for a new spirit of community accordant

¹⁴⁰ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* p242

¹⁴¹ Jennings, ‘Voluntary Social Service in Urban Areas’ p34

¹⁴² Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State*, p188

¹⁴³ Stevenson, J. *British Society 1914-45* (London: Allen Lane, 1984) p319p319

¹⁴⁴ Jeffs, ‘Something to Give and Much to Learn’ p164

¹⁴⁵ Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State* p. 196.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 194

with the changing conditions of living'.¹⁴⁷ Jennings further explains this development. Whilst she notes that there were settlements in most major cities, she points to the creation of the new estates and the lamentable failure of 'housing enthusiasts' to realise that 'even the under-privileged slum dwellers had created for themselves compensatory features which played a highly important part in their lives'. These new estates thus suffered from the same problems as the old communities with the added 'evils' created by uprooting and transplanting a large number of families. Thus, 'it was not a matter of surprise ... that the word 'community' took on a new significance and that a deliberate attempt was made to foster the neighbourhood values which had slowly grown up in the old areas'.¹⁴⁸ Naturally, the settlements followed this trend. In 1929, the New Estates Community was established,¹⁴⁹ leading to some settlements, including the Birmingham settlement, establishing branches in the new estates.¹⁵⁰

Jennings further notes that this movement was part of a reaction to growing concern over adult leisure time in this period.¹⁵¹ Again, this was something that the settlements proved themselves to be concerned with. In 1931, the Spennymoor Settlement in southwest Durham was established. It became known as the 'pitman's academy' after the newspapers covered its sketching club's annual exhibitions and it helped dozens of its members to win scholarships to Oxford and adult colleges.¹⁵² Durham was at this time an area of high unemployment and it was unemployment that became the greatest challenge of the interwar period. Again, the problem of social control has been raised. Whilst Harris notes the sense of genuine idealism that lay behind much of it, the provision for the unemployed has been regarded by many as simply 'recreational palliatives', simply designed to keep the working class occupied and content. George Orwell would describe them, for example, as having a 'nasty Y.M.C.A. atmosphere'.¹⁵³ Olechnowicz believes that concern over the working man's leisure time was due to a subtle concern about 'fitness' for citizenship.¹⁵⁴ As Bradley has noted, ideas of citizenship were based on the 'paradox that the ordinary working-class person had the right to participate in public life,

¹⁴⁷ Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State*, p188

¹⁴⁸ Jennings, 'Voluntary Social Service in Urban Areas' p35

¹⁴⁹ J. Matthews and J. Kimmis, 'Development of the English Settlement Movement' in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) p60

¹⁵⁰ J. Glasby, 'One Hundred Years of the Birmingham Settlement' in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) p98

¹⁵¹ Jennings, 'Voluntary Social Service in Urban Areas' p35

¹⁵² Olechnowicz, 'Unemployed Workers', p38

¹⁵³ Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.189.

¹⁵⁴ Olechnowicz, 'Unemployed Workers', p35

but that he or she did not have the skill or ability to do so.¹⁵⁵ Olechnowicz describes a ‘pervasive anxiety about the dangers of mass-produced opinions and from a lack of confidence in the capacity of an “apathetic unemployed class” – and the working class in general – to make the “right use of leisure”’. This concern was made more piquant because of the argument that communism and fascism were products of a mass society.¹⁵⁶ The increasing rates of unemployment in this period led to fears of the creation of a ‘leisured class’ and, according to Olechnowicz, it was thought necessary to ensure that they were taught to make a ‘socially constructive use of their increasing leisure.’ Indeed, he suggests that the phrase ‘right use of leisure’ was almost universal in the debates on adult education in the 1930s.¹⁵⁷ This kind of work with the unemployed has therefore been regarded by many as simply ‘recreational palliatives’, simply designed to keep the working class occupied and content.¹⁵⁸ Again, the settlements reacted to this social concern. At Toynbee Hall in 1922, at the first International Conference of Settlements, it was declared that ‘it is in leisure that society develops her spiritual qualities, such as honesty, truth, courage, patriotism, together with those interests, tastes, habits, discipline of mind and body, self-mastery and physical vitality on the sure foundation of which it is possible for society to endure, and the absence of which is certain death’.¹⁵⁹

The role of the settlements thus seemed to be changing yet again. Freeman argues that they came to be more ‘neighbourhood centres’ as the idea of residence gradually lost its appeal.¹⁶⁰ Freeman attributes this to the rise of educational settlements, which seemed to be more in tune with the social climate than the older type of settlement. Educational settlements were Quaker organisations who shared some characteristics of university settlements, but which eschewed residence and whose *raison d’être* was adult education, although they did some social work and like the university settlements, their conception of what constituted education was very broad.¹⁶¹ Freeman argues that term settlement was ‘tainted by its Victorian heritage’.¹⁶² The educational settlements, however, provided an example of how university settlements could adapt to the new social climate where

¹⁵⁵ Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State* p. 99.

¹⁵⁶ Olechnowicz, ‘Unemployed Workers’, p35

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p.35.

¹⁵⁸ Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.189.

¹⁵⁹ Olechnowicz, ‘Unemployed Workers’, p36

¹⁶⁰ M. Freeman, “‘No Finer School than a Settlement’: the development of the educational settlement movement’, *History of Education*, vol. 31, no.3 (2002), p261

¹⁶¹ See A. J. Allaway, *The Educational Centres Movement* (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 1961)

¹⁶² Mark Freeman, *The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: A Study in Quaker Philanthropy and Adult Education 1904-1954* (York: William Sessions Ltd., 2004) p.126.

‘citizenship of entitlement’ was dominant. Freeman suggests that being ‘unencumbered by residence’ meant that the education settlements were less ‘patrician in spirit and undemocratic in structure’ than the university settlements.¹⁶³ This made them better able to connect with the local community. Davies has, for example, illustrated the problems that a settlement being run by people from outwith the community can cause. With regard to educational settlements in south Wales, he suggests that one of the reasons for they were not more successful was that they appeared ‘as the manifestation of the tail end of Victorian patronage – a salve to uneasy consciences.’¹⁶⁴ Freeman argues that by largely managing to avoid these problems, the educational settlements became more popular than the university settlements and thus provided a model upon which the university settlements could base their future work.¹⁶⁵

Along with an increasing reaction against the idea of residence, it was also recognised by J.A.R. Pimlott in 1935 in his history of the movement that fewer male graduates were now able to take on full time voluntary work. For this reason, he suggests that the university settlements increasingly came to follow the example of the educational settlements and use adult education as their main facilitator of connection with the working class.¹⁶⁶ The role of adult education was also changing in this period. The suggestion that adult education in this period became less intellectually challenging is a theme that runs throughout Fieldhouse.¹⁶⁷ Kelly has further argued that in the interwar period, the various bodies of adult education came to follow a similar pattern of provision of general culture courses for a general audience, influenced by the humane tradition of the universities. This change occurred, he argued, because, as the driving forces of social reform and religious service diminished, so the ‘motive of personal culture reasserted itself.’ As people increasingly viewed adult education as a means of social advancement, rather than for its intellectual stimulation, so a trend towards a ‘broad, undifferentiated form of adult education’ emerged.¹⁶⁸ According to Kelly, therefore, providers of adult education tended not to focus so much on the spiritual element of their work so that their provision came to be valued mainly for the skills that they imparted to their students. This contrasts with Barnett’s original conception of education for life, rather than livelihood and is perhaps

¹⁶³ Freeman, “‘No Finer School than a Settlement’”, p252

¹⁶⁴ J. E. Davies, ‘Educational Settlements in South Wales with Special Reference to the Merthyr Tudful Settlement’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1970) p.198.

¹⁶⁵ Freeman, “‘No Finer School than a Settlement’”p261

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p261

¹⁶⁷ Fieldhouse, *History of Modern British Adult Education* p171.

¹⁶⁸ Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain* p.286.

indicative of a provision that was having to take increasing note of the demands of its students, rather than simply dictating what they believed it would be appropriate for them to learn. Harrison noted how this tension was one of the defining features of adult education¹⁶⁹ and it seems as though in the interwar period the dimensions of this were shifting again.

¹⁶⁹ Harrison, *Learning and Living* pp234-35

1 Chapter One: 1886-1904

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the roots of the settlements that were established in Scotland in the nineteenth century. These comprise five separate organisations. Toynbee House (TH) was the first to be founded, in 1886 in Glasgow. It drew heavily on Toynbee Hall as its inspiration but, as will be examined, retained a distinctly Glaswegian identity. The two religious settlements to be established in this period were the Students' Settlement of Glasgow University (GUSS) and New College Settlement, (NCS) which was a part of New College in Edinburgh – the training college for ministers in the Free Church of Scotland. There were also two female-led settlements: the Queen Margaret Settlement (QMS) in Glasgow and the Dundee Social Union (DSU). Despite the latter's name, it was operating early on as a settlement.

Settlements were conceived of as a means of creating community. The impetus behind the foundation of Toynbee Hall was the need to create a sense of connection and community between middle-class undergraduates and people who lived in the impoverished Whitechapel area of London. This chapter will demonstrate how TH in Glasgow drew on this idea of community and attempted to ameliorate the gap that existed between the students of Glasgow University and the working classes who lived in the Cathedral area of the city, where the university had previously been based. However, this was not the only idea of community that the settlements drew on. The Students' and New College Settlements hoped to create a religious community whereby people would come together through God and the church whilst the DSU, as will be discussed below, drew on the idea of a civic community and framed this within a rhetoric that emphasised the duty and obligations of citizens of Dundee. This can be seen as a product of Patrick Geddes' philosophy. However, it was allowed to develop because those who founded the settlement were members of the local elite who desired to improve their city and this chapter will examine the networks of men and women who brought these organisations into being. It will discuss their motivations and how these shaped the resultant organisations. These different ideas of community shaped the relationships between the settlements and the people they wished to connect with. However, this chapter will also

show how a strong sense of community and identity could develop between the settlers themselves. The idea of community that Toynbee Hall embodied depended upon bringing together people from very different backgrounds in the hope that the knowledge that they gained through these meetings would engender a deeper understanding and appreciation of each others' circumstances. However, as will be demonstrated, at GUSS settlers came from diverse backgrounds and the settlement provided an environment where ideas could be exchanged, mirroring the rise of increasingly discursive methods of teaching in the university itself.

This chapter will also examine how the settlements attempted to create this sense of community. They used various methods to connect with the working classes. Although it was important for the settlements that people engaged with their aims and philosophies, these organisations found it necessary to draw people in first. Particularly for the evangelical settlements, this involved visitation which was employed by many charitable organisations during this period, although its popularity was waning. Visitation took settlers into the homes of the working classes and the impact this made on one particular settler, William Boyd, who later documented his experiences, will be examined below. Another means of engaging with the working classes, as will be discussed below, was using leisure and recreational pursuits. These proved some of the most popular and enduring type of settlement work and clubs would form the backbone of the settlements. However, these activities had to be reconciled and justified in the context of settlement aims and the chapter will examine how the settlements tried to disseminate their philosophy through these pursuits. The settlements also developed as innovative providers of welfare. This chapter will show how the QMS and the Dundee Social Union targeted their resources. It will argue that the settlements tried to address the lacunas that existed in local government provision. Because of this, strong relationships existed with local authorities, particularly health officers. The QMS ran a branch of the Charity Organisation Society (COS) and this chapter will demonstrate how this influenced their work.

This chapter will also examine the relationships that existed between local people and the settlers. Settlement work often placed expectations of behavioural change on recipients, and the COS was particularly noted for imposing stringent conditions on those it helped. This chapter will examine how the settlers perceived the working classes, and how the portrayal of local people varied between settlements. Questions will also be asked over

how the working class engaged with these activities and it will be argued that use of settlement resources did not necessarily translate into sympathy with settlement aims. The people who used the settlements remain largely silent and anonymous in the literature – their views and reactions filtered by settlers wishing to promote their organisation. However, this chapter will use what evidence is available to find how the working classes used the settlements. The problem of quantifying the outcomes of settlement work was one that settlements themselves had to address that and this chapter will also look at how these organisations measured their effectiveness and the impact they had on the district. However, as the settlements aimed to improve the lives of local people through associational activities and welfare work, so they were also designed to give opportunities to those who carried out this work. There were two ways the men and women who participated in settlement work could benefit. Firstly, it gave them access to a wider stratum of society that would have been otherwise inaccessible. The exchange of knowledge between classes was to benefit the middle class settlers as much as it did the working classes who used the settlement. In this way, settlers would become more rounded people. However, just as the work the settlements did varied from the vague idea of ‘connection’ to the practical provision of welfare, so the impact of the settlement on those who worked there ranged between the idea that the work would make them a more rounded person and providing a solid training for their future careers. This gave the settlements a multi-faceted identity. This duality shaped how the settlements developed and this chapter will demonstrate how they were designed by their founders to be training centres for the young men and women who worked in them. This was never more explicit than in NCS where trainee ministers would get their first taste of mission work and, as this chapter will discuss, where the best interests of these workers took priority over the work that they performed. In later years, the Queen Margaret Settlement, the Edinburgh University Settlement and to a lesser extent, the DSU would run accredited training courses for social workers. This was, however, made possible by the innovative work that was done during this earlier period.

1.2 Toynbee House

Founded in Glasgow in 1886, Toynbee House (TH) was the first settlement to be established in Scotland. It was proposed by William Smart, Chair of Political Economy at the University of Glasgow and its foundation involved a number of other prominent university men, some of whom had links to the English settlement movement and the ideology which underpinned it. With premises in a building belonging to the Workmen's Dwelling Company in the impoverished Townhead area of Glasgow, the settlement never developed a residence. Records for this settlement exist until around 1905 and thereafter newspaper notices also dwindle away. Through the connections of the men who founded it, Toynbee House provided the strongest link between Scotland and the English settlement movement and this section will examine the extent to which this settlement embodied the values which underpinned the English movement. However, it will also examine the way in which it was a product of its Glaswegian context. It will consider the structure of the settlement, the aims of the settlers and how the settlement might have been used by the working classes.

The establishment of TH should be seen in the context of the wider participation of the university and professors in the city as well as the underlying ideologies which linked TH to the wider settlement movement. At the opening of the settlement's new premises in Cathedral Court in 1892, Edward Caird, a founding member 'desired to associate three names with the opening of the Toynbee House':

The first was John Ruskin; the second was Thomas Hill Green, who had done more perhaps than any other man in the last generation to infuse a higher tone into the public spirit of the people; and the third was Arnold Toynbee, a young man who burned with zeal for the good of his fellows, and whose short life was an appeal to the conscience of the nation in the direction of social work.¹

These three men provided the ideological backbone of the movement's English beginnings and this statement serves to emphasise the extent to which the founders of TH also shared these roots. The movement in England was underpinned by Hegelian idealist philosophy which had T. H. Green and Edward Caird as its figureheads² and this influence can also be detected in the development of TH. Hamilton and Turner have drawn attention to the way

¹ Sir Henry Jones and John Henry Muirhead, *The life and philosophy of Edward Caird* (Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson, 1921) p.16.

² See M. Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003).

in which TH was the product of the Hegelian idealist views of Glasgow University professors, most notably Edward Caird³ and Henry Jones⁴ who were both holders of the Chair of Moral Philosophy, which led them to adopt strategies to help alleviate the poor social conditions which characterised nineteenth-century Glasgow.⁵ They have shown the way in which the Hegelianism of men such TH Green, Benjamin Jowett, Arnold Toynbee and John Ruskin which had become so influential in Oxford also came to Glasgow through the influence of Edward Caird, his brother, John, who was principal of the university, Henry Jones and William Smart. Edward Caird was a founding member of TH. He had studied at Glasgow and was elected professor of moral philosophy there in 1866 before following Benjamin Jowett as master of Balliol in 1893. He had spent some time at Oxford as an undergraduate where he befriended T. H. Green. Like Green and Jowett, he believed that the purpose of college was to train students in moral and active citizenship.⁶ Later on, it would be Caird who got R. H. Tawney⁷ a job with William Smart, professor of political economy at Glasgow. It was also Caird who first interested Tawney and his brother-in-law, William Beveridge, in the settlement movement.⁸ William Smart was influenced both by Edward Caird, who had been his teacher, and Ruskin – indeed he was president of the Ruskin Society of Glasgow.⁹ Through the influence of men such as Caird, Smart and Henry Jones TH developed as the expression of the same ideology that propelled the English movement. These men believed that the social price paid for economic progress was too great and that universities had to play a role in reforming society and improving the quality of life for the working classes by disseminating university culture. Education allowed the working classes access to culture and knowledge

³ For a biography of Edward Caird see Henry Jones and John Henry Muirhead, *The life and philosophy of Edward Caird* (Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson, 1921).

⁴ Sir Henry Jones was born in Wales. He enrolled in the University of Glasgow in 1875. In 1882 he became a lecturer in philosophy at University College, Aberystwyth before being appointed professor of philosophy and political economy at University College of North Wales, Bangor. He became Chair of logic, rhetoric and metaphysics at the University of St Andrews before replacing Edward Caird in the chair of moral philosophy at Glasgow, which he held until his death in 1922. Knighted in 1912, Jones was renowned as a teacher and had a long-standing interest in educational reform, sitting on the 1918 commission on adult education. See Hector Hetherington, *The life and letters of Sir Henry Jones, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924).

⁵ Robert Hamilton and Robert Turner, 'Hegel in Glasgow: Idealists and the emergence of adult education in the West of Scotland, 1866–1927', *Studies in the Education of Adults* Vol. 38, No.2, Autumn 2006.

⁶ S. M. den Otter, 'Caird, Edward (1835–1908)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32239>, accessed 21 July 2008].

⁷ RH Tawney was a historian and political thinker whose ideology had a deep impact on socialists and the Labour Party. See Anthony Wright, *R. H. Tawney* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

⁸ M. Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003) pp168–69

⁹ Edward Cannan, 'Obituary: William Smart', *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 98 (June 1915), pp. 300–305

which would ultimately ‘enrich’ their lives and enable them to participate more fully in society.¹⁰ For this reason, Smart, Jones and Caird not only supported the university extension movement but also facilitated the provision of higher education for women. Caird was involved in the establishment of the Queen Margaret College for women, which would go on to form its own settlement. Smart also taught at this college. One should therefore see TH as one manifestation of the commitment of Glasgow idealists to the extension of university learning and culture throughout the city. Indeed, the settlement would continue to maintain links with its London counterpart.

These ideologies were translated to the Glaswegian context as academics worked with city elites to implement changes in the city. The founding of TH was couched in the language of division between the university and Glasgow’s poor. Until 1870, the university had stood at the heart of the ancient part of Glasgow – in the same quarter as the cathedral and in an area which was inhabited largely by the poor working classes. In 1870, the university, amid concerns about disease and being surrounded by ‘social undesirables’, moved to a new building in the west end of the city and left behind the smoke and squalor of the east.¹¹ According to Smart, the university’s move from the city centre to the west end and its removal to a middle-class area had led, to a ‘divorce’¹² between it and the working-class people who were once its neighbours. The result of this was the ‘bitter accompaniments of carelessness on the part of the rich and suspicion on the part of the poor’.¹³ For Smart the same problem of social division was being faced in Glasgow as Toynbee Hall was attempting to combat in London. He thus asked, ‘Do we not find the same demand for University education among the working classes? Is there not the same separation of West and East? Have we not to face the same social and economic problem?’¹⁴ Smart saw in the Toynbee model a means of resolving the problem of social organisation that he believed was as dangerous in Glasgow as it was in London. The settlement was an ‘attempt to bridge the gulf between East and West’¹⁵ and the *Glasgow Herald* supported it in this. In 1892, it argued that:

¹⁰ Turner and Hamilton ‘Hegel in Glasgow’ pp. 198-99.

¹¹ Michael Moss, J. Forbes Munro and Richard H. Trainor, *University, city and state: the University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 2000) pp. 31-33.

¹² William Smart, *Toynbee Hall : a short account of the universities settlement in East London, with suggestions for a similar work in Glasgow* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1886) p. 20.

¹³ Smart, *Toynbee Hall* p. 23.

¹⁴ Smart, *Toynbee Hall* p. 20.

¹⁵ Glasgow University Library Special Collections, MacLehose 764 Toynbee House, *Report 1892-93*.

Some outsiders might be inclined to think that the avowed policy of imitation thus carried rather far, but, on the other hand, the advantage of having a successful model to copy is beyond dispute. The ends of a 'university settlement', and the circumstances under which these are to be carried out may for all practical ends be considered identical, whether the scene of operations be Glasgow or London. In both cities there are sections (or strata) of the community to which the descriptions of 'West End' and 'East End' are applied in a conventional but quite intelligible sense ... Without any effort being made to classify mankind into their proper sorts and conditions, it is apparent that those who seek to bring about a better understanding between classes that tend to diverge which [sic] are doing work that deserves to be owned and commended.¹⁶

Having a settlement in Glasgow was an opportunity to re-create the community that some argued had once existed between the university and the working classes of the city. But this was a different kind of community to the kind that the London settlements were aiming to create. There, outsiders from Oxford or Cambridge took residence in London's east end. In Glasgow, however, the university was a part of the city that it was attempting to reform. The sense of responsibility felt by Smart towards the poorer classes of the city arose from a sense that the university had a duty towards its immediate neighbours. For both the Oxford and Cambridge settlements, this sense of immediacy was lacking. The foundation of TH should therefore be examined in the context of both the early settlement movement and the reform movement in Glasgow. Examining Glasgow's elites, Trainor argues that, whilst the university had always been an important element of the city's elites, after the university moved to the west of the city in 1870 from its original position in the east end the 'university became a stronger and a less controversial presence in the life of the city's leaders'.¹⁷ This meant university men became 'integrated' with the local elite. As professional and business men in the city became involved in either governance or teaching at the university, university professors in their turn began to play 'prominent roles in local institutions'.¹⁸ According to Moss et al, from 1885, the involvement of university professors in Glasgow life increased through two channels. The first was political involvement, mainly through Liberal Unionism which became the dominant political affiliation, with Lord Kelvin as president of the West of Scotland branch.¹⁹ The other was through a collective sense of 'civic duty' and Moss et al see this

¹⁶ *Glasgow Herald* 10 November 1892.

¹⁷ Richard Trainor 'The Elite' in *Glasgow Vol 2* ed. by T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson.(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995-1996) p. 248.

¹⁸ Trainor 'The Elite' p .249-50.

¹⁹ For the rise of Liberal Unionism in Glasgow and Scotland in general, and the role played by professors from the University of Glasgow, which led to the city becoming a centre of Liberal Unionism see John F. McCaffrey, 'The origins of Liberal Unionism in the west of Scotland' , *Scottish Historical Review*, 50:1 (1971) pp.47-71.

reflected in the activities of professors who demonstrated a commitment to improving social conditions in the city. Smart, for example, took an active interest in improving the housing conditions of the poor. This imperative was not, therefore, confined to TH. Recalling the establishment of the Glasgow Civic Union, Henry Jones explained the rationale behind it:

I found that different sections of the community were under the control of assumptions which could not be reconciled, and I believed that they could learn a great deal from each other. So I founded the Civic Society [sic] on what I believed to be an entirely new basis – on the basis of *difference* [sic] of opinion ... the object was not the victory of any side but the discovery of more truths.²⁰

The themes which underpinned the establishment of the Civic Union were not very different from those which inspired the founding of the settlements and one should see it as arising from the same moral imperative as underpinned the founding of the settlement. Jones began the Civic Union with the Lord Provost Sir James Bell²¹ and partnerships such as these signified a greater degree of involvement in city life by university men. These men formed part of a network interested in municipal affairs who worked together to tackle Glasgow's social problems. The concept of 'civic duty' was not confined to the university but was instead applied across the city's elites, leading them to unite in attempts to alleviate conditions in the city. Fraser and Maver note how in the formation of the Glasgow Civic Union, business leaders were brought together with evangelicals and academics, including the brothers John²² and Edward Caird, both associated with the settlement movement. Housing provided a strong motivating factor for reform. Whilst the City Improvement Trust²³ was the largest organisation aimed at improving housing, others were also active. These included the Kyrle Society and the Glasgow Workmen's Dwelling Company,²⁴ the latter of which Edward Caird was also involved in. Through these, TH was associated with the movement to reform Glasgow's housing conditions. The settlement was based in one of the Workmen's Dwelling Company's premises in Rottenrow. Whilst other settlements took on rent collecting as one of their duties, TH did

²⁰ Quoted in: H. Hetherington, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924) pp. 88-89.

²¹ Moss, Munro and Trainor, *University, city and state* p. 81.

²² John Caird was Principal of the University of Glasgow from 1873-1896.

²³ The City Improvement Trust, founded in 1866, was given the power to redevelop some of the most overcrowded areas of the city. From the 1880s, it began to build premises itself. Progress was, however, slow, and it did not accomplish as much as in other cities. See *Glasgow*

²⁴ W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, 'Tackling the problems' in *Glasgow Vol 2* ed. by T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995-1996) pp. 420-421.

not engage in this activity. Instead, the rents of these tenants were collected weekly by lady members of the Kyrle Society.²⁵ This society was run by Octavia Hill in London and had the *raison d'être* of taking beauty into the lives of the working classes.²⁶ With the settlement based in these building and the Kyrle Society entering the dwellings as rent collectors, the tenants were kept in close contact with the middle-class reformers. The cost of maintaining a residence and the need for volunteers to staff it were restrictive and this placed a strain on other settlements who nevertheless invested resources into opening residences. Indeed, residence was viewed as one of the defining attributes of settlements. However, for TH, this was considered less of an imperative in a city where volunteers lived in closer proximity to the settlement than the Oxbridge men who worked at Toynbee Hall and also because the settlement was situated in buildings that were already being overseen by members of the middle class in the form of the joint ministrations of the Workmen's Dwelling Company and the Kyrle Society.

Just as Maver and Fraser have described how men from different strata of the elite came together in the Glasgow Civic Union, so the committee of Toynbee House was composed of a similar mix. Smart had noted the scope for including men from outside of academia and whilst many were drawn from its ranks there were a number of non-academic men on the committee. In 1897, nine of the committee members did not have a degree. A proportion of these men, however, were of a high rank in the community. For example, there were two MPs and one councillor. Women were also well represented on the committee. A further thirteen members in 1897 were female, two of whom were married to academics. Given the liberal attitudes that Smart and Caird had towards female emancipation and the traditionally wide-ranging participation of women in social work in this period, this is not surprising. However, the settlement had problems attracting workers and as with many voluntary organisations, most of the work of the settlement was done by a few loyal helpers. In the reports there were calls, not just for money, but for volunteers. In 1892, the *Glasgow Herald* put forward its opinion on why this may have been the case:

Doubts may be entertained as to whether the Scotch universities will ever be able to undertake a philanthropic crusade comparable to that which has been begun in England. Oxford and Cambridge can reckon among their alumni men of wealth and leisure as well as of learning, who when smitten with the Enthusiasm of

²⁵ *Herald* 14 November 1892.

²⁶ See William Hill, *Octavia Hill: Pioneer of the National Trust and Housing Reformer* (London: Hutchinson, 1956).

Humanity, welcome a recognised channel by which they may direct their well-intended energies. Since for various reasons many of these find themselves unable to put on the uniform of the Church, Toynbee Hall is not likely to fall from want of serviceable recruits. Scotch-men as a rule go to college to fit themselves for a profession, and few of them are in a position to taste the delights of learned leisure.²⁷

According to the *Herald*, then, the problems the settlement faced in attracting volunteers was the result of inherent differences between the kind of students, and their purpose in studying, who attended Scottish universities, as opposed to those who attended Oxbridge. Although the settlement had the support of high-profile academics, this did not translate into solid base of student helpers. It is possible that those were more attracted to GUSS, which in the early years could draw on its missionary links for volunteers and thereafter built up a network of connections through which student volunteers came into contact with the settlement. GUSS, moreover, offered its workers a residence and it was these cheap lodgings which drew at least some into the settlement. These elements were lacking at Toynbee House, where the committee was dominated by professors, businessmen and others representing the elites of the city. Again, this stands in contrast to GUSS where the students were afforded more autonomy than was possible in Toynbee House. These elements may have contributed to the failure of Toynbee House to capitalise more fully on student support. Indeed, the settlement made frequent appeals in its annual reports for more volunteers to come forward from the west end, and it was especially concerned with attracting more students.

Rather than students, workers were drawn from the social networks highlighted above. Many volunteers knew one another through academia whilst others were siblings or spouses. In particular, the Drawing Room Evenings, an idea borrowed from Toynbee Hall, were familial efforts. In 1892, Mrs Erskine Murray²⁸ reported that although she and her husband had managed to hold only two parties, her daughter ‘has been very regular, and has given on average one a fortnight’.²⁹ In many cases, involvement in the settlement was not confined to only one member, or even one generation, of a family, but became a group activity. The holding of a drawing room evening was a feminine activity and, indeed, wives wrote the reports, yet the aims of the gathering made it something that men too could participate in. Megan Smitley has highlighted the importance of drawing-room

²⁷ *Glasgow Herald* 10 November 1892.

²⁸ Wife of Sherriff Erskine Murray mentioned above.

²⁹ GUL, MacLehose 765 Toynbee House, *Report 1891-92*.

meetings for female campaigners. This domestic setting fulfilled the requirements of a meeting place and required no financial outlay. Unlike public meetings, the more intimate, domestic setting of drawing-room meetings was conducive to organisational meetings or to facilitate connections between middle-class women.³⁰ These attributes also made them attractive to the middle classes hoping to connect with the working classes.

Nevertheless, the settlement was not a democratic organisation. It was run by a committee which met annually. Within the settlement, the various clubs and societies that they ran were semi-autonomous groups. It was to these that the working-class members of the settlement paid their subscriptions and these that they became members of but the higher echelons of power in the settlement remained beyond their grasp. Reports are filled with declarations of friendship with the working classes. Mrs Erskine Murray remarked that at her drawing room evenings, she and her guests ‘feel that as our acquaintance grows we understand each other better, and have more ease and confidence in communicating.’³¹ However, ideas of friendship and sympathy did not translate into equality. As others have noted, settlements were not democratic organisations.³² They aimed to ameliorate class tensions not dissolve class distinctions.³³ The working classes with whom TH aimed to connect were given no say in the overall running of the settlement. Instead, their leaders and teachers retained control.

Democracy was not, then, the aim of the settlement. The lack of a voice for the working classes in the settlement presents a dichotomy between a belief in the need for more active and engaged citizenship and reluctance to allow the working classes a role in the running of the settlement. As such it reveals much about the settlers’ attitudes to the working classes. The settlement was to act as a conduit between classes but it was not a neutral place. Whilst settlers wished to get to know the working classes, they ultimately expected them to adapt and conform to middle-class values. Toynbee had argued that, ‘in return for giving up a life with books and those we love, the poor must pledge themselves to lead a

³⁰ Megan Smitley, *The feminine public sphere : middle-class women in civic life in Scotland, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2009) pp. 44-45.

³¹ GUL, Kelvin 106 Toynbee House, *Report 1889-90*.

³² See E. Abel, ‘Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor: The Educational Thought of Samuel Barnett’ *Social Service Review* (1978 52:4) p602 and Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p .40.

³³ See S. Mencher, ‘The Influence of Romanticism on 19th Century British Social Work’, *Social Service Review* 38:2 (1964) p176 and Woodroffe, K. *From charity to social work in England and the United States* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1962) p. 68.

better life.’³⁴ TH expected the same of the working class and there was a general dismissal of working-class culture and values. As Caird explained:

Every one now acknowledges that this kind of work is most essential to knit the various classes of community together, and to extend the blessings of civilisation to all. Such a centre for the social life of the district, to say the least, cannot but help many to spend the hours of relaxation in amusements which do good and not harm to those who engage in them; and this is really half the battle of the social improvement of the people. It may also be the means of giving moral support to many who only need a little encouragement to develop their powers and make their life better.³⁵

Whilst he spoke of community, the higher purpose for these meetings was to ‘civilise’ the working classes. As Meacham³⁶, Abel³⁷ and Gilchrist³⁸ have argued, settlers tended to see the working classes as having little or no culture of their own and regarded it as their duty to expose them to their middle-class culture. At the opening of the new premises in 1892, Caird spoke of the way in which the settlement brought ‘the culture of University life within the reach of those who could not obtain it for themselves’.³⁹ The role of the settlement was not only to bridge the gap between east and west but also to facilitate the cultural dissemination of university life. The settlers wished to understand the lives of their working-class neighbours but this did not engender appreciation of their culture. As with other settlements, personal connection was the way in which TH settlers hoped to achieve their aim. It was an intangible goal which called for a flexible way of working. In 1890, the *Pall Mall Gazette* explained that:

[TH’s] beginnings were small, its growth has been gradual, and its development on lines very similar to those of its namesake in Whitechapel. Societies, club, classes, friendly and social gatherings, touching the life of the people at many points, have come gradually into existence, not in accordance with any preconceived plan, but as and when the want of them was felt. Things that are organic and healthy do not as a general rule spring into existence fully formed, like Athena from the head of Zeus.⁴⁰

³⁴ Ibid. p. 17.

³⁵ GUL, MacLehose 765 Toynbee House, *Report 1891-92*.

³⁶ S. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform, 1880-1914: the search for community* (London: Yale University Press, 1987) p. 60.

³⁷ E. Abel, ‘Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor: The Educational Thought of Samuel Barnett’ *Social Service Review* (1978 52:4) p. 599.

³⁸ R. Gilchrist, ‘Settlements and the arts’ in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) p. 178.

³⁹ GUL, MacLehose 764 Toynbee House, *Report 1892-93*.

⁴⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette* 12/8/1890.

This was one of the defining features of settlement work. Because the settlements' goals were vague and not easily measured, settlers' methods of working were fluid and adapted to what they perceived as being the needs of the community. One example of this was the Drawing Room Evenings held at TH, an idea borrowed from Toynbee Hall. These were informal parties where tea was provided along with entertainments such as games or music, to which both parties would contribute. Some groups simply conversed. The size of the groups varied depending on circumstances and the preferences of those involved. As Caird explained:

Several 'families' were formed from among the Members of the Association, and each family undertook to invite and receive a party of guests in the Rooms once a fortnight. The guests at these drawing-room evenings belonged to the working classes of the neighbourhood, and were invited personally, after having been visited by members of the 'families'.⁴¹

Caird's description suggests that the groups that gathered for drawing room evenings were self-contained units. This connection, it was professed, would blossom into friendship. Statements such as the following by Miss MacLehose profess affection between settlers and their groups:

We have kept to our old plan of having most of the parties small, and on the whole I think our friends have enjoyed them as much as we have. One or two have remarked that our 'large parties were very nice, but the small ones were so homelike', and this has made us content to go on quietly increasing our friendships in this way.⁴²

In some cases these groups seem to have had the desired effect of facilitating friendships and there seems to have been a real fondness for one another. In 1891, Miss Farquhar reported that 'they are always pleased to come when asked, and many of them say it is the only time they ever have a good laugh.'⁴³ Whilst, for Keating, there can have been few more uncomfortable philanthropic experiences as the tea parties at Toynbee Hall,⁴⁴ these statements suggest that in Glasgow drawing room evenings had, to some extent at least, the desired effect of bringing together east and west in friendship and cordial relations. However, certain caveats were attached to this connection, the friendship professed at Drawing Room Evenings could be a superficial concept. According to Professor

⁴¹ GUL, Kelvin 106 Toynbee House, *Report 1889-1890*.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ GUL, MacLehose 765 Toynbee House, *Report 1891-92*.

⁴⁴ Keating, P. *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction* (London : Routledge & K. Paul, 1971) p. 111.

Cappon,⁴⁵ who attended Caird's Evenings, for Caird 'there was an element of genuine experiment in [the Drawing Room Evenings]'.⁴⁶ These events were about observing different classes rather than creating friendships. Understanding the working class, from Caird's point of view, was not brought about through friendships but was instead approached through a method which necessitated an air of detachment. This is further reinforced by Cappon's recollection of attending Caird's Drawing Room Evenings:

[Caird] enjoyed, too, in his quiet way the humour of incidents and accidents in such affairs, as when a glib little machinist made himself the spokesman of the East Enders at the close of the evening and complimented Mr and Mrs Caird and the entertainers on being able to enjoy themselves 'without orgies', that being evidently the East Ender's notion of 'Society's' way of amusing itself. The little man sang for us, too, with the heartiest ardour, *The Lass of Ballochmyle*, its passionate strains pealing over us in a way that was apt to provoke a smile... but you could hardly tell from Caird's steady composure how much he was seizing of the humour of the situation. There was a simple, grave *bonhomie* about him in such scenes.⁴⁷

A sense of detachment and observation is highlighted – private enjoyment at the expense of a guest rather than something shared between settler and 'East Ender'. It was a common argument in settlement ideology that settlement work was mutually beneficial to both settlers and the people of the district: indeed, Caird told Cappon that Drawing Room Evenings were 'most beneficial to the philanthropist himself'.⁴⁸ Cappon's recollections of the Drawing Room certainly seem to suggest that Caird approached these gatherings as an educational exercise. Caird's superiority to those he entertained was further emphasised by Cappon: 'something of the great beauty of his character was felt even by some rather crude members of the circle'.⁴⁹ A sense of superiority over the working-class people who attended these meetings was expressed by other settlers too. Miss Farquhar, who hosted some of these meetings, would remark that 'the people certainly need us in their daily life as their friends and advisors'.⁵⁰ Neither did the working classes always appreciate the effort being made for them: Miss Younger, another hostess, remarked that 'Amongst the company on these occasions both the thrifty and the thriftless poor have been represented, the latter invariably more difficult to amuse'.⁵¹

⁴⁵ English lecturer who established the Department of English at Queen's University, Canada in 1888.

⁴⁶ Jones and Muirhead, *The life and philosophy of Edward Caird* p.117.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 117

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 118.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 117.

⁵⁰ GUL, Kelvin 106 Toynbee House, *Report 1889-1890*.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Whilst the drawing room parties were perhaps the most obvious way of getting to know the people and were for the first years at least the focus of the work at TH, clubs and societies quickly became the mainstay of their work. A men's club was the first to begin and then, in 1888, a girls' club was started.⁵² In connection with these clubs were held various classes, such as singing, sewing and drill classes for the girls⁵³ and a choir, gymnasium, elocution and music classes developing in connection with the men's club.⁵⁴ The settlement also ran a 'class for mothers', a library for the girls and a literary society. However, these clubs were semi-autonomous and one could be a member of one group without ever having to engage with another. The settlement did not have a forum where all members of settlement groups could come together. The Men's Club itself was composed of many different groups, which tended to change from year to year. From 1901, the Men's Club report was annexed within the main annual report of the settlement, suggesting that it was operating as a separate organisation. The disconnectedness of the various groups of the settlement meant that members need never come into contact with the rest of the settlement, or the ideals which underpinned it. It could thus be argued that the structure of the settlement did not enable it to develop a corporate identity which club and society members could identify with and hampered their ability to engage with the settlement's aims.

Throughout the history of the settlement, recreational classes remained the most popular and were used as a means of enticing members into the settlement. For example, the secretary of the Men's Club noted that 'the Whist section has fairly caught on amongst the members ... Nearly every member plays the game. The numerous competitions are a great factor in inducing members to put in an appearance, and there is no doubt that whist has added to the attractiveness of the club.'⁵⁵ The settlement thus acknowledged that the recreational work was essential to keeping people interested in the settlement. This is something that Hugh Cunningham has observed in other voluntary bodies in the nineteenth century. The industrial revolution brought with it increased opportunities for leisure of all classes and this ultimately meant, according to Cunningham that 'voluntary organisations, whatever their ostensible aims, were operating in a competitive leisure market'.⁵⁶ Settlers

⁵² GUL, MacLehose 762 Toynbee House, *Report 1888-1889*.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ GUL, MacLehose 773 Toynbee House, *Report 1896-1897*.

⁵⁵ GUL, MacLehose 782 Toynbee House, *Report 1900-1901*.

⁵⁶ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780-c.1880* (London : Croom Helm, 1980) p. 179.

understood that providing leisure facilities was a useful way of enticing people into their organisation but it was also a means of usefully occupying the working classes' leisure time, providing, for example, an alternative to the public houses. Thus, the purchase of the billiard table was recommended as a means of 'drawing young men away from the public billiard room and its associations [of gambling]'.⁵⁷ However, it was not simply as an exercise in damage limitation that recreational facilities were provided. Recreational pursuits were introduced to the working classes with the aim of elevating and enriching their life, in accordance with the beliefs of Ruskin, who believed that beauty and the arts had the power to inspire people to a better life. Music and choral classes, for example, were very important to TH and by 1897 classes were being given in violin for both men and women.⁵⁸ The men's club often went rambling and, again, this can be seen as a means of introducing the working class to nature and beauty.⁵⁹

Many classes were designed with a specifically educational purpose in mind. Sewing and dress making, for example, featured heavily in their work with women and girls. It was viewed as an opportunity to teach economy and thriftiness. As Mrs Sclanders⁶⁰ noted of her work with the mothers' class, 'In beginning the class, my desire was to encourage the mothers to make the best use of everything at their disposal in the clothing way, both as regards old garments and new, and to show them that to buy good material and make for themselves was much more economical and certainly more satisfactory than to buy cheap ready-made articles.'⁶¹ The settlement was providing practical education that other social reformers, such as the Charity Organisation Society, had lamented the lack of in the working class. To this end, the settlement also ran a course of five lectures on 'Home and Health Management', with the topics: 'Food and Indigestion'; 'The Feeding of Children'; 'Clothes and Catching Cold'; 'Infection and how to deal with it' and 'Practical Sick-Nursing.' These classes were firmly domestic, reinforcing the women's role as being contained in the domestic sphere as wives and mothers, with no attempt to educate them beyond this.⁶² However, these classes had a substantial and loyal membership. This may

⁵⁷ GUL, MacLehose 782 Toynbee House, *Report 1900-1901*.

⁵⁸ GUL, MacLehose 773 Toynbee House, *Report 1896-1897*.

⁵⁹ See Melanie Tebbutt, 'Rambling and Manly Identity in Derbyshire's Dark Peak, 1880s-1920s', *The Historical Journal* Vol. 49, No. 4 (Dec., 2006), pp. 1125-1153.

⁶⁰ Mrs Sclanders was the wife of David Sclanders, a merchant in Glasgow who in 1923 founded the William Smart prize for economics at the university.

⁶¹ GUL, MacLehose 762 Toynbee House, *Report 1888-1889*.

⁶² Anna Davin has situated the drive for better domestic education in the debates that arose in light of Darwinism and the Boer War at the end of the nineteenth century, suggesting that it was a reaction to fears about degeneration of the race (Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood' *History Workshop*, No. 5

have been helped by the fact that the aims of friendship and sympathy were not forgotten either, as Mrs Sclanders noted: 'I think the class is useful apart from the cutting and sewing. It is a little break in the sameness of their lives, and I notice latterly that there has been a kindly helpful feeling growing up among themselves.'⁶³ These women had begun to connect and form a support network for one another, which was noted and approved of by the settlers.

Themes of independence and self-help also ran through the men's club and these goals, leaders suggested, were achieved through the guidance of the settlers. In 1889, the annual report noted, 'During the last session the Club has greatly improved, the members having shown more interest in the management, indeed during the last two months having carried it on entirely among themselves. This improvement is greatly due to the President [who was a settler] who has attended nearly all the Committee meetings, besides working in other ways for its welfare.'⁶⁴ Settlers portrayed these men as suggestible and easily influenced: they wrote of 'the influence the President gained over the men.'⁶⁵ In all the reports, the men are represented as being amenable to the influence of the volunteers. This suggests that the settler's aim of being able to exert their influence over the working classes was being achieved. The truth, however, was that financial necessity, rather than any deliberate scheme on the part of the settlers, would see the men of the club take on more responsibility. A lack of volunteers meant that the settlement decided to employ teachers rather than struggle to find people to take classes for free. This cost was borne by the men. A payment for use of the gymnasium was also required⁶⁶ and, in 1897, a member of the club took over as instructor of the Gymnasium Class and remained as such for two years before another paid instructor took over.⁶⁷ Thus, by 1896, the club was self supporting.⁶⁸ In 1904, the annual report stated that 'A gratifying feature in the work of Toynbee House is the increased evidence of the desire of the members of the Clubs and Classes to bear a larger proportion of the expenses incurred.' In the same year it was

(Spring, 1978), pp9-65). However, Vanessa Heggie has argued instead that throughout the nineteenth century, working-class women had been portrayed as inadequate wives and mothers in need of education by the middle classes. See Vanessa Heggie, 'Domestic and domesticating education in the late Victorian city', *History of Education*, 40:3 (2011), p. 273-290. The Mothers' Class at Toynbee House certainly implied that the women who attended required the help and education of the middle classes to become better wives and mothers.

⁶³ GUL, MacLehose 762 Toynbee House, *Report 1888-1889*.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ GUL, MacLehose 765 Toynbee House, *Report 1891-92*.

⁶⁶ GUL, MacLehose 771 Toynbee House, *Report 1894-1895*.

⁶⁷ GUL, MacLehose 782 Toynbee House, *Report 1900-1901*.

⁶⁸ GUL, MacLehose 772 Toynbee House, *Report 1895-1896*.

reported that the money for the purchase of a lantern for lime-light lectures was raised by members of the club.⁶⁹ The increased responsibility that members were willing to bear for their club demonstrates a desire to keep it going and a sense of appreciation for it. Yet, for all the rhetoric of the settlers, the responsibility which they conferred on their members was mainly due to their inability to secure sufficient funding to meet the needs of this club.

Along with the clubs, the settlement also ran a programme of liberal adult education, the mainstay of which was the Literary Society. This programme of lectures can be seen as an attempt to bring high culture to the working class. For the session 1897-98, the club had 215 members. 25 of these were also members of the men's club, which at this time numbered just over 100,⁷⁰ suggesting that the two appealed to different demographics. Smart in his rationale for the establishment of a Glaswegian settlement argued that lack of university provision of educational classes for the working classes had led to a sense of resentment towards the university because it meant that the institution remained wholly the preserve of the elite of society. This, he felt, was damaging the university.⁷¹ Smart was not a lone voice. In 1886, a leader in the *Glasgow Herald* lauded the attempts of Toynbee Hall to 'widen [Oxford University's] human sympathies'.⁷² It then goes on to bemoan the lack of such a scheme in Scotland:

We have in our East-end quarters working people who may be credited with as strong a craving after learning as their compeers in London, but we perceive no sign of a desire to woo them by the delights of study.⁷³

In England by this time the University Extension Scheme was well established, providing the working classes with the benefits of university teaching: Toynbee Hall was one of the centres. Some in Scotland also identified a need for such a scheme and, in 1884, a small group of Glasgow academics began their own, unofficial, extension scheme based on the Cambridge one, giving lectures at the Philosophical Institution in the centre of town on such subjects as English Literature, Political Economy and Moral Philosophy.⁷⁴ In 1885, the Graduates and Lecturers Association at the university also conducted a series of

⁶⁹ GUL, MacLehose 791 Toynbee House, *Report 1903-1904*.

⁷⁰ GUL Bf76-e.9 Toynbee House *Annual Report 1897-1898*.

⁷¹ Smart *Toynbee Hall* p.22.

⁷² *Glasgow Herald* 16 October 1886.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Smart *Toynbee Hall* p.21.

lectures in the factory district of Bridgeton where the average attendance was over 50.⁷⁵ Both Smart and Edward Caird were involved in these schemes. Nevertheless, this scheme foundered after only a couple of years and university extension was never as developed in Scotland as it was in England.

Some have attributed this failure to the differences between the Scottish and English university systems. Cooke explained, for example, that student fees in Scotland were lower than those of English universities, facilitating a culture of ‘popular access to university education.’ More students per head of population attended Scottish universities than English ones and a larger proportion were from working class backgrounds. The 1919 *Adult Education Report* of the Ministry of Reconstruction concluded that the extension scheme’s failure to become a widespread movement in Scotland was due to Scottish universities’ ‘democratic character’ and ‘the fact that intramural classes are more readily accessible to all classes of the population than is the case in England.’⁷⁶ However, unlike Cooke, Sutherland argues that initial demand for these lectures was high and that failure lay in the universities’ lack of commitment and suitable lecturers and, therefore, a sense of continuity. The certificates offered by these classes were also not recognised by universities, providing a further disincentive.⁷⁷ Although the literary Society did not offer certificates, the numbers attending suggest that there remained in Glasgow an appetite for university teaching among the general populace. Furthermore, this was the branch of the settlement which received the most publicity: almost all the *Glasgow Herald* articles from this time relate to the literary society and by 1906, the only records left of TH are newspaper articles relating to this society. However, the dearth of university lecturers and professors among those who lectured again suggests reluctance on their part to engage with this type of teaching. Despite the backing of some prominent academic figures it appears as though this support did not always extend across the university staff. Its enduring success, however, was a testament to the desire of working-class men in Glasgow for education.

The provision of liberal adult education in the settlement was not limited to men. However, educational provision for women was not undertaken directly by the settlement

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 22.

⁷⁶ Anthony Cooke, *From popular enlightenment to lifelong learning: a history of adult education in Scotland 1707-2005* (Leicester: NIACE, 2006) p. 119.

⁷⁷ Douglas Sutherland, *University Extension in Scotland c. 1886-1896* (M.Phil 2007 University of Glasgow, 2007).

but was instead provided by an affiliated body – the Queen Margaret Lecture Guild, which was also attached to the Queen Margaret College. It was founded in 1892 with the aim of organising short courses of lectures to working class women and girls and courses of summer reading.⁷⁸ The course of summer reading was divided into two courses, one for more advanced readers. After reading the books, the students were expected to submit an essay on them. In 1897, the prize for the more basic course was won by ‘a girl who is employed in a factory from six till six.’⁷⁹ These courses thus provided working-class girls with the opportunity of an education they might otherwise never have had. For the members of the Guild, the achievement of this girl demonstrated that ‘the Guild fulfils the chief object of its aims at, viz. to brighten the lives of hard-working women, by giving the thoughts and ideas outside their daily routine.’⁸⁰ As noted above, education for women was often confined to domestic subjects. However, the Queen Margaret Guild offered a different kind of education to women. As Lindy Moore has shown, in Scotland, there was an ongoing debate about how much domestic education should be given to girls and throughout the nineteenth century there was resistance to increasing domestic education at the expense of intellectual education.⁸¹ The Queen Margaret Guild also represented a commitment to the providing women and girls with an intellectual education. This also possibly drew on the lecturers own experiences as female graduates. Along with the summer reading courses, the Guild also gave lectures and in 1897 there were fourteen courses of arts lectures, of which ten were on literary and historical subjects, two on travels, one on domestic economy and one on natural history. The Guild also gave a number of medical courses that year. However, although the number of arts lectures was at its highest, there were fewer medical lectures than previously. The Guild explained that ‘This is due, not to any want of demand for these lectures, but to a lack of leisure on the part of the medical students, who find it difficult during some part of their course to secure time for work beyond their studies.’⁸² Like the Literacy Class, this series demonstrates a breadth of subjects that was partly dictated by the availability of volunteers. However, unlike the literary society, the lecturers also ventured out into the community to provide lectures for organisations, such as the co-operative society, or the women’s co-operative

⁷⁸ GUL, MacLehose 773 Toynbee House, *Report 1896-1897*.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ GUL, MacLehose 773 Toynbee House, *Report 1896-1897*.

⁸¹ Lindy Moore, ‘Educating for the Domestic Sphere: domestic training versus intellectual discipline’ in *Out of Bounds: women in Scottish society, 1800-1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992).

⁸² GUL, MacLehose 773 Toynbee House, *Report 1896-1897*.

guild,⁸³ which asked for them and thus operated like an informal university extension scheme. Aside from the benefits that this would have for those being lectured to, it also allowed women the opportunity of lecturing and thus taking up positions of academic authority in the community. These lectures must have raised the profile of female students. As they explained, ‘the lecturers find that their pleasure and interest in the work increases with every new effort, and that nervousness wears off, and ease in speaking comes with practice, and that they gain for themselves much new light in trying to make their subject clear to their hearers.’⁸⁴

From 1898 onwards, the guild was no longer attached to the settlement, but was subsumed into the Queen Margaret Settlement instead, on whose board the leaders were asked to sit. This was a natural progression for them, to become involved in a settlement under the auspices of their own college and which was devoted entirely to working with women and girls. From this time, also, there are no further records of TH and there are no hints about what may have happened to it. Whilst they were a little short of volunteers, there is no indication that the work was running out of momentum. Indeed, at this point, the educational courses especially seem to have been very popular. Aside from all the preconceptions and prejudices of the settlers, it seems that TH perhaps never managed to become the centre of the community which it hoped to be, but for those who did attend it, it had a positive effect on their lives. Their educational classes gave the working classes knowledge and skills which they otherwise would not have had access to and their reports mention how people continued to come back year after year. This generated a loyalty to the settlement, as Mrs Sclanders noted of her mothers’ class, ‘among the most pleasant features of the class were the women’s kindly neighbourliness with each other, and their pride in everything connected with Toynbee.’⁸⁵

TH represented the strongest link between the Scottish settlements and the English movement – largely through a myriad of academic connections which linked the founders of TH to those who both inspired or were involved in the English movement. However, its establishment relied on a local network of elite men and women from both academic and municipal circles. In this sense, the settlement represented just one of the means by which the two worked together to try to improve city life. Inspired by the ideals of civic

⁸³ GUL Bf76-e.9 Toynbee House *Annual Report 1897-1898*.

⁸⁴ GUL, MacLehose 773 Toynbee House, *Report 1896-1897*.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

duty and active citizenship which characterised the Hegelian idealist philosophies of the settlement's founders, the settlers aimed to elevate the lives of the working classes through social, recreational and educational activities. These aimed to give the working classes access to education and high culture in the hope that these would inspire people to become better citizens. However, it is very hard to gauge the extent to which people subscribed to the settler's goals. Certainly, the settlement had to use leisure facilities to encourage people to join the settlement – although this was not a unique to TH. Involvement in the settlement also seems to have been limited to the individual settlement clubs or societies to which people belonged. The settlement did not have any gatherings where all the adult members of the settlement came together and this perhaps prevented it forging a corporate identity and disseminating its aims further. The Drawing Room Evenings provided the most accessible route to friendship with the working classes. Yet, however much professions of friendship were made in reports, it appears that this was limited and class distinctions remained. Moreover, the settlement, unlike other settlements in Glasgow, failed to build a body of volunteers from the student body and much of the work was therefore undertaken by a small band of helpers. Although it had the support of some eminent Glasgow men, these factors must have served to limit its impact.

1.3 The Students' Settlement and New College Settlement

The Students' Settlement (GUSS) of the University of Glasgow and the New College Settlement (NCS), which was a part of New College in Edinburgh were both religious, evangelical organisations. NCS in particular traced its heritage and involvement in the Pleasance district, where the settlement was based, to the beginnings of the Free Church of Scotland and the evangelism of the early nineteenth century. Despite this lineage, however, the settlements had to confront the challenges that faced evangelicalism during this period, as social changes made it less influential and challenged its legitimacy. The effects of this can be examined through the Students' Settlement's movement towards secularism and education. The continued commitment of NCS to evangelical goals will also be examined. Whilst saving the souls of the working classes was the obvious goal of these organisations, this section will also examine the way in which these organisations shaped the lives of the college students who worked in them. For the missionaries working at New College Settlement, it was training for their future careers. At the Students' Settlement the connection and exchange of knowledge that embodied the settlement ideal came to be found in the relationships that existed between the students in the settlement rather than in those between settlers and the working classes.

Unlike TH, these settlements were distinctly religious in outlook: both had their roots in Missionary Societies. The GUSS was initially a part of the University Missionary Society. In 1888 the Missionary Society had begun to do home mission work in the Garscube Cross area of the city, in partnership with the University Total Abstinence Society. When the Missionary Society in 1894 decided to abandon this work, the settlement continued as an independent group in the area of Garscube Cross. The Glasgow University GUSS therefore began life as an extension of the Glasgow University Missionary Society. The Missionary Society was founded in 1821 as the Association of Theological Students in the University of Glasgow in Aid of Missionary Exertions. New College, which sat on the Mound in Edinburgh, had been founded in 1846 as a college of the Free Church of Scotland.⁸⁶ However, whilst the GUSS parted from the Glasgow University Missionary Society, the NCS would remain a part of the Missionary Society and establish a residence

⁸⁶ For an institutional history of New College see H. Watt, *New College Edinburgh, A Centenary History* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946).

in the Pleasance area of Edinburgh. These organisations would do religious and social work in impoverished areas for a number of decades.

New College was a small college and the Missionary Society played a large part in its corporate life: in his centenary history of the college, Watt wrote ‘Pride of place must be given to the Missionary Society, in operation from the very beginning of the College’.⁸⁷ The Missionary Society provided an important platform for a combined student voice and extracurricular activity. At Glasgow University, too, collegiate life was becoming an increasingly important factor in student experience of university life. The 1880s and 1890s saw a drop in student numbers, in spite of the increasing numbers of women attending the university.⁸⁸ Moss, Munro and Trainor have argued that this saw the facilitation of a greater corporate life within the university in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. This was manifest through the opening of the Union in 1888 along with the John McIntyre Building, which also contained a restaurant. In 1889 *Glasgow University Magazine* was begun and in 1895, the Students’ Representative Council received its ordinances.⁸⁹ In the period when the GUSS was established, then, the university was undergoing a renewal of student life, with increasing opportunities for active student participation and interaction. The decision to create a new settlement, with all the demands on students’ time this entailed, can only have been helped by the increased readiness of students to participate in extracurricular activities.

Whilst in the wider university efforts were being made to create a closer and more collegial relationship between students, for the men who lived in GUSS, these types of bonds were created within the settlement. The effect of this life on settlers is most clearly illustrated in the experiences of William Boyd. Boyd joined the GUSS in 1891, aged seventeen. He soon became a key member of the settlement, and would remain so until it came to an end in 1927, becoming secretary in 1894 and warden in 1897. Growing up in Kilmarnock, Boyd moved into the settlement as a first year student having been introduced to it through a family friend and because it offered cheap lodgings. However, his early experience there shaped the rest of his life, as he described in his memoirs:

⁸⁷ Watt, *New College Edinburgh*, p. 114.

⁸⁸ Moss, Munro and Trainor, *University, city and state* p. 75.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 79-81.

I was re-born ... in the Settlement. As a matter of fact, the life we students lived there changed practically all who came to it – gave them a new outlook, added to their mental and moral stature, sent them out into the world with a special vitality... I suppose it was because the Settlement served much as the College of the great University in which young men do a great deal of mutual educating.⁹⁰

For the men of the GUSS, the collegial environment that the university was trying to foster was found in the settlement. As Meacham has explained, the community that settlements such as Toynbee Hall attempted to create in a working-class area to promote interaction between classes was based on the kind of collegiate environment exemplified by Oxbridge.⁹¹ However, at the GUSS, of equal importance to Boyd were the relationships which developed between settlers and which were fostered through the collegiate environment found within the settlement: these were as much of an educative experience as the knowledge that was gained through living in a poor district. Not only were settlers living in a working-class area, but they were also living and working with men from different backgrounds. Moreover, just as Boyd described how the environment at the settlement fostered discussion and the exchange of ideas, these were ideas which were also finding prominence as new teaching methods within the university. Moss et al remark on changes in the university around the turn of the century towards ‘a more personal approach ... a friendly attitude towards students’ from professors including Smart.⁹² Smart realised the benefits of these methods and applied them in his own class. His methods had a positive effect on one of his students, William Boyd, precisely because of the support and opportunity for open discussion they offered and they merited a mention in his memoirs:

He [Smart] was always interested in the students’ views and ready to encourage them to follow them out for themselves ... This habit of student discussion was not new to me because we were always arguing about anything and everything in the GUSS but it was new as a University Practice. Here was somebody who was more concerned that we should think for ourselves than that we should accept his views.⁹³

This type of exchange of ideas and free discussion, however welcome it was in the classroom, was already familiar to Boyd through his experience in GUSS. Again, what was being promoted within the university as innovative practice could already be found, naturally occurring, within the settlement.

⁹⁰ Glasgow University Archives GB248 DC130/1 *Complete copy of the autobiography of William Boyd* p.129.

⁹¹ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall* p. 2.

⁹² Moss, Munro and Trainor, *University, city and state* p. 104.

⁹³ GUA GB248 DC130/1 *William Boyd* p. 117.

One of the reasons for this was the rich mix of people that were active in the settlement and this led to animated discussions within the settlement and lively exchanges of ideas. It was this atmosphere which made the settlement such an important and influential experience for Boyd. Although the settlement was a religious organisation, it was not denominational:

A number of the students were studying for the church, either in the Church of Scotland Divinity Hall or the corresponding Free Church College, and one or two Arts people ... were heading in that direction. But there were one or two men attending the Teachers Normal Colleges and one or two medicals – a good, mixed group. The atmosphere was on the whole religious but even that was mixed. The Free Kirkers tended to be definitely evangelical, the Auld Kirk men were Moderates, critical of the evangelical fervours and some few were quite neutral.⁹⁴

Geographically, too, the settlers came from a diverse background. Often settlers recommended the settlement to acquaintances and thus networks grew up. Boyd, for example, brought in people from his home town of Kilmarnock and settlers also came from the north of England and some from Wales and Ireland.⁹⁵ Many of the men at GUSS were also, as Boyd put it, ‘from a humbler way of life’. Differentiating between GUSS and Toynbee House, Boyd explained that ‘the difference between the two was partly one of class – ‘the Rotten Row people were of a rather higher social status’.⁹⁶ Boyd was himself from a working-class background but settlement work gave him the opportunity to meet with others from different classes and background:

We students from a humbler way of life in most cases had the chance to meet and talk and discuss from points of view very widely different, not only socially but professionally: ministers, doctors, teachers, business men, a mixed company.⁹⁷

Not only did settlement work provide settlers with an insight into working-class life in an industrial city, but it also gave them access to the networks of professionals who were also grappling with the problems industrial life created.

The results of the education that the settlement provided could be seen, according to Boyd, in the careers of settlers. Boyd himself went on to have a distinguished career as an

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 126.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 145.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 125.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 129.

educationalist and became head of the Educational Institute in Scotland.⁹⁸ Along with him in the settlement in this period was Tom Jones (1870-1955) who became Lecturer of Economics at the University of Belfast before going onto be Cabinet Secretary to Lloyd George, Andrew Bonar Law, Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald. He helped to found Newbattle Abbey College, the further education college for working men, and was secretary, trustee and chairman of the Pilgrim Trust. From 1944 until his death he was President of the University of Wales, later Aberystwyth University.⁹⁹ Stanley Horsfall Turner, meanwhile, became assistant to William Smart after completion of his degree at Glasgow before going onto become the first lecturer and Head of Department of Political Economy at Aberdeen. When the National Health Insurance Commission was established, Turner became responsible for the Scottish aspect of the Act. During the First World War, he also organised Continuation Classes with the Glasgow School Board before his death in 1916 at the age of 38.¹⁰⁰ Other settlers included Norman and Kenneth Leys. Kenneth was a lecturer at the University of Glasgow before going on to become a Church of England minister¹⁰¹ and Norman moved to Africa and published an influential book on Kenya.¹⁰² Also resident in the settlement during this period was John Ramsay. He was a statistician in the Department of Agriculture and editor of the *Journal of Agricultural Economics* from 1928 until his death in 1940.¹⁰³ J. W. Coutts became a United Free minister in Aberdeen, Milngavie and Montrose and was Moderator of the Presbyteries of the latter two.¹⁰⁴ One of the founding members, James Maclean became a Free Church missionary in India and received the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal from the Indian Government in acknowledgement of his work in village education. He was awarded an honorary Doctorate by the University of Glasgow and was appointed Moderator of the South India United Church.¹⁰⁵ His

⁹⁸ See Brett, Caroline Elizabeth and Lawn, Martin and Bartholomew, David J. and Dreary, Ian John, 'Help will be welcomed from every quarter: the work of William Boyd and the Educational Institute of Scotland's Research Committee in the 1920s' *History of education*, 39 (5), 2010 pp. 589-611.

⁹⁹ See Ellis, Ted, *T.J.: A Life of Dr Thomas Jones, CH*. (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1992).

¹⁰⁰ See his obituary in *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 104 (Dec., 1916), pp. 542-543.

¹⁰¹ GUL MS Gen 670 Glasgow University Students' Settlement, *List of outstanding residents and sub-wardens of the Settlement*.

¹⁰² See, Lotte Hughes, 'Dissident Scribes: Some Lesser-known Activism In and Around Africa in the Early 20th Century', *The Round Table*, 99:408 (2010), pp 249 – 265; Ed. John W. Cell, *By Kenya possessed : the correspondence of Norman Leys and J.H. Oldham, 1918-1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Norman Leys, *Kenya* (London: L. & V. Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1926).

¹⁰³ See, A I Giles, 'The A.E.S.: A commentary on its Past, Present and Future', *Journal of Agricultural Economics* Volume 27, Issue 3.

¹⁰⁴ See *Scotsman* 11 June 1925 p9; 5 February 1936 p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 30/ October 1939 p. 6.

contemporary in the settlement, Donald Fraser, also became a missionary in Nyasaland and was Church Secretary for Foreign Missions in Scotland.¹⁰⁶

Settlement men went on to make an impact in politics, religion, education, statistics, human rights and other fields and Boyd believed that the reason why settlement men contributed so much was because of their experience in the settlement. Of course, the type of person attracted to settlement work was often one already interested in social issues – and this was acknowledged by Boyd:

Men who came into residence were all people with a purpose, religious, social, etc., and their study-life had for its background the neighbourhood of a Glasgow industrial area with such poverty and evil conditions of life.¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, although Boyd came to university interested in religion, he chose the settlement as a place to live because it offered cheap lodgings and his interest in social subjects and education was developed through the settlement. The impact the settlement could have on the development of character was also acknowledged by Henry Jones. According to Boyd, when Jones came to Glasgow in 1894, he was initially sceptical of the settlement, wary that it would take students away from their studies.¹⁰⁸ However, his scepticism was dispelled after encountering settlement men in his class. Indeed, he became a member of the settlement committee and sent his son, Arthur, who was killed in the First World War, to live at the settlement.

At New College, the value of the settlement in forming the characters of the men who would become the next generation of ministers was also keenly acknowledged. Unlike GUSS, NCS was home to a more homogeneous group of men – all were Free Church students training to become ministers and missionaries. These men, around five of whom were resident in the district, were aided in their work by Free Church congregations from different areas of the city – the most prominent for most of this period being Free St Andrews. These helpers were necessary to provide stability: ‘Their work in the district gives us a permanent element which the constant changes in student life cannot supply.’ Students were only members of the settlement for as long as their degrees lasted. However, the policy of the settlement with regards to the leaders of the settlement, known

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 6 September 1933 p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ GUA GB248 DC130/1 *William Boyd* pp. 129-30.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.130.

in this period as 'missionaries' exacerbated the problems this caused. The missionaries of the settlement were usually students in their fourth year, and they changed frequently in order to give as many young men the opportunity of doing this work as possible. This was pursued sometimes even at the expense of the quality of the work being done. In 1900 Free St Andrew's decided that it no longer wished to continue its association with the settlement, although this link would later be re-established. One of the reasons for this was that 'the students are always changing, and they are absent from town for fully half the year, and the term of a missionary's service has also been always short; hence the responsibility for keeping the work together through all changes, and for maintaining any hold that has been gained over the weak and careless should have come upon us.'¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the students who did missionary work through the settlement in the Pleasance were motivated by more than simply training opportunities. Professor William Garden Blaikie described in his memoir the establishment of the settlement, whose committee he would become chairman of:

From an early period the students had carried on a mission in some destitute part of the town. This was done under considerable difficulties, arising partly from the continual change of workers, and partly from the want of suitable mission premises ... It was the time when university and other settlements were the vogue, and much was said about the duty of educate people to take up their abode among the poorer classes, and help to impart to them some of the advantages which they themselves enjoyed. Acting on this principle, some of the students had themselves rented rooms in the Pleasance, the sphere of their mission, and were doing their best to promote its objects. But in living in small separate houses they wanted the feeling of unity, and that was a great drawback to hearty co-operation in work ... After much deliberation, it was resolved to buy some adjacent property, to reconstruct the chapel, to furnish the mission with a comfortable residence of the superintendent and his volunteer coadjutors, and to provide such halls and class-rooms as would greatly facilitate the work of the mission.¹¹⁰

The founding of the settlement was therefore driven by students of New College who drew on the settlement model so as to more fully commit themselves to mission work. The realisation of their aims was facilitated by the college and Free St Andrews Church who provided the funding which paid for the purchase and refurbishment of the premises that were to become the settlement. The settlement was the next stage of a long-term endeavour to reach out to the working classes of Edinburgh. The foundation of the college happened only three years after the Church of Scotland had divided, in an episode known

¹⁰⁹ New College Library AA 3.3.75 *St Andrew's Church Record*, December 1900.

¹¹⁰ William Garden Blaikie *William Garden Blaikie: an autobiography: 'Recollections of a busy life'* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901) pp. 211-212.

as the Disruption of 1843, when a splinter group broke away to form the Free Church of Scotland. The division was caused by the discontentment of evangelicals over the system of patronage which allowed landowners and gentry to select local ministers.¹¹¹ These evangelicals, headed by the Reverend Thomas Chalmers, comprised more than a third of the ministers and about half of the lay membership.¹¹² In the aftermath of the split, members of the Free Church no longer had access to university divinity departments. Because of this one of the pressing aims for the Free Church after the Disruption was the establishment of a college in Edinburgh for the purpose of continuing the theological education and training of students who had joined the Free Church whilst also providing education for new students. As he laid the foundation stone of the college in 1846, Chalmers, who had been made Principal in 1845, emphasised that the mission of the college was to improve the conditions of the poor.¹¹³ Part of the response to Chalmers' vision was the beginning of missionary work at New College, which would eventually lead to the establishment of NCS.

Chalmers is the towering figure of the nineteenth-century Scottish church, to the extent that one historian has suggested that the reaction of the Scottish church to social changes in the nineteenth century can be examined by looking at Chalmers himself.¹¹⁴ His concern about social problems in Scotland led Chalmers to begin an innovative new way of responding to poverty whose legacy would inspire NCS. Chalmers was convinced that the problem for the city lay in a 'breakdown of communal spirit'¹¹⁵ caused by rapid urbanisation. The only way to re-establish the paternalistic sense of duty which the middle and upper classes ought to feel for the poor was to recreate the traditional, rural parish system in the urban environment. As discussed in the literature review, Stedman Jones has argued that in the 1860s the middle classes perceived a crisis whereby unless some paternalistic control could be reasserted over the poor, society was in imminent danger of breaking down. He argued that out of this crisis emerged the reform movement which gave birth to institutions such as the Charity Organisation Society and, of course, the settlements.¹¹⁶ However, Thomas Chalmers saw the same kinds of problems in 1819, and his solution to it involved the same

¹¹¹ Stewart Brown 'The Disruption and the Dream: the making of New College 1843-1861, in ed. David F. Wright and Gary D. Badcock *Disruption to diversity : Edinburgh divinity, 1846-1996* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996) p. 30.

¹¹² Stewart Brown 'The Disruption and the Dream' p. 29.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 40.

¹¹⁴ John McCaffrey, 'Thomas Chalmers and social change', *Scottish Historical Review*, 60:1 (1981:Apr.) p.32.

¹¹⁵ McCaffrey, 'Thomas Chalmers and social change'.

¹¹⁶ G. S. Jones, *Outcast London* (London: Penguin, 1971) p. 259.

kinds of techniques as would later be employed by the mission settlements. Self help and the support of the community were to replace the state as the source of poor relief.¹¹⁷

Chalmers judged his experiment a success, although subsequently historians have pointed to the flaws and failings of his actions.¹¹⁸

When Chalmers became involved in the development of New College, he also began home mission work in Edinburgh with help from the college students and one can see this as the practical implementation of Chalmers' insistence on the 'social mission' of New College. He began mission work at West Port in Edinburgh in 1844, recruiting students as visitors in 1845. Chalmers' missionary work was a reaction against the social changes heralded by industrialisation. This romantic spirit has also been identified by Mencher in the philosophies of people such as Toynbee, who inspired Barnett to establish Toynbee Hall.¹¹⁹ The idea of a settlement lent itself to this view of social change and urbanisation for it was often associated with the goal of reversing the effects of urbanisation on a community and recreating the kind of community, based on patronage and deference, which had been found in pre-industrial rural communities. New College Missionary Society used its settlement to try and recreate Chalmers' ideal of a paternalistic society whereby the poor would be morally improved under the supervision of the upper classes in the kind of rural community which Chalmers associated with the parishes of his youth. However, unlike those settlements who took their inspiration from the teachings of Barnett, Toynbee and TH Green, NCS and also the GUSS, were both drawing on a much longer tradition, although one whose themes would recur throughout the century.

NCS was therefore part of an unbroken line of work by generations of New College students, designed to bring the poor into the church and facilitate their moral improvement; for NCS and GUSS, the community they hoped to create was based upon religious ideals. This was a goal shared by a significant section of the middle classes throughout this

¹¹⁷ McCaffrey, 'Thomas Chalmers and social change'. Based on the twin principals of 'territoriality', where the parish was subdivided into smaller areas, and 'aggression' – regular house to house visiting – Chalmers attempted to reassert the church's control over the poor and reduce their claims for poor relief by encouraging thrift and independence – again, much as the COS would attempt to do decades later. To do this, he decided to revive the traditional parish offices of elders and deacons. Each elder was made responsible for one of the 'proportions' and they were instructed to visit each household regularly and encourage the families to live according to church doctrine, seeking out immorality and reporting it to the kirk session. The deacons likewise were instructed to visit each family in their area but their primary duty was the elimination of poor relief by encouraging the people to be thriftier and more temperate and for their families to take on more responsibility for them.

¹¹⁸ See citations McCaffrey, 'Thomas Chalmers and social change' p. 37.

¹¹⁹ S. Mencher, 'The Influence of Romanticism on 19th Century British Social Work' p. 174-6.

century. Following on from Chalmers' work, the evangelical endeavour which he was a figurehead of became a dominant theme in religious discourse and evangelicalism became in the nineteenth century a pervasive dogma amongst the middle classes. McLeod, for example, charts its persistent and ubiquitous effect on behaviours of the middle classes, although it cannot be said that outward observance was always symbolic of internal piety: 'It was', McLeod argues, 'a measure of the Evangelical achievement that for much of the century so many members of the upper and middle classes felt bound to attend church regularly, to observe Sunday, and to censor their conversation'.¹²⁰ Callum Brown also regards evangelism as 'the distinguishing feature of the social identity of the new middle classes', arguing that because it was not underpinned by theological doctrine or debate, its pervasiveness was due to the way it provided a code for how to live in an industrial society.¹²¹ The evangelical missionary work carried on by the New College Missionary and Glasgow University Missionary Societies and the settlements which were to augment and follow on from this work were therefore neither novel nor isolated but were instead part of an influential movement which was active across the country.

Although these two organisations took the name 'settlement' both remained true to their missionary heritage. Indeed, Nigel Scotland has argued that home missions and settlements were overlapping institutions, and that there was often little difference between the two.¹²² For Koven too, the idea of a settlement was interchangeable with that of a mission. This is certainly true of these two Scottish settlements: as noted above, both were established in order to supplement the work of home missionary societies. Although the settlements used as evidence for this by Koven and Scotland were largely Anglican, both NCSS and GUSS paid no heed to Barnett's idea that a settlement should be different from a mission. Vicinus' interpretation of the difference between the two was that, 'a mission was intended to bring people closer to God, but a settlement brought them closer to each other.'¹²³ For these settlements, however, there was no division between these ideas. In bringing people together, they were in fact bringing them closer to God. Fostering a sense of community, built on moral and religious precepts, made those who participated in it better people and thus brought them closer to God. The settlement model was utilised

¹²⁰ Hugh McLeod, *Class and religion in the late Victorian city* (London: Croom Helm, 1974) p. 152.

¹²¹ Callum Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997) p.102.

¹²² Nigel Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late-Victorian Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007) pp. 14-16.

¹²³ Martha Vicinus, *Independent women: work and community for single women: 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985) p.214.

because it was felt to be the most effective way of creating this kind of community. This sentiment was expressed by GUSS in 1896, whose annual report stated that:

Our task ... is to 'war in the Master's name against all evil – selfishness, injustice, vice, disease, starvation, ignorance, ugliness, and squalor.' And this we endeavour to effect by getting into relations of mutual friendship with our neighbours in as many ways as possible, and be rendering them every service in our power.¹²⁴

NCS's religious work was 'nearer that of the Mission than the Settlement'.¹²⁵ This involved, as one might expect, religious visitation and services. Nevertheless, the benefit of being a 'settlement' as opposed to a mission was evident in this area:

There is one particular in which we, as a Settlement, have an advantage over the average mission. All suspicion of our motives has been disarmed, and the people know that it is their good we seek; thus earnest words go home with more effectiveness and power from one connected with the 'Settlement'.¹²⁶

Whilst missionary work was an integral part of the settlement's identity, the benefit of being a 'settlement' as opposed to a 'mission' lay in the way in which the name removed the organisation, in the eyes of the people at least, from connotations associated with 'mission' work. The above statement betrays the way in which mission work might be viewed with distrust by the people it sought to reach. Freeman has argued in reference to the rise of educational settlements from the 1910s onwards, that the name 'settlement' was 'tainted by its Victorian heritage'.¹²⁷ For NCS at the turn of the century, however, the moniker of 'settlement' allowed it to leave behind the connotations traditionally associated with missionary work.

This was due to the issues facing mission work at the turn of the century. Whilst evangelical missionary methods were an intrinsic part of nineteenth century middle-class religious endeavour, the attitudes of both churchmen and laity evolved and the primacy of Chalmers' legacy was being challenged by the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although the heritage of NCS can be traced to Chalmers and the early days of the Free Church, this does not mean that the underlying philosophy remained unchanged in the course of the half century which separated Chalmers' West Port Mission with the founding

¹²⁴ GUL Mu22-d.10, GUSS, *Reports and financial statements for year 1895-96*.

¹²⁵ NCL AA3.3.75 NCS, *Annual Report 1899-1900*.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Mark Freeman, *The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: A Study in Quaker Philanthropy and Adult Education 1904-1954* (York: William Sessions Ltd., 2004) p. 126.

of the settlement. The development of New College Settlement, and GUSS, should be seen in the context of their lineage but it should also be recognised that they were a product of the changes which were taking place in society, changes in ideas which are evident in some of those active in the settlements. Chalmers not only fully adhered to the doctrine of *laissez faire* economics, but actively propagated it. According to Cheyne, Chalmers' ideas permeated church discourses on the poor for much of the nineteenth century, but changes were taking place. The social climate was changing and the move from *laissez faire* was a result of an increasing realisation of the complex factors which caused poverty.

Investigations such as those carried out by Booth and, later, Rowntree, combined with a concern about the fitness of the nation which had been raised by the condition of recruits for the Boer War and an increasing number of government reports on social issues led to an increasing sense that responsibility for welfare lay at least partly with the state. This would later lead to the liberal reforms in the first decade of the twentieth century, but the seeds of these were laid in the last decades of the nineteenth, and those within the Scottish churches were not immune to these changes. Withrington, for example, argues that amongst churchmen, environmental factors were increasingly recognised as causes of social distress.¹²⁸ Withrington also notes that there was a large body of literature published from the 1890s onwards which saw the role of the church in relation to social problems in the context of external causes.¹²⁹ These changes can also be examined in individual churchmen. In William Garden Blaikie, a long-term member of the New College Settlement, we see Chalmers' legacy combined with a greater appreciation of the role which external circumstances could play in the condition of the poor. From 1868 to 1897, Blaikie was Professor of Pastoral Theology at New College, becoming Moderator of the church in 1892. He was also a founding and active member of the New College Settlement. Cheyne suggests that Blaikie drew much of the inspiration for his writings from Chalmers.¹³⁰ However, he also suggests that there were some differences between the outlook of the two – 'signs of a more liberal perspective are not entirely absent from Blaikie's writings'. There was the beginnings of a more liberal attitude towards the poor and an acceptance of an increasing responsibility which the middle and upper classes should take for the welfare of the poor.

¹²⁸ D.J. Withrington, 'The Churches in Scotland, c. 1870-1900: Towards a New Social Conscience', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, vol. XIX (1973) p.164.

¹²⁹ Withrington, 'The Churches in Scotland' p.165-6.

¹³⁰ A C Cheyne, *The transforming of the kirk: Victorian Scotland's religious revolution* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1983) p.119-120.

In the generations of churchmen who came after Chalmers one can therefore see a gradual change in attitudes, as exemplified by Blaikie. Trade Union activity, for example, was more kindly looked upon and Cheyne points to the encouragement Robert Rainy gave to striking railway workers in 1890-91. Rainy went as far as to preside over a public meeting in Edinburgh, which had been organised by the strikers and spoke at a public rally, criticising on both occasions the railway company.¹³¹ Rainy was principal of New College and Honorary President of the New College Settlement. Through his and Blaikie's involvement, the settlement was represented by some of the most high-profile churchmen of the time. Whilst Chalmers' influence cannot be dismissed, either within the Free Church during this period or in the founding of the settlement, so the changes which took place should not be overlooked and the Honorary President and the convenor of the settlement were both representative of the liberalisation of attitudes to the working classes. It was, moreover, not only the professorial management of the NCS in which one sees the acceptance of left-wing views. In his memoirs, Boyd describes himself as a 'Christian Socialist'. As with other social reformers, this view had been influenced by his experience of social problems, in this case through his involvement with the settlement:

[A] keen interest in social questions... had been engendered by my life in the GUSS, situated in the heart of a slum district, which forced such problems on one like me with an active, sympathetic mind. By this time, I had become a socialist of sorts. A Christian Socialist, I think, was the label I preferred.¹³²

For Boyd, his experience of doing settlement work had created an awareness of social deprivation, and whilst he was only a 'socialist of sorts' this was a label which, by definition, accepted and encouraged the involvement of the state in remedying the social ills which pervaded industrial society. The work that these two organisations carried out over the decades, and the impact they had on both the district and the settlers who worked in them, should therefore be recognised as a product of the changes which were taking place in the wider church and society.

Evangelism was facing a crisis by the end of the 1880s. McLeod, for example, argues that during this period religious certainties were being challenged and 'the theme of "lost certainties" was recurrent'.¹³³ The salvation of the soul, which had given the churches a

¹³¹ Cheyne, *The transforming of the kirk* pp.144-46.

¹³² GUA GB248 DC130/1 *Complete copy of the autobiography of William Boyd* p.116.

¹³³ McLeod, *Class and religion in the late Victorian city* p.214.

‘clearly defined purpose’, was no longer as effective as it had been and, whilst still having a significant following, Evangelism was shrinking.¹³⁴ According to Callum Brown, although the outward symbols remained in place, people were increasingly questioning the efficacy of this type of religion, and the first casualty of these doubts was mission work as the middle and upper classes increasingly withdrew from this field. He attributes this withdrawal to changes in the social and economic structure of society. As the original generation of upwardly-mobile successors to the earlier evangelical generation distanced themselves from their roots and moved towards the suburbs: ‘Evangelism was increasingly left to the care of full-time missionaries and “Bible women”’.¹³⁵ Brown argues that the withdrawal of the lay middle classes from mission work was matched by an increasing enthusiasm for evangelism within the working classes, creating ‘an independent evangelical sector’.¹³⁶ The pattern of middle class withdrawal from mission work is not, however, totally matched in the two settlements. Both employed bible women and, until 1894, GUSS also employed a full-time missionary. At NCS, the warden was referred to as the missionary. However, the majority of the work in these settlements was carried on by volunteers: in NCS only around five students were in residence, whilst GUSS had fifteen. The greater part of the work, especially at NCS, was therefore done by those living outside of the district. In the case of NCS many, as noted above, were members of the middle-class congregation of Free St Andrew’s. This congregation worked with the students of New College and the help they provided was described as ‘invaluable’. In 1900, there were at least eighteen ladies visiting on behalf of the settlement, with others helping in all aspects of settlement work. Five of the congregation also sat on settlement’s committee. The rationale of Free St Andrew’s in joining with the settlement was not dissimilar to that of settlers themselves: ‘As Free St. Andrew’s Congregation is so far removed from the poorer parts of the City it is necessary that the claims of their poorer brethren be brought home to them with greater force.’¹³⁷ Unlike Brown’s congregations who, when they moved further away from poor areas devolved responsibility for missionary work to paid employees, it was ‘necessary’ that the congregation of Free St Andrew’s continue to carry on this work precisely because of the distance between them and poor – members should be aware of the difficulties faced by their ‘poorer brethren’. These settlements, therefore, had only two paid, full-time members who were active in missionary work. The rest of the

¹³⁴ Ibid. p.246.

¹³⁵ Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p.130.

¹³⁶ Ibid. p.130.

¹³⁷ NCL AA3.3.75 *Appeal Letter by Free St Andrew’s Church* (December 1895).

work was carried out by volunteers, both student and, in the NCS, drawn from a middle-class congregation.

Nevertheless, changes did take place. At GUSS, the missionary employed by the Church of Scotland left in 1894 and the links with the University Missionary Society were severed. After this period, Boyd saw a slight shift away from the religious focus.¹³⁸ The settlement continued to have missionaries and do religious work, but began more social recreational activities. Boyd believed that this was because splitting with the Missionary Society allowed students in the settlement who were not from a theological background greater sway within the organisation. Over the years, this trend would increase, leading the settlement further away from its missionary roots, but the beginnings of it were early. With Boyd as leader, the social aspects of the settlement developed. On the 'social' side were a Girls' Club and a Workman's Club. This aimed to provide 'working men with a comfortable place into which they can drop after their day's work and enjoy a smoke and a chat, or if so disposed can amuse themselves over the games and periodicals provided.'¹³⁹ Along with the clubroom, there were also a library, a gymnasium, educational classes, athletic and rambling clubs, the weekly lectures and debates, and occasional concerts. The settlement was aiming to provide the men with a range of leisure activities. This can be placed in the context of rise of leisure pursuits in the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰ Brown has argued that increasingly missionary organisation found themselves competing against commercial and secular leisure pursuits and that many became providers of leisure as enticements to the working classes to join their organisations.¹⁴¹ As settlements, whose definition encompassed recreational and leisure provision, rather than missionary bodies by name these two organisations were able to comfortably combine religious and secular sides of their work without any fear of compromising their original aim. This side of the settlement's work was to be an opportunity of engaging the men who attended the club in a type of proto-democracy:

The men themselves appoint a President, who alone of the office-bearers is a Student or Missionary, a Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and six ordinary Members, one of whom takes charge of the key and of the Club generally each night. Minor points of business are decided by this Committee, the graver ones being brought before the whole Club as often as possible, and each night one

¹³⁸ GUA GB248 DC130/1 *William Boyd* p.130.

¹³⁹ GUL Mu22-d.10, GUSS, *Reports and financial statements for year 1895-96*.

¹⁴⁰ See Cunningham *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*.

¹⁴¹ Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p.131.

student makes it his business to be there to maintain order and to make friends with the men; this is a great advantage, and has had a very beneficial effect on many of the men.¹⁴²

As in TH, the men were still under the supervision of the students, who were there as role models and to ensure the men behaved themselves. The level of responsibility given to the men was also limited. The main policy decisions, including who was to be admitted to the club, were still retained by the settlement committee. Along with restricting entry to teetotallers, the men had to submit their bye-laws and constitution for approval. The committee further imposed regulations against gambling and swearing.¹⁴³ The extent to which they exercised control over the club can be seen in the 1893 report:

Nearly eighteen months ago it was found necessary to make the Club more strictly temperance than it had formerly been, and the effects of this measure were felt all through last Winter and Summer. There was an opposition party (outside the Club, but in the district), and it contained many whom we most wished to influence. Now, however, it is extremely gratifying to see that these men are coming back on our own terms, so that the schism is practically over.¹⁴⁴

The committee imposed their own standards on the club, in defiance of what, some at least, of the men wished for. They did this for what they felt was in the best interests of the men, but this was a patronising attitude. For all their rhetoric about giving control and responsibility to the men, it was merely superficial. Real control still lay with the settlement committee, not with those who used its services. The settlement still felt that they had to regulate the actions of the men.

However, the religious aspect of GUSS was not altogether neglected during this period and one of the most profound aspects of Boyd's experience as a settler was visiting. As missionary settlements, these organisations employed a number of methods to connect with the working classes, but visiting the poor formed the backbone of the settlement's work. This activity allowed the settlers to go out into the community and learn more about the community and people by meeting them in their own homes. Visiting was not, however, an activity merely confined to settlements. Prochaska has argued that 'of all the forms of charitable activity established in Britain, none was more important than district, or household', and he suggests that few people in the country would have been unaware of

¹⁴² NCL AA3.3.75 NCS *Annual Report* 1893.

¹⁴³ NCL AA3.3.65 NCS Executive Committee Minutes 9 February 1899.

¹⁴⁴ NCL AA3.3.75 NCS, *Annual Report* 1893.

the practice of visiting.¹⁴⁵ Religious dissemination was, moreover, the ‘most insistent motive for many visitors well into the twentieth century’.¹⁴⁶ All the Scottish settlements carried out visiting, but none more enthusiastically so than the two religious settlements. Visitation was an integral part of mission work and, as noted above, the settlements were just two of many evangelical organisations operating in Scotland.¹⁴⁷ One can situate the settlements in the context of national endeavour. It was so useful because it allowed the middle classes direct access to the homes of the poor and Boyd described the effect this had on him:

One feature of outstanding importance, as far as I was concerned... [was] the regular visitation of the people in one or two of the neighbouring ‘closes’, about a hundred yards from the Settlement and there I went Sunday after Sunday and entered into the single-roomed houses... What a revelation it was to me: some decent, well-behaved people bringing up respectable families, others understandably demoralised, overcome by the evil conditions of their lives, living in dirt and often in misery accentuated by indulgence in liquor, but all so very, very human and seemingly all quite pleased to have this boy come in with his friendly talk and his Bible reading and his prayers. Here I saw illness and death and even in this first year I conducted one or two funerals. The first one was that of a small girl who had tumbled into boiling water: as she lay in her coffin, her eyes were closed with coins. This became more common with me later, and I have memory of many weird happenings: the one that rises to mind just now is the man who, after getting the insurance money, assured me that his wife was a bonny corpse, and he had a wake with the coffin upended against the wall. And there was the time that I was the sole mourner for a small boy whose father was in jail and his mother lay very ill in bed.¹⁴⁸

As a young man of seventeen, the experience of visiting the poor, and of performing religious services for them, had a profound effect on Boyd and made him sympathetic to their predicament. Despite the differences and the unfamiliarity of some of the customs of the people Boyd visited, the most striking thing about them was how ‘very, very human’ they were. For Boyd visiting created an appreciation of the problems the poor faced. As Behlmer is keen to remind us, visiting was not a monolithic activity and numerous different motivations existed both for individuals and organisations.¹⁴⁹ For Boyd, although he was carrying out missionary duties, his lasting conception of this work was not religious

¹⁴⁵ Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and social service in modern Britain: the disinherited spirit* (Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) p. 61.

¹⁴⁶ Prochaska, *Christianity and social service in modern Britain* p. 71.

¹⁴⁷ Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p. 105.

¹⁴⁸ GUA GB248 DC130/1 *William Boyd* p. 127.

¹⁴⁹ George Behlmer *Friends of the family: the English home and its guardians, 1850-1940* (California: Stanford University Press, 1998) p. 33.

conversion but his relationship with the people. In the literature of NCS, however, visitation was presented in terms of religious and moral redemption, which was frequently unproductive. Visiting was construed as an endeavour which required much time and sacrifice to save but a few souls and which was viewed with pragmatism by the working class as a possible source of aid rather than necessarily a religious service. In light of this, Behlmer also suggests that in order to get access to working-class homes, the visitors increasingly had to come offering practical advice and tips. There is also an acknowledgement in the literature of the NCS that, often, the religious aim of visitation could be deflected by the sheer practical needs and hardships faced by the people:

In my visitation I have found it very difficult to get the length of talking on religious subjects. There are so many other interests to be attended in visiting; there are so many cases of distress, that it often seems a bitter irony to make the usual 'pastoral visit', and offer spiritual advice, when people may not know where their next meal is to come from. No stereotyped formulas are of avail in such cases.

As the above paragraph suggests, the limits of work such as visitation were beginning to be recognised. Just as for Boyd it created a lasting impression of struggles and admiration for those who persevered in the face of such hardship, so for the warden of NCS, religious endeavour crumbled in face of endemic social and economic problems which it was beyond the faculty of visitation to alleviate. As noted above, the realisation was dawning as to the structural nature of poverty and consequently, within the Scottish churches, the individual could no longer be seen as wholly responsible for the hardships they found themselves in. Evangelicalism was, of course, rooted in the redemption of the individual but in the face of increasingly collectivist conceptions of how society should respond to poverty, so organisations such as these were beginning to be faced with the limitations of their work. This would become an increasingly important theme in later decades, but even in the first ten years of its work, the warden was already admitting that proselytising was compromised by the sheer distress which could be found in impoverished areas. From the last decade of the nineteenth century, therefore, Behlmer suggests that there was increasing resistance within the middle classes to visiting – it was becoming a less acceptable means of reaching the poor. A significant part of the problem with visiting was caused, he believes, by the objectionable nature of the type of visiting which was promoted by university settlements: 'late-Victorian visiting literature was sometimes its own worst

enemy – portraying door-to-door charity as the preserve of snobs.’¹⁵⁰ According to Behlmer, therefore, the homes of the poor were invaded by an army of people who understood little about the complicated nature of the problems they faced. This was never more apparent than in the visiting done by university settlements, such as Toynbee Hall, which transplanted ‘sheltered young, university trained men’¹⁵¹ into poor areas. Behlmer suggests that there was much imposition but little understanding engendered by the visitors towards those whose homes they entered. Whilst settlements aimed to close the gulf between the classes and promote understanding on both sides, they also embodied the dissemination of middle-class culture to the working classes. Nevertheless, in the case of GUSS, this attitude is not recognisable in Boyd’s memories of the people he met and visited:

I become conscious that I never did think of the people who came to the Settlement meetings and clubs and whom I visited in their homes as slum-dwellers. Most of them did live in slum conditions – in pokey single-room homes, in crowded tenements in some rather grimy surroundings, but they were most of them people like you and me: quite good human beings, with whom one could be on friendly terms without any sense of superiority on the one side or the other. They were not so highly different from the Kilmarnock people I knew There were some streets nearby that had a bad reputation. It was said, though I was a little doubtful about the truth of it, that the police always went in pairs in Lyon St., just a little way off, but I myself quite often went to see people in Lyon St. and was never conscious of any danger.¹⁵²

Boyd was himself from a working-class background in Kilmarnock and the people he met through his settlement work were familiar to him from his childhood and adolescence. Boyd’s background therefore provided an already established sense of kinship with the people surrounding Garscube Cross. Whilst Koven and Jones have spoken of the sense of mystery and exploration which was often engendered in middle-class men and women who ventured into these working-class areas, Boyd embodied the opposite: for him, the dangers attributed to the area he worked in were exaggerated and his recollections of settlement work are shorn of any sense of the exotic. Looking beyond the label of ‘slum-dwellers’, Boyd was able to view them equals, no different to anyone else and ‘quite good human beings’. From Boyd’s account of settlement work, then, one gets the impression a settlement leader who appreciated the environmental nature of the poverty and whose attitudes to those he worked with were shaped accordingly. The impression of those he

¹⁵⁰ Behlmer *Friends of the family* .p 46.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² GUA GB248 DC130/1 *William Boyd* . 149.

met was of good people in difficult circumstances. Whilst visiting may have been used to disseminate and reinforce middle-class behaviours, this was not the experience of Boyd at GUSS.

Boyd's experiences in GUSS thus gave him a perspective on the lives of the working classes who lived in the settlement's district. It enabled him to understand the economic and social problems that caused poverty. Although he went into the district as a member of a religious body, the lessons he took from his experience were all social and although GUSS began life as an evangelical organisation, these ties would weaken over the years. Like Boyd, the settlement became more interested in the social and education as opposed to the religious. For New College, however, the settlement remained a strong part of the college and its religious purpose was always clear. The students brought to this settlement a commitment to evangelism which a product of the college's identity as a training organisation for Free Church ministers. Although the college had been established by Thomas Chalmers, ideas about evangelism had evolved over the years and the settlement leaders consequently had a greater understanding of the social conditions which underpinned poverty. The settlements, like other religious bodies in the late nineteenth century, also had to compete with the increased leisure opportunities which were available to the working classes. The settlements thus incorporated a strong recreational element. However, whilst this was acknowledged as a means of bringing people into the settlements, it was accompanied in GUSS by an educational side which attempted to provide access to the lectures and debates of university teaching. These bodies, especially New College Settlement, were driven by a sense of idealism. However, to achieve these ends, a pragmatic approach had to be used. These organisations thus combined social, recreational and religious elements in an attempt to bring God to the 'lost' masses.

1.4 Queen Margaret Settlement and Dundee Social Union

The Dundee Social Union and the Queen Margaret Settlement¹⁵³ were two of the most influential Scottish settlements, pioneering social services and social investigation in deprived areas of the city. The Queen Margaret Settlement, meanwhile, was established by women in the Queen Margaret College in Glasgow. The college had been approached by GUSS to ask if the women wished to participate in their organisation. Recognising the advantages that settlement work could bring, the head of the college, Janet Galloway, asked ‘Why not have a settlement of their own?’¹⁵⁴ The settlement scheme was thus put in place and Anderston was chosen as the district the settlement would work in. Galloway remained active in the settlement and would be a guiding hand until her death in 1909. Sitting on the Clyde, Anderston was an impoverished district where industry, mainly shipbuilding, was the main type of employment and which had become home to several generations of largely Irish Catholic immigrants.¹⁵⁵ It was in this district that the settlement would work to combat social problems until the 1960s when depopulation caused them to leave. DSU also had ties to University College in the city. However, its committee was composed of the male elites of the city in general. Regardless of this, the person who drove forward DSU was Mary Lily Walker,¹⁵⁶ who devoted her life to the Union. Initially, the DSU began by acting as factors for working-classes houses which were scattered across the city. However, Walker made her home in Hilltown, known as Grey Lodge, a centre of social work. It was named after the Grey Ladies, a lay religious order whose settlement she worked at in London and whose habit she wore for the rest of her life. After her death in 1913 this house became Gray Lodge Settlement but it is clear from the records that settlement work had been ongoing there for many years before her death. Walker’s Trust Disposition and Settlement asks that, on her death Grey Lodge ‘be used and employed... as a Settlement House so as to provide a focus for social work ...

¹⁵³ For a brief institutional history see Robert Hamilton and Jean Macleay, *Glasgow University Settlement : a centennial history* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1998); Catherine Kendall, *The Queen Margaret Settlement 1897-1914 : Glasgow women pioneers in social work* Unpublished M.Litt Thesis (Glasgow 1993); for a comparison between Queen Margaret and Chicago settlements see Robert Hamilton, ‘Social Settlement Houses: The Educated Women of Glasgow and Chicago’ in David Gutzke (ed.), *Britain and Transnational Progressivism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

¹⁵⁴ May Jardine, *Janet A. Galloway, LL.D.: some memories & appreciations gathered by Mrs. Robert Jardine* (Glasgow: MacLehose and Co, 1914) p.36.

¹⁵⁵ See Derek Dow, *Glasgow's gain: the Anderston story* (Carnforth: Parthenon, 1986).

¹⁵⁶ See Myra Baillie, ‘The Grey Lady: Mary Lily Walker of Dundee’ in Louise Miskell, Christopher A. Whatley and Bob Harris (eds) *Victorian Dundee : image and realities* (East Linton : Tuckwell Press, 2000).

and that similar to the way it may be used and employed by me prior to my decease.¹⁵⁷ The first reference to Grey Lodge as a 'settlement' comes in 1908 and this is reinforced the testimony of workers, including Rhoda Bethell, who described how she lived at Grey Lodge between 1905 and 1913, assisting with social work.¹⁵⁸ The settlement may not have been formally inaugurated at Grey Lodge until 1913, but it is clear that settlement work had been ongoing there before it was officially acknowledged as such. Dundee was a major industrial centre in Scotland. It was known for its extensive textiles industry and in the nineteenth century, the Hilltown district was largely populated by weavers.¹⁵⁹ Social conditions in Dundee were very poor and housing was a particular problem as wages remained low and rents high. Mona Wilson who in 1904 carried out a social investigation in Dundee through the DSU described the city as 'the most depressing place you can possibly imagine'.¹⁶⁰ Initially, it was to tackle the problems of poor housing that the DSU was established, but it quickly grew beyond this initial aim and, like the Queen Margaret Settlement, it became an important and innovative provider of social services, especially for women and children.

¹⁵⁷ GD-OC-GL 3/1/1/2 Grey Lodge Settlement Committee Minute 15 July 1913.

¹⁵⁸ Commemorative volume.

¹⁵⁹ See Christopher Whatley, David Swinfen, Annette Smith, *The life and times of Dundee* (Edinburgh : John Donald, 1993); Andrew Scott, *Discovering Dundee: the story of a city* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1992).

¹⁶⁰ Quoted in Elaine Harrison, 'Wilson, Mona (1872–1954)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70137>, accessed 21 July 2011].



Fig. 5 A 1910s close in Hilltown, Dundee

Although the DSU was not explicitly attached to the University College of Dundee, there were strong links between them. The College had been founded in 1881 with the first students matriculating in 1883. From the beginning, it was open to both male and female students. However, the College did not have the ability to confer degrees and so students prepared to sit the external examinations of the University of London. In 1897, however, the College became a part of the University of St Andrews.¹⁶¹ The College attracted prominent men including Patrick Geddes, whose contribution will be examined in more depth below, D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson,¹⁶² James Alfred Ewing¹⁶³ and JAE Steggall. These men were also involved in the DSU. Just as other settlements represented the commitment of academics to improving the cities they lived in, so one can see the contribution, which was in many cases an active one, of these academics to the DSU in the same light. The humanitarian element of this involvement was expressed by D'Arcy

¹⁶¹ See Donald Southgate, *University education in Dundee: a centenary history* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982).

¹⁶² D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (1860-1948) was a zoologist whose book *On Life and Growth* (1917) broke new ground when it applied the laws of physics to biology. For this, and other work, he received many honours. Mary Lily Walker was one of his pupils and for many years he shared her interest in the DSU. See R. D'Arcy Thompson, *D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson: the scholar-naturalist, 1860-1948* (1958).

¹⁶³

Wentworth Thompson. Later describing his first impressions, he noted that Dundee was 'terribly poor'. The poverty which was so evident in Dundee made a lasting impression on the influx of men who arrived in the city with the opening of the college: 'Of all the young professors who had just come to the town, I doubt if there was one who was not shocked and saddened by the poverty which Dundee openly displayed.'¹⁶⁴ These conditions spurred some into action. As an institutional history of the College noted of the Social Union 'It is a reminder that the clever young men at work behind the unimposing four-house frontage on the Nethergate did not behave as if they lived in an ivory tower'.¹⁶⁵ The DSU was thus an expression of civic duty by these men, as Toynbee House was for academics in Glasgow. The elites of Dundee were involved in philanthropy in the city, just as they were in other British cities,¹⁶⁶ and the DSU was one of the ways in which they could channel this interest. As an organisation which embodied ideals of civic pride, the Union's committee was dominated by the male elite of the city. In 1892, for example, members included an ex-provost and several ministers, Patrick Geddes, whose influence will be discussed below, and Dr Robert Buist, who was a lecturer in Gynaecology.¹⁶⁷ The president of the DSU was Walter Shepherd, who was head of the city's Chamber of Commerce in 1890 and a Justice of the Peace. He was a partner in Thomson, Shepherd & Co., one of the largest manufacturers in Dundee. The DSU was only one part of his philanthropic interests – he was also involved with the Royal Infirmary, nurseries and nursing societies and he was also active in the Episcopal Church.¹⁶⁸ Professor J E A Steggall was joint secretary along with Cunningham. Steggall held the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy. He was to remain a professor in Dundee for 51 years.¹⁶⁹ The other secretary was James Cunningham. Cunningham was also a manufacturer, working for the jute manufacturers, Malcolm, Ogilvie & Co. which his father had helped to found. He became president of the Dundee Chamber of Commerce in 1912. However, his interests also lay in education and he served as a representative on the Education Board of the University College of Dundee. He was a member of the university court of St Andrews and in 1920, in light of his services, St Andrews conferred on him an

¹⁶⁴ D'Arcy Wentworth Thomson, *Fifty Years Ago and Now: A presidential Address on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Annual General Meeting of the Grey Lodge Settlement Association, 27th April 1938* (Dundee: Dundee Printers Ltd, 1938) p. 4.

¹⁶⁵ Southgate, *University education in Dundee* p.57.

¹⁶⁶ See Miskell, Whatley and Harris (eds) *Victorian Dundee*. Although Lorraine Walsh's study of the Royal Infirmary found the city's working classes playing an active part in providing their own healthcare and is a reminder of working-class agency in some areas of philanthropic provision.

¹⁶⁷ See Southgate, *University education in Dundee* p. 142.

¹⁶⁸ See obituary in *The Scotsman* 22 March 1913 p. 8.

¹⁶⁹ See Southgate, *University education in Dundee* p. 47.

honorary doctorate.¹⁷⁰ Also sitting on the committee was George Ogilvie, founder of the aforementioned Malcolm, Ogilvie & Co., and who helped to found the DSU. Along with him was another manufacturer, Henry Gourlay, of the shipbuilding firm, Gourlay Bros,¹⁷¹ also a Justice of the Peace. Another member who was active in the committee was Robert Bogle Don. His family were textile manufacturers in Dundee and ran the very successful firm, Don Bros. Although involved in the family business, he too played a part in the civic life of Dundee. Like others on the committee, he was a Justice of the Peace.¹⁷² Along with the DSU, his charitable activities also included his position as chairman of the Dundee Savings Bank¹⁷³ and he was convenor of the British Association Fine Arts committee, which lent pictures for public exhibition in Dundee.¹⁷⁴ He was also vice president of the Liberal Unionist Association of Dundee.¹⁷⁵ Like others on the committee, he was not only a part of the commercial elite of the city but also had links with the College and was a member of the Council of the College.¹⁷⁶ He was conferred with an honorary doctorate in 1916.¹⁷⁷ Also on the committee were John Murray Robertson, who was the architect of the college's medical buildings,¹⁷⁸ and Blythe Martin, who was a member of a prominent Dundee family and who would go onto become town-clerk of Dundee.¹⁷⁹ Another member of the committee was Sir George Washington Baxter, who was one of the trustees of the fund used to establish the college and also sat on the College Council.¹⁸⁰ The committee of the DSU was therefore made up by men who were members of the commercial or academic elites of the city, and sometimes of both. These men would have therefore known each other through networks outside of the DSU and, often, the DSU represented only one facet of their civic involvement.

Like the DSU, the QMS was also linked to an academic institution: it was run by members of Queen Margaret College in Glasgow. The college, which had been founded in 1883, was the culmination of a campaign by the Glasgow Association to promote the Higher Education of Women in the west of Scotland. By 1892, legislation enabled women to be

¹⁷⁰ See obituary in *The Scotsman* 24 March 1925 p. 7.

¹⁷¹ See S Lythe, *Gourlays of Dundee: the rise and fall of a Scottish shipbuilding firm* (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society, 1964)

¹⁷² *Scotsman* 19 July 1892 p. 6.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 9 January 1906 p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 14 November 1912 p. 8.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 9 May 1908.

¹⁷⁶ Southgate, *University education in Dundee* p. 139.

¹⁷⁷ *Scotsman* 14 June 1916 p. 6.

¹⁷⁸ Southgate, *University education in Dundee* p. 129.

¹⁷⁹ *Scotsman* 10 June 1903.

¹⁸⁰ Southgate, *University education in Dundee* p. 51.

admitted to universities, and the college became the Women's Department of Glasgow University. The college enjoyed the support of academics active in the Glasgow settlement, TH, including Edward Caird and William Smart. As head of the college, Janet Galloway oversaw the establishment of the settlement and was actively involved in it until her death, ensuring that the settlement was an important part of college life. In a comparatively new institution still struggling to consolidate the position of its students as worthy and active members in society, the settlement could be seen as one method of creating a sense of useful work and purpose which would enhance the corporate ethos of the college.¹⁸¹ Contributors to her *Memoriam* wrote of Galloway's work to ensure that there was an *esprit de corps* amongst this infant organisation's students, in particular her commitment to establishing the Queen Margaret Union should be seen in the context of trying to create a college community.¹⁸² The settlement was another method to bring together members of the college and create a sense of social purpose amongst them. The women involved in the QMS were educated and erudite and would use their experience in the settlement as a way of gaining practical experience which would further their future careers.

Just as Dundee's elites were involved in DSU, so the QMS also drew on the support of the daughters of Glasgow elites, as Kendall's research has shown.¹⁸³ The sense of civic duty and responsibility which underpinned men's involvement in other settlements, most notably TH, is also apparent in the QMS: as Kendall notes 'QMS women were products of the pervading Glasgow culture of social concern fostered and encouraged by intellectual, religious and public health influences and rooted deep in family traditions of social service.'¹⁸⁴ These women were drawn from some of the wealthiest families in Glasgow. Whilst a number of their fathers belonged to the old professions, the largest proportion was part of the commercial and industrial sectors. This is in keeping with the demographics of Glasgow, which had built its wealth from trade and industry. These women were therefore overwhelmingly drawn from the middle classes: none belonged to the working classes. This is unsurprising given the elite nature of university education in this period, even given the more egalitarian tendencies of Scottish universities. It was expensive to give daughters a higher education and it therefore remained the preserve of

¹⁸¹ See Kendall, *The Queen Margaret Settlement 1897-1914* p. 21.

¹⁸² See Jardine, *Janet A. Galloway, LL.D.*

¹⁸³ Ibid. Chapter on 'Background and Social Profile'.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 34.

the wealthy. Being members of the elite meant that, as well as participating in a wide range of other charities, religion was also an important part of the identity of settlers' families. The largest religious affiliation was the Church of Scotland, although the United Free Church was also represented and there was a correlation between a father who was active in the church and a daughter who showed a great deal of commitment to the settlement. As Gordon and Nair have argued, in Glasgow the middle classes dominated church leadership and women were the main agents used to pursue the universal middle-class aim of reforming working-class morality.¹⁸⁵ It is therefore unsurprising that a woman whose family was active in the church was likely to become involved in other ventures which aimed to instil middle-class ideals and values on the working classes.

The women of the QMS were therefore part of a long tradition of middle-class women's involvement in philanthropy.¹⁸⁶ Philanthropy formed an important aspect of middle-class families' identity and it was a social function women were expected to fulfil.¹⁸⁷ Although women's roles were not confined to the private or domestic spheres there was an expectation that in their public roles they would bring feminine virtues which would enhance the moral capital of the nation. Women were therefore seen as agents of social change but in a way which emphasised the dominance of domestic ideology. As Lewis has argued, 'family was the primary institution through which character was developed and rational citizens produced.' Lewis believes, that in women's social work 'the language of duty and injunction to serve were all-pervasive'.¹⁸⁸ This ideology also permeated girls' education. Georgina Brewis' work, for example, has considered the way in which education for middle-class girls was infused with ideals of service to the community which actively encouraged their involvement in voluntary philanthropic organisations, including settlements.¹⁸⁹ Education could often reinforce, rather than subvert, the traditional role of

¹⁸⁵ Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public lives: women, family, and society in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2003) pp. 26-31.

¹⁸⁶ There is a large literature considering the role of women in nineteenth century philanthropy. See, amongst others, Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991); Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Anne Summers, 'A Home from Home – Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century', Sandra Burnam (ed.) *Fit Work for Women*, (London: Croom Helm, 1979); Dorice Williams Elliott, *The angel out of the house: philanthropy and gender in nineteenth-century England* (London: University Press of Virginia, 2002); Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850–1920* (London: Virago, 1985).

¹⁸⁷ Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public lives: women, family, and society in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2003).

¹⁸⁸ Jane Lewis 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States': The British Case', *Social History* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan., 1994) pp. 55-53.

¹⁸⁹ Georgina Brewis, 'From working parties to social work: middle-class girls' education

women within society and higher education for women could also be conceived of in terms of the benefit educated women could bestow on the rest of society.¹⁹⁰ Dyhouse, for example, notes that ‘high schools and colleges functioned as conservative institutions, fostering conventional values and ideals about femininity and feminine service’.¹⁹¹ At the 1888 Annual Meeting of the Queen Margaret College, one academic noted that:

They could not get society above the level, above the average of female intelligence, cultivation and accomplishments. It did not make a difference how many distinguished men they might have if women were uncultivated and inane; the tone of society would follow their level, and not that of brilliant men. (Hear, Hear). The college was not only to be useful in training up teachers and governesses; it was to be useful in giving a certain tone to society, and in enabling the city of Glasgow to take that position which its wealth and general cultivation entitled it to take.¹⁹²

Implicit in the education of the women who attended the Queen Margaret College was the understanding that the education they received was not only for their own benefit but that they should use it for the betterment of society. For the Queen Margaret settlers, therefore, settlement work would have at least partly been an expression of the sense of philanthropic duty and service to the community which formed part of the identity of middle-class women and which was instilled through education and the family.

Increased education also helped push forward the case for greater female emancipation. Prochaska, however, has noted that often voluntary organisations preferred to leave aside this thorny issue.¹⁹³ Indeed, neither the DSU nor the QMS made any public statement regarding their position on women’s suffrage. The reasoning for this that was provided by the QMS was that their work was separate to and above concerns for women’s rights. Nevertheless, the leader of the college and the settlement, Janet Galloway, for all her support and work for women’s education, remained opposed to the suffrage movement.¹⁹⁴ However, as Brewis has noted, institutional ambivalence did not preclude the involvement

and social service 1890–1914’, *History of Education* Vol. 38, No. 6, November 2009, pp. 761–777.

¹⁹⁰ On the conservatism and commitment to separate education for women of some of the pioneering educationalists in the nineteenth century see: Julia Bush, ‘“Special strengths for their own special duties”: women, higher education and gender conservatism in late Victorian Britain’, *History of Education* 34:4, pp. 387–405.

¹⁹¹ C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 172.

¹⁹² *Glasgow Herald* 6 November 1888 p.

¹⁹³ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 229.

¹⁹⁴ Jardine, *Janet A. Galloway, LL.D.*

of individual members in the movement.¹⁹⁵ This created a dichotomy in these organisations between what was said, or not said, publically and the beliefs held privately by members. By the early twentieth century, support for the more radical Women's Social and Political Union was greater amongst QMS members than the more conservative Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies.¹⁹⁶ Many QMS women were actively involved in the suffrage movement, with two of the most prominent being Dr Elizabeth Chalmers Smith¹⁹⁷ and Eunice Murray¹⁹⁸ – both well known Scottish suffragettes. At Dundee, meanwhile, Dr Emily Thomson and Dr Alice Moorhead¹⁹⁹ were involved with the DSU.²⁰⁰ As the first female doctors in Dundee they set up practice together with Alice tending to the poor whilst Emily set up a women's hospital with Mary Lily Walker. Thomson was also a prominent suffragette: indeed, she became president of the Dundee Women's Suffrage Society.

Although the work of these organisations was rooted in the domestic sphere and although they did not endorse female emancipation, they thus attracted women who challenged these roles. The work that the settlement did, and the public roles that it enabled women to assume, helped to subvert the notion that women's place was in the home. It allowed women to escape the domestic sphere and enter the public one as professionals and experts in social work and these opportunities would increase in later decades as the settlements developed training courses. The conception of a Victorian middle-class woman as 'the angel in the house'²⁰¹ has served to emphasise separate spheres for men and women. However, this has been challenged by Davidoff and Hall,²⁰² and more recently, Smitley²⁰³ and Gordon and Nair,²⁰⁴ who have argued that the ideology of separate spheres does not

¹⁹⁵ Georgina Brewis, 'From working parties to social work.

¹⁹⁶ Kendall, *The Queen Margaret Settlement 1897-1914* p. 47.

¹⁹⁷ See 'Elizabeth Chalmers Smith', Elizabeth Ewing, Sue Innes and Sian Reynolds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women from the Earliest Times to 2004* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

¹⁹⁸ Eunice Murray (1878-1960) was a voluntary worker who became a leading suffragette. Also an author, she was the first woman to stand for parliament in Scotland. See Ewing, Innes and Reynolds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*.

¹⁹⁹ Emily Thomson (1864-1955) was one of the first women to graduate as a doctor in Scotland. She set up a practice with Alice Moorhead (1868-1910) in Dundee. Moorhead worked mainly with poorer patients whilst Thomson worked with the wealthier. See Ewing, Innes and Reynolds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*.

²⁰⁰ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1892*.

²⁰¹ See Catherine Hall, 'The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology' in Burnham, *Fit Work for Women*; Elliott, *The angel out of the house*.

²⁰² Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).

²⁰³ Megan Smitley, *The feminine public sphere: middle-class women in civic life in Scotland, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

²⁰⁴ Gordon and Nair, *Public lives* chapter 1.

adequately reflect women's experiences and have sought to demonstrate that women were active in a number of public spheres. One example of this can be found in the life of Mary Lily Walker. Born in 1863, the daughter of a prominent Dundee solicitor, Walker was one of the first female students at University College and was an outstanding student, winning first prize in Latin, literature, history, botany, zoology and physiology every year from 1884-1888. She was one of the first to join the Social Union, and became housing superintendent in 1891. She left in 1898 to spend a year with the Grey Ladies, a religious settlement house in London whose habit she would wear for the rest of her life.²⁰⁵ Prior to this, in 1893, she had spent time in London and worked with Octavia Hill at the Women's University Settlement. Upon her return to Dundee, Hill offered her the post of Warden at a new settlement that was being established in England.²⁰⁶ According to later accounts, she refused because she felt herself to be tied to Dundee. The idea of duty and sacrifice was implicit in Walker's understanding of her role in voluntary work. Whilst her involvement with the DSU provided an outlet for her ambitions, underpinning Walker's work was a devotion to social reform which, with her wearing of a nun's habit, assumed a religious element. She continued to be known by the name of the religious order she was associated with, as the 'Grey Lady'. She was also the driving force of the DSU. She sat on all the sub-committees of the Union and was superintendent of the Housing Committee – the centre of the Union's work. As early as 1893, she was singled out in the annual report for her 'constant interest and zeal in her work.' The Union, it stated, 'owes a great deal to Miss Walker.'²⁰⁷ It is clear that the union and settlement revolved around her and her energy and enthusiasm for the work and it was her concerns for women and children that pushed the work of the DSU in this direction. It also gave her the freedom to take on public roles. She was a member of the Dundee Parish Council, member of the Advisory Committee of the National Health Insurance Commission for Scotland and Honorary Secretary for the Dundee Women's Hospital along with other public roles. The situation within the QMS was, however, somewhat different. Although after Galloway's death settlers were able to assume public roles, during this period the warden was prevented from standing in local elections because it conflicted with her settlement role. The actions of the warden were constrained by the wishes of the council. Although the warden at the QMS was in charge of the day to day running of the settlement, her duties were circumscribed by the wishes of the council who paid her salary. This is in contrast to the DSU where Mary

²⁰⁵ Myra Baillie, 'The Grey Lady: Mary Lily Walker of Dundee' p. 126.

²⁰⁶ The source does not specify which settlement it was.

²⁰⁷ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1893*.

Lily Walker was shaping the organisation about her. The warden at the QMS did not have such freedom. For example, applications of relief for families in the district who were known by the settlement were to be done through the council and on at least one occasion, the warden's request for relief was turned down.²⁰⁸ It is clear that the warden was the servant of the council at the settlement, especially with the forceful Galloway as chair.

The QMS turned to the Charity Organisation Society as the means of establishing their work in the Anderston district. The COS was established in 1869 in order to coordinate charity, preventing indiscriminate and uninformed giving and encouraging thrift. It made attempts to differentiate between those 'deserving' and those 'undeserving' of relief. Thus rooted in individualistic philosophy, it depended on the careful and personal investigation of clients' circumstances by COS workers to ascertain if they were eligible for relief and, if so, the form that this relief should take. Established to prevent 'wasteful' giving, the overlapping of charity and the 'abuse' of charity by recipients, the COS was coming under increasing criticism in the last decades of the nineteenth century for its unflinching emphasis on the personal, rather than societal and economic, nature of poverty.²⁰⁹ Barnett, for example, had originally been supportive of the COS, but spoke out against it in 1895.²¹⁰ A Glasgow Branch of the COS was established in 1874 and in 1897 the QMS began running a new branch in Anderston. Prior to this, the COS had been seeking to establish a branch in Anderston and some of the workers at the settlement had been trained with and worked for the COS.²¹¹ Moreover, William Smart who, as well as helping to found TH, also lectured at Queen Margaret College, was involved with the Scottish COS and in 1897 the annual conference of the COS was held in Glasgow.²¹² All these different elements therefore contributed to the decision to make the settlement's first line of work in the district a COS branch office. This work was their first point of contact with the people of Anderston, but rather than friendship and connection, COS work brought with it exhortation for the poor to take more responsibility for their situation. The help that they gave was therefore often limited and restricted by criteria which deemed some more deserving than others and a belief that economic dependency was fostered through

²⁰⁸ QMS Minutes 12/2/1901.

²⁰⁹ See Jane Lewis, *The voluntary sector, the state and social work in Britain : the Charity Organisation Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869* (Aldershot : Edward Elgar, 1995); Robert Humphreys, *Poor relief and charity, 1869-1945 : the London Charity Organization Society* (New York : Palgrave, 2001).

²¹⁰ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* p. 141.

²¹¹ Kendall, *The Queen Margaret Settlement 1897-1914* p. 63.

²¹² Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: social welfare and the voluntary principle* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1980) p. 301.

personal failings. Examples of this nature are given in the settlement's reports of their COS work. The help given to the unemployed²¹³ in particular was based on the assumption that punitive measures should be used against those who were able-bodied, as demonstrated below by one case which was handled by the settlement:

Husband and wife, very far down through drink, living on the earnings of their son, an errand boy. The man was persuaded to go to the Labour Colony in Dumfries,²¹⁴ where he remained seven months; a situation was obtained for the wife as working housekeeper; a house was procured for the children, the mother returning at night, and the whole family are continuing to do well.²¹⁵

In the case of this family, the removal of the husband was seen as necessary to ensure the independence of the family. From 1899-1900, there were 255 applications for relief but 88 were given no assistance and 66 passed onto other organisations, reflecting the fact that the COS saw itself as a clearing house rather than an aid-giving charity.²¹⁶ Despite the numbers that were being passed through the COS, Checkland believes that 'the Scottish COS made a disappointingly small impact, at least in terms of its objectives'. Not only did the COS in Scotland make themselves unpopular with other charities through their investigations to discover unnecessarily high administration costs in these organisations, Checkland argues a more fundamental problem lay in their attitudes towards the poor: 'imbued with so many ideas of self-help that they unhappily lost sight of the basic problems of poverty ... They made efforts to encourage new initiatives. But the pattern within the COS appears to have been unchanged; the condescension of middle class towards the workers seemed to remain.'²¹⁷ The unpopularity of the COS was acknowledged by the settlement. In 1900, three years after the settlement had begun its COS work, Professor George Adam Smith²¹⁸ spoke at the annual meeting and 'deplored the fact that the methods of the Charity Organisation Society found such little acceptance with a very large proportion of the people of Glasgow, and pointed out that many deserving poor people had been helped and impostors found out by the methods of the

²¹³ See Alan J. Kidd 'Charity Organization and the Unemployed in Manchester c. 1870-1914' *Social History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jan., 1984), pp.45-66.

²¹⁴ In the 1890s, labour colonies, where unemployed men were sent to work in conditions which essentially mirrored a prison, became an increasingly popular method for controlling the unemployed in Scotland. See Ian Levitt, *Poverty and welfare in Scotland 1890-1948* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988) pp.25-29.

²¹⁵ GUA, DC22/1/4/1, QMS Annual report 1898-1900.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* pp. -301.

²¹⁸ Professor at the Free Church College in Glasgow. See L. Adam Smith, *George Adam Smith: a personal memoir and family chronicle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943).

society, and that they would never have been discovered but for the assistance of that organisation.’²¹⁹

By the last decades of the nineteenth century the philosophy which underpinned the society was being attacked and new models of dealing with the problems of poverty were emerging. Amongst these were social unions, such as the DSU, which emphasised the joint responsibility of all citizens in improving social and economic conditions in cities. When the DSU began life in 1888 it had the stated aim of promoting ‘the well-being of the inhabitants of the town.

1. By improving the dwellings of the poor.
2. By providing opportunities and cultivating a taste for healthy enjoyments.
3. By any other means by which the Union may determine to adopt.’²²⁰

As one can see from this, the DSU were concerned with improving the physical environment of the poor. The ideology of the DSU came to encapsulate the idea of the city as a community where all the classes were intertwined. Attached to the annual report of 1896 was a special report by Walker. In it she wrote:

It is difficult to state what I believe to be the underlying principle of the Society, its motive power, the ground on which we claim your support. For it is not charity, nor a scheme for improving our neighbours, nor even an aimless attempt to good in a general way. It is an attempt to set forth in quiet action one or two convictions. The first being that this busy town of Dundee does not consist of a mass of individual units, each at war with his neighbour, but of a large community whose members are bound together by indissoluble ties, by common interests, and to whom each member has duties and responsibilities. From this conviction follows another, that all mutual relations in life, all mutual dealings between members of this community are not ruled by the primitive law of tooth and claw, but rest on the eternal foundations of righteousness and justice.’²²¹

The emphasis which the union placed on the notion of a common bond between those living in the municipality emphasises the sense of civic responsibility which underpinned the DSU. Responsibility was important to both the QMS and the DSU in their work. However, whilst the COS branch of the QMS placed the burden of responsibility on their clients, the DSU was to develop a more sophisticated approach which emphasised the collective responsibility of all Dundonians for the social conditions in their city. This was

²¹⁹ *Glasgow Herald* Friday, 30 November 1900.

²²⁰ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1888*.

²²¹ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1896*.

again reinforced after Walker's return from spending a year with the Grey Ladies Settlement in London. Her time there further reinforced her belief in the need for the upper classes to take responsibility for social conditions in the city. In an address to the Union's annual meeting in 1899, she told her audience:

We are too individualist here, our gifts, our leisure we consider our own. A thoughtful writer remarks that from one point of view, we may be divided into workers and parasites, the former class comprising those who in any way add by their activity to the output of the manifold life of this wonderful world, the latter, those who live on the labour, that is, the life of others. Amiable and cultured lives though they may be, they are the lives of parasites, and weighed in the scales of time and political economy, the coarse sacks sewed during a life time of toil may prove heavier than the delicate sachets we sew for our charitable bazaar or the flannel petticoats of the Dorcas Society.²²²

This was a call to the middle-class women of Dundee to help the poor. Walker argued it was the duty of the middle classes, who 'lived off' the labour of the poor, to use their leisure to give something back to those citizens who were not as well off. Whilst the COS argued that poverty was largely the result of the moral and personal failings of the poor, Walker argued the reverse – that the wealthy and leisured were instead morally bound to give their time and skills to aid those less well off and that they had failed in their duty to help the poor.

This illustrates the philosophy that underpinned the DSU. Walker was drawing on middle-class guilt over their wealth and leisure. This was a strong motivation which underpinned the progressive movement. Caird, for example, would argue that 'the only real charity ... is that which we pay not merely with our purses, but with our persons as well.'²²³

However, alongside of this ran Walker's strong belief in the interconnectedness of all citizens in Dundee, and her sense of duty to the working classes was conceptualised within the framework of civic responsibility. There are clear links between this organisation and the Edinburgh Social Union, which had been formed by Patrick Geddes in 1885. The Edinburgh Social Union was an attempt at social reform by improving the environment and housing conditions of the poor in the city. Geddes was interested in the how sociology could be applied to the practical problems facing cities and developed the idea of 'civics' which emphasised citizenship and the importance of understanding how environment

²²² DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1899*.

²²³ *Ibid.* p. 19.

influenced behaviour.²²⁴ His ideas inspired him to implement various schemes for social reform, including the Edinburgh Social Union. Mellor has drawn attention to the parallels which exist between the Social Union and Toynbee Hall: both used cultural, recreational and educational activities to engage the working classes. Geddes also employed the same methods as settlements. He moved himself and his wife and child into a working-class tenement in Edinburgh and began attempting to make contact with his neighbours using the same types of social gatherings and tea parties that the Barnett's were employing in London. These, Mellor believes, 'were as much of a mixed success as Canon Barnett's parties in the vicarage drawing room in Whitechapel'.²²⁵ However, differences existed between the Social Union and settlements. Whilst Barnett wished to 'connect' the working and middle classes, Geddes was instead aiming for 'civic regeneration'.²²⁶ Through the Social Union, Geddes hoped to encourage all classes to become more aware of how society could change and develop so that everyone would be able to have a positive influence on society. One of the co-founders of the Edinburgh Social Union explained how this would be achieved:

It is a scheme for the organisation of all benevolent enterprise. But its special aims are to provide or rather improve existing material surroundings, by decorating halls and schools, planting open spaces, providing musical and other entertainments for the people, etc. etc.²²⁷

Although aesthetics were important to Barnett, the Social Union embodied a specific belief that it was through improving environment that social change could be achieved.

Just as Geddes was convinced of the importance of rejuvenating run-down districts, so the DSU attempted to improve the environment in which the Dundee poor lived. It was with this aim that the DSU was established and its initial work involved highlighting the poor conditions in which the poor lived in Dundee. Geddes' presence in Dundee was obviously one factor which led to the establishment of the DSU. However, one must also look at the specific conditions which made Dundee a suitable place for a Social Union. As noted above, the DSU was composed largely of elite men from manufacturing and academic

²²⁴ See Paddy Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person: An Introduction to the Ideas and Life of Patrick Geddes* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975); Helen Meller, 'Geddes, Sir Patrick (1854–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33361>, accessed 29 June 2011]; H. E. Mellor, 'Patrick Geddes; An Analysis of His Theory of Civics, 1880-1904', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Mar., 1973), pp. 291-315

²²⁵ Mellor, 'Patrick Geddes; An Analysis of His Theory of Civics' p.305.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 304-5.

²²⁷ Quoted in Mellor, 'Patrick Geddes; An Analysis of His Theory of Civics' p. 305.

backgrounds. In the early nineteenth century, the manufacturing elites maintained the support of their workers. From the mid-century, however, the town council increasingly took on the role of civic leadership which had once fallen to the elite classes. The council was composed largely of small businessmen and traders, with manufacturers accounting only for a small minority. Nevertheless, although the social composition of the council did not alter, apathy on behalf of the voters was combined with widespread dissatisfaction as social conditions in the town deteriorated.²²⁸ The early DSU could therefore be construed as an attempt by elite men to play some part in the civic leadership of Dundee and to partially reclaim the role which had been taken over by the lower middle class, who now dominated the town council. In this role, the DSU attempted to highlight the failure of council regulation of working-class dwellings. In 1889, its second year of existence, the DSU conducted a survey into the conditions of 129 working class tenements, comprising of around 1500 individual dwellings, in six different districts in the city.²²⁹ This early focus on the duty of the citizens of Dundee to be responsible for the standards in their city and their use of local government to achieve their aims is indicative of an organisation which was built on the premise that the well being of the city and those living in it was directly affected by the local environment and that in order to improve the moral and physical standards of the people it was first necessary to improve their surroundings. .

Along with highlighting the shortcomings of local government regulation, the DSU also actively worked to improve housing conditions in Dundee. The belief of the DSU was that moral reform would necessary follow on from environment improvement and DSU members did what they could to facilitate this change. The DSU thus took on responsibility for working-class dwellings, acting as their factor. It began in its first year with four dwellings and a total of around seventy families. The members of the DSU appear to have decided upon this kind of work because it afforded a direct means of access to the working classes with concrete goals and outcomes. Although no reference was made to Octavia Hill until Walker returned from working with Hill in 1893, the similarities were clear. Octavia Hill began her scheme of managing properties of largely casual labourers in London in 1864 and it soon grew until she had recruited a band of female helpers who included Henrietta Barnett, wife of Canon Barnett, and Beatrice Webb. She sought to improve the lives of her tenants by restoring their self respect through improving their physical surroundings, and empowering them to take responsibility for their

²²⁸ See Miskell, Whatley and Harris (eds) *Victorian Dundee: image and realities*.

²²⁹ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1889*.

environment. The buildings were improved by better ventilation, decoration, drainage and general repairs and any surplus profits from the rents was given to the tenants and, under the guidance of Hill or one of her helpers, they could choose which of a variety of projects, including playgrounds, singing or sewing classes, they wished it to be spent on. Typical of its time, this scheme relied on the personal relationship between the provider and the recipients and this was fostered through rent collection, which gave Hill and her helpers direct access to the tenants but the expansion of the scheme also meant that she provided training for her workers. In factoring properties, it seems clear that the DSU was trying to emulate what was by that time a well-known method. The Union worked with either existing landlords or encouraged interested parties to buy tenements specifically for the Union to manage and about the purchase of which the Union would advise.²³⁰

The DSU, however, did not limit itself to improving environmental conditions. The provision of educational, recreational and welfare work to improve people's lives more generally was an integral part of the DSU's work. Although this element of the DSU was increasingly emphasised after Walker gained experience of working with Hill and the Grey Ladies, Geddes' influence ensured that the DSU's work included this from almost the beginning. However, early attempts to run clubs had been hampered by competition from other bodies and in the 1890s by a shortage of volunteers. This situation was to plague the DSU for the rest of the decade and prevent the organisation from expanding its work. So severe was the situation that in 1899, there was even an advert posted in the *Belfast News*, appealing for volunteers.²³¹ The strenuous and time consuming work of the Union, especially with regard to visitation made it difficult to find women willing to undertake it – work was 'left in the hands of three or four harassed driven workers, who have to overtake the work of ten and consequently cannot do it as they know it should be done.'²³²

Nevertheless, Walker refused to countenance the abandonment of personal connection between workers and tenants, even when the DSU was struggling to find workers: 'Some suggestions have been made as to the advisability of employing a factor, and supervising his work. But it seems to me, that by following such a course of action, we should do away with the only pleasant and vital part of our work – the friendship that can spring up between us and our hard-working sisters.'²³³ This was partly because of the benefits that such a relationship could bring to the working classes. The personal relationships and

²³⁰ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1889*.

²³¹ The Belfast News-Letter (Belfast, Ireland), Thursday, February 2, 1899; Issue 26052.

²³² DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1896*.

²³³ Ibid.

supervision of their tenants allowed the visitors to provide encouragement and advice. The DSU therefore persisted with these paths of ‘connection’ for they allowed the DSU an opportunity to try to improve the lives of their tenants and Dundee’s poor in ways which went beyond providing better housing. The evolution of this view can be traced, once again, through Walker. In 1893, Mary Lily Walker spent the summer working with Octavia Hill, and it was upon her return the DSU placed increasing emphasis on personal interaction as the means of improving the lives of their tenants. The stated purpose of the DSU was ‘to promote the well-being of the poor by improving the wholesomeness and comfort of their dwellings, by providing healthy recreation, and by creating, through personal intercourse, a helpful sympathy between different classes.’²³⁴ This statement echoes the rhetoric of ‘connection’ which Barnett espoused.

The QMS also emphasised the importance of personal interaction between client and worker as a means of facilitating an improvement in the lives of both. However, differences can be perceived in the aims of it and the DSU and can be examined through the settlement’s penny-savings bank. The penny-savings banks grew out of savings banks, which had originated in Scotland in the early nineteenth century as a means of allowing the working classes to save. Collectors would go round the doors of savers to encourage them to deposit small sums. After enough deposits had been made, savers’ accounts would be transferred to a savings bank.²³⁵ If the COS was to help and direct relief, the savings bank was to prevent the people of the district from needing its help in the first place: ‘This system of collecting is the only means in our power of inducing thrift among the poorer classes, and teaching them how to manage for themselves.’²³⁶ However, privy as they were to the hardships which faced the more impoverished working classes, Queen Margaret collectors displayed a lack of empathy with the savers: ‘The idea that two weeks’ notice might be kept never enters these people’s heads, and cannot be put there by the collector. So it comes that the money must be caught at once on Monday morning.’²³⁷ The notion of the working classes as feckless and thriftless found voice in the reports of the settlement’s savings bank. This stands in contrast to Walker’s view of the working classes in Dundee. In 1896 she wrote:

²³⁴ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1894*.

²³⁵ Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* pp. 132-137.

²³⁶ GUA, DC22/1/4/1, *QMS Annual report 1898-1900*.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

I do not know what good we do them, I know what they do for us; beginning with exercising the humble virtue of patience. From our weekly and quarterly accounts, we are stupid indeed, if we do not gain some business capacity, some power of dealing prudently and wisely with money. From our weekly visits, we are blind indeed, if we do not gather some knowledge of the social conditions of our town, of the troubles, the enjoyment, the temptations, the character of our people. Still more, we are utterly heartless if we do not gain a strong sympathy with all who work and suffer.²³⁸

As discussed above, the work of the DSU was framed in terms of a mutual obligation between the rich and poor and a belief that environment was an integral factor in the determining how people lived, thus removing some of the burden of responsibility from the individual. The QMS, as an organisation which was allied to the COS, continued to conceive of poverty in individualistic terms rather than environmental.

The savings bank was one means of encouraging the working classes to change their behaviour. However, this was only one facet of the settlement's work. In 1900, a girls' club was started and was an attempt to establish a connection between workers in the hope of a resulting 'improvement' in the girls' character. However, a hierarchy based on class existed within the club. Although the club was opened five nights a week, two of these nights were reserved for the 'rougher' girls that workers did not want associating with the others: these nights were 'devoted to girls who work in potteries, paper-bag making and at trades in employing in certain departments girls who are a class apart from the Club girl proper, and for whom it has all along been found advisable to have separate evenings, separate entertainments, separate classes.'²³⁹ These girls were given the opportunity to spend the summer working as berry pickers in Perthshire and were not taken on the summer camp that was organised for the others. Even in the better class of girls the workers found character reformation a struggle: 'schooled by many disappointments in the past', one report lamented, 'we expect little in what may be called results of our Club work.'²⁴⁰ Club workers thus struggled to alter the behaviour of club girls and preconceptions about the class of girls who chose to come to the club abounded. Class stratification was maintained within the settlement.

Work with older children, however, was preceded by attempts to help younger children. Very soon after the settlement opened workers began running playground games for young

²³⁸ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1896*.

²³⁹ GUA, DC22/1/4/1, *QMS Annual report 1898-1900*.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

children on a Saturday. The object of this was for ‘allowing visitors to get to know the children, and of teaching them the art of orderly play’.²⁴¹ The intertwined goals for settlers to both become acquainted with the children and reform the children’s behaviour encapsulate the essence of much of settlement work. Playground games were also a reflection of the way in which the Edwardians and Victorians believed that character could be forged through games.²⁴² Brehony demonstrates that there was a proliferation of organisations trying to provide slum children with suitable and supervised play times. Although these organisations had a variety of motivations, Brehony argues that many shared a romanticised view of the countryside and wished to replicate in the slums as best they could the conditions of play they believed existed in the country. The QMS also wished to ‘keep [children] from the dangers of the street.’²⁴³ Removing them from the dangers associated with slum children’s play, the settlement hoped also to improve their character.

The initial suggestion for the playground games originated with ‘a member of the School Board’ and the settlement also used school playgrounds for their games.²⁴⁴ Settlements often saw themselves as pioneers, especially in later years as government, both local and national, began to play an increasing role in welfare and social service provision. Settlements, as localised bodies, were able to identify and pioneer services which were lacking in a district and which the local authorities had not the capacity to undertake. Once the authorities were in a position to take over this work, it was understood, the settlements would relinquish it.²⁴⁵ Settlements were thus able to experiment with new models of working and often a partnership was established between local authorities and settlement which supported the latter’s work. An example of this is the Queen Margaret’s work with invalid children. In the nineteenth century there was no obligation for local authorities to provide schooling to disabled children and their education was often neglected. The settlement began to provide some of these children with an education. The School Board Inspector ‘unofficially’ gave the settlement the names of children in Anderston who were unable to attend school. Settlement visitors then spent time with the child and provided the

²⁴¹ GUA, DC22/1/4/1, *QMS Annual report 1897-98*.

²⁴² See Kevin J. Brehony, ‘A “Socially Civilising Influence”? Play and the Urban “Degenerate”’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 2003, Vol. 39, No. 1; S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Nathan Roberts, ‘Character in the mind: citizenship, education and psychology in Britain, 1880–1914’, *History of Education*, 2004 33:2, pp.177-197.

²⁴³ GUA, DC22/1/4/1, *QMS Annual report 1897-98*.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ This view would come to prominence with Elizabeth Macadam’s conception of the ‘new philanthropy’ which will be discussed later.

support they felt was most suitable. If it was felt that the child was not likely to improve enough to attend school or that improvement would take some time, they were passed onto other agencies, including mental asylums and convalescent homes. In other cases, however, the visitors provided tuition and support until the child was ready to go to school.²⁴⁶

However, this scheme did not fully meet the needs of the children and in 1901, the head of the settlement's Invalid Children's Committee, Penelope Ker, sister of the critic and academic William Paton Ker, suggested that the work should be placed on a 'more definite and more permanent basis'.²⁴⁷ To accomplish this she looked to the example of the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London. In 1898, this settlement, under the direction of its leader Mrs Humphry Ward, had pioneered a school for disabled children in the absence of any local authority provision. Funding for children was provided by the school board in 1899 and its success led to local authority provision of other schools for disabled children.²⁴⁸ Ker had contacted Ward for details of the school, which she presented to the settlement council in 1901 along with the annual report of the Passmore Edwards Settlement, to support her scheme. However, Ker also emphasised the extensive resources that would be involved such a scheme – the need for specialised equipment, such as ambulances, for example. She thus enlisted the support of the Cripple Children's League.²⁴⁹ The School Board agreed to appoint a teacher and pay the salary²⁵⁰ but refused to pay for a doctor to visit the school. The settlement therefore undertook this cost, and the school was opened in October 1901 employing Marion Gilchrist in this role.²⁵¹ This was first invalid school in Scotland. The DSU was soon to follow by establishing its own invalid school in 1903. The establishment of these schools was an example of the settlement pioneering and extending services that had not been provided by other providers. These schemes also brought together voluntary and local authority bodies. This form of partnership became increasingly prevalent in the coming years throughout the voluntary sector. However, both the QMS and the DSU demonstrated their willingness to work with the authorities from their very early days.

²⁴⁶ See List of cases 1897-98.

²⁴⁷ QMS Minutes 31 May 1901.

²⁴⁸ See J Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward. Eminent Victorian, Pre-eminent Edwardian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

²⁴⁹ QMS Minutes 31 May 1901.

²⁵⁰ Ibid. 10 September 1901.

²⁵¹ Ibid. 25 October 1901.

These two organisations were both expressions of community: for the QMS, the settlement was an opportunity to enhance the corporate identity and solidarity of the young women who attended the college. Meanwhile, for the DSU, especially under the leadership of Mary Lily Walker, and drawing on Geddes' teachings, a central tenet of its philosophy was the belief in a civic community which should incorporate all classes in the city. Those who founded the DSU, however, were already a part of the elite community in Dundee and the DSU was often only one example of their charitable work. The women at the QMS also tended to belong to upper and middle class families and for them also their philanthropic work at the settlement would often have been the performance of an expected duty. Nevertheless, the QMS offered something more to these women: an opportunity to find independence and a career in social work. The work of the settlement was specifically geared to meet needs of these students and this was a current which would become much stronger in the following decades, as will be examined below. At the DSU the most influential member was also a woman: Mary Lily Walker and it was due to her that the Union developed such a strong interest in working with women and children – an arena which the QMS also focused on. The work that both of these organisations undertook in this area was pioneering and tailored to providing services which local authorities would or could not undertake to do, leading to lasting relationships with the civic authorities in both Dundee and Glasgow. However, differences in attitudes between these organisations prevailed. As noted above, the DSU's idea of a civic community rested on the belief that wealthy citizens had a duty to aid and support those within the city who were less fortunate. This led to the rhetoric within the DSU of sympathy for the working classes. By contrast, the QMS joined with the COS, which largely saw individuals' own failings as the root source of poverty. The settlement, of course, espoused the idea of 'connection' with the working classes. However, particularly in the case of adolescent girls, this was underpinned by the desire to reform the characters of those who attended the settlement. This would necessarily have influenced the relationship between settlers and the people of Anderston.

1.5 Conclusion

The Scottish settlements were all very different organisations, with different aims and methods of working. This was partly because they were products of different communities. The Student's Settlement, for example, was started at Glasgow University at a time when recreational and social facilities were becoming a more integral part of the student experience. SS built upon work already being done by the university's missionary society and at New College, too, the settlement built on a long legacy of work that the missionary society had done. Due to the small size of the college and its evangelical focus, the settlement would go on to be an integral element of college life. The QMS drew on no legacy but was instead the product of a desire to enhance the corporate spirit of the young Queen Margaret College. These settlements therefore emerged as expressions of community among students at these organisations. Although TH was also part of Glasgow University, the impetus behind its foundation was different. Whilst the GUSS, as suggested by its name, was an organisation founded and run by students, TH was begun and run by professors from the university. Smart and Caird were both attracted to Toynbee Hall in London as an expression of the idealist philosophy to which they subscribed. TH was conceived of as a means of reconnecting the university with the impoverished district where it used to be based. Nevertheless, TH emerged out of a Glaswegian context. The university men who ran TH were part of the elite community of Glasgow and during this period were becoming increasingly involved in the life of the city: TH was a product of this 'civic duty'. The Dundee Social Union was also started by members of the middle and upper classes of Dundee, with some links to University College, and can be seen as a means by which these men and women could influence life in the town. In this desire to improve living conditions in Dundee, the influence of Patrick Geddes was clear.

The relationships that settlements had with local communities varied but a desire to alter the behaviour of the working classes was prevalent throughout. This was, however, a changing dynamic. The TH drawing room evenings were an archetypal settlement way of connecting with the working classes and had been pioneered by Toynbee Hall. Criticisms of those drawing room evenings have suggested that these were awkward and patronising towards the people who attended. These criticisms could also be directed towards the TH evenings where, although some parties met for a number of years, the picture that emerges of the relationships between settlers and locals is one of condescension rather than friendship. Settlements were supposed to be a place where the middle classes could learn

about the working classes. It was a romantic ideal whereby both classes could put aside differences and come to a mutual understanding. In reality though, although it was a supposedly neutral setting, the settlement was a place where the working classes were exposed to middle-class culture in the hope that they would absorb some of its values. The rhetoric of the QMS also portrayed members of the working classes whom the settlement worked as feckless and thriftless. At the girls' clubs run by the settlement, attempts were made to mould members into 'responsible' members of society whilst collecting savings banks attempted to teach thrift. This attitude can be linked to the Charity Organisation Society. However, this organisation's methods and the ideology that underpinned them were increasingly being challenged in this period. One of the reasons for this was that poverty was increasingly understood as the product of environmental circumstances rather than a personal, moral failing. Both TH and the QMS understood the answer to social problems lay in the reform of individual. Others, however, increasingly recognised that these were issues that had to be dealt with on a collective and statutory level. One of the groups who were engaging with this discourse was the Free Church of Scotland. Settlement work allowed trainee ministers to experience the difficulties faced by those in poverty and a more sympathetic picture of local people emerges from New College than from the QMS. At GUSS, too, William Boyd found that his settlement work increased his understanding of the difficulties faced by those in poverty and he experienced a sense of shared humanity with the people he met through this work. These changing attitudes led to an increasingly collective attitude to tackling social problems. This was exemplified by the Dundee Social Union. This organisation conceptualised their work in terms of the civic duty of Dundonians. According to Mary Lily Walker, the people of Dundee were collectively responsible for the welfare of its citizens. The DSU's responses to social problems were therefore framed by what they believed was the local authority's responsibilities.

For the DSU, then, its work was the means by which it could challenge the lacunas of civic provision. This desire to push the boundaries of social care and to look for groups who were underrepresented in welfare provision made the DSU, and also the QMS, pioneers of social work. The first invalid school in Scotland, for example, was run by the QMS. The inspiration for this work was often taken from other organisations, in this case the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London. However, they were also responses to local situations. The settlements identified gaps in provision that local government would not or

could not fill. Their work in these areas was often experimental and, although this would go on to become one of the identifying features of settlement work, it was a feature of the QMS and the Dundee Social Union from the outset. This would mean working closely with health inspectors and other members of local government. Work such as the invalid school had demonstrable outcomes that were easy to quantify. Much of settlement work, however, was based on the effect it would have on ‘improving’ the moral character of the area. The results of this type of work, however, were difficult to demonstrate. For the missionaries of New College Settlement, altering the behaviour of those they worked with was key, as the basis for their work was the moral and religious reform of the dissolute. The settlement maintained that workers were making a difference in the district but based this on vague statements about drunkenness in the district diminishing. One of the ways one could determine their efficacy were the numbers using the facilities provided by the settlement but this was not a clear indication that people were engaging with settlement ideals. At TH, members could use the recreational facilities without having to necessarily engage with the settlement’s ideals. The evangelical settlements also used leisure activities to attract members. Evangelicalism was threatened in this period, both by an increasingly reluctance on behalf of the middle classes to engage in this type of work and the competition it faced from the rise of leisure pursuits. Whilst New College did not have problems getting volunteers to work for the settlements, it did have to attract the working classes into the settlement and used recreational activities to do this. Although the rhetoric of the settlements emphasised the changes that they could make to individual character, it is clear that their work had to also engage with the working classes, as much as the settlement wanted them to engage with the values they were promoting. The decision to have settlements rather than missions may have signified that they had residences for New College and GUSS, but this name also allowed them to leave behind missionary connotations and, in the case of New College, to easily move away from mission work without having to redefine the nature of their organisation.

As well as the communities they worked in, settlements also made their mark on those who worked in them. Activities such as visiting took settlers literally into the homes of the working classes. For young men such as William Boyd, this experience was to have a profound effect on them. For Boyd at least it would change his political, and indeed religious, views. Many of the men involved with this settlement would go on to have prominent careers. Although they had not yet developed into training schools, the

settlements enabled workers to develop the skills they required for future careers. This was the case at New College where the settlement enabled trainee ministers to undertake home missionary work. It was also the case at the QMS and Dundee Social Union. Some of these settlement women, not least Mary Lily Walker, would go on to assume public roles, whilst others became prominent suffragettes. The work of the QMS, however, was framed within the discourse of femininity and workers were expected to bring 'womanly virtues' to their roles. Nevertheless, women were able to use their settlement experience to gain the experience and skills they needed for their future careers and they pioneered social work as a profession.

2 Chapter Two: 1905-1919

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the challenges that were faced by the Scottish settlements from 1905 to 1919. By this period, most Scottish settlements were well established. They had created their own identities and put down roots in their local communities. Nevertheless, this period saw the beginning of a new Scottish settlement at the University of Edinburgh, which arrived at a time when the traditional model of settlement work was being challenged. Changes were taking place, both on a local and national scale, which the settlements had to respond to and which impacted on the type of work they did and their relationships with local communities. The new EUS, too, had to find its identity in the face of these changing ideas about what settlement and social work should be.

During the Edwardian period the idea of poverty as the problem of the individual was being increasingly challenged. Surveys such as Booth's and Rowntree's had suggested that poverty was caused by economic problems rather than moral failings. This began a national discussion about the role of the state, at both local and national levels, and charity in providing welfare services. This chapter will examine how the settlements contributed to this dialogue. Social investigation, for example, became a key way of providing evidence for this debate and it was something that other settlements, including Toynbee Hall, were increasingly concentrating on. In 1905 the Dundee Social Union published a report on living conditions in the city¹ which would bring the Union to national attention. Whilst the DSU was able to successfully carry out investigative work, this chapter will ask why the EUS was not able to fulfil this goal. The debate over how poverty should be dealt with culminated in the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, which was published in 1909 and to which the DSU gave evidence. This commission produced two reports – the majority and the minority. These reports would continue to influence discussions about social work in the coming decades, but in the short term the division between its authors allowed the Liberal government to go ahead and implement its own reforms. During this period, therefore, a number of welfare bills were passed, giving children access to free school meals for example or national health insurance to workers and their families.

¹ Dundee Social Union *Report on the Housing and Social Conditions in Dundee*, (Dundee: John Leng & Co, 1905)

This challenged the rationale that underpinned much of settlement work by suggesting that social problems required practical solutions and could not be solved simply by trying to reform the character of individual members of the working classes. This chapter will explore how the settlements reacted to these challenges. Local authorities, for example, had to take on more responsibility for providing social services. This meant that settlements had to work with local authorities in order to develop provision for their local communities and this chapter will examine how these relationships developed. It will argue that some settlements, particularly QMS and DSU saw their role as developing and pioneering new services and that working relationships with local authorities were subject to change or withdrawal, depending on where settlements thought their resources should be focused. Rather than closing down areas of work, the chapter will show how this new way of working allowed settlements to experiment with new types of work. It will also examine the extent to which settlements were reacting to national concerns and how they were informed by changing local circumstances.

The changes that were taking place in the administration of social services also impacted on the relationship between the recipients of the services and those providing them. This was partly underpinned by the increasing political power of the working classes during this period, exemplified by the rise of the Labour Party. As the working classes began to play a greater role in the political life of the nation, there was an increasing concern that they should be equipped for responsibility that this was considered to entail. This chapter will examine how the settlements encouraged citizenship. In particular, it will look at the way in which the GUSS evolved from being a religious organisation to one primarily focused on providing adult education and citizenship training. In this context, it will also examine NCS and the way in which it tried to engage with local people and to draw them into the settlement. Although it was providing recreational activities, the conditions that were attached to these will be explored.

The training that the settlements were providing for their workers will also be examined. As voluntary bodies worked increasingly with the state and the complexity of poverty was revealed, this led increasingly to the belief that these problems should be tackled by professionals as opposed to untrained volunteers. This led to the establishment of schools and training colleges to provide these skills to social workers. Three Scottish settlements

provided accredited training courses during this period and this chapter will examine the factors that led to their establishment and the relationships that existed between the settlements and other providers.

2.2 Edinburgh University Settlement

In 1905, as Toynbee House (TH) disappeared, a new settlement was established in Edinburgh – the Edinburgh University Settlement (EUS). One of its first moves was to begin leasing a building from the University of Edinburgh in High School Yards which it used as a residence and centre of work. From 1906, a women's branch was attached to the main settlement, although it operated largely independently. There were many similarities between the TH and EUS: they were established by university professors and were run by male students with the help of female volunteers. However, there were differences between them, and if TH carried on the values of helpful friendliness and connection of the founding settlement of Toynbee Hall, EUS instead started out aiming to be a training centre for the volunteers. There had been increasing demand for a trained, professional social service during this period, and settlements had been amongst the first organisations to respond to this new need. Martha Vicinus, and other feminist historians, have described how female settlements became training settlements in order to provide a career for their members, and to make social work more respected. Edinburgh, when it was first envisioned, was an all-male settlement. However, by the end of the First World War it had become a female settlement attached to the university's new School for Social Study and Training.

The driving force behind the EUS was Richard Lodge. Lodge had come to Edinburgh University in 1899 from Glasgow University as professor of history. In 1906, the *Student* newspaper of Edinburgh University described him as 'probably the best-known Professor in Scotland'.² He had studied at Balliol and whilst there had been friends with Arnold Toynbee. He subsequently played a small role in the establishment of Toynbee Hall and had lectured at the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street.³ Whilst at Glasgow, he was a subscriber to the GUSS. According to his daughter, however, the idea of a settlement in Edinburgh was first suggested to him by Hector Munro Ferguson, who would go on to play a pivotal role in the settlement. Ferguson came from a distinguished Scottish family who had estates in Ross-shire and Moray, and was brother of Viscount Novar,

² *The Student* 14 December 1906.

³ Margaret Lodge, *Sir Richard Lodge: a biography* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1946) p. 137.

governor-general of Australia.⁴ Ferguson had himself worked for some years at Oxford House.⁵ Both founding members of the EUS therefore had some previous connection with the movement. In the biography she wrote of her father, one of Lodge's daughters stated that the settlement was particularly important to him because it 'was a link between the University and the Town'.⁶ In this sentiment there are echoes of the impulses which drove the founding of Toynbee House in Glasgow. With the establishment of the EUS, there was an attempt to encourage the connection between the university and the rest of the city which was also so important at Glasgow. In a newspaper article in 1924, Lodge wrote that whilst Glasgow had taken the lead, due to 'its strong civic spirit and the complexity of its problems', there was 'no place in which the foundation of a University Settlement would seem to be more natural than in Edinburgh'. This was, he argued, because the university remained 'in close contiguity to the old town in which it was founded'.⁷ Whilst TH arose out of concern about the physical divide between the university and the town, the close proximity of the two in Edinburgh made, according to Lodge, the development of the settlement easier and more natural. Lodge therefore saw the settlement as an extension of, and an attempt to further, the relationships between the university and the city, specifically the working classes of it, which other endeavours and the physical proximity of the two groups had already to some degree facilitated.

As at TH, exposure to the culture of the university was expected to be beneficial to the residents of the settlement district. In a speech to the first meeting of subscribers, Professor William Paterson,⁸ another founding member, said of the proposed work that:

The idea of this Institution is that it should bring the elevating influences of this University to bear on some sections of the community, and no Institution which merely represents a society and not religion would represent in a full and thorough way the actual life of the University at this time.⁹

⁴ H. C. G. Matthew, 'Ferguson, Ronald Crauford Munro, Viscount Novar (1860–1934)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33110>, accessed 3 June 2012].

⁵ Lodge, *Sir Richard Lodge* p. 137.

⁶ *Ibid.* p.137.

⁷ *Scotsman* 17 May 1924 p. 8.

⁸ William Paterson (1860–1939) became Professor of Divinity in 1903 at the University of Edinburgh, a post he held until 1936. He was a member of the United Free Church and played a leading role in its re-unification with the Church of Scotland. See David Fergusson, 'Paterson, William Paterson (1860–1939)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35407>, accessed 10 Aug 2011].

⁹ First Meeting of Subscribers (undated).

Those involved with the establishment of the settlement were largely connected with the university; many were professors. They saw the purpose of the settlement as bringing some of the culture and values of the university to poorer people of Edinburgh, in the belief that this would raise their character and lives. One can see in this statement echoes of what Smart and Caird attempted to do in Glasgow with TH almost twenty years previously. The dissemination of university culture as force for good had been carried on down through the years. The *Student*, describing in an editorial the birth of the settlement, noted the purchasing of rooms for the settlement and described how ‘from this focus, rays of light and learning are to radiate out into the dark places surrounding, and inhabitants are to be drawn towards the light’.¹⁰ In this statement, one can see the reiteration of the ‘Central Africa conception of philanthropy’ which Cummings had described in 1892. He wrote of ‘a great slum, reeking with vice and crime, and in its midst a sort of moral stockade, from which valiant and pure young men and women go forth to unknown dangers.’¹¹ Both descriptions suggest that settlements wished to be regarded as moral bastions in the midst of wild and uncivilised surroundings. In Edinburgh, it was hoped that people would be pulled in by the prospect of learning and by the university culture which the settlement was bringing to the district for the first time. However, like Cummings, the *Student* was being tongue in cheek. The article went on to say that whilst the newspaper approved of the aims of the settlement, it did not believe that a settlement was necessarily the best means of accomplishing them, in spite of the examples set by Toynbee Hall and Oxford House:

What we hope is that theology will not override religion in the scheme. Let those who are taking a leading interest remember that there is much in practical Christianity, which seems a truism, but for all that is often obscured. Remember that to talk pious platitudes is easy enough, and lays a flattering unction to the soul; but let there not be too much of this. Remember also that you are dealing with men who do think, however little; and with women – a thorny path; and do not preach: but lay your hand upon the shoulder and say, ‘My friend, this should not be!’ and there is much true religion in that. Try to enter into their lives, nay, into their souls. Think of the vicious surroundings, the relativity of vice or sin; and be charitable in the broadest sense. There is a door to which some have not, never will have, the key. And what is that key! The key of human sympathy which unlocks your fellow’s heart.¹²

¹⁰ *Student* 16 February 1905.

¹¹ Cummings, E ‘University Settlements’, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (April 1892) p.258.

¹² *The Student* 16 February 1905.

The need for respect and understanding of those with whom the settlement wished to connect with was essential, and it is clear that the newspaper was uncertain as to whether or not the settlement could achieve this. In these words of warning, one senses an uneasiness about the settlement idea. By 1905, quantitative surveys such as Rowntree's and Booth's¹³ had allowed the middle classes to understand more about the condition of the working classes and the nature of the struggles that they faced. This changing social climate has led Nigel Scotland to suggest that the settlement movement was all but dead by the turn of the century.¹⁴ EUS defies this suggestion by establishing what was to be one of the most successful settlements in Scotland. However, the initial enthusiasm for settlement work had been tempered and commentators were now more circumspect about what could be achieved. By the early twentieth century the limitations of trying to change society by focusing on the individual had become apparent. At Toynbee Hall this resulted in Barnett abandoning the principle of individual connection on which the settlement had been established, and instead employing Beveridge as sub-warden. The aim of the settlement was now the scientific examination of social problems.¹⁵ This change in direction led to a different type of work and person being employed. As Eileen Yeo has pointed out, statistics in this period were gaining more credibility. A sense of national crisis over the physical health of the nation had helped to accelerate the professionalization of statistics. She points to the rise of professionals such as Hubert Llewellyn Smith who were not only committed to social service but were also competent statisticians. Llewellyn Smith had worked at Toynbee Hall and in 1903 became Controller-General of Statistics at the Board of Trade.¹⁶ Toynbee Hall had essentially become a training centre for men such as Llewellyn Smith and Beveridge who used their experience at the settlement to forge a career in social work. The study of social problems was therefore moving in the direction of greater professionalization and a more scientific approach.

The change at Toynbee Hall to a more scientific approach to social problems was indicative of a wider shift in society. At this time, there were increasing calls for collectivist and state action to tackle poverty. Whilst it must be noted that this was not a

¹³ See B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: a study of town life* (London: Macmillan, 1902); Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London: Macmillan, 1892-1897).

¹⁴ Nigel Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late-Victorian Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007) p. 210.

¹⁵ See E. Abel, 'Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor: The Educational Thought of Samuel Barnett' *Social Service Review* (1978 52:4); S. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform, 1880-1914: the search for community* (London: Yale University Press, 1987).

¹⁶ Eileen Yeo *The contest for social science: relations and representations of gender and class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996) p.227.

straightforward or simplistic shift, from the last decade of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, poverty was increasingly viewed as the problem not of the individual, but of the nation. The Second Boer War had highlighted the poor physical state of many members working classes, leading to concerns about what was termed 'national efficiency'. The solution to this was perceived in terms of national and governmental reforms.¹⁷ Surveys such as Booth's and later Rowntree's also suggested that in some circumstances the causes of poverty were beyond the individual to remedy. This led to increasing calls from organisations such as the Fabians and individuals including Booth for the government to take a more active role in the alleviation of poverty. Some pressure was also beginning to be exerted from below with calls for state action from the emerging Labour Party. The political reaction to these pressures was the rise of 'new liberalism', a 'progressive' movement in the Liberal Party that accepted the need for welfare reform. After winning the 1906 general election, the Liberal Party up until the beginning of the First World War implemented a series of acts to extend welfare entitlements across society, including national health insurance, state pensions and school meals for children.¹⁸ Thus, as Lewis has noted, the years 1870-1914 saw social policy issues become matters of 'high politics'.¹⁹ Recognition of this change is reflected in the aims of the EUS. Its objectives included 'the study of social problems'. At the first meeting of the settlement's subscribers, the purpose of the settlement to study social problems was driven home. Paterson stated that the purpose of the settlement was 'to promote the study of social problems, particularly among graduates and students of the University'. He went on to say that 'this Settlement is to serve in a measure as a School for the study of social questions, and of social methods ... it will be a school for the education of future workers in the promotion of social service.' Whereas the settlements noted in the previous sections had been founded on the need for personal interaction with local people, the EUS saw its role instead as lying in the scientific study of these issues. In this, it was following on from the examples set by other settlements in England and Scotland. As will be examined below, the DSU had carried out a significant piece of social investigation, which was published in 1905 and which brought it to national attention. The shift in settlement work was therefore recognised in Scotland as well as in England and the DSU's achievements would have been known to the founders of EUS.

¹⁷ See Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971).

¹⁸ See Michael Freedman, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

¹⁹ Jane Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States': The British Case' *Social History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan., 1994) p. 44.

Some historians have seen the impact of this shift on voluntary organisations as characterised by the declining influence of the Charity Organisation Society. The COS was emblematic of the Victorian belief in the individualistic causes of poverty and the consequent belief that pauperism could be eradicated. By the early twentieth century, however, it was becoming increasingly apparent that the problem was too large and systemic to be dealt with by individualistic schemes. Moore, for example, has characterised voluntary responses to poverty in this period in terms of the growth of the Guilds of Help at the expense of the COS.²⁰ The first Guild of Help was founded in Bradford in 1904. The COS was not very active in the north of England, and the Guild aimed to provide an alternative. It aimed to establish a system of ‘helpers’ who would visit the poor and build up a casebook on families and use this information to decide what aid was appropriate. It also aimed to be a ‘clearinghouse’ for applications for charitable help in order to prevent overlap of aid. Lastly, it aimed to be a conduit between public and private bodies.²¹ By 1910, the Guilds were the main charitable organisation outside of London, and, with no branches in Scotland, were concentrated in the north of England.²² Whilst Moore has seen the development of the Guilds as a straightforward transition from private to state aid, and has emphasised the break with the COS,²³ Laybourn has argued that these organisations, whilst stressing their apartness from the COS, essentially built on the kind of work that the COS did. However, he believes that there were three important differences. Firstly, Guilds were more open to working with the state and community; secondly, they emphasised civic consciousness and thirdly, they were more accepting of the idea that poverty was not just the fault of the individual but that there were economic factors too.²⁴ The rise of the Guilds thus heralds a re-envisaging of the role of the charitable sector in this period, although the Victorian influence could not easily be shaken off. Settlements, in order to survive and remain relevant, had to adapt to changing expectations of voluntary organisations working with the poor. Following in the footsteps of Toynbee Hall, the constitution of the EUS makes it clear that it intended to study the poor and the social conditions that gave rise to poverty in order to understand them better. It is interesting to note that, in the constitution, the expected solutions to these problems

²⁰ Michael J. Moore, ‘Social Work and Social Welfare: The Organization of Philanthropic Resources in Britain, 1900- 1914’, *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring, 1977), pp. 85-104.

²¹ Keith Laybourn ‘The Guild of Help and the changing face of Edwardian philanthropy’ *Urban History*, vol. 20 (April 1993) p. 44.

²² *Ibid.* p. 48.

²³ See Michael J. Moore ‘Social Work and Social Welfare’ pp. 85-104.

²⁴ Laybourn ‘The Guild of Help’ p. 47.

were framed in the context of ‘the welfare of the community’. Laybourn has noted how the Guilds were ‘more positive in ... evoking a community spirit’.²⁵ The constitution of the EUS echoes this sentiment by suggesting a move away from the traditional settlement focus on the individual and instead placing social problems in the context of the community.

This more sophisticated approach to tackling social problems called for trained and professional workers and thus settlements began establishing training courses and qualifications became requirements for workers. The requirement for trained and accredited workers was quickly realised by the COS, as Jose Harris has examined. Against the background of social investigation which was increasingly pointing to causes of poverty which were out with individual control, the COS began to identify the need to engage its workers in these new theories. Thus, in 1896, the COS established a lecture committee with the Women’s University Settlement in London and the National Union of Women Workers. In 1902, the organisation held a national conference which brought together charitable and academic bodies. Out of this came calls for social work training to be taught at the level of higher education.²⁶ This led to organisations, including the COS and settlements, to begin to offer formal training courses often in conjunction with universities. In 1903, the COS founded the School of Sociology, with E. J. Urwick,²⁷ former sub-warden of Toynbee Hall, as organiser²⁸ – an early indicator of the close relationship between settlements and the new training facilities. The School quickly moved out with COS control, its subsequent story being, Mowat argued, ‘something of a tragedy’ from the perspective of the COS.²⁹ In 1912, it was assimilated into the London School of Economics,³⁰ which Helen Bosanquet argued was a result of social work outgrowing its ‘pioneering phase’ to require an academic establishment.³¹ Certainly, other bodies with an interest in social work were not slow to initiate training courses or to work with academic bodies. Schools of Social Study and Training had been established at Browning Hall and Passmore Edwards Settlements. In 1904, another School of Social

²⁵ Ibid. p 47.

²⁶ Jose Harris, ‘The Webbs, The Charity Organisation Society and the Ratan Tata Foundation: Social policy from the perspective of 1912’ in M. Bulmer, J. Lewis, and D. Piachaund, *The Goals of Social Policy* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) pp. 30-35.

²⁷ Urwick is probably most famous for his

²⁸ Charles Loch Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society, 1869-1913: its ideas and work* (London: Methuen 1961).

²⁹ Ibid. p. 112.

³⁰ The LSE had been established by the Webbs in 1895. See Sydney Cain, *The history of the foundation of the London School of Economics and Political Science* (London: Bell, 1963).

³¹ Quoted in Harris, ‘The Webbs, The Charity Organisation Society and the Ratan Tata Foundation’ p. 30.

Science was established in Liverpool as a partnership between the Victoria Settlement for Women, the COS and the University of Liverpool.³² In 1908, Birmingham University became the first British University to matriculate social science students as internal university students and in 1910, the Liverpool School became a part of Liverpool University. The imperative to provide students with an academic grounding in social work problems was also felt in Scotland in this period. In 1911, the QMS in Glasgow, as will be examined in detail later, established its own School of Social Study and Training. This was the culmination of a training programme which had developed over the years and was also subsumed into the university. At NCS a course in sociology was also being run by the warden of the settlement, Harry Miller and by the 1920s, the DSU was also running a training course. The establishment of the EUS was a further acknowledgment that settlements had developed into training providers.

This, however, was not to be fulfilled by the men's branch of the EUS, which was plagued with problems. From around 1908, the money the settlement was able to raise through subscriptions fell, leaving the settlement struggling and often dependent on a large donation from a wealthy subscriber to prevent a significant deficit in its accounts.³³ One of the drains on the finances was the residence. The committee was, however, committed to keeping this open and one of the savings that was made was to have a non-resident and unsalaried warden. The first two wardens each held the post for only one year and, by 1907, Hector Munro Ferguson had taken over as warden. He was neither resident at the settlement nor given a salary. He was an older man with independent means and although he embraced the ideals of social service embodied in the settlement, he was not a professional. During his tenure many duties were devolved to two assistant wardens who changed on a regular basis and who were often unpaid. The settlement was therefore run by a succession of volunteers. The lack of a competent and professional warden hampered ambitions to turn the settlement into a school for social science training, leaving the men's branch of the settlement unable to expand into work with local government. As the work of the settlement began, there was little new or distinctive about its work, despite of all the intentions professed at its founding. In its second year a series of addresses to students on the 'Data of Poverty' was given by the warden but this only ran for one session and there were no attempts to try such a course of lectures again. Otherwise, the activities undertaken by the settlement were very similar to examined in the previous chapter's

³² Ronald Walton, *Women in Social Work* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).

³³ EUA GD20.8 *EUS Annual Report 1910-1911*.

analysis of settlement work. This can be contrasted with other Scottish settlements during this period. As will be examined below, the men of New College Settlement had called for more theoretical teaching of social problems and their warden was subsequently appointed director of practical training at New College. Although NCS had in previous years also regularly changed wardens, during this period the importance of having a strong leader was recognised and thus Miller was appointed as a full-time and salaried warden.

Moreover, as New College students' understanding of social problems deepened through teaching and discussion so their settlements' work with the local community also became more complex. As well as working with other bodies, including the COS, the settlement became part of a scheme to develop a range of amenities for local people, including a gymnasium and health centre.³⁴ In a district adjacent to where the EUS were based, NCS was providing a dynamic example of what a settlement could do. By contrast, the EUS lack the ability to innovate or develop its work beyond the boundaries of what had been achieved by settlements in the previous century. The mainstay of its work was the Men's Club, which, in 1909, had a membership of 65.³⁵ This was conducted along the same lines as other settlements' Men's Clubs, with a choir, gymnastics and chess amongst the activities provided for the entertainment of the men, along with Saturday Evening Concerts. By 1908, the settlement's demographic was beginning to diversify as it extended its interest to children. A Boys' Brigade was established; Children's Evenings, where the children could play games and sing songs, were begun and a Kinderspiel, which was essentially a children's drama group, was also started.³⁶ In 1910, a Lad's Club was begun which sought to provide for boys aged 15-18 years the same kinds of activities that were being provided by the Men's Club.³⁷ In 1909, the Children's Evenings became the Children's Play Hour and this coincided with a general increase in the level of physical activities and games provided by the settlement. Under the auspices of the Men's Club, in this year, a football club was established along with a rambling club, and a cricket club was also tried, although this proved to be not so successful.³⁸ Sunday Schools and bible classes were provided both for men and for children.

³⁴ See section below.

³⁵ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1908-1909*.

³⁶ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1907-1908*.

³⁷ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1909-1910*.

³⁸ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1908-1909*.

The settlement was focusing on providing recreational pursuits for working classes rather than training workers or creating contacts with local government and other social welfare providers. Dissatisfaction with this lack of progress can be seen. As noted above, subscriptions during this period fell, and, whilst this hampered the work, it was indicative of diminishing interest in the settlement and disinclination to invest in its future. The committee recognised these shortcomings and there are sporadic references in the minutes to the need to begin training courses. However, no action was taken and the settlement continued to struggle. The situation led, in November 1911, to Professor of Moral Philosophy James Seth's resignation from the committee. His letter of resignation demonstrates his dissatisfaction with the direction the settlement had taken:

As the Council knows, I am not altogether in sympathy with its policy, and have made some efforts, without success, to alter that policy in certain important particulars. Finally, I am not really convinced of the value of the University Settlement as an institution. In these circumstances, I am quite clear that I ought not to continue as a member of Council.³⁹

Seth had previously spoken out against the financial strategy of the settlement, stating that until the warden was salaried he did not believe that the organisation would otherwise be 'paying its way'. This founding member no longer felt that it had a meaningful contribution to make. Seth did not return to the settlement and the next time his name was connected to the organisation was in 1917, when the settlement became connected with the newly-formed School of Social Study and Training with which he was involved.

The turnaround in the way in which the settlement was run and which led to it becoming a part of the School for Social Study and Training was largely due to the involvement of the women's branch of the settlement which began in 1906. These women had been members of the Women's Student Committee working out of Waverley Buildings in the Cowgate which would continue to be the base for their work. They were connected with the Christian Union, who part funded the work by paying for the rent of the rooms. Workers, however, did not have to be members of the Christian Union. The main focus of their work was children and they ran Sunday classes and clubs for both boys and girls. In the session 1905-6, the largest was the Children's Playhour, which around one hundred children attended. They also ran a collecting savings bank which had 75 depositors. The women had previously considered becoming a settlement, but had decided against it. They

³⁹ EUA GD20.7, *Executive Committee Minutes* 16 November 1911

were, however, unanimously in favour of joining an established EUS, viewing it as a means of increasing the scope of their work.⁴⁰ However, these two branches were never fully amalgamated, with the women being treated as an aside to the main settlement work. This mirrors the position of women in the corporate life of the university more generally. Although some societies were mixed, Hamilton notes that ‘women students also struck out their own path. If they did not form a totally independent university society they would at least start a women’s branch or committee’. Hamilton believes that female societies ‘imitated’ the male ones and that, having achieved the right to a degree women were unwilling to create more conflict by demanding access to male societies. Women’s societies followed their own agenda, focusing largely on female issues.⁴¹ This is indicative of the situation within the settlement. The image that emerges of the settlement during this period is of a fragmented organisation with the men’s and women’s branches essentially remaining separate organisations under the umbrella of the settlement. The warden remained responsible for the men’s side of the work whilst the women had their own secretary in charge of the work who sat on the executive committee and reported on the work being done. Their work is also reported separately in the annual reports. The women’s branch remained distinct from the men’s work and had its own set of accounts too. This sense of difference was heightened by the fact that both branches had different premises although both were in the Cowgate area and suggestions to share buildings were resisted by the executive committee.⁴² Thus both worked under the umbrella of the settlement but with different methods and priorities.

⁴⁰ EUA GD20.7, Executive Committee Minutes 5 July 1906.

⁴¹ S. Hamilton ‘The First Generations of University Women’ in Gordon Donaldson (ed) *Four centuries: Edinburgh University life, 1583-1983* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983) p. 107.

⁴² EUA GD20.7, Executive Committee Minutes 25 June 1908.




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Fig. 6 Cowgate, Edinburgh. The EUS Women's Branch buildings can be seen on the left.

There was approximately the same number of volunteers for each branch. In 1908 the warden reported that around fifty men volunteered at the settlement. During this session there were also six men in residence. The women did not have a residence but during the same session had the help of around 40 workers.⁴³ However, there were differences in the way each branch was run. As noted above, the wardens and assistant wardens changed regularly. Moreover, the executive committee of the settlement were mainly university professors and not actively involved with the day-to-day running of the settlement, leaving most of the responsibility for the men's branch in the hands of the warden and his two

⁴³ EUA GD20.8 *Annual Report 1907-8*.

assistants. Whilst the women's branch was represented on the executive committee, it was quite content to leave the women to their own devices and there are no records of any disagreement or contention over how the women's work was carried out. The leaders of the women's branch were actively involved in the work and took responsibility for particular areas. Their commitment to the settlement was often longstanding. Miss Marion Gray held at different times the offices of secretary and president from the time before the women joined the settlement until 1917. Other workers also demonstrated their commitment to areas of settlement work with service which spanned more than a decade. Mrs Cadenhead began running the Mothers' Meetings, which became the Women's Club, in 1908 and continued running it until 1919. This is not to say that the men's branch did not also have committed workers nor that the women's branch was not also generally in need of more volunteers, but that the women's branch was run for many years by a nucleus of dedicated and energetic workers who were heavily involved in the day-to-day running of the work.

The women's branch also differed from the men's branch not only in the way it was run but also in the kind of work which was done. It appears to have been far more interested in giving practical aid whilst the men's side tended to concentrate on forming links with the men through clubs and social evenings. The women's branch ran a collecting savings bank and ran a Mothers' Meeting. The importance of Mothers' Meetings, an integral part of the women's work, has been highlighted by Bradley who argues that they were 'of vital importance to ... mothers, as a means of developing friendships, having something to do and to provide informal support.'⁴⁴ It also worked with other agencies. It, like other settlements which had become training centres for social workers, concentrated on working with women and children. These were areas where the state and local government were beginning to take a more active interest, thus opening up opportunities for workers to collaborate with different agencies and for a more professional attitude to their work to be taken. As Lewis has noted, a prevailing view at this time was that, 'the family was the primary institution in which character was developed and rational citizens produced.'⁴⁵ According to this view, women were important because of their potentially reforming role within the family. Whilst Koven and Michel have argued that the focus of women activists on women and children resulted from a maternalistic desire to promote the welfare of

⁴⁴ Katharine Bradley, *Poverty, philanthropy and the state: charities and the working classes in London, 1918-79* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009) p. 86.

⁴⁵ Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States' p. 50.

women and children,⁴⁶ Lewis rejects this, arguing that their focus on women and children was born out of a focus on citizenship. She believes that women social activists, such as Helen Bosanquet saw women as important because of their role in the family and thus as potential agents of social change.⁴⁷ Whilst, in the limited descriptions given by the women of their settlement work, there is no mention of an interest in citizenship, their actions show that they were supportive of an increasing role for the state and supported the local government in expanding its services for children. From 1908, the women's branch visited infants in connection with the Public Health Department. Visits were undertaken once a fortnight by 'student visitors and other ladies' and the results were reported to a Captain.⁴⁸

Their work with the Public Health Department is illustrative of a voluntary organisation responding to an increased municipal role in their own area of work. This work was a part of a wider partnership of different bodies with the Public Health Department. At the beginning of this partnership, there were 170 visitors, with many already working as parish visitors.⁴⁹ The voluntary women's branch were performing a service for a statutory body and demonstrates the women's willingness from an early stage to work with state services in order to improve the city's social services. As the role of the state increased, official visitors took over the work in 1917. However, the voluntary bodies continued to cooperate with the Department and continued the visiting. As Laybourne and Moore have noted in relation to the Guilds of Help, willingness to work with the state and the community was one defining feature of a new form of voluntary work which had to some extent moved away from Victorian conceptions of charitable work. At the outbreak of war, the women also visited on behalf of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. This organisation was in charge of distributing a large aid fund for the families of men in the armed services. In subsequent years, as the fund grew, the Association employed its own visitors. However, the women's branch was again showing a desire and the ability to cooperate with other agencies. At the same time as working with the Public Health department and cooperating with the SAFA, the women's branch also began cooperating with the COS, to carry out house-to-house visiting. The reason given for this was that this lady's 'expert

⁴⁶ Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, 'Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (Oct., 1990), pp. 1076-1108.

⁴⁷ Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States' p. 50.

⁴⁸ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1908-09*.

⁴⁹ *A Child Lover: The Late Bailie Mrs. Somerville, J.P.: Appreciation of Her Services to the Community* (Robert Grant, 1937) p. 16.

knowledge of Relief Agencies will be of great use to us.’⁵⁰ Whilst the women’s branch was linking up with the COS, the reason for this was the knowledge and expertise that this would bring to the work, again showing a desire to improve the service they gave by cooperating with other agencies and combining their resources. This can be compared to the QMS and DSU during this period: as will be examined below they were also part of local networks of organisations working towards social improvements. They too shared information and expertise. Although the work of the women’s branch at EUS was less developed than that of the QMS and DSU, the same principals of cooperation and knowledge exchange underpinned it.

From the early days of the settlement, therefore, the women’s branch was more active and ambitious in its aims than the men’s side of the work. However, pre-war, it had always been a side show to the main event of the men’s work. The reports of the women’s branch were almost invariably shorter and placed at the end of the main sections in the annual report. The Executive Committee rarely discussed the women’s work. Nevertheless, the outbreak of war in 1914 saw the women’s branch become the main focus of the settlement’s work. In the first year of the war, the warden and most of the residents were called up and as war work took up the time even of those who had not been conscripted, meetings of the Executive Council often did not take place for more than a year at a time. Lodge in particular was active in many different kinds of war work. Two of the workers, the assistant warden and boy scouts’ leader, were killed in the first year of the war.⁵¹ The Men’s Club was the only branch of this work left running and was made available to Territorials but soon the only members attending were older men. Moreover, in 1916, Edinburgh University decided not to renew the lease on the residence, which had been empty since the war’s beginning and turn it instead into a new chemical laboratory. The war was taking its toll on the settlement, and the introduction to the 1915-16 Annual Report, is indicative of the hugely difficult situation that the men’s branch faced:

We have no such losses to chronicle as we had last year, because, as vacancies could not be filled up, these losses could not possibly recur. The Warden was invalided home from Gallipoli, and, we regret to say, has not yet sufficiently recovered to resume his normal activities. And, if he were here, it would be practically impossible to find him male helpers ...

⁵⁰ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1913-1914*.

⁵¹ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1914-1915*.

It is impossible at present to revive all the former activities of the Settlement ... in the meantime, we desire to lay all possible stress upon the helpful activities of the women's branch, which is doing its best not only to carry on their own work, but to carry on bits of the men's work as well.⁵²

Indeed, the women were not only able to continue with their pre-war work, but were also taking over responsibility for some of the men's work. Thus, in 1916, they noted that:

While, owing to the War, the work of the men's side of the Settlement has been continued at under great difficulties, the women's work has been carried on with greater vigour and success than ever, both at High School Yards and at Waverly Buildings. Something is done for women and girls of all ages, from babies to grandmothers.⁵³

Whilst the men's work was atrophying, the women were implementing new schemes in response to the war situation. A club for soldiers' wives was immediately begun, although it was discontinued after a couple of years due to a lack of demand. The Women's Club was in charge of a large part of the War Pensions Committee among the tenants of High School Yards and Waverley Buildings. Schemes were implemented which helped people to fulfil their patriotic duty: numerous collections were held for the troops; paper waistcoats were made for soldiers in the trenches by the Girls' Club; mittens and socks were knitted throughout the war and sphagnum moss picked for dressings. A Thrift Club was also established whereby the women contributed a sum of money weekly and with the funds the club bought war certificates. The annual report announced that 'The women entered into the spirit of the scheme in a most patriotic way, realising that the five years' loan of their money to the country was a real help, and fresh members come forward every few weeks'.⁵⁴ The war provided new opportunities and challenges which the women rose to and at its end the branch emerged in a far stronger position. Moreover, the expenses of the women's branch were far lower than those of the full settlement, as it did not have the burden of the residence to pay for and a donation had allowed them to purchase their own club rooms. Thus, financially the women's branch was also more stable, despite the drop in subscriptions.

⁵² EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1915-1916*.

⁵³ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1914-1915*.

⁵⁴ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1915-1916*.

As the war drew to a close, the future of the settlement came under consideration. The council had a choice as to whether or not they should try to revive the men's work or if this should be abandoned and the women's branch continue as it had done for the duration of the war to run the settlement with the focus of the work being primarily women and children. It was decided not to revive the men's branch and to merge the settlement with Edinburgh University School of Social Study and Training. The only records which remain of the establishment of the School are newspaper articles and those relating to the settlement but it is clear that Lodge was involved with its establishment. It was founded in 1917 in order to facilitate the training of men and women in social work. The sense that social work was gaining in importance and standing as it moved from being a voluntary impulse to a more professional career is borne out in the speech given by the principal of the university, Sir Alfred Ewing, also at this first meeting:

For some years back the trend of legislation to develop in various forms of local government, and also the increasing social sense of the community, had led to an augmented interest in all questions relating to social service, and had produced an increased desire on the part of many persons to engage in such work, work that might be described as in the best sense socialistic. The number of official and voluntary social workers had immensely increased, and there had been on the part of many members of the community a wish to take part in work which would bring them into closer contact with other classes, classes whose modes and standards in life were different from theirs. In most cases, of course, this was done with a view to better the economic, sanitary, moral and religious conditions of their neighbours, to promote thrift, to further infant welfare, and in various ways to ameliorate the conditions of labour, and, broadly speaking, to lighten the burden of the poor.⁵⁵

The imperatives which drove the foundation of the School of Social Study and Training were largely connected with the increasing role of state and local authorities in the provision of welfare services. Whilst the school arose out of a recognition for the need for more training, the idea of personal service and duty was still being emphasised, and these motivations which had driven the previous generations of volunteers were still being cited by Ewing: the means of achieving their ends had, however, been altered.

Although the school was established under the auspices of the university, it was intended to form links with other bodies. The school generated interest and the support of Edinburgh's citizens. In an article for the *Scotsman*,⁵⁶ Seth noted how the Town Council had given £100 towards the expenses of the school. The Provost had taken a keen interest

⁵⁵ *Scotsman* 24 March 1917 p. 8.

⁵⁶ *Scotsman* 8 January 1918 p. 4.

in its establishment. There was a 'generous response' to the appeal for subscriptions and the School cooperated with other bodies including the corporations and school boards of Edinburgh and Leith. These organisations had representatives who sat on the council of the school. The importance of this was highlighted by Ewing:

For such work there was more required than mere zeal, valuable as that had been. It had to be supplemented by training and experience, and also by theoretical training, which was often taken as initial to experience or alongside with it. It was not, therefore, intended that the whole of this work should become a part of University work. All that was intended was that the University should, as far as might be useful, associate itself with this new effort.⁵⁷

Ewing thus made it clear that the university intended to provide only the theoretical side to the work whilst the practical training would be done by other agencies. The school was therefore situated within a loose network of other such schools in various towns and cities throughout the country and within a closer partnership of various public bodies within the municipality itself. Again, this compares to Glasgow, where the training school founded by the QMS was also a partnership between university, state and voluntary bodies. Both practical and theoretical training was required of social workers in this period and this arrangement provided both. Both successful training schools in Scotland were based on this model.

The results of the school's early work can be seen in the careers of two of its most prominent pupils. Born in 1860, Euphemia Somerville was elected the second women councillor in Edinburgh in 1919. She had a background in social work and had organised voluntary health visitors on behalf of the city councils in both Glasgow and Edinburgh and began the Edinburgh Voluntary Health Workers Association. On becoming a town councillor, she lived for a month in the Craiglockhart poorhouse in order to gain firsthand knowledge on this subject. She then took the diploma at the Edinburgh School of Social Study and Training. She went on to become a successful campaigner for better housing in Edinburgh but was best known for the toddlers' playgrounds which she established.⁵⁸ A biography of Somerville makes clear that, throughout her life, she combined voluntary work with work for statutory bodies.⁵⁹ Another of the first students at the school was

⁵⁷ *Scotsman* 24 March 1917 p. 8.

⁵⁸ Sue Innes, 'Somerville, Euphemia Gilchrist (1860–1935)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69908>, accessed 11 Sept 2009].

⁵⁹ *A Child Lover*.

Minna Cowan. Born in Paisley in 1878, Cowan founded the Girls' Auxiliary of the Church of Scotland and in 1914, was elected to the Edinburgh School Board. In 1919 she became the first convenor of the statutory local advisory council of the education authority. In 1920, she undertook the diploma training and in 1921, was elected to the Edinburgh Education Authority. Among the policies which she pioneered were continuing free school meals during the holidays, and establishing the first play-centres for primary school children in winter. She became known as an expert on child welfare.⁶⁰ Both of these women had had experience in voluntary social work before undertaking the diploma course. However, the course was part of their transition from voluntary to statutory effort and marked the beginning of their role within local government. Both already had much experience in social work and both were middle-aged when they undertook the course. Yet they saw the value of having a professional qualification in social work, an example of the degree to which this was now seen as a necessary prerequisite to continue a distinguished career in social work.

By 1919, nineteen students were enrolled in the diploma course. Along with attending an Infant Welfare Centre and Employment Exchanges, students spent part of their vacations at settlements in London, Bristol, Liverpool and Birmingham – but none at the EUS.⁶¹ The reason for this is not explicitly stated but was probably because these settlements were all working with other Schools of Social Study and therefore had the facilities and mechanisms to deal with social work students. However, at the School's Annual Meeting in 1919, Lodge proposed that the School be amalgamated with the settlement.⁶² The leaders of the settlement had of course been looking to secure the future of the settlement and this was an ideal opportunity to fulfil the original remit of the settlement. It thus became a settlement for women workers, led by Grace Drysdale, who was in charge of the settlement at the time of the handover. She had undertaken a course at the Edinburgh School of Social Study and Training and visited other settlements.⁶³ In this way, the settlement became associated with a training school and finally fulfilled the terms of its constitution.

⁶⁰ Sue Innes, 'Cowan, Minna Galbraith (1878–1951)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48699>, accessed 11 Sept 2009].

⁶¹ *Scotsman* 12 June 1919 p. 8.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ EUA GD20.8 EUS *Annual Report 1917-19*.

At the settlement's last annual meeting, Lodge emphasised that amalgamation with the School of Social Study and Training fulfilled what had all along been the aim of the settlement: to be a centre of social work and training. Yet, it is hard to see how this aim would have been accomplished had it not been for the women's branch of the work. The branch had forged its own identity and had flourished under the conditions of the war, which had crippled the men's work. When the war's end came, the revivifying of the men's branch had not seemed worthwhile or credible and it appeared as though the women's branch had come closer to achieving what had been hoped of the men's work. It was therefore left to the women to carry forward the work of the settlement. Importantly, though, this was to be done in conjunction with another institution, and this institution itself was the result of a number of different interested parties pooling resources.

Laybourne has stressed how the one the major differences between the Guilds of Help and those Victorian institutions, such as the COS, which had come before it was a willingness to work with both the state and the community. It seems the same attitude was prevalent amongst those shaping Edinburgh's social welfare provision too. When the settlement was established in 1905, work with the community and other agencies was something to be desired – a long-term goal. By the end of the war, though, this had become a necessity for those wishing to engage in welfare work, and the new School of Social Study was created on this premise with the coming together of a number of different interests. The settlement too could no longer stand alone and so the women's branch was integrated into the School of Social Study and Training as a practical training facility – a goal always desired by the settlement council but one which was achieved in a way they had not conceived of.

2.3 The Queen Margaret Settlement and Dundee Social Union

By 1905, the Dundee Social Union and the Queen Margaret Settlement were well-established organisations and had already begun working in the fields of women and children's welfare that would come to define them. However, this period would pose new challenges for these organisations. A debate was taking place over the role of the state as a provider of social care and welfare. The settlements had to engage with this debate and adapt their work to fit with the new relationship that existed between local government and voluntary organisations. However, rather than restricting the settlements, these developments allowed them to develop new forms of work. For the Queen Margaret Settlement, this involved becoming a training school for those who wished to develop a career in social work.

In 1905, the Dundee Social Union published its *Report on the Housing and Industrial Conditions in Dundee*. This was to be its most high-profile piece of work and the one which garnered it the most publicity. It was a comprehensive investigation into what was described as 'under what conditions the life of a not inconsiderable portion of the community is carried on.'⁶⁴ The report is contextualised within the legacy of investigators such as Booth and Rowntree, whose advice the committee had sought before beginning their investigations.⁶⁵ It followed his type of methodology by relying mainly on house-to-house investigation using trained and professional workers. A review in the *Economic Journal* described the review as a 'useful piece of work' which provided 'much food for thought'.⁶⁶ The report was divided into the following sections: Housing Conditions; Family Income and Expenditure; Employment and Wages; Women's Labour and Infant Mortality and Medical Inspection of School Children. The last section was subdivided again into a further six sections, with an introduction and a general report along with detailed reports on the inspection of boys, girls, eyes and ears, nose and throat. This medical section was published first as a separate report before being incorporated into the main report. The main report highlighted the harsh living conditions in Dundee and brought to the attention of a wide audience the problem of overcrowding in the city and the very high infant mortality rate, which the investigation discovered was greater than in any

⁶⁴ Dundee Social Union *Report on the Housing and Social Conditions in Dundee*, (Dundee, John Leng & Co 1905), p. V.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. VI.

⁶⁶ Lettice Fisher 'Dundee Social Union. Report Upon Housing and Industrial Conditions and Medical Inspection of School Children' *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 60 (Dec., 1905), pp. 552-553.

other Scottish town or city. The report was largely the work of Mary Lily Walker, Agnes Husband – an active member of the Labour Party – and Mona Wilson, who would go on to become Lady Commissioner of the English National Insurance Commission.⁶⁷ The subject matter of the report, unsurprisingly, mirrored the DSU's own interests and the findings would provide a focus for the work of the Union in the coming years. Yeo has contextualised the rise of the social survey movement within the shift to a nationalist perspective on social problems. As socialist movements challenged middle-class hegemony, progressive liberals sought new alternatives to socialism. She argues that professionalization was the means by which the middle classes retained control as the emphasis to finding new answers to social problems was placed on training and social investigation. Yeo believes that 'it would not be too simple to say that ... social science was partly the way advanced liberals tried to contain socialism and other working-class energy bubbling up from below'.⁶⁸ The social survey movement helped to create a national dialogue about social problems and the best way to tackle them. This dialogue, however, was dominated by the middle classes due to their ability to access the requisite training. Social investigation established the DSU as professionals and experts in living conditions in an industrial area whilst the QMS focused on becoming a training institution for the next generation of professional social workers. Nevertheless, as will be discussed below, the picture at the DSU was more nuanced than the argument outlined by Yeo. Both the DSU and the QMS, composed of middle-class workers, embraced professionalism and used their work to find new answers to social problems. However, members of the DSU were socialist and lent their support to trade unions. The DSU did, however, use social investigations as a means of promoting its work and the Housing Report had the greatest impact of anything produced by the Scottish settlements.

As noted above, scientific social investigation was increasingly being adopted by settlements: it was on this premise that the EUS was founded. The report gave the DSU a great deal of publicity and ensured that the Union was recognised as an important authority on social conditions in an industrial city: in 1907, the Annual Report of the DSU stated that the report 'had done much to awaken public interest in questions regarding the conditions affecting the poorer classes, and many letters have come from other towns

⁶⁷ See 'Mona Wilson', Sue Innes and Sian Reynolds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women from the Earliest Times to 2004* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

⁶⁸ Yeo, *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880-1940* by Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, Kathryn Kish Sklar p. 57.

asking for fuller information as to the work of the Union'.⁶⁹ Consequently, Union workers were called on by other organisations because of their skills and knowledge. Indeed, in 1907, Walker was called to give evidence to the Poor Law Commission, based on the Housing Report.⁷⁰ Over the next couple of years, the Union was asked to carry out various statistical work for other organisations. In 1907, for example, it was asked by the Distress Committee of the Unemployed for an analysis of 744 men's unemployment applications. The Union also gathered information from 'various charities and mortifications of the city' for the use of workers. The DSU thus became associated with this kind of statistical work and were not only carrying out its own research but were being asked to do so by other agencies. These requests would gradually decline as the Union began to focus on acting to try to alleviate the problems highlighted by these surveys rather than carry out any more large-scale enquiries. However, they continued to do smaller, less formal surveys, the results of which were incorporated in their annual reports. These surveys were generally carried out in conjunction with the everyday work of the Union.

The QMS did not produce any large-scale investigation but its members were asked by other bodies for help in enquiries and assisted in the investigations of other bodies and individuals. In 1913, for example, students at the settlement were carrying out dietary studies for an investigation into the food budgets of working-class families, under the guidance of Noel Paton.⁷¹ Also in 1913, the Scottish Council of Women's Trades asked the settlement for help in an enquiry into the working of the Children's Act⁷² and in 1915, the Ratan Tata Foundation and the London School of Economics also asked the settlement to co-operate in an investigation into industrial and social conditions.⁷³ Information on the settlement's work was also sent in 1914 to an inquiry under the Carnegie Trust into existing provision for promoting the physical welfare of mothers and children.⁷⁴ Therefore, whilst the settlement did not tend to actively initiate research, it was still

⁶⁹ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU Annual Report 1907.

⁷⁰ DCA, GD/OC/GL 1/1/1/ DSU Minute Book 23 March 1907.

⁷¹ 13 February 1913. Paton (1859–1928) became professor of physiology at Glasgow in 1906 – a position he held until his death. He was among the first to study nutrition and metabolism and undertook an important study on rickets, published in 1918. Along with the study on rickets, Paton chaired other studies for the Medical Research Council and sat on many other committees, including the Royal Society. See E. P. Cathcart, 'Paton, Diarmid Noël (1859–1928)', rev. David F. Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35409>, accessed 1 Sept 2011].

⁷² GUA DC22/1/3/4 QMS Minutes 14 January 1913.

⁷³ GUA DC22/1/3/5 QMS Minutes 9 November 1915.

⁷⁴ Carnegie Trust *Report on the physical welfare of mothers and children*, (C. Tinling: Liverpool), 1917. The settlement contributed to the third volume: W. Leslie Mackenzie, *Scottish mothers and children, being Report of the physical welfare of mothers and children, Scotland*.

participating through other bodies and in 1907, Paton, at the annual meeting, said that the value of the settlement lay in its attempt to create a scientific approach to philanthropy.⁷⁵ These are demonstrations of how the settlement, like the DSU, was establishing itself as a centre for knowledge and expertise in social conditions in an industrialised and impoverished area. A further expression of the way in which the national profile of both organisations was increasing can be seen in the number of committees and commissions they were asked to become involved with. It was mentioned above that Mary Lily Walker was asked to give evidence to the Poor Law Commission, but throughout this period members of both associations were asked to sit on numerous committees. In 1906, for example the Queen Margaret's warden, Marion Rutherford, was asked to sit on a committee for the after-care of the 'feeble minded',⁷⁶ and in 1909, she represented the settlement at a Conference on Invalid Children's Aid in London.⁷⁷ The DSU also participated in a similar number of committees at both a local and national level.

The settlements were therefore contributing to a national dialogue about the causes of social problems. In this sense, their work was not simply confined to the local areas. The Housing Report drew national media attention, exposing social conditions in Dundee to national scrutiny. The section on overcrowding and infant mortality caught the attention of the *Times*, which reported that the findings might 'have bearings upon the questions of ... race degeneracy or deterioration'.⁷⁸ The question of national efficiency was addressed in the report and the authors included a quotation from Sir William Broadbent:⁷⁹

The future welfare of an individual was very often determined within the first few weeks of life. For every infant who died from improper treatment half a dozen were injured for life, so that precautions for preventing such mortality did a great deal to raise the general health of the nation.⁸⁰

The authors were aware that infant mortality was not just a concern in Dundee. Nevertheless, in the report the causes of high infant mortality in Dundee were linked to largely local factors. They acknowledged that there may have been other reasons for such a high infant mortality rate, but placed most of the blame on the jute industry. Concluding

⁷⁵ GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1906-7*.

⁷⁶ GUA DC22/1/3/3 QMS Minutes 9 January 1906.

⁷⁷ GUA DC22/1/3/4 QMS Minutes 6 April 1909.

⁷⁸ *Times* 30 September 1905.

⁷⁹ William Broadbent was the leading British neurologist and physician to the royal family.

⁸⁰ Dundee Social Union *Report on the Housing and Social Conditions in Dundee*, (Dundee, John Leng & Co 1905), p. XIII.

its review, the *Economic Journal* noted, 'one cannot refrain from wondering whether the continued existence of the jute industry on its present basis is of real benefit to the town'.⁸¹ The jute industry was the most significant in Dundee and one in which women were the main employees, meaning that many mothers worked when their children were still very young. The report grouped together the issues of 'Women's Labour and Infant Mortality', indicating the extent to which Walker and Husband linked the two in their analysis. However, the report was largely sympathetic in tone and the authors showed an understanding of the issues faced by the working class, with a particular level of sympathy shown with regard to the demoralising effect of poor physical environment:

So long as the workers' homes exhibit the extreme discomfort and cheerlessness which is so frequent and marked a feature, it is to be feared that the inmates will welcome any means of escape, and at present the public-houses are the readiest and most persistent attraction. The counter-attractions to the public-house are few and inadequate. A certain number of small Clubs and Societies, connected for the most part with churches, offer some slight opportunity for occasional recreation, but the provision is scanty; and when the long winter evenings have to be filled up in cold and inclement weather, the warmth and brightness to be found only where drink is sold prove an attraction hard to resist.⁸²

Comparison was also made with neighbouring Perth, where low levels of 'juvenile delinquency' were attributed to the amount of green space in the town.⁸³ Moral degeneracy was linked in this analysis to environmental factors.

The report argued for greater state intervention in citizens' lives. Its findings were contextualised within the statutory obligations of local governments and where the authors felt that legislation did not go far enough, this was highlighted. For example, whilst the authors were welcoming of new legislation which set standards for new houses and streets and sought to ensure that sanitary and air conditions were improved, they noted that most of the poorer people of Dundee did not have the resources to access these new developments and still lived in the old, unsanitary and overcrowded quarters of the city. 'Perfection of regulation in these matters has not been reached', they stated and it would 'do much to improve the conditions under which the majority of people live'.⁸⁴ The implementation of legislation also came under the scrutiny of investigators. The authors

⁸¹ Fisher 'Dundee Social Union'.

⁸² *Dundee Social Union Report on the Housing and Social Conditions in Dundee*, (Dundee, John Leng & Co 1905), p. XV.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p. XIV.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. X.

highlighted the failure of the municipal authority in Dundee to adhere to a section of the Police (Scotland) Act, 1903, which dealt with overcrowding, as Glasgow's authority had done.⁸⁵ However, William Walker believes that the Union apportioned responsibility to municipal authorities for Dundee's problems because these removed blame from the manufacturers, some of whom were members of the Union, who paid their workers poor wages. For a city with low wage levels and a high cost of living, the report, Walker contends, 'scapegoated' the municipality and the working classes rather than deal with the underlying problem of a lack of adequate wages. Accordingly, the DSU acknowledged that jute was essential to Dundee but underplayed its role in causing the city's problems.⁸⁶

This is, however, unfair to Walker and Husband, both of whom did speak up against the low wages which were prevalent in the jute industry, using their report as a political tool. The DSU's report was published against a background of a changing political climate in Dundee. Just as the founding of the DSU should be seen in the context of changes in municipal government, so its development in this period should be set against the background of political developments in Dundee. As noted previously, Dundee had been dominated by the Liberal Party for most of the nineteenth century. The 1906 election, however, saw the election of a Labour candidate for the first time. Whilst Kemp is careful not to overstate the importance of the shift in the political landscape, he argues that this marked the beginning of the end of Liberal supremacy in Dundee.⁸⁷ In the same year, the Jute and Flax Workers' Union was formed as an alternative to the more conservative Mill and Factory Operatives Union. As the DSU was publishing its report into life for the working classes in the city, workers in Dundee were beginning to challenge the liberal political orthodoxy and the role of the DSU should be contextualised within this. Indeed, its work and its members forced themselves into Dundee's political sphere. Whilst the *Dundee Advertiser* had taken issue with what it saw as the DSU bringing disrepute on the city,⁸⁸ the Union nevertheless had a political impact in the city. Certainly, its members had no compunction over supporting political causes they believed chimed with the aims of the DSU. Although the DSU's report did not tackle the question of wages, prominent Union members added their support to workers' campaign for better pay and conditions. At a public meeting in 1906 to form the Jute and Flax Workers' Union, Walker and Agnes

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. IX.

⁸⁶ William Walker, *Juteopolis: Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press), 1979 pp. 88-92.

⁸⁷ Kemp

⁸⁸ *Dundee Advertiser* 30 March 1906.

Husband spoke out against the low wages paid to jute workers.⁸⁹ As well as working as an organisation to improve living conditions in Dundee, whose inadequacy had been brought to light through their report, the Union was also supportive of workers taking action themselves. Although the DSU did not ally itself to one political party, its leaders were nevertheless demonstrating a willingness to support political groups when their aims chimed with their own. Moreover, these women did not restrict themselves to speaking at public meetings but became part of Dundee's political landscape. Somewhat contrary to Yeo's argument about social investigation finding alternatives to socialism, Agnes Husband, who was co-author of the report, was a socialist. She was a member of the Independent Labour Party and was elected to the school board in 1905. In 1901 she and Mary Lily Walker became the first female parish councillors in Dundee. For Agnes Husband her role in local government was underpinned both by her involvement in socialism and her work for the DSU. In one newspaper article she was described as being 'held in confidence and esteem by the best class of working men'.⁹⁰ Walker was not affiliated to any political party and her role in local government can be seen as a means of extending the aims and influence of the DSU. Under the leadership of Walker, the DSU presented itself as a body which sought to improve the living standards of the working classes in Dundee. At a time when Labour were increasing their influence in the city, Walker and Husband's involvement in local government was a means of pushing the Union's agenda in relation to the working classes and ensuring it remained influential.

The DSU therefore accepted that social problems required state intervention and would not be remedied through moral reform. In the way in which the DSU looked to a civic community and rejected individualistic remedies to poverty one can see parallels with the Guilds of Help which were coming to prominence during this period, as discussed in the previous section. As noted above, some of the rhetoric employed by the Guilds of Help was shared by the EUS and both it and the DSU contextualised social problems within the community. This contrasts with the QMS, where a rhetorical stress on the importance of personal connection and moral reform remained present in the literature throughout this period. In 1912, for example, the annual report stressed that the 'chief object of the settlement was not to train professional workers but to increase mutual understanding'.⁹¹ In 1907, the settlement bought a working men's house which adjoined the settlement and

⁸⁹ Walker, *Juteopolis* p. 201.

⁹⁰ *Evening Telegraph* 1 November 1901, p. 6.

⁹¹ GUA DC22/1/4/1 *QMS Annual Report 1911-12*.

took on the role of factors. The Principal of the University of Glasgow and President of the settlement, Sir Donald MacAlister, spoke at the annual meeting in 1909 and said that ‘the purchase of dwellings was justified because ‘it actually put in their charge, as at the head of a family, a large number of workmen’s dwellings which they could make models for the surrounding tenements’.⁹² The reform of working-class character remained an underlying force in the settlement. At the DSU, however, the attitude of the workers there was more sympathetic than that of the Queen Margaret settlement. This led the DSU on one occasion to implicitly criticise the philosophy of the COS. In 1911, the Restaurant Committee drew attention to fact that it was ‘next to impossible’ for visitors to secure aid for those in dire need whom they visited, and highlighted the failure of agencies in Dundee to deal with the problem.⁹³ In 1912, the Union’s annual report explained that:

The visitors have been warned against the dangers of giving pecuniary help to those cases they have charge of, but they find it impossible to leave a home where there is a young infant, a mother in bed, two or three other children, and a father unemployed with the promise of a 3d dinner for the mother. Though such cases are not eligible for relief now under the Poor Law, their need is urgent, and cannot be postponed for days. With a view to meeting such emergencies the Committee of the Charity Organisation was approached ... After consideration, the Committee of the Society agreed to grant immediate relief for one week without further investigation to such cases ... The committee hope that this arrangement will help to tide over the months until maternity benefit under the Insurance Act is available.⁹⁴

For the DSU, then, charity in the city had failed those most in need. It is also clear that for the Union, state intervention through such measures as National Insurance, and not charity, represented the only long-term solution to social problems. The QMS, however, made little mention of levels of distress in the district and tended to concentrate on the encouragement of thrift, through work such as savings banks, combined with personal morality.

Although still rooted in COS ideology, the QMS nevertheless had to react to a national debate about the type and extent of services they should be providing. The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws attempted to provide a new framework for how social services should be provided. Levitt has stressed the effect in Scotland of the Poor Law Commission, which reported in 1909. The Commission split into two groups, producing

⁹² GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1908-9*.

⁹³ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1911*.

⁹⁴ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1912*.

both a Majority and a Minority Report. Whilst the Majority still believed that poverty was a moral issue, they recognised that the Poor Law had some serious faults and sought the development of a 'total relationship' between the recipient and public official. In contrast, the Minority Report, headed by Fabians such as Beatrice Webb, argued that destitution resulted from social environment and thus that responsibility for welfare should be transferred to the state.⁹⁵ In the end, the Liberal government was able to ignore these reports and establish its own welfare reforms. However, Levitt has described the effect of these reports on local authorities in Scotland, arguing that they caused 'immediate shock' and that by 1912, there was recognition that there had to be a 're-definition' of welfare ... Welfare was not only about providing spiritual and moral education, it was also about the greater support of need. That meant the use of more and better trained 'social workers'.⁹⁶ Levitt thus charts the gradual acceptance by Scottish local authorities of more responsibility for welfare. As organisations working in this field, the QMS and the DSU also participated in these debates and the DSU contextualised its work in relation to these reports. In 1910, the Union described how:

The lines of [the DSU's] work are in harmony with the general principles laid down in both Reports... The co-operation of voluntary agencies with municipality and Local Boards. This has been a marked feature of the Union work.⁹⁷

The QMS also quickly accepted that it had to work with local authorities. At the annual meeting of the settlement in 1909 members spoke of their belief that state involvement in social matters was increasing⁹⁸

This attitude towards state intervention is different to what many others in the COS were espousing. Lewis has argued that in England at least there was resistance from the COS to the idea of greater state intervention in social work. This was due to the belief that 'only charity understood the need to work with individuals to turn them into socially efficient and fully participant members of society. Within this framework of belief, charity could not easily be harnessed to statutory provision'.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the QMS was reacting to local circumstances. Although this should be seen in the context of the national debate

⁹⁵ Levitt, *Poverty and welfare in Scotland 1890-1948* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988) pp. 69-71.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p.71.

⁹⁷ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1910*.

⁹⁸ GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1908-9*.

⁹⁹ Lewis *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain* p. 75.

about social welfare provision it must also be recognised as the result of the local situation in Glasgow, where welfare was increasingly accepted as a matter of local government. In Glasgow the local authority was increasingly taking action over social problems. MacCaffrey has described the 1900s as a time of ‘definite ferment of ideas about how to achieve social change through political action’¹⁰⁰ whilst Maver has described how Glasgow in this period was the ‘citadel of municipal socialism’. This was due not to a socialist agenda, but was rather an attempt to counter the ‘challenge of class politics, which seemed so potentially divisive in a city notorious for its blighting social problems’.¹⁰¹ Maver, like Yeo, thus argues that the middle classes were attempting to find alternative means of reform in order to counter socialist challenges to their authority. Although the QMS would accept local government intervention, this did not indicate that its members had rescinded their belief that social problems were best tackled at an individual level.

The focus of this work was also shaped by national legislation. In 1911, the National Insurance Act required low paid workers to register with an improved insurance company. Aside from giving wives maternity benefit, it left the rest of the population unprotected. As Bradley has noted, this was a void into which the settlements could step and provide healthcare and welfare to children and unemployed women who were not covered by the act.¹⁰² In the first decade of the twentieth century, infant welfare became an issue that was being discussed nationally. Dyhouse has noted how by the beginning of the twentieth century, the birth rate had fallen but infant mortality rates remained high and ‘anxieties over the implications of a declining population undoubtedly gave a strong impetus to the early infant welfare movement in Britain’.¹⁰³ Anna Davin argued that ‘child-rearing was becoming a national duty not just a moral one’¹⁰⁴ during this period. As the people responsible for raising the next generation of citizens and in light of the woeful physical state of recruits during the Boer War, ‘mothercraft’ as it came to be known was promoted by a multitude of professionals.¹⁰⁵ National interest in this area led to two national conferences on infant mortality, in 1906 and 1908. This interest, underpinned by the conviction that much infant mortality was preventable, led to a proliferation of schemes and organisations trying to alleviate the problem. Many of these were influenced by the

¹⁰⁰ MacCaffery, in Maver, Glasgow, p. 219.

¹⁰¹ Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) p. 443.

¹⁰² Kate Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State*.

¹⁰³ Dyhouse, ‘Working-Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England’ p. 248.

¹⁰⁴ Anna Davin, ‘Imperialism and Motherhood’ p. 13.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

success of similar schemes abroad, especially in France and Belgium.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the initial grant given to the DSU in 1906 for this work was for an experiment along the lines an experimental restaurant for mothers in Paris¹⁰⁷ and they later referred to their wish to develop a school for mothers, as was being done at Ghent.¹⁰⁸ Dyhouse has categorised this as a 'period of experimentation' in infant welfare provision, with some 'highly original' schemes and close cooperation between voluntary and local bodies.¹⁰⁹ In the infant welfare schemes of both organisations, one can chart, therefore, an increasing propensity to work with local authorities and to pioneer work which would later be taken over by the authorities.

The results of this can be seen in the developing work of both organisations in infant welfare, which led to them forming partnerships with other bodies, including local authorities. As noted above, the women's branch of the EUS concentrated its work on women and children and began visiting infants and this pattern was repeated throughout the three female-led settlements. Bradley has noted this trend in relation to London settlements, showing that work with women and children was *de rigueur* for women's settlements.¹¹⁰ The DSU was at the forefront of the infant welfare movement in Scotland. In order support and educate mothers and improve the health of their babies, the settlement opened two restaurants for working mothers in 1906. This work was designed to support municipal bodies and was partially funded by the Town Council.¹¹¹ It was supervised by the Medical Officer of Health, Professor Charles Templeman, two obstetricians sat on the committee and the names of mothers eligible for the scheme were given to the committee by the Maternity Hospital at the Dundee Royal Infirmary.¹¹² It was an attempt to reduce the numbers of mothers working in Dundee. The objects of the restaurants were to encourage infant breast feeding and discourage their mothers from working and to be centres of educational work among mothers.¹¹³ There had long been concerns over the effect working mothers had on infant mortality, partially due to the fact that they could not breastfeed. For example, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in

¹⁰⁶ Dyhouse, 'Working-Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England' pp. 248-49.

¹⁰⁷ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1909*.

¹⁰⁸ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1908*.

¹⁰⁹ Dyhouse, 'Working-Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England' pp. 248-49.

¹¹⁰ Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State*, p. 51.

¹¹¹ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1910*.

¹¹² DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1908*.

¹¹³ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1907*.

1904 concluded that mothers' employment was a cause of infant mortality.¹¹⁴ To provide an incentive against returning to work, at the restaurants mothers were given a hot and nourishing meal every day, on the condition that the women did not return to work for three months. The Union also provided a Maternity Benefit Club. Mothers could make weekly payments and then receive a weekly allowance for three months. If they returned to work before the three months ended, they received their money back with no bonus.¹¹⁵ It would not be until the National Insurance Act in 1911 that mothers would be given any maternity benefit from the state.

Similar concern over infant welfare was manifest in Glasgow and here, as in Dundee, the settlement worked with the local authority to provide services for mothers and their babies. The most significant aspect of this work that the settlement undertook was the visitation of homes where babies had been supplied with milk by the local authorities. In 1904, the Corporation Milk Depot Scheme was established in Glasgow. This scheme aimed to provide working-class mothers who could not breastfeed with a healthy and safe alternative. Ferguson, Weaver and Nicolson have contextualised the development of the milk scheme in Glasgow within a wider trend of providing these services both in France and England.¹¹⁶ In order to ascertain how effective this work was in terms of the health of the babies the Medical Officer of Health, Dr Archibald Kerr Chalmers, arranged with the COS that they should visit the homes of those mothers involved with the scheme and the Anderston branch of the COS, based at the settlement, was involved with this visiting. There was some concern that the milk was not reaching the neediest babies and Ferguson et al quote from Chalmers' report on the preliminary findings of these visits:

[W]hile here and there the Depot supply does reach some of the children in the households for whom it was primarily intended, by far the greater number of children came from households, where in any case they would have been sure of the best care which their parents could have given them, and among whom, they would be dealt with statistically, the infant death-rate would most likely be a favourable one.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Dyhouse, 'Working-Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England' p. 253.

¹¹⁵ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1907*.

¹¹⁶ Angus Ferguson, Lawrence Weaver and Malcolm Nicolson 'The Glasgow Corporation Milk Depot 1904–1910 and its Role in Infant Welfare: An End or a Means?' *Social History of Medicine* Vol. 19, No. 3 pp443–444

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Ferguson, Weaver and Nicolson 'The Glasgow Corporation Milk Depot' p. 448.

Ferguson et al argue, however, that those in charge of the Glasgow scheme, including Chalmers, were aware of the limitations of other schemes and saw it as part of the wider provision of infant welfare services in Glasgow. It was a means of engaging with mothers and encouraging them to look after their babies properly, rather than only aiming to improve the babies' health through milk provision.¹¹⁸ This was acknowledged by the settlement in its Annual Report of 1904-1905:

In these visits we go neither taking food nor claiming payment, but to inquire how the baby is thriving on the pure milk. As a rule we find normal, comfortable homes, and while discussing the health of the baby get much insight into the economy of a working-class household.¹¹⁹

The visitation by the COS relating to the milk scheme developed and was combined with education. By 1906 Nurslings' Consultations were being held weekly in the settlement.¹²⁰ In 1907 lectures were held for mothers¹²¹ and in 1908 the women were encouraged to join the savings bank.¹²² Along with the issue of mothers working their ignorance was also perceived nationally as a major contributing factor to infant mortality, leading to the establishment of Schools for Mothers, which were encouraged by the Chief Medical Officer of Health to the Board of Education from 1910, Sir George Newman.¹²³ Thus, at the DSU the restaurants included attempts to educate the mothers through classes and lectures by nurses and doctors on such subjects as infant nutrition and how to wash babies. Davin argues that the education became more important as restrictions on mothers working in the first month after childbirth had failed to lower infant mortality rates and as studies showed that rates remained high in places where mothers did not tend to work and thus 'maternal ignorance provided an acceptable alternative explanation. It could include all the mother's failings, including going out to work, yet by stressing knowledge rather than necessity, it made the problems seem soluble.'¹²⁴ This made childcare the realm of professional workers. As Peretz has noted, the education of mothers and a scientific approach to child-raising became an ever-greater theme in infant welfare as trained workers pushed a professional and scientific approach to child-raising.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Ferguson, Weaver and Nicolson 'The Glasgow Corporation Milk Depot' p. 446.

¹¹⁹ GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1904-5*.

¹²⁰ GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1906-7*.

¹²¹ GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1907-8*.

¹²² GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1908-9*.

¹²³ Dyhouse, 'Working-Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England' p. 258.

¹²⁴ Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood' p. 24.

¹²⁵ Elizabeth Peretz, 'The Professionalisation of Childcare' *Oral History*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (Spring, 1989), pp. 22-28.

The milk scheme was closed in 1910. Ferguson et al conclude that its effectiveness was uncertain but it was closed 'partly as a consequence of high running costs and partly due to the fact that many of its functions had been taken over by a number of more specialised investigative, educational and welfare agencies'.¹²⁶ In the annual report of 1910-11, the settlement acknowledged the limitations of this work:

If this work has not yet had any noticeable effect on the care given to babies by their mothers, at least it has helped to establish friendly relations with many families... The Visitor's hope is a socialistic rather than an individualistic one. She hardly dares look for much improvement in the individual baby she visits, but feeds her hopes on a future generation of healthy babies whom her preaching may have helped in some way to make possible.¹²⁷

In contrast, the DSU was arguing in 1910 that its visitation of infants had helped to lower the mortality rate. They used the example of the Temple Lane district where mortality had fallen from 246 per 1,000 in 1905 to 183 per 1,000. The extent to which this was the result of DSU actions cannot be known; nevertheless, it gave the workers no little degree of satisfaction and encouragement.¹²⁸

Both the QMS and the DSU were therefore cooperating with the local authority in their infant welfare work. As this work evolved, however, the DSU lost control over it. In 1916, the work of the Infant Welfare Committee was taken over wholly by the municipal authorities. This was accompanied by the employment of a lady doctor and eight health visitors where previously the DSU had run the scheme with only one visitor supported by volunteers.¹²⁹ The Union were happy to hand over control to the municipal authorities, recognising that this was the best way for the services to develop. Indeed, when in 1917, the town council could not carry on the work of one of the restaurants, the Union decided to discontinue the work.¹³⁰ This underscores the position that the Union found itself regarding its relationship with the council. The DSU felt that, ultimately, the services that it provided should be the responsibility of local government: as noted above there was an increasing amount of support in Dundee for more intervention by the local authority. School meals were one area where the Union fought to have this provision recognised by

¹²⁶ Ferguson, Weaver and Nicolson 'The Glasgow Corporation Milk Depot' p. 458.

¹²⁷ GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1910-11*.

¹²⁸ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1910*.

¹²⁹ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1917*.

¹³⁰ DCA, GD/OC/GL 1/1/1/ DSU Minute Book 8 October 1917.

the council. The provision and payment of school meals by local authorities was allowed under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1908 (Scotland), although this act did not make it compulsory.¹³¹ From 1905, the DSU provided meals for school children in a working-class area where the schools did not have any cooking facilities. By 1909, the Union was expressing the hope that the council would take over this provision. It continued to bring attention to the council's lack of action on this matter until 1913, when the school board undertook to provide school dinners.¹³² In these negotiations one can see Walker's frustration. Her campaign for free school meals, one which developed with legislative backing, was blocked by the local council. In the absence of council provision, the Union took it upon itself to deliver what it perceived as an essential service. The DSU did not wish to have continued control over this provision. Rather than seeing itself as a continual provider of services, the DSU instead preferred to step in where there was a vacuum with no other bodies taking responsibility for what it regarded as necessary services. It would continue this only until statutory provision would replace its voluntary services.

The DSU's leaders regarded it as a pioneer of services rather than a long-term provider. The Union's role was to find new and innovative ways of providing services: models which could then be adopted by local authorities. This was also the feeling at the QMS. At its Annual Meeting in 1913 T. R. Marr¹³³ noted that the settlement was an 'opportunity for doing experiments in work not otherwise easily undertaken'. It was a place where 'new ideas could be tested on a small scale. If successful, these could be expanded to the wider sphere'.¹³⁴ One example of this can be found in the development of the settlement's Skilled Employment Committee. This was founded in light of the 1909 Act which required that Labour Exchanges should be provided across the country. The Committee helped school-leavers find employment in skilled trades, including some who had attended the settlement's Invalid School. Cooperation between it and the Labour Exchange soon developed and by 1911, this committee was acting as a clearing house for the Labour

¹³¹ See John Stewart "This Injurious Measure': Scotland and the 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act' *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 78, No. 205, Part 1 (Apr., 1999), pp. 76-94.

¹³² DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1913*.

¹³³ Marr, who was Geddes' assistant in Dundee, became the bursar for Outlook Tower from 1895-1901. From then until 1909, he was co-warden of the Manchester University Settlement, which flourished under his leadership. He was also secretary to the Manchester Citizens Association.

¹³⁴ GUA DC22/1/4/2 *QMS Annual Report 1912-13*.

Exchange.¹³⁵ In 1912, some of this work was taken over by Labour Exchange, which now had its own Juvenile Advisory Committee. The settlement continued to help, however, by providing girls with the interview clothes, which were often prohibitively expensive. Moreover, the Juvenile Advisory Committee did not take any responsibility for ‘physically defective’ children and the settlement continued to take work with them. Furthermore, this led to further work in the form of an ‘Aftercare Committee’ in Anderston. A visitor from the settlement was appointed for each child who left school – the names being provided by the Labour Exchange. The work was reported thus:

At the first visit some of these were found to have good homes and to be in quite satisfactory employment, and visits were discontinued. Many, on the other hand, are employed in what should only be regarded as temporary work, and they will be visited and advised regarding classes and work until they are settled in some suitable occupation.¹³⁶

The settlement worked with the Employment Bureau in order to maintain the level of services for those using the facilities, and for those whose use was not supported by the Exchange. As with other settlement provision, this involved a series of negotiations between the settlement and local government about who should take responsibility for providing these services.

In their work with children and infants, therefore, the two organisations mirrored one another, demonstrating at least in part the converging aims of the two local authorities in response to national concerns. However, in certain ways the DSU and QMS were very different organisations, operating in different ways and with different aims and methods. The DSU was divided into various sub-committees which were responsible for each branch of the work and these had a good deal of autonomy from the main council. Financially, each committee remained independent and published separate accounts. For example, at the end of 1910, when the DSU had a deficit of around £10 the sub-committees made a financial contribution in view of the fact that they benefited from the Union.¹³⁷ The financial autonomy of its constituent parts was indicative of the DSU being an umbrella organisation and each committee submitted its own reports to the annual report. Each sub-committee therefore had a degree of leeway in setting their own aims and agendas and some worked almost independently of the council. In 1914, the council of the Union

¹³⁵ GUA DC22/1/4/1 *QMS Annual Report 1910-11*.

¹³⁶ GUA DC22/1/4/2 *QMS Annual Report 1912-13*.

¹³⁷ DCA, GD/OC/GL 1/1/1/ DSU Minute Book 19 December 1910.

appointed a sub-committee to consider what was described as the ‘business arrangements’ of the Union. This report described the relationships within the Union. Referring to the Invalid Children’s Aid Association, the report noted that:

This is a very important committee, but it may be said to be working practically independent of the Union. It has a separate Convenor, Honorary Secretary, and Honorary Treasury, and a paid worker. This committee conducts its own business, attends to its own finance and makes its own disbursements. It contributes part of the rent of the office of the Union in Meadowside.¹³⁸

From 1915, the reports of this Association were no longer included in the annual report, but were instead published in the form of a pamphlet which was issued along with the report and the Association was described as being ‘affiliated’ to the Union. The Union also recognised in this annual report the way in which the Association had matured sufficiently to become an independent organisation.¹³⁹ The relationship between the council and other committees was, however, more co-dependent. With regard to the Infant Visiting and Restaurant Committee, the report noted that ‘This committee should be stated to be a pure branch of the Union and is entirely financed and managed by the Union and its officials.’¹⁴⁰ It is clear, however, that the council of the Union was not overly concerned about keeping tight control over its various branches of work, and had been quite happy to let the Invalid Children’s Aid Association drift. This separation, moreover, did not reflect a division between it and the Union. This marks a difference between the Union and the Queen Margaret settlement. The latter was a more centralised organisation without the federal structure of the DSU. Although the settlement also worked with many different organisations, the central committee remained a directing force. The settlement was keen to remain present in the life of those who used its services, even after the initial reason for contact had gone. Thus, in 1911, the annual report noted that ‘a continuity of supervision over the children is kept up through all the branches of the work, and leads them as they grow older to the Skilled Employment Committee, and the Clubs.’¹⁴¹ One can see the desire to ensure that the relationship between the settlement and those they aided and advised was a long-term one in order to deepen the influence of the settlement in the lives of those they made contact with.

¹³⁸ DCA, GD/OC/GL 1/1/1/ DSU Minute Book 24 February 1914.

¹³⁹ DCA, DSU Box 9, DSU *Annual Report 1915*.

¹⁴⁰ DCA, GD/OC/GL 1/1/1/ DSU Minute Book 24 December 1914.

¹⁴¹ GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1910-11*.

As has been discussed previously, as the boundaries of social work were extended it became increasingly important that workers should be properly trained and that professional standards should be implemented: this was what gave the EUS a new purpose. The QMS was in a similar position to the EUS. The women who worked at the Queen Margaret Settlement, whilst valuing volunteering, recognised the need for having professional and trained workers. Since 1902, the settlement ran a series of lectures on social subjects every winter term. By 1905, these were run by a joint committee of representatives from the settlement, the COS and the Glasgow Union of Women Workers. The convenor of the conference committee was Helen Story, a driving member of the settlement and the daughter of Robert Story, Caird's successor as principal of the University of Glasgow. A spirit of cooperation and discussion would see these conferences gradually evolved into a training school. Guest speakers were often brought in for these conferences, and quite often, the committee would manage to secure high-profile and expert speakers, including Bernard Bosanquet, R. H. Tawney and C. S. Loch. However, it became clear to the organisers that this provision was too piecemeal and something more comprehensive was required. In 1908, therefore, the committee organised a series of nine lectures on one specific topic,¹⁴² held under the auspices of the university for the first time. It was in this year, and as a result of the large attendance and general interest in these lectures, that the committee first discussed the idea of developing a training school, looking to the example of schools such as had been founded in Liverpool and London.¹⁴³ It was not surprising that the settlement most associated with the COS would be the first to develop a training school. As noted in the previous section, the COS was one of the first organisations to recognise the need for training and to actively try to provide opportunities for their staff to train in social work. This was a period when other settlements were beginning to offer training courses for social workers. A precedent had already been set for the development of a training school by the QMS, and it looked to others who were involved in these developments. In 1909, just after the conference committee began the process of creating a training school, the settlement was visited by the warden of the Liverpool Victoria Settlement, Elizabeth Macadam – a Scot who had trained at the Women's University Settlement in London. That year's annual meeting was also addressed by Elizabeth Rathbone, Macadam's close friend who was also involved in the Liverpool settlement and who was a prominent figure in the political life of Liverpool. Rathbone spoke at this meeting of the reasons for settlement work and argued that it 'was

¹⁴² GUA DC22/1/4/1 QMS *Annual Report 1908-9*.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

justified as a place to train social workers.’¹⁴⁴ The conference committee progressed steadily towards their goal and in 1910, the first examination was held. As at other training schools in England, the committee were keen to work with the university, and a meeting was held in with the university in 1910 to discuss the formation of the diploma course.¹⁴⁵ In order to gain academic credence, the participation of the university was needed and university lecturers would provide the teaching.

This point marks the breakaway of the School of Social Study from the settlement. When it became a diploma course, the board of the school expanded to incorporate various public bodies. Representatives of the settlement still sat on the board and the settlement would continue to offer practical training to the students. However, reports of the school were no longer published in the settlement annual reports and their finances were also separated. In 1913, a representative of the Board stressed that ‘whilst separation is necessitated by the merging of the Joint Conference Committee in the larger Board, the Board is anxious that the School and the Settlement should keep in touch, and co-operate in every way possible as before’.¹⁴⁶ Between 1913 and 1919, 54 students completed the course. 16 of these students did not undertake any practical training whilst the others were divided between bodies including the Labour Exchange, the COS and, of course, the settlement. Sixteen students trained at the settlement, with a further five working at the Anderston COS branch, run by the settlement. Oversight and evaluation of the trainees was done by the training organisations themselves.

The DSU did not express a definite interest in organising a certified training course until almost nine years after the Queen Margaret settlement. It seemed more interested in accumulating and using knowledge themselves rather than acknowledging the growing importance of theoretical training in social work – the QMS was after all attached to both a women’s higher education college and the COS, whilst the DSU’s connection with University College remained informal. This is not, however, to say that the DSU did not provide any training opportunities for workers. In 1908, the first reference was made to Grey Lodge as a ‘settlement’. The aims of the settlement in this annual report were described thus:

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ GUA DC22/1/3 QMS Minutes 15 November 1910.

¹⁴⁶ GUA DC22/1/4/2 *QMS Annual Report 1912-13*.

- 1) Provide a focus for social work.
- 2) Provide a residence for ladies involved with such work.
- 3) Train workers.¹⁴⁷

From 1905, a bursary had been provided for ladies 'wishing to take up social work as a profession'.¹⁴⁸ They would live and work at Grey Lodge. The DSU was therefore committed to training workers, but ambitions at this time were limited to providing practical training and this was limited to those working directly with the settlement. The settlement was, therefore, acting as the training wing of the DSU, but unlike at the QMS there was minimal engagement with theory. The DSU did run a Reading Club from 1906 until 1912, after which there is no more mention of it. Lectures on social subjects were held in conjunction with this club.¹⁴⁹ However, unlike at the Queen Margaret settlement, this did not blossom into a training course. At the Queen Margaret settlement, of course, the lecture series on social subjects was conducted in conjunction with other bodies and these would go on as a group to form the school. The broad basis of this partnership, the wide range of interests it supported and the comparatively early involvement of the university helped lay the foundations for a theoretical training course.

At the DSU, there was no such partnership and the idea of a formal training course was not mentioned until 1917. In this year, three conferences were held at the settlement to discuss the formation of a school of social study and training. The principals of the University of St Andrews and University College Dundee, Herkless and Mackay, were present, along with other professors from St Andrews. In the annual report of that year, the settlement announced that 'the importance of theory and practice in social work is now universally acknowledged and it is hoped that a school of social study may soon be established on the lines of those in Glasgow and Edinburgh'.¹⁵⁰ The fruition of these plans, however, was dependent, he said, on when after-war conditions would make this possible.¹⁵¹ The school was, therefore, not opened until October 1920. Seven students were enrolled and the course of study involved five lectures a week – a similar arrangement to the Glasgow school. Practical training was carried out at the DSU, with factory welfare workers, at Infant Welfare Centres and with the Medical Officer of Health. This year also marked an expansion of the settlement. Due to the increase in the number of students at the

¹⁴⁷ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1908*.

¹⁴⁸ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1905*.

¹⁴⁹ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1912*.

¹⁵⁰ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1917*.

¹⁵¹ DCA, GD/OC/GL 1/1/1/ DSU Minute Book 12 April 1918.

settlement, brought about by the development of the training school, the settlement found itself unable to accommodate them all in Grey Lodge. Consequently, it purchased a hostel in the grounds of the settlement for the benefit of training school students.¹⁵² The development of the training school in connection with the DSU, therefore, did not really impact greatly on the DSU itself but marked instead the blossoming of Grey Lodge Settlement, whose main role for so long had been simply to support the work of the DSU without having a clear sphere of responsibility itself.

Both settlements, therefore, became training schools – the DSU with more reticence than the Queen Margaret. This difference can be explained by the fact that the QMS was part of an educational organisation. Part of the remit of the settlement had always been to provide college women with skills that they could take forward into their future careers. The settlement's training school was one further step along this road. It was, moreover, one that was being taken by other bodies which the settlement had close links to. The establishment of the School for Social Study can therefore be seen as part of a wider move to professionalise social work. This was partly a reaction to an increasing realisation that social issues were more complex than previously appreciated and could not wholly be resolved through the reform of character. However, Yeo has also argued that professionalisation was pursued so that the middle classes could retain control of welfare in the face of the rising threat of socialism. Maver has also argued that Glasgow became a temple of 'municipal socialism' in an attempt to ameliorate class problems in the city. The rhetoric of the QMS shows that poverty was to some extent still viewed as the problem of the individual but this stands in contrast to the DSU's more sympathetic view of challenges faced by the working classes. Both, however, worked with local authorities to provide welfare services and these organisations pioneered new forms of work. This was a time when the parameters of welfare were being redefined and local authorities were increasingly engaging in welfare provision, again, partly due to an appreciation that many problems could only be tackled at a municipal level. The organisations examined in this chapter were also affected by this and they were not reluctant in accepting this state of affairs. Far from reducing their activities, it opened up new avenues of work. The DSU especially saw its role as supplementing, not replacing, the role of the state in providing welfare. As soon as the local authorities indicated that they wished to take on this responsibility, the DSU happily it over.

¹⁵² DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1920*.

2.4 New College Settlement and the Students' Settlement

As examined above, New College and the Students' Settlements both had their roots in home missionary work. From the beginning, there were differences in their approach but during this period these differences began to widen. Whilst the GUSS began to pursue an increasingly secular programme, where religious classes were provided but attendance not expected, the NCS continued to be an evangelical organisation whereby religious commitment was an expectation and not an optional extra.

These differences in policy can be examined through the men who led the settlement, with their involvement being both a result of and influencing factors in the direction of each settlement. At the GUSS, William Boyd, who returned to take charge of the settlement in 1902, suggested the shift to secularism was a result of the type of men who became involved in the settlement:

Most of the students were new, and the interest had shifted to a considerable extent from the religious to the social, and with me to guide it became increasingly philosophical. In the next dozen years, no fewer than six of the men were of high rank in philosophy (not to mention ME! [sic]). I got in J. W. Scott,¹⁵³ who was associated with me in Moral Philosophy – he became professor in Cardiff. Then, in my brother John's time [from 1906], there were more: Alick [sic.] White from Blairgowrie, professor later in Johannesburg, Hugh Reyburn, professor in South Africa, and Hector Hetherington, professor in Birmingham and afterwards Principal in three Universities. Later still came the two Andersons, sons of a Lanarkshire teacher, who got chairs in philosophy in Wellington, New Zealand, and Sydney, Australia.¹⁵⁴

The settlement was continuing to engage men who would excel in their academic careers. Boyd shows that there was during this period a seam of men who were interested, not in religion, but in philosophy. The web of personal connections that drew men into the settlement is clear both in the above quotation and as examined in the previous chapter. During this period moral philosophy seemed to be an important mechanism for bringing men into the settlement, with leaders of the settlement coming from this area. Aside from

¹⁵³ John Waugh Scott (1878-1974) graduated from the University of Glasgow Scotland in 1903. He was appointed lecturer in moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow from 1905-1920 and was of Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at the University of Cardiff from 1920-1944. In 1921, he became lecturer in Philosophy at the University of California before receiving his LLD from the University of Glasgow in 1944.

¹⁵⁴ GUA GB0248 DC130/1 *Complete copy of the autobiography of William Boyd (1907-1946)* p. 174.

Boyd, Henry Jones who was Chair of Moral Philosophy also sat on the committee as did, briefly, Hector Hetherington, also lecturer in Moral Philosophy. Jones' son, Arthur, was resident at the settlement during this period. The Moral Philosophy department was therefore an important source of support and recruitment for the settlement. Boyd makes it clear that men tended to be drawn into doing settlement work by personal connections and by the recommendation or knowledge of someone who was working or had worked there – indeed this was how Boyd himself joined the settlement. In the 1890s, the majority of residents were divinity students. In the period leading up World War I, however, Boyd identified a shift whereby more of the men involved in the settlement were studying Moral Philosophy and thus the interest in religion in the settlement was somewhat abated. This was also reflective of Boyd and John Pratt, the sub-warden.¹⁵⁵ Pratt was pursuing his interest in politics rather than religion whilst Boyd was now classifying himself as a Christian Socialist. He describes in his autobiography the influence of Caird and Smart, both of whom Knox has identified as founding a 'Church Labour group' who campaigned for social reform in a number of areas.¹⁵⁶ According to Brown, Christian Socialists both rejected the need for a religious conversion for 'social salvation' and instead emphasised a 'call to social service'.¹⁵⁷ This certainly seems to resonate with the views expressed by Boyd in his autobiography where he describes the way in which he lost his evangelical zeal and certainty which had characterised his youth. By this period, he was instead describing himself as a 'socialist'.

The composition of the NCS committee was also changing, but in a way which served to strengthen the commitment to evangelicalism. In order to strengthen the settlement's links to the church in 1904 an Advisory Council was formed to support the settlement in its decision making. This committee was composed of members of the church, the college senatus and students.¹⁵⁸ It ensured that the church had a direct say in the running of the settlement took. The outlook of the settlement, therefore, remained evangelical. This was confirmed with the appointment of Harry Miller as warden in 1908. His coming to the settlement heralded a renewed commitment to evangelicalism. Harry Miller was already a

¹⁵⁵ Sir John Pratt was elected to Glasgow Council in 1906. A member of the Liberal Party, he was elected MP for Linlithgow in 1913 and Cathcart in 1918. In 1919 he became Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Health, Scotland. After the Liberal government fell, he became a philanthropist. See obituary, *Scotsman* 29/11/1952

¹⁵⁶ W. W. Knox, 'Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement c. 1900-39', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), p. 614.

¹⁵⁷ Callum Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p. 136.

¹⁵⁸ NCL AA 3.3.67 NCS Advisory Council minutes June 1904 .

minister with another church – Rosehall. Miller was a popular figure and his appointment was suggested by the students of New College themselves, feeling that it would both bring a new energy to the settlement and enhance the profile of the mission work which, it was felt, did not occupy the position that it should.¹⁵⁹ Miller's appointment signalled a commitment to home mission work on the part of the college and its students. It meant that unlike the GUSS, the NCS continued to espouse an evangelical agenda. This was not something, moreover, which was imposed by the college but was instead instigated by the students themselves, highlighting the commitment of the workers to the home mission work.

Miller was to be the driving force behind the settlement for the next two decades. Just as Pratt and Boyd injected a fresh enthusiasm into the work of the GUSS, Miller became the centre of the NCS. He rose to become Moderator of the Free Church and principal of St Mary's Theological College, but was remembered fondly by his congregation and in the district for his work at the settlement as his obituaries demonstrate, including this one from the Pleasance Parish Magazine:

The Warden: This is the name by which we knew, served and loved him best. To many he was Harry Miller ... On the day when the news-bills intimated his passing, a policeman, tram conductor, postman and funeral undertaker each told me that he had lost a friend. Harry Miller was a household name ... Do you remember how in an open cab he was drawn from the Waverley Station through the streets to the Pleasance, the night news of this honour [his appointment as Moderator] became known?

... To us he was our minister and friend, the warden. We shall always remember him as such. Why? There's the rub! To each one of us his extraordinary personality revealed itself in many different ways. I can only touch on a few. In the pulpit he was so alive with his message, in the Prayer Meeting he brought us so near God, in the Men's Club and Meeting so frank and personal, in the privacy of the Vestry, and perhaps always, he was so sympathetic.

Whenever he came into a meeting the very atmosphere was charged with his warm radiating presence. At once he was the heart and soul of the party. One old lady came regularly to the 'Tuppeny Concerts,' she said, just to look at his happy face. He was such a gifted chairman, cheering us with his rare humour and vast fund of stories. But they were not only happy concerts, they were first-class entertainments where musicians, soloists and elocutionists of the first rank in the city gladly came at his invitation ...

¹⁵⁹ *Scotsman* 3 June 1908 p.14.

When you met him in the street, as he smiled and shook you firmly by the hand or fondly put his arm into yours, he made you feel that you were the only person that mattered; you not only forgave everything, but went your way comforted, cheered and with courage and faith born anew. If we could only have had more of him to ourselves, was our natural wish, but he could never say 'no' to the pressing claims of others...

What was the secret of it all? He suggested the Christian Ideal, very loveable and human as he gave himself, in the fullest sense, so prodigally to the service of others in the Master's name. 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord'.¹⁶⁰

The sentiments expressed in this appreciation, of friendliness, goodwill and energy are present throughout Miller's obituaries and it is clear that he brought to the settlement a considerable degree of charisma. The respect of the people who dwelled in the Pleasance and the rapport which he seems to have had with them was especially significant. Abel argues that Barnett remained an 'outsider' in the East End of London, not mentioning any local people by name or expressing regret at leaving his working-class neighbours when he retired from the East End.¹⁶¹ This contrasts with the relationship that Miller developed with local people in the Pleasance. It would be wrong, of course, to suggest that the success of the settlement was solely due to Miller, but it is clear that his personal qualities enabled him to establish a good relationship with people and become a well-respected representative of the settlement both in the district and wider religious community.

One of the differences that were to emerge over this period was the settlements' engagement with social service training. During this period, it was not only the secular authorities who had to adapt to social changes. Other sections have shown how the DSU, QMS and EUS became associated with training schools. This was contextualised within the rise professional social work. New College also began a social study course in this period but this was related to developments in the church. New College was, of course, a training college for ministers in the Free Church and the settlement had been established to enable these men to gain valuable practical experience which they could take into their new careers. With his appointment as Warden, Miller brought to the role an interest in sociology and a more 'scientific' approach to the social work done by the settlement. As Brown has noted, what was known as the 'Social Question' was an important issue for the churches from the end of the nineteenth century. As the extent of social problems and

¹⁶⁰ NCL Z.H.20.4, *John Harry Miller Scrap Book*.

¹⁶¹ E. Abel, 'Middle-class Culture for the Urban Poor: The Educational Thought of Samuel Barnett' *Social Service Review* (1978 52:4) p. 615.

inequality became evident, it led to a refocusing of church endeavours on dealing with this issue.¹⁶² The problems facing evangelicals identified in the previous chapter had not disappeared and the churches were increasingly tasked with finding new responses to them. One of the responses of the Scottish churches to these issues was, as Bebbington has noted, a focus on the 'social gospel'. This was the means by which the churches attempted to stay relevant to the masses. He argues that it should be 'recognised as an attempt by evangelicals to respond to the trends of the times, in particular the aspiration of the class-conscious workers for a better society'. Whilst the Church of Scotland established a committee on social work in 1904, it was not until 1909 that the Free Church appointed its committee on social problems.¹⁶³ It was from this time that NCS began to show a greater interest in the study of social issues and the demands of the students for a greater level of training in social issues are surely a manifestation of the wider church focus on this. In the 1908-9 annual report, for example, Miller wrote that:

Scientific knowledge of the problems of Sociology is essential; practical training in dealing with men is made possible here, and the value of linking the [New College] College and the Settlement more closely together is abundantly plain to me. We do not want men with less literary equipment or less theological training. We do want men who are able to apply their knowledge effectively to human lives.¹⁶⁴

This is a more strident endorsement of the need for a sociological approach to social problems. However, this was not intended to replace theological training but to compliment it. This rhetoric was, to a degree, turned into action with the establishment of a reading circle for students at the settlement. Begun in 1909, the warden advertised the rationale behind its establishment thus:

At every turn problems of difficulty and seriousness are met, and the need of theoretical instruction upon the economic, moral and spiritual aspects of the problems becomes clearer. With this in view, a reading circle for a few of the students has been arranged for during the summer session, where discussion of these matters is possible.¹⁶⁵

The reading circle became a feature of settlement work, and was indicative of a commitment to make the work as valuable for students as the people of the district. It was

¹⁶² Callum Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 1997) p. 133.

¹⁶³ D. W. Bebbington, 'Mission in Scotland, 1846-1946' in D. Searle (ed.) *Death or Glory* (Edinburgh, Rutherford House: 2001) pp. 47-8.

¹⁶⁴ NCL AA.3.3.75 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1908-9*.

¹⁶⁵ NCL AA.3.3.75 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1909-10*.

an acknowledgement that the work these students were undertaking at the settlement and would possibly be undertaking in their future careers required knowledge of social and economic problems.

The level of theoretical and academic engagement with sociological issues at New College was nevertheless still limited in its breadth and was unaccredited, and the students soon demanded more. In 1910, the warden approached the committee of the settlement to emphasise 'the desirability of providing more theoretical instruction for the students in connection with the practical work of the settlement. This was also spoken to by the students [sic] who, it appeared, had, along with the students in other colleges, approached the College Committee on the question of providing such instruction in the theological curriculum.'¹⁶⁶ The following session, Miller was officially appointed Director of Practical Training and held a weekly seminar with first year students on the 'Literature of the Home Mission Problem'; an attempt to engage students with home mission work in a more theoretical way. However, this provision remained ad hoc and piecemeal, with little expansion in this area for a number of years. In 1914, however, as the work of the volunteers was expanding due to the war, the warden also arranged to give them seminars too.¹⁶⁷ As the war began any idea of altering the college's curriculum was put on hold but in 1921, a course in sociology was officially instituted with the warden of the settlement as its teacher. Miller would continue as lecturer on this course until he left the college and settlement in 1934.¹⁶⁸ On his death in 1940, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was a member, published an obituary which opened with the following description: 'In a society largely representative of the sciences, Dr Miller might well be regarded as an expert in the comparatively recent science of sociology.'¹⁶⁹ Like other Scottish settlements in this period New College had become part of the trend to provide an academic and theoretical training in the social sciences. Like the QMS, there was clear demand for this from the students themselves. Although these organisations had different aims the need for trained workers was recognised in both. For these religious men 'an increasing knowledge of the human heart' was not in itself regarded as adequate when working in such districts as the settlement was based in. In order to be fully equipped, they felt the need for sociological training and a 'scientific' knowledge of the problems faced.

¹⁶⁶ NCL AA.3.3.67 NCS Advisory Council minutes 3 March 1910.

¹⁶⁷ NCL AA.3.3.67 NCS Advisory Council minutes 14 May 1914.

¹⁶⁸ Hugh Watt, *New College Edinburgh: A centenary History* (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh: 1946), p. 122-125.

¹⁶⁹ NCL Z.H.20.4, John Harry Miller Scrap Book.

NCS also began to take action against social problems as well as studying them. It became increasingly involved with the COS in order to ‘avoid overlap’ of charitable work.¹⁷⁰ The settlement distributed financial aid it was therefore important that they stress the accountability of this fund. The literature makes it clear that those who came looking for aid were subject to rigorous investigation:

Casual Cases: An hour has been set apart each evening for the receiving of such cases, and they are now interviewed by the Sub-Warden who reports to the Warden on those whom he has seen ... The wisdom of following up each case immediately with a visit has been made plain. By such action the true cases are easily separated from the false, and relief can then be given discriminately. Some sad cases have been truly helped. Some bad cases have effectively been dealt with. Living in the district greatly aids the investigation of the men and women who appeal for help, and allows of the making of true friendships between helper and helped.¹⁷¹

As well as working with the COS, the settlement put itself at the centre of social action in the district. Lacking the funds to expand by themselves, a group of ‘friends’ of the settlement formed the Pleasance Trust in 1913 and bought part of the brewery which the settlement’s premises was attached to. The warden of the settlement sat on the Trust’s board whilst the board’s secretary was Archibald Campbell, who was also treasurer to the settlement. Also on the committee were George Freeland Barbour¹⁷² and Richard Lodge,¹⁷³ both of whom were already involved with the EUS, which was somewhat flagging in this period. The settlement made full use of the Trust’s buildings and the extra space and better accommodation allowed them to increase the scope of much of their work. However, these buildings were not for the exclusive use of the settlement. In 1916, for example, it was reported that there was a Health Centre in the buildings.¹⁷⁴ Over the years, these buildings would come to be used by an increasing variety of agencies working to improve the health and welfare of the local community. As with other settlements which were developing their social work, this was done as part of a network of organisations. Expanding the premises in such a way allowed the settlement to increase its physical presence in the district and embed the settlement more fully in it. In 1913, the annual report of the settlement opened by declaring ‘The settlement stands at the heart of the

¹⁷⁰ NCL AA.3.3.75 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1909-10*.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology at the University of Edinburgh

¹⁷³ NCL AA 3.3.49 New College Missionary Society, miscellaneous papers 1902-36

¹⁷⁴ NCL AA.3.3.75 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1915-16*.

Pleasance.¹⁷⁵ During this period, the idea that the settlement's presence in the district made it the focal point for aid and advice in the district was prevalent and this was something which the GUSS was also emphasising. As the GUSS was aiming to school people in 'good' citizenship, its literature also emphasised its position within the community as a centre of information and guidance. In 1914, for example, it was noted that 'The place the Settlement occupies in the minds of the people in the neighbourhood is well indicated by the readiness and confidence with which they come to us with their varied troubles and difficulties. Scarcely a day passes without someone calling for advice or help in one form or another.'¹⁷⁶

The expansion of the settlement's relationship to the Pleasance Trust should be seen in the context of the Church's increasing focus on social issues, as discussed above, for it allowed the settlement to become involved with efforts to improve not only the moral health of local people but also their physical health too. Whilst this move could be construed as moving away from evangelical outreach to an approach that was more focused on secular issues, NCS remained committed to evangelism. During this period, however, the GUSS had been gradually becoming more secular. The settlement continued to have religious activities, such as a Bible Class for the Boys' Brigade, a Sunday Evening Service and Men's and Women's Meetings. However, this work was outweighed by recreational and educational activities, not to mention other efforts, including the running of a dispensary and visitation by medical students and funding for hospital care. Along with the clubs and educational pursuits mentioned above, the settlement also continued to run a savings bank and a Poor Man's Lawyer and an 'Advice Bureau'. The settlement remained committed to temperance and actively supported people in this cause by providing lectures, addresses, the opportunity to take the 'pledge' and a meeting provided in conjunction with the University Temperance Society, of which William Boyd was president. Nevertheless, the settlement in this period was by no means an evangelical organisation, and whilst providing some religious activities its leaders were more interested in expanding the social side of the work. The shifting attitudes in the settlement also manifested itself not just in an increasing emphasis on non-religious work but also in the way in which religious classes at the settlement were conducted:

¹⁷⁵ NCL AA.3.3.75 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1912-13*.

¹⁷⁶ GUL MacLehose 846 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1913-14*.

[A] change Pratt [sub-warden of the settlement] made was in the character of the religious meeting for ... young folks. In the first days of the Settlement, we had a meeting on the Sunday forenoons for Young Men and Women in their working clothes: men in cravats and girls shawls (some of them obliged us by putting on this garb specially for this meeting). This was now handed over to the Glasgow Foundry Boys and we started a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon,¹⁷⁷ at which we still had hymns and prayers, but were freer in the talks, and discussed social as well as religious questions. This particular meeting went on for many years after and was still alive when the Settlement closed down in 1926.¹⁷⁸

These religious meetings in the settlement had therefore been opened up to discussion on social matters as well. This can be seen as indicative of the shift in the focus of the settlement overall.

Brown has also identified this as a trend in the recreational provision of religious bodies in this period. He argues that the boom in leisure meant that the churches were drawn into competing with the new secular leisure pursuits:

Religious organisations were starting to compromise with secular pursuits, moving from 'improving' educational classes in religious instruction, or from revivalism, to sport, outings and militaristic youth movements. Goal displacement was occurring: voluntary organisations' religious goals were being displaced by secular pursuits originally introduced as mere enticements.¹⁷⁹

The GUSS certainly embraced less religious and more secular pursuits and moved away from evangelising. Macdonald, however, has argued that an increasing focus on the provision of social services does not necessary equate to being anti-evangelical and that the relationship between the two cannot be reduced to a simplistic relationship. A concern for better social welfare did not necessarily result in a repudiation of private conversion.¹⁸⁰

Whilst the NCS had, as noted above, developed an interest in the studying of social problems, it remained committed to providing religious instruction:

In connection with every department there is a Sunday Class. This is an integral part of our work. We believe that it is only by systematic religious teaching that the strongest safeguard can be set about the tempted lives with which we are being brought daily into contact.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Pleasant Sunday Afternoons was a popular movement of social, religious meetings.

¹⁷⁸ GUA GB0248 DC130/1 *William Boyd* p. 175.

¹⁷⁹ Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p. 131.

¹⁸⁰ Lesley Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930* (John Donald, Edinburgh: 2000), p. 65.

¹⁸¹ NCL AA.3.3.75 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1911-12*.

Religious teaching therefore remained an important part of the settlement's work. Nevertheless, the settlement used its clubs and social side as an enticement to encourage people to join the settlement. In the settlement's magazine, the clubs for boys was advertised in 1915 thus:

Are you a father or mother of lads? Are you anxious to give your boys an outlet for their spirit of adventure? We have a club for them, where they can blow off steam and keep themselves out of mischief. The lads of the Settlement Club enjoy themselves, and like us, and do not think us "mugs" or "traitors". There is a Bible Class they have to come to. But that's enjoyable too. Send them along!¹⁸²

The attractions of the club were therefore couched in terms of the social and not religious benefits that it would have for the boys. It would be a mistake, however, to think that there were not religious conditions attached to membership – as the advertisement makes clear, attendance at the bible class was compulsory. However, it was not always the case that the members wanted to engage with religious activities and the way in which the religious aspects were used by the people the settlement was targeting did not always match the expectations of the settlement's leaders. These 'enticements' did not always translate into a deepened religious commitment, as this report from the leader of the Lads' Club demonstrates:

Five football teams had been run up till x-mas, and the reason for the demise of the 1st XI was that lads had joined for the sake of the football and supported the club in no other way. Especially the 'football-lads' had neglected the Sunday evening meetings. It had been found necessary to make this meeting compulsory. Only those lads attending on Sundays were members of the club for the following week. This had reduced the number of lads who were in connection with club to about 30. There was an average attendance of 15-20 at the Sunday evening meetings now. The years work had not been quite so satisfactory as the whole of last year, but a good proportion of the lads' club were loyal and giving in steadiness of character.¹⁸³

The boys of the district did therefore not always use the club in the way that its leaders wished it to be used. However, in this case, those who were not engaging with the religious aspects were not allowed to continue their membership. The social and recreation side of the settlement, the leaders recognised, had their benefits, but the *raison d'être* of the

¹⁸² NCL AA.3.3.75 *New College Settlement Magazine* 1915.

¹⁸³ AA 3.3.40 New College Missionary Society minutes 9 January 1914.

organisation was religious and religious participation was therefore expected from its members.

This mission work was targeted to a specific section of the population. The reports of the settlement make it clear that the people the settlement were hoping to attract were those who may not have been irreligious, but who did not have access to a mainstream church:

We are reaching a large class of people, very poor and degraded, too ignorant to understand the language of ordinary preaching, who would never attend an ordinary church service and who would thus be left abandoned by the Church. The settlement is a church for this submerged class, and by friendly personal intercourse, by plain and simple evangelical teaching, these men and women have afforded to them the blessings which ordinary church members so fully and richly enjoy.¹⁸⁴

Brown has argued that this work with the ‘submerged class’ was increasingly neglected by middle-class congregations and was instead carried out by employed missionaries. He argued that there was a ‘strong sense of “social distance” and diverging interests between middle-class churchgoers and the missionaries they employed’.¹⁸⁵ Whilst NCS did employ a bible woman for the district, the situation described by Brown was not representative of work of the NCS. There, the workers were aided throughout this period by volunteers gleaned from other congregations and whose help allowed the organisation to expand its work. The settlement, for example, gained workers from Miller’s congregation at the Rosehall Church – around forty women from there helped at the settlement and allowed them to provide facilities for women including a Mothers’ Meeting. The church, however, felt strongly that it was important that the settlement maintain a close and official connection with a congregation. This would both give the settlement extra workers and ensure that settlement members had a direct link to a religious institution. The congregation chosen was Arthur Street Church and the relationship established in 1906. This relationship continued and grew in closeness until 1911 when it was broken off. This was due chiefly to disagreements over financial responsibility and whilst the settlement was keen to continue, the minister of the church, Milroy, was not in favour of continuing working with the settlement.¹⁸⁶ On his departure, in 1918, however, this relationship was strengthened when it was agreed that the warden should become minister of Arthur Street

¹⁸⁴ AA.3.3.75 *Annual Report of the New College Settlement 1906-7*.

¹⁸⁵ Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p. 130.

¹⁸⁶ AA.3.3.67 NCS Advisory Council minutes 7 July 1911.

Church and combine the settlement congregation with that church.¹⁸⁷ In this way, the settlement's position as an organisation whose primary concern was to promote church-going and religious activities was consolidated.

The GUSS during this period was developing educational facilities for the working classes. From the beginning of this period, the leaders of the settlement tried to raise working-class literacy levels through the settlement. The reason for this change in direction seems to have lain with the interests of the leaders of the settlement. The settlement committee included a number of individuals who were influential in extending university education for working-class adults. One of the members of the committee was Sir Henry Jones, the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow and who sat on the committee which investigated the future of adult education between 1916 and 1919. Turner argues that Jones represented 'the views of those in Scotland who regarded it as the moral duty of universities to provide the kind of citizenship education that would guide the working class into an active role in democratic society'.¹⁸⁸ One of his teaching assistants was R. H. Tawney, who was employed in 1907 by the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee to begin the teaching of university tutorial classes for adults – classes which were organised by the Workers' Educational Association (WEA).¹⁸⁹ This was despite a lack of enthusiasm for such provision at the University of Glasgow at this time. Turner has attributed this to a lack of demand for such provision as the more accessible nature of Scottish Universities meant that the working classes enjoyed easier access to higher education, the proportion of working-class students in 1910 at Glasgow University being around 20 percent, and also due to the fact that it was not supported by the trade unions.¹⁹⁰ However, it would be another member of the settlement during the period who would be partially responsible for developing the adult educational provision at the university. Hector Hetherington, briefly warden of settlement, along with A. D. Lindsay persuaded the university senate in 1923 to establish an extra-mural committee on which the WEA was represented along with other working-class organisations and were active in promoting tutorial classes,¹⁹¹ which were described by Goldman as 'smaller and more intimate seminars, studying subjects in depth, and over extended periods, and, in terms of standards

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 19 September 1918.

¹⁸⁸ R. Turner, 'Workers' Educational Association tutorial classes and citizenship in Scotland, 1907-1939, *History of Education*, Vol. 38, No. 3, May 2009, p. 368.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 370.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 377.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p.376.

and educational demands, approaching much more to the level of degree work going on inside the university walls.’¹⁹² Another member who was active in promoting adult education was William Boyd. He was a lecturer in education at the University of Glasgow from 1907 and in 1938 became a reader in education. He was also active in the WEA. What emerges, then, is an organisation whose affiliated body, the university, was showing no interest in extending adult education to extra-mural provision but whose committee included several men who were trying to pursue just that agenda. The settlement thus became one of the bodies through which they channelled their ambitions. Although it was a religious organisation, the settlement thus became a part of the growing trend for adult educational provision during this period.

The premise that the settlement idea could be used as a centre for education was manifest in this period in the form of educational settlements. In 1911, the warden of the settlement, James Cunnison, left to take up a position as lecturer in economics at Fircroft and in 1913, the new sub-warden of the settlement, Coultate, also came from Fircroft.¹⁹³ Fircroft was a residential college for adults in Birmingham which had its origins in the educational settlement movement. Educational settlements were voluntary organisations that were established with the purpose of providing a range of educational courses for adults. They arose from the adult schools, which were Quaker organisations and were established in the early nineteenth century. The adult schools were voluntary organisations which tied basic education for adults with religious endeavour by attempting to teach adults basic literacy skills using the bible as a guide. Their membership peaked at around 100,000 in 1910.¹⁹⁴ Educational settlements were originally conceived of as a training ground for the adult schools and to augment their work. However, as literacy levels increased, the demand for an adult school education fell and educational settlements came to replace them.¹⁹⁵ Whilst the settlements ran some classes themselves, their main purpose was as a centre of provision for other providers as diverse as the WEA, Local Education Authorities, the Board of Education and the universities, who used the settlements to carry out their extension schemes.¹⁹⁶ The first educational settlements were established at York and Leeds in 1909

¹⁹² L. Goldman, ‘Education as Politics: University Adult Education in England since 1870’, *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 25, No. 1/2, 1999, p. 92.

¹⁹³ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 19 May 1910.

¹⁹⁴ See J. Rowntree, *A History of the Adult School Movement* (Nottingham: Nottingham University, 1985).

¹⁹⁵ See Mark Freeman, ‘The Magic Lantern and the Cinema: Adult Schools, Educational Settlements and Secularisation in Britain, c. 1900-1950’, *Quaker Studies*, vol. 11 (2007).

¹⁹⁶ See R. Fieldhouse, ‘University Adult Education’, in R. Fieldhouse and Associates, *History of Modern British Adult Education* (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 1998).

but it was Beechcroft, at Birkenhead, which was established in 1914, that would provide a template for the settlements to follow and its warden, Horace Fleming, was one of the most important influences on the movement. In particular its democratic structure would become a template for other settlements. Its members were largely ‘small traders and weekly wage-earners’ who saw education as a means of improving their, and others’, lives and whose interests lay in politics, religion and social questions.¹⁹⁷ With the advent of educational settlements, especially towards the end of this period, the idea of what a settlement could be acquired a new definition. The provision of educational courses had, it is true, been a feature of English settlements, such as Toynbee Hall, from early on in the movement. However, the educational provision of the GUSS, developing as it did during the same period as the educational settlements and with the settlement’s links to both Fircroft and the WEA, seems to suggest that it is more helpful to see its work during this period as being more aligned to that of the new educational settlements.

The educational provision of the GUSS began properly in the session 1906-7. By 1909-10, this part of the work had expanded and constituted the backbone of the settlement’s work. There was a diverse range of classes held in the settlement and run mostly by settlement volunteers, although the settlement also worked with the School Board who provided evening continuation classes. These classes mostly involved small groups of students, which is perhaps unsurprising given that many of the subjects were quite specialised and would require a reasonable standard of literacy. These included a book club, attached to the men’s club, and a music class which, again in conjunction with the men’s club, ran a choir. Not all of the provision was limited to men, however, and *Lectures to Women* constituted one of the classes. The classes also included one on Shakespeare. The aim of this was to ‘give an opportunity to a select few of the men in touch with the settlement work to do some profitable reading along the lines of pure culture and disinterested speculation. The class was strictly limited and regular attendance was understood to be expected.’¹⁹⁸ Although a certain degree of elitism seems to have existed, other classes were more universal and accessible. A series of Sunday afternoon lectures, for example, grew out of the Men’s Meeting and was granted autonomy from it in 1909.¹⁹⁹ A range of

¹⁹⁷ A. J. Allaway, *The Educational Centres Movement* (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 1961) p. 11.

¹⁹⁸ GUL MacLehose 822 *Annual Report of the Glasgow University Students’ Settlement, 1909-10*.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

speakers addressed these lectures, including Miss Mahler from Birkenhead, again emphasising the links between the settlement and educational settlements.

It was emphasised in the reports, moreover, that the educational provision of the settlement was a response to the needs and the demands of the men who used the settlement. This perhaps runs contrary to some of the criticisms made of the settlements that those who ran them imposed their own idea of suitable activities for the working class and the literature of the settlement was at pains to emphasise that they were tailoring their services as a direct response to the needs of their members:

It is rather a striking illustration of the fallibility even of our best systems, that under the system of compulsory education, close though the network of restrictions may be, many are yet allowed to slip through its meshes. About the middle of this session, a number of the members of the Workmen's Club came to us of their own accord, and asked if we would start a class in arithmetic. Being asked why they did not attend the Evening Continuation Class in the subject, they answered to the effect that the evening class scheme of work was too rigid, and implied a greater amount of knowledge to start with than they possessed. They had already tried it, but had fallen behind the work of the class, and had ceased to attend. We therefore started a class, Mr John S. Boyd undertaking to give 1 ½ hours' teaching a week. The men are joiners, sawmill workers, and so on, and special attention has been given to the solution of practical problems, which meet them in their work. During the week the men tackled problems of their own accord, and, on the whole, they have benefited greatly for the two or three months' work. There was an average attendance of twelve.²⁰⁰

Unlike the Shakespeare class, the members of whom were selected, these men approached the leaders of the settlement, seeing the organisation as a means by which they could advance their education. Conventional educational routes had not proved successful and the settlement, which was able to shape its provision to suit the needs of these men and to provide tutoring for a small group, provided them with the means to acquire an elementary skill. The leaders of the settlement also promoted this provision in terms of what they believed was the emancipating effect on those who accessed it. The classes were viewed as a means of enabling these men to participate more fully in society and the community:

Those who come into frequent contact with the workers of this district cannot help being convinced of the genuineness of the desire on the part of the people for better educational facilities. The worker is becoming more and more conscious of his powers, more and more in earnest in his demands for a part in the

²⁰⁰ GUL Mu22-d.10 *Annual Report of the Glasgow University Students' Settlement, 1907-8.*

world of thought from which he feels he has been too long excluded. We have ample proof of this attitude in our conversations with the men, and in the enthusiasm with which they take advantage of any facilities offered by the settlement. And believing that this is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, we offer no apology for extending the educational side of our work.²⁰¹

The development of educational work at the settlement was thus contextualised within a growing debate about the need to provide proper education for members of the working classes which would allow them to become fully active citizens.

The benefits of such provision were thus not only highlighted by the settlement in terms of the benefits to the individual, but also the positive effect that educating the working classes to become more active citizens would have on the whole of society. This is a trend in adult education which has been recognised by historians. Goldman, for example, has argued that there was an overtly political agenda to such provision, suggesting that there was a refocusing of the universities' adult educational provision during this period, with them now aiming 'to provide a more adequate and effective education for a labour movement which was growing rapidly and which could be expected to take power in due course. The universities had been charged originally with the education of men who would serve the state in various capacities as statesmen, professionals, clergymen; now they were responding to the recognition that men – and women also – from the working class would soon take their place at the head of public life.'²⁰² The desire to educate the working classes in the wake of the increasing political power of the labour movement was a response to what Finlayson has seen as a redefinition of what constituted citizenship in this period. In the nineteenth century, citizenship was seen in terms of contribution, of the performance of certain duties and obligations. This, he argues 'implies giving, rather than taking; contribution rather than acceptance.' It also means a 'contribution to the welfare of others by service to the community' and thus is particularly associated with voluntarism and the idea of personal service to the community.²⁰³ However, at the start of the twentieth century, the increasing enfranchisement of the working classes meant that the term 'citizenship' came to mean a belonging to the political community. The possession of political rights went hand-in-hand with the entitlement to social rights for it was the latter that gave meaning to the former. This was a type of citizenship that was 'to be provided as an entitlement by an active state rather than aspired to by active citizens outside the

²⁰¹ GUL Mu22-d.10 *Annual Report of the Glasgow University Students' Settlement, 1910-11*

²⁰² L. Goldman, 'Education as Politics' p. 92.

²⁰³ Finlayson, *Citizen, state and social welfare in Britain* p. 9.

state'.²⁰⁴ The result of this shift, so Goldman has argued, manifested itself in educational terms in the desire to provide an education for the working classes which would prepare them for the demands of citizenship.

Bradley has noted that these classes were based on the 'paradox that the ordinary working-class person had the right to participate in public life, but that he or she did not have the skill or ability to do so'.²⁰⁵ These themes are apparent in the literature of the GUSS. The leaders of that settlement wished to provide opportunities for the working classes of their district to engage in education, and to enjoy all the personal benefits which that engendered. Nevertheless, there was also an agenda which underlay the settlement's commitment to adult education:

It is ... especially on the 'Citizenship' line that we wish the settlement to develop in future. With the growing power of the people it is imperative that those in whose hands lies so much power, should be taught the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, and should learn to "think straight" on questions of municipal and national government.²⁰⁶

The settlement leaders thus wished to ensure that the people who attended these classes would come to understand what was required for a 'good' citizen. Part of the adult education provision at the settlement involved teaching the men the correct way to think and behave – teaching them to 'think straight' on local and national political issues. Whilst the settlement was grappling with the issue of training men for citizenship before the First World War, this would become an increasingly important topic for the adult education movement. In the 1919 Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, citizenship was identified as the driving force behind the expansion of adult education. This would, Fieldhouse states, provide the template for the democratic teaching methods and environment that would characterise the adult education movement.²⁰⁷ It would become particularly important to educational settlements which were, as Freeman has argued, intended to be seen as 'training centres for citizenship and social leadership'.²⁰⁸ This has led to questions about to what extent this type of provision

²⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 162.

²⁰⁵ Kate Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State* p. 99.

²⁰⁶ GUL Mu22-d.10 *Annual Report of the Glasgow University Students' Settlement, 1907-8*.

²⁰⁷ R. Fieldhouse, 'An Overview of British Adult Education' in R. Fieldhouse et al., *History of Modern British Adult Education* p. 47.

²⁰⁸ Freeman, *The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust* p. 75.

can be regarded as social control. In 1907 the GUSS was clearly concerned that working-class men had to be taught about the 'right' way to think about certain issues.

The settlement thus began to provide classes on the subject of 'Citizenship'. Having no space to hold these classes in the settlement itself, the settlement joined with the School Board to hold its 'Citizenship Class' in a local school under the auspices of the Evening Continuation Classes, thus demonstrating that the ideals of citizenship which the settlement was trying to promote were endorsed at a municipal level. There were twenty-four lectures in a session and they were given by various members of the committee. In 1906-7, for example, eight lectures were given on the 'Ethics of Citizenship', eight on 'Political Science' and eight on 'Municipal Government'. These lectures were attempting to give the men a grounding in the theory of citizenship and political structures. The inclusion of lectures on municipal government is pertinent because it was at this level that the men who attended these classes were most likely to become involved. Thirty-six men attended these classes; however, they were not as might be expected from the upper echelons of the working class. Instead, they were described as a 'representative group', consisting of labourers, joiners, masons, blacksmiths, tailors, a car conductor, one or two clerks, and a bank teller and ranging in age from nineteen to fifty.²⁰⁹ Although the numbers for this class remained small, its appeal was not limited to just one section of the working class. A description of how these classes were conducted comes from the autobiography of the man who led them – William Boyd:

What [the classes] were about I have forgotten now. The important thing was that mine were so outstandingly successful that in the following year I took over the whole class. And from that time onward till I became overwhelmed in 1921, when I was president of the Educational Institute [Scotland], I continued to give these lectures. The subjects changed every year, but once the course got going, men turned up from every part of Glasgow. I talked for about three quarters of an hour and after that the discussions went on freely for another three quarters ... From these classes I profited greatly. They led me to realise that whether it was university students or working men, the key to active thinking was free discussion, and it was a matter of course that I should introduce the methods which had succeeded with the workmen into my University teaching. The other benefit was that I learned the art of question and answer, and it formed an essential part of my teaching technique right through.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ GUL Mu22-d.10 *Annual Report of the Glasgow University Students' Settlement, 1907-8*.

²¹⁰ GUA GB 0248 DC 130/1 *William Boyd* p.176.

It is clear from this extract that discussion was encouraged in these classes and that students were encouraged to question. This, and relevant topics for the lectures was possibly what made them so popular. It was also something which not only the pupils but also the teacher evidently found beneficial.

The settlement's connection with the School Board was initially established by the sub-warden, Pratt,²¹¹ and its relationship with this organisation was a long one, with relations seeming to have been cordial. However, working with the board meant that the settlement was not always entirely free from political restraints. In 1912, the School Board met to discuss the settlement's continuation classes and some members of the committee objected to the lectures proposed by the settlement. One member:

regarded the whole scheme as on the wrong lines, as few, if any, of the subjects in the syllabus could be discussed without raising matters of a political or controversial kind... He did not object to citizenship lectures, provided they had for their object the training of the rising generation in the virtues of obedience, loyalty and patriotism, and generally on the responsibilities attaching to citizenship, but that could be done without discussing such questions as 'Wages under Protection', 'The Minimum Wage', 'Syndicalism', and others of a more or less political and controversial character.

However, other members of the board dissented from this view, arguing that the lectures had in previous years been non-partisan, despite the 'alarming' titles. A further member countered that 'if the Board thought that by preventing the teaching of those subjects they would prevent democracy from taking whatever action it liked towards improving its condition, they were very much mistaken.'²¹² Whilst the settlement's syllabus was easily passed on this occasion, the discussion does demonstrate that in its collaboration with the School Board, the settlement's provision was being scrutinised and was open to criticism. The relationship between the two was, however, close and trusting enough, that even though some members had doubts about the nature of the curriculum, it was still allowed to pass. The assertion that, in spite of the provocative titles the content of the lectures was nothing for the Board to worry about, combined with the acceptance of the Board, suggests that although the titles may have been progressive, the driving ideology behind them remained the creation of 'good' citizens.

²¹¹ Ibid. p.176.

²¹² *Scotsman*, 27 September 1912, p. 9.

During this period, differences emerged between the two settlements, with the GUSS pursuing an increasingly secular curriculum whilst NCS renewed its commitment to evangelicalism. The reasons for this divergence lay in the staff of these organisations. As the GUSS drew in more men from the Moral Philosophy department, its members lacked the religious motivation that had characterised settlers in earlier decades. This was personified in William Boyd as leader of the settlement whose interests had moved evangelicalism to education. New College, meanwhile, was rooted in missionary work as its links with the church deepened over this period. Again, this can be followed in the leadership of the settlement. As a minister, Miller's role was to strengthen links with the church and bring new communicants into the church. Despite, their differences, the work of both settlements was a reaction to the same social climate. NCS found itself having to compete with other forms of leisure pursuits and so appealed to locals on the basis of the recreational activities they provided. However, they still required religious observance on behalf of the participants. Nevertheless, the settlement became increasingly concerned with the social welfare of the people in the Pleasance. This coincided with the growing concern of the church in social conditions which was itself a reaction to the debates that were taking place in wider society over how social problems should be dealt with. In order to fully appreciate these problems, the missionary students asked for training, leading to the establishment of a course at the College led by the warden of the settlement. As noted previously, one of the reasons that these issues were being examined was the growing political involvement of the working classes. In order to educate these men and women in the duties that citizenship required of them, the GUSS was one of a number of bodies providing education for citizenship. This trend involved more active student participation in learning, something which was also found in educational settlements which were started in this period.

2.5 Conclusion

During this period, the original idea of ‘connection’ that had underpinned the early settlement movement was increasingly being challenged. This connection was based upon a rejection of class identities and, by bringing together those whom social circumstances had kept apart, sought to ameliorate the differences and misunderstandings that settlers believed were blighting society. This was based on the idea that individuals were able to change their circumstance but during this period, however, it was increasingly accepted that the causes of poverty lay outwith the individual’s control. The solution to these problems was therefore to be found at a communal level and not an individual one. The state thus began to play a greater role, at a local and national level, in ameliorating social problems. However, the QMS and the DSU, rather than viewing the encroachment of local government into welfare provision as constraining their work, instead welcomed these developments as providing new areas of work and experimentation. Again, however, whilst these were national issues, the settlements’ responses were framed by local circumstances and in particular local governments which had embarked on a programme of ‘municipal socialism’. The QMS and the DSU therefore established strong relationships with local authorities and in some cases the two became joint providers of services. This set the pattern for future settlement work, as will be discussed in the following chapter. They saw their role as developing new and experimental methods. Ultimately, the aim was for the council to take on these services as soon as it became viable. This led to the DSU in particular running schemes because the council would not or could not provide these services, which the DSU felt were important. Although the relationship between settlements and councils was amicable and generally supportive, the DSU could be critical of the council when it felt that the council was not doing what it should for its citizens.

The authority that gave the DSU to do this largely came from a piece of work they published on living conditions in Dundee. This was the most influential piece of work created by Scottish settlements and gained the DSU national recognition. Scientific study and investigation of social problems was becoming increasingly popular amongst organisations such as settlements for it allowed them to become established as experts in their field. This further marked their removal from the realms of work that was grounded in the idealist but unfocused aim of reforming the character of the working classes, which was criticised for having no quantifiable outcomes. Whilst elements of this did certainly

remain, much of the settlements' focus was switched to examining the causes of poverty and treating the symptoms with scientific and professional proficiency. This was acknowledged by the EUS, whose founding aim was to become a centre for social investigation. This goal was not, however, realised before the end of the First World War. The failure of the EUS in these early years points to the difficulties that settlements could face when they did not have the resources to take on full-time staff or develop relationships with other bodies. The most successful settlements, and the ones that endured, had both of these attributes. In the absence of them, the EUS did not innovate and remained mired in a model of work that was increasingly irrelevant. The reinvention of the EUS came at the hands of its women's branch which was able to join with the School of Social Study and become a provider of training courses for social workers. This was, again, a trend that was repeated throughout the settlements and other charitable organisations, such as the COS. These developments marked the beginning of the social work as professional career for women. It is no surprise that the two most important training schools in Scotland were developed in conjunction with universities. The DSU was later than Edinburgh and the Queen Margaret Settlements to become a training provider and, as will be discussed in the following chapter, its legacy was less enduring.

The changing climate of settlement work also altered their relationships with the working classes. One of the impetuses behind the part-removal of social welfare from the voluntary arena was the rising class consciousness of the working classes, which was manifest in the political gains that the Labour Party made on a local level during this period. This raised concerns about the 'fitness' of the working classes to exercise these new-found, emancipated rights. This again could change the relationship that existed between the settlements and local people as these organisations sought to respond to these concerns. Whilst the DSU backed unions' attempts to get better pay, the GUSS set about educating the working classes in 'citizenship', explaining how their city and society worked.

The effects of World War One varied across settlements but the greatest immediate impact was on the EUS. There, the men's branch suffered as workers were called to war and those who remained did not have the time to devote to the settlement. Some workers, including the leader of the boys' club were killed. There were no paid workers during this period and committee meetings often did not happen for years at a time. The membership of clubs and other settlement work also suffered. In particular, membership of the men's

club atrophied due to a lack of leadership and interest. By contrast, the women's branch flourished, as it did at other settlements. Settlement activities became means of demonstrating their patriotism. Sphagnum moss was collected for soldiers' wounds, various garments were made and members of the clubs were encouraged to buy war bonds through the settlement. During the Second World War, some settlements, including Oxford House, became havens for conscientious objectors.²¹³ This was not, however, the case in Scotland during the First World War. These settlements were non-political and actively engaged in the war effort.

The pressures exerted by the war on the management and volunteers of male settlement branches, combined with the absence of much of the male population, led to a reduction in the amount of work that could be done by them. Attempts to adapt their provision to the needs of wartime, for example by providing servicemen's clubs in place of the men's clubs, were unsuccessful. Female-led settlement branches were therefore better able to deal with the effects of war and, indeed, their work developed and expanded during this period. At New College settlers did do military service but, because church ministers were exempt from conscription, they were able to continue to employ a warden. Again, however, the men's work fell by the wayside and the work of the settlement was much reduced. Nevertheless, other areas of work with women and children maintained momentum. This had implications for the settlements after the war. The QMS, DSU and New College, having continued work throughout the war under the direction of full-time leaders, were able to meet the challenges of the post-war situation. As discussed below, however, the GUSS struggled to restart the settlement after the break in work. At the EUS, the decline of the men's branch during the war meant that it was withdrawn and the future of the settlement invested with the women's branch.

²¹³ See I. Bradley, *Oxford House in Bethnal Green. 100 years of work in the community. A short history*, (London: Oxford House, 1984).

3 Chapter Three: 1920-1934

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the challenges that faced the settlements in the 1920s and into the 1930s. As the post-war era dawned, there was little acknowledgement from the settlements that anything had changed. For the years 1918 and 1919, the QMS and DSU make no mention of the war in their annual reports and there is little sense of the wider implications of the war. A sense of loss was certainly present in male branches throughout the war due to the death of workers in the armed forces but this did not translate into any ideological drive to create a better society after the sacrifices of war: it was not until the mid-1920s when clearance schemes were being implemented in Edinburgh that one gets any sense that the 'Homes fit for Heroes' rhetoric was having any impact on settlement outlook. The reasons for this are unclear but for the GUSS it perhaps stemmed from an inability to recreate the community that had existed within the settlement pre-war. As will be discussed below, the war had dissolved the settlement community and the GUSS leadership struggled to re-establish it. Although the clubs remained popular, settlement leadership lacked the support and ability to develop or, indeed, maintain the work. Over the 1920s, the settlement stultified. As old areas of work were closed off, the impossibility of developing new ones was clear. For those branches that had continued to grow during the war, the reasons for their failure to acknowledge the war are more obscure but there seems to have been enough scope within their established areas of work to negate the need to find new areas of work in the immediate post-war period. The local and social elements of settlement work that had dictated settlement work prior to the war continued after. Indeed, continuity defined settlement attitudes at the end of the war. By the end of the 1920s, however, other dynamics altered the work of the settlement. Many of the themes that had begun to emerge in the pre-war era were continued in this period. However, issues such as increasing unemployment and slum clearance schemes created new challenges but also new avenues of work for the settlements.

The previous chapter examined the discourse that led to the state taking increasingly responsibility for administering social welfare and the circumstances that allowed the Liberal government to implement welfare reforms. This had implications for the role of

voluntary bodies, including the settlements and the previous chapter also examined how they had to negotiate these changes. By the 1920s the role of organisations such as settlements was encapsulated by the idea of the ‘new philanthropy’ proposed by Elizabeth Macadam. This conceptualised the relationship between voluntary bodies and the state. The former were there to work with and support local government and develop specialist services. Established in 1919, the National Council of Social Service (NCSS) aimed to encourage and coordinate voluntary social work. An important part of its work, however, was to cooperate with government departments and local authorities. Owen regards this as an ‘explicit recognition of voluntary and statutory agencies concerned with similar problems and a working understanding, if not formal partnership, was essential’.¹ This chapter will look at how the Scottish settlements negotiated these new partnerships and types of work and how effectively they were able to build upon previous models of work. Also during this period the settlements established their own representative body, the British Association of Residential Settlements (BARS), again to facilitate closer relationships between settlements. As well as looking at the connection between settlements and local government, this chapter will also examine the web of connections that existed between the settlements and how this could shape their identity.

These changes in the structure of voluntary work and its relationship with the state naturally impacted on the work that settlements did. This period was characterised by rising unemployment. This went hand in hand with concerns over how the working classes were using their leisure. As Olechnowicz has demonstrated, there was a fear that the working classes were not making the ‘right use of leisure’. This chapter will show the range of activities that the settlements provided for their members. These activities were underpinned by the idea that they should be developing good citizenship. Bradley has drawn attention to the paradoxical acceptance of working-class entitlement to citizenship combined with the belief that they were not equipped to exercise it.² This chapter will also examine how the settlements attempted to train the working classes in responsible citizenship. It will examine how this was coupled with the increasing emphasis on making the settlements the nucleus of a community. As the NCS became a centre of social action in the Pleasance, the EUS opened a new branch that was attempting to create a sense of community in a new estates, part of a new type of settlement work which has been linked

¹ Owen, *English Philanthropy* p530

² Bradley p99

with a move away from dealing with poverty and distress, which was increasingly seen as the concern of the state.³

³ See Andrzej Olechnowicz, 'The Ideology of the New Estates Community Committee', in Olechnowicz, *Working-Class Housing in England between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

3.2 Decline of the Students' Settlement

By 1927, the GUSS had been dissolved. This was the result of problems that had beset the settlement since the end of the war. For the duration of the First World War, the work of the GUSS was largely carried out by women workers with William Boyd at their head. As the war ended, though, and men once more returned to the university, the settlement began to try to revert to its pre-war way of working. In 1920, an article written by a member of the settlement was published in the *Glasgow Herald*. In this article, few details are given about the actual work that the settlers were expected to do, beyond remarking that 'the institution stands primarily for friendliness and the personal touch in all ministrations. In addition to several religious meetings there are clubs for men and girls, study circles and classes in numerous subjects, dispensary, poor man's lawyer, and regular visitation.' The article instead focuses on the benefits that settlement life can bring to those who participate in it:

While great advantage accrues to the people of the district from the work done by settlement men, the effect of residence in the Settlement has had and is having on the students living in it must not be overlooked. It is the only residence in our Scottish Universities for men of every faculty, and consequently the nearest approach to the colleges of the universities in other countries. In some respects it improves on these because the students who come to it are often men with special interests for whom the Settlement is a social laboratory; here some of the problems of life can be seen at first hand and discussed with fellow-observers. In addition there is the opportunity for social and intellectual intercourse and the fostering of corporate life which is a notable weakness in our academic life of to-day.⁴

This article shows the settlement trying to position itself within the greater life of the university and its emphasis on the contribution the settlement could make to student life can be seen in the context of the position of the university in 1920. At the end of the First World War, the University of Glasgow was faced with a dual influx of students – those arriving fresh from the schoolroom and those returning from war duties. As a result, in the session 1919-20 the number of students was one third greater than those enrolled in the session 1913-14.⁵ Such a rise in student numbers put a great strain on the university in terms of accommodation and teaching facilities and also contributed to a shortage of housing in Glasgow. However, it was also, to an extent, regarded as an opportunity to

⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 28/2/1920 p. 9.

⁵ M. Moss, J. Munro and R. Trainor, *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow Since 1870* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) p. 160.

reinvigorate collegiate life within the university and it necessitated the provision of improved facilities for students.

The settlement in the immediate post-war period was advertising itself as an enhanced form of student accommodation but the need for more and better residences for university students was not only recognised by the settlement. Various student groups in the years following the First World War were channelling their efforts into better facilities and accommodation for students, including the Students' Representative Council (SRC)⁶ which was raising money for student residences, the need for which had been growing due to the above mentioned shortage of lodgings in the city.⁷ This campaign was one of a number aimed at improving student life at Glasgow; both Student Unions were raising funds in order to extend social and catering facilities whilst the Athletic Club was aiming to have new playing fields and changing facilities. In order to prevent these groups competing against one another for funds, the SRC suggested that they should join together to create a single appeal fund for the whole university – this became the Student Welfare Committee.⁸ It was enthusiastically headed by the Principal of the university, Sir Donald MacAlister, who was also the Honorary President of the settlement. The committee comprised students and representatives from the University Senate, Court and General Council.⁹ By 1923, the committee had raised around £66,000 although more than half of this money came from only two sources – the Carnegie Trust and the University Grants Committee. Nevertheless, a Grand Bazaar in November 1923 formed the crescendo of the campaign. According to Moss, Munro and Trainor, 'this three-day event was a remarkable collaboration between students and staff... The sheer exuberance of the Bazaar, which brought the grand patrons of the appeal as well as the Glasgow public through the gates of Gilmorehill, was the high-water mark of an era of post-war self-confidence during which the University was still able to demonstrate an ability to finance its needs from local sources.'¹⁰ In the 1920s, therefore, the staff and students managed to join together in a concerted effort to improve the facilities needed for a better and a more vibrant collegiate life.

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⁷ Moss, Munro and Trainor, *University, City and State* p. 160.

⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 29 June 1920 p.8.

⁹ Moss, Munro and Trainor, *University, City and State* p. 160.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 161.

By the end of this decade, then, the degree of investment in student facilities which was begun by the Student Welfare Committee meant that post-war students were able to enjoy better amenities than their predecessors. New athletic grounds and a pavilion were created and in 1930 a new men's Union was opened with the old building being turned over to female students for their Union. New and improved accommodation for students was also provided with two houses being converted into male hostels and a female hostel, Robertson Hall, opening in 1926. In spite of this, the population of students who lived in university halls was only 3.5 per cent in 1934-5 in comparison with 24 per cent at St Andrews and 12.9 per cent at Edinburgh. The university therefore retained a localised character, leading to what Moss et al described as 'the "nine-till-five" syndrome and its centrifugal effects on corporate life'.¹¹ However this was partially countered, so they have argued, by 'the centripetal pull of the improved Union and Athletic Club facilities'. Although the numbers involved in the Athletic Club were never high and only half of students were members of the Unions, Munro et al argue that the 'new and enlarged facilities provided important focal points for student extra-curricular activities, and ensured that Gilmorehill was a place where friendships were made as well as classes attended'.¹² Recalling his time during this period as an undergraduate and research student at Glasgow, for example, Robert T. Hutcheson described the union as 'the centre of social life and the locus of many student societies, most of which were run by ex-servicemen – a mecca for all who could afford the membership fee'.¹³ The settlement had acknowledged in 1920 that the idea of a corporate life at the university was somewhat absent. However whilst the Welfare Scheme had tried to remedy this, its success was only partial and the extent of a rejuvenated collegiate environment was questioned in the late 1920s by the *Glasgow University Magazine (GUM)* – a university magazine written for and by students at the university. It had strong links with the SRC, an organisation naturally inclined to promote corporate life in the university, but within its pages can be found a sense of dismay at those students who did not involve themselves with extra-curricular activities and the feeling that there was little sense of collegiate life within the university, such as can be discerned in the following extract from a 1927 editorial:

Whether 'Corporate Life' is dead, or the substance of a fairy tale we do not know.
Let us hope it is a sleeping god: the sleep has been so long that it must end soon.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 163.

¹² Ibid. pp. 163-64.

¹³ Robert T. Hutcheson, *The University of Glasgow 1920-1973* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Library, 1997) p55

We do know – and we are not naturally pessimistic – that there is very little evidence of the existence of a corporate spirit. The Christian virtue of service is *démodé*; no one is disinterested; the whole community, with a few noble exceptions, has an axe to grind; everybody is bent on the attainment of some personal ambition, which, on examination, is, almost invariably, low. We live in a generation of go-getters.¹⁴

GUM's editor is bemoaning the individualistic attitude amongst students. The efforts of the Welfare Committee may have somewhat countered this tendency but it is clear that a larger intake of students post-war did not necessarily result in greater enthusiasm for participation in college life.

This lack of community life at Glasgow University and a disinterest amongst the students for extracurricular activities mirrors a lack of drive and enthusiasm in the GUSS during this period. Whatever renewal in post-war student life there was at the university, the GUSS proved itself unable to capitalise on it and the death knell for the settlement sounded in 1926 with the loss of its premises. It is clear, however, from the minutes that the settlement had been floundering for some time before that. This was attributed by the leader of the settlement, William Boyd, to a shift within the culture of the settlement which somewhat echoes that described in the extract above from the *GUM* of a move to a less disinterested and more self-serving attitude amongst students. Describing the situation in the 1920s, Boyd wrote in the *Glasgow Herald*:

The real difficulty was in the breaking of old traditions. It was symbolic of the situation that the special road from the Settlement to the University through all manner of by-ways which for a quarter of a century a succession of students had taken on the way to and from the classes, was forgotten and new roads followed. It was the same in the work of the settlement. Services which had been dropped in the course of the war were not resumed. The first-hand knowledge of their working class neighbours which the pre-war settlers had acquired as a matter of course through visitation was largely lost. It was almost as if the old ideal of an interchange of experiences and services which had inspired the founding of the Settlement had lost its meaning. A very substantial amount of work continued to be done. The clubs in particular flourished, but most of the post-war Settlement work could have been as well carried through by people coming into the district from the outside after the fashion of so many mission workers as by the inhabitants of a Settlement.¹⁵

Boyd was describing the way in which the settlement spirit had disappeared along with the continuity which was lost through the war. With the ending of visitation came the demise

¹⁴ *Glasgow University Magazine* 9 November 1927, p. 62.

¹⁵ *Glasgow Herald* 19 June 1926 p. 7.

of the friendship and exchange of knowledge and insight which had characterised earlier settlers and their belief that this interchange enriched the lives and souls of both the settlers and the working classes. The knowledge and personal intercourse which had set the settlement apart from other voluntary bodies doing social work in working-class districts had disappeared and there was now nothing to make the settlement stand out. It is clear from Boyd's memoirs that the relationships that he built up with the people of the district were, to him, the most important element of his settlement work. Clearly, the lack of this element in the post-war settlement for him represented the loss of what made the settlement special. It could be argued, though, that in the post-war world, the idea of 'connection' with the working class was becoming increasingly irrelevant and outmoded, as the rise of the educational settlement with its emphasis on democracy and student participation, suggests. As examined in previous sections, other settlements, including Toynbee Hall and other Scottish settlements, had already moved away from this idea of connection and forged a type of work based on scientific knowledge and training. There certainly seems to have been little appetite for reviving this level of connection at the GUSS once the tradition had been broken but this was a time when the work of other Scottish settlements was expanding and so the disappearance of the original settlement ideal of friendship at the GUSS and the void this created is thrown into sharper relief. Other settlements continued to emphasise the importance of friendship with and knowledge of the working classes but combined this with a practical emphasis on social work training. The GUSS, however, did not develop any other type of work or form of identity beyond that of the original settlement spirit. When the links with the community were broken and the settlers' knowledge base disappeared, the settlement itself lost its identity.

A related problem lay in the type of student who was now attending the settlement. Writing in the *Glasgow Herald* after the settlement had ended, a former resident, Robert McMillan, wrote that 'It was a matter of regret to some of us that the theological world was not better represented. The traditionalist or fundamentalist would have found it difficult to draw breath in the Settlement atmosphere but the modernist who could state the case for vital Christianity was much needed and two or three strong men of this type might have lengthened the life of this useful institution.'¹⁶ McMillan, who was a minister, identifies a shift in the men who made up the settlement and the absence of what he seems to be

¹⁶*Glasgow Herald* 23 June 1926 p. 7.

describing as Christian Socialism. Boyd also identified a change in the residents themselves:

There was a change too in the kind of students coming into the residence: good men many of them have been, but overall less scholarly and noticeably less interested in philosophy and economics. A significant feature was that the new generation after the war included few ministers-to-be and many teachers.¹⁷

It is almost certain that Boyd himself, with his educational background, was the one who drew the teachers into the settlement. In his eyes, however, this new type of settler represented a break from the one who had gone previously and whose academic background created a propensity to seek knowledge of the working classes through the medium of friendship because it would help them understand their own field of study better. With this motivation gone, so too was lost the desire to interact and visit with the working classes in their own homes and to truly get to know the community. The committee seems at times to have had difficulty in filling the residence. In 1921, for example, a promise was extracted from the Christian Union that some of their members would become resident in the settlement the following term¹⁸ and in 1924, a lack of funds was partially attributed to declining money from the residents' sub-rents. This seems indicative of a lack of enthusiasm for residential settling and was mirrored in a lack of consistent and dynamic leadership which could perhaps have created a new road for the settlement. Boyd remained the lynchpin of the organisation but he became increasingly busy with his own affairs and had less time to devote to the settlement – the Citizenship Class ended in 1920 because he was not able to afford the time. Whereas in the pre-war settlement, he and Pratt had worked together and shared the duties of managing the settlement, there was no similar partnership or driving force. Members of the committee remained largely constant, but the wardens and sub-wardens changed regularly. In May 1920, the warden RC Macanna left to become a minister and BG Ives, formerly secretary, replaced him. The council also made the decision to dismiss the sub-warden JH Herbert, most probably on the grounds of expense.¹⁹ By October, however, Ives was requesting that a new sub-warden be appointed and so a Mr Morgan [no first name given] was appointed.²⁰ However, he resigned at the end of March 1921, followed by the warden at

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 7.

¹⁸ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 23 February 1921.

¹⁹ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 13 May 1920.

²⁰ Ibid. 19 October 1920.

the end of April.²¹ Arthur Wilson, Boyd's brother-in-law,²² was then taken on as warden but, again, no sub-warden was appointed. In November, though, Wilson, like Ives, asked to have a sub-warden and so a Mr Stevens [no first name given] was appointed.²³ There followed a few sessions of stability but at the end of April 1923, Stevens resigned as sub warden and Wilson resigned as warden. He was replaced by Frank Inglis.²⁴ In the November, Stevens post was taken up by Weyman [no first name given].²⁵ This post was again abolished in the following May (1924).²⁶ Arthur Wilson had by this time²⁷ again become warden but he resigned again in March 1925. George Mochrie then became the interim warden²⁸ and remained so until the end of the settlement the following year. For much of this period, then, those in charge of the day-to-day running of the settlement was in flux. This did not give the work of the settlement much stability and there seemed to be none of the dynamism that characterised Pratt and Boyd's relationship and which had enabled them to push forward the work of the settlement.

Of the above changes, Boyd was able to write in an article to the *Glasgow Herald* as the settlement ended,

We accepted all this as more or less inevitable, and carried on in the faith that one day there would be a renaissance of the old Settlement spirit and a rise of new ventures in place of those abandoned. But fate has brought all these hopes to naught and the Settlement, after many ups and downs, is now down for the last time.²⁹

The committee maintained a level of work in the hope that things would improve, but all the while the organisation gradually stagnated in the absence of any revival. In some respects, as noted above, the work of the settlement continued to go on much as it had always done. There are no annual reports for this period and the committee minutes contain little information about the day-to-day work of the settlement but they indicate that it continued with little change or derivatives in the same vein as it had during the war, with the notable exception of visitation which, as noted above, was not resumed. The minutes

²¹ Ibid. 16 February 1921.

²² Ibid. W. Boyd, *List of Outstanding residents*.

²³ Ibid. 14 November 1921.

²⁴ Ibid. 24 April 1923.

²⁵ Ibid. 14 November 1923.

²⁶ Ibid. 13 May 1924.

²⁷ Ibid. 28 May 1924.

²⁸ Ibid. 3 March 1925.

²⁹ *Glasgow Herald* 19 June 1926 p. 7.

from the annual meeting of 1925, for example, lists the following as areas of work: Girls' Club; Poor Man's Lawyer; Penny Savings Bank; Women's Meeting; Discussion Class; Men's Meeting; Men's Club. The Discussion Class was attached to the Men's Meeting which was in itself an offshoot of the Men's Club.³⁰ This list of branches of work remained unchanged from the beginning of this period. No details are given as to the numbers or the extent of the work which was being done but all the branches continued steadily throughout this period, and Boyd described the clubs in this period as 'flourishing'.³¹ The grassroots work of the settlement therefore continued on well. However, whilst the settlement was able to maintain the work as it had done previously, it was unable to expand or innovate and ultimately lacked the means to continue. Much of the problem lay in what seems to have been the declining interest in the settlement. This is illustrated in the attendance at the settlement's annual meetings. There was no annual meeting in 1918 and the one held in 1919 had a 'small attendance of members and friends'.³² This became an abiding theme at the annual meetings throughout the 1920s. In 1921, for example, the minutes note that 'The attendance of members and friends was very small'³³ and in 1925, 'attendance was small'.³⁴ From 1917, moreover, the annual meetings stopped being reported in the *Glasgow Herald*, possibly because of the low attendance. Neither did the settlement attempt to engage the student media. Despite there being several references to the QMS in the *GUM* over this decade in the yearly issues prepared by Queen Margaret College students, there are no such articles or notices about the GUSS. This is suggestive of an organisation which was not able to draw on public support. The settlement was still able to draw on high profile support – the vice presidents in this period were Principal MacAlister, the Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian and Lord Glenarthur. Support from members within the university was also still forthcoming, as can be seen in the makeup of committee; 1922, for example, five of the six members of the finance committee were either students or professors. They were RA Duff D. Phil (Edward Caird chair of Political Philosophy), Prof TK Munro MA MD³⁵, R Harvey Pirie MA LLB (lawyer), Professor W B Stevenson BD D. Litt³⁶ and Dr Yellowlees MD LLD (Lecturer on

³⁰ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 29 May 1925.

³¹ *Glasgow Herald* 19 June 1926 p. 7.

³² GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 10 June 1919.

³³ Ibid. 8 June 1921.

³⁴ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 29 May 1925.

³⁵ Described by Hutcheson as 'The last of the part-time professors of the Practice of Medicine was a quiet man and a thorough gentleman'. (Hutcheson, *The University of Glasgow 1920-1973* p. 44).

³⁶ Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages. Described by Hutcheson as 'The only professor who could write short-hand, he was very business-like, unlike many of his colleagues. His reputation among oriental scholars was high.' (Hutcheson, *The University of Glasgow 1920-1973* p. 41).

Insanity). The sixth was Baillie J M Bryce who had been a longstanding member of the committee and who had previously been of great use to the settlement in raising funds.

However, high-profile support in this period did not translate into funds and the settlement in the 1920s struggled to find enough money to continue. The mid-1920s was a time of economic depressions raising funds was difficult, as the Student Welfare Committee also found. The Principal of the university was warned by one shipowner at the commencement of the appeal that the economic situation made this an unpropitious time to be raising money and Munro et al conclude that it did indeed ‘blunt’ the response from the general public.³⁷ The settlement’s financial difficulties should at least partly be attributed to the wider economic circumstances. Nevertheless, the drop in subscriptions combined with small attendances at the annual meetings, the lack of funds seems to point in this case to problems within the settlement itself. A drop in subscriptions was first identified in 1920 and by June 1924, a loan from Boyd and another member of the committee to cover the outstanding rent was required to allow the settlement to continue.³⁸ This was not, however, enough to cover all of the settlement’s outgoings and by October 1924 the settlement’s debt stood at £120. The reason for this was attributed by the treasurer to a drop in subscribers combined with a decline in the rent from settlers resident in the settlement building.³⁹ By 1925, thanks to a series of whist-drives and dances, a jumble sale, and a free gift scheme, the position had improved slightly and the debt was reduced. However, a lack of people willing to give money and a reduced number of students willing to live in the settlement was indicative of an overall drop in enthusiasm for the organisation. As noted above, the various branches continued on at a grass-roots level with seemingly little change and so one cannot say that the services provided by the settlement to the community was any less appreciated or that a lack of interest stemmed from this source. Rather, it seems to have lain with the organisers and the funders as the settlement struggled to maintain the funds to enable it to continue.

The 1920s, therefore, witnessed a series of attempts by the committee to make the settlement financially stable. In 1919, the owners of the building rented by the settlement intimated to the committee that they wished to sell the property. The committee set about raising funds to buy the building themselves – a total of £4,000 was needed. Dr

³⁷ Moss, Munro and Trainor, *University, City and State* p. 160.

³⁸ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 28 May 1924.

³⁹ Ibid. 22 October 1924.

Yellowlees, a long-term member of the committee and the former president, agreed in 1920 to donate £500 to the appeal on the provision that the rest of the money could be raised.⁴⁰ However, by the end of session 1919-20, the total income of the settlement stood at around £375 with the estimate of outgoings for session 1920-21 being around £425. Thus a lack of funds meant that the settlement had to give up the scheme to buy the residence.⁴¹ The lack of financial stability preoccupied the committee and the minutes became increasingly concerned throughout this period with ways to raise funds. However, no sustainable schemes for raising money were implemented by the central committee with members attempting to drum up support using personal contacts. In 1920, for instance, in response to the need to begin raising funds to buy the settlement building, 'The warden reported that he had been invited to proceed to Campbeltown to interview his friends there'.⁴² The rest of the fundraising efforts for this scheme also rested on appealing for donations and subscriptions which were not forthcoming. The reliance by the committee on personal connections to raise money no longer worked in this period of declining subscriptions. In 1921, it was reported in the minutes that 'the men's meeting, girls' club and choral society of the university were all arranging functions in aid of the settlement funds'.⁴³ This, though, did not provide enough funds to raise the settlement out of debt. Other methods had therefore to be found to keep the settlement afloat. This can be seen as the motivating factor behind the idea to connect the settlement with the Student Welfare Scheme. In June 1922, the minutes report that:

The proposal that the settlement be brought under the university welfare scheme was discussed. Dr Duff [Robert A. Duff, the Edward Caird lecturer in Political Philosophy⁴⁴] and Dr Boyd spoke. The committee were of the opinion that this proposal go forward. It was desired that the welfare committee be asked to consider the taking over of the residence, either by renting the building or buying outright. They were of the opinion however that should any such junction take place the settlement work should continue as before.⁴⁵

It is clear from this minute that the committee as early as 1922 would have been quite happy to discharge the financial responsibility for the largest drain on the settlement's income – the residence. However, no further action on this matter was taken until January 1923 when Dr Peddie was consulted as to how he thought it best that this idea be taken

⁴⁰ Ibid. 4 February 1920.

⁴¹ Ibid. 1 Jun 1920.

⁴² Ibid. 4 February 1920.

⁴³ Ibid. 23 February 1921.

⁴⁴ Hutcheson, *The University of Glasgow 1920-1973*, p46

⁴⁵ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 17 June 1922.

forward. John R Peddie, who had joined the committee in 1921, was a lecturer in English and later advisor of studies in Arts. He was also Treasurer of the Athletic Society⁴⁶ and his influence on the Welfare Scheme was described by Hutcheson as ‘profound’.⁴⁷ He suggested that the welfare scheme should be asked for a fixed donation from their funds. This, he felt, would be more ‘likely to receive consideration’ and would also allow the settlement to continue to seek public subscriptions.⁴⁸ However, four months later, the minutes again refer to this proposal, noting that ‘the matter of the letter to the welfare scheme was again discussed but no definite scheme was decided upon’.⁴⁹ This was the last time the proposal to approach the welfare scheme was mentioned in the minutes. It was not, it appears, acted upon, but the problem of funding did not disappear. As noted above, a fundraising drive did provide some funds for the settlement but this was not enough to ensure its future. In 1925 the foundry that owned the settlement buildings went into liquidation. The Royal Bank of Scotland became the settlement’s landlord and the settlement was unable to afford the subsequent rise in rents.⁵⁰ A search for other properties in the district found them all to be beyond the financial reach of the settlement and it was decided that the organisation should no longer continue.⁵¹

Thus the GUSS came to an end in 1926. In describing the last six years of stagnation and financial struggle, it is easy to perhaps overlook the legacy of the settlement. Of the effect upon the people who came into contact with the settlement, Boyd described how ‘many a time in different parts of Glasgow and farther afield has one been hailed by a workman or workwoman, anxious to claim acquaintance on the strength of association with the settlement. “Do you remember –?” they say and the follow a tale about some old-time happening or some half-forgotten personality, which reveals how much the Settlement had counted for in the way of kindly personal influence.’⁵² For Boyd, with his long association with the settlement, the lasting effects of the work were felt in the warm and enthusiastic reminiscences of those who had come to the organisation. For settlers, too, the settlement held fond memories. In response to Boyd’s article in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1926, Rev. Robert Wilson, who had been a resident of the settlement, wrote to the newspaper: ‘Many old “Settlers” will bless you for giving spaces to Dr William Boyd’s interesting account of

⁴⁶ GUM 25 February 1925.

⁴⁷ Hutcheson, *The University of Glasgow 1920-1973*, p. 55.

⁴⁸ GUL MS Gen 670 GUSS Minutes 11 January 1923

⁴⁹ Ibid. 24 April 1923.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 9 November 1925.

⁵¹ Ibid. 16 March 1926.

⁵² *Glasgow Herald* 19 June 1926 p. 7.

the rise and fall of the GUSS. The present writer looks back to the years he spent there as among the happiest and most formative of his student life.’⁵³ For Boyd, also, he is full of praise:

No one has done a finer day’s work for any institution that was meant for the uplift of the masses. Since the early ’nineties Dr Boyd, one of the most distinguished students of his day, has continued along with his labour for education in the University, to give his time and leisure and means to the support and furtherance of the Settlement. Among those whose names he mentions with such distinction there is no one that deserve more honourable mention than his own, and if, as he indicates, many rise up to call the Settlement blessed, no name will more readily start up in their memories than his.⁵⁴

The old settler writing this letter clearly remembered his days at the settlement with fondness and held a particular respect for Boyd, a man who had for so long been associated with the settlement. For one man, Robert McMillan who was in residence in the period before the First World War, the effects of residence in the settlement were deep. He was the settlement’s hall keeper who was given a room in the settlement and later went onto become a minister. Writing in the *Glasgow Herald*, again in response to Boyd’ article, he described how:

The present writer was privileged to be associated with its work in a humble way ... and my debt to the lecturers and students who were then in residence is more than I can every repay. It was largely through the help and inspiration received from the Settlement that I entered the University and passed with success through the Arts course, but by far the most enriching experience was the daily fellowship with the brilliant young men who now occupy important positions in the spheres of philosophy and economics. The mental atmosphere of the Settlement was conducive to hard study, and close contact with the religious and social activities of the place was of immeasurable value to the earnest student. There was something distinctive about the men who came into residence. They were full of ideas, and one felt that sooner or later each one would make his mark in some department of human activity.⁵⁵

McMillan mentions nothing about the connection between the settlers and the local community; for him the settlement spirit lay in the bonds forged between the residents themselves and the support and confidence which this gave him. Early settlements had sought to be an elevating influence on the district in which they were based but the

⁵³ Ibid. 21 June 1926 p. 7.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 21 June 1926 p. 7.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 23 June 1926 p. 7.

evidence of McMillan suggests that the GUSS had been able to inspire its workers onto greater things. As the *GUM* bemoaned the lack of a corporate life and spirit within the university, the GUSS, for at least some of its members, seems to have embodied these very virtues and perhaps they were able to find within the settlement what was lacking in the university as a whole.

3.3 The Remaining Settlements and their Work

During this period, the Scottish settlements aimed to improve the local area and lives of those living there by becoming centres of provision and services for local people. This meant that settlement buildings were important, and often the defining, assets of these organisations. This had always been the case, but the problems which beset the settlements in the early years did not vanish in this period despite them being more established. However, the need to have a permanent and visible base became more important as their work and spheres of influence continued to expand but the funds required to achieve this were often hard to come by and, in the case of the GUSS, examined in the previous chapter, the loss of accommodation sounded the death knell for the organisation. The need to have a physical presence in the district is illustrated by the concern that a lack of one caused the Edinburgh Settlement. When the settlement was amalgamated into the School of Social Study in 1919 one of the agreements was that the School would take joint responsibility for the finances of the settlement, including for the upkeep of the halls, which entailed an initial outlay of just over £400, out of the School's credit balance of £512, in order to make them fit for purpose.⁵⁶ However, the settlement premises remained in a perilous state – the state of the buildings being tied to a lack of forthcoming financial support for the settlement. By the time the settlement became a fully-fledged organisation in its own right again in 1925, the buildings at High School Yards had deteriorated and by 1927 they were described as 'derelict'.⁵⁷ A meeting was held to highlight the serious condition of the buildings, at which Sir Wyndham Deedes, secretary of the Federation of Residential Settlements and Hilda Cashmore,⁵⁸ warden of the Manchester Settlement, were present. At this meeting, the way in which the future of the settlement organisation was tied to the buildings was highlighted:

The affairs of the Settlement Association had reached a crisis, because if the work was to be carried on it had become imperative that the Settlement should be rebuilt from the foundations. The building was tottering to its fall ... A large sum of money was required to put the building right. The sum they were aiming at was £30,000.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ N. Milnes 'James Seth and the Department of Social Study', *University of Edinburgh Journal* (Autumn 1955), p. 51.

⁵⁷ EUA GD20/8 EUS, *Annual Report 1927*.

⁵⁸ See Mary Stocks, *Fifty years in Every street: the story of the Manchester University Settlement* (Manchester University Press, 1945).

⁵⁹ *Scotsman* 19 February 1927 p. 8.

The following year the building was condemned and the settlement was scattered over many different buildings. Whilst a temporary new hall was opened in 1929, it was not until the opening of Kirk o' Fields College, which will be discussed below, that the settlement was able to have the accommodation that they required in the district they initially began their work.

The position of the Edinburgh Settlement in High School Yards stands in contrast to the achievements associated with the NCS in the 1920s which, in association with the Pleasance Trust, established itself as a centre of social amenities and health care provision in the district. Throughout this period, the expansion of the building continued and, as with all things connected to the settlement and Pleasance Trust in these years, this campaign was tied to the warden and his vision for what could be achieved in this area. In 1929, as the warden neared the end of his time in the Pleasance, a subscription fund was established in appreciation of his work. However, it was reported that:

In accordance with Dr Miller's own desire, it has been decided that, apart from a small token of personal regard, the subscription received will be handed over to him to be applied by him directly for the benefit of his social schemes. Dr Miller has stated that the scheme which is nearer his heart, to which he has devoted the best years of his life, is his work in the Pleasance district of Edinburgh ... The object of the Pleasance Trust is to ameliorate social conditions in the district and to provide a community centre for the people there. The scheme is at once a pioneer movement and a practical contribution to social betterment.⁶⁰

The desire to create a 'community centre' in this impoverished district encapsulates what Miller was aiming to do. Bringing together in one place the kind of services that Miller and others felt were needed in the Pleasance led to the almost continual expansion of Pleasance buildings. By the early 1920s, the numbers using the settlement had outgrown its accommodation and a hall to hold at least 700 people was required.⁶¹ The Pleasance Trust agreed to help finance this hall, with costs estimated to be around £6000.⁶² However, in December 1924, a chimney crashed through the roof of the hall of the settlement rendering the hall unusable and requiring an estimated £300 to repair the damage. After the warden's death, an unnamed acquaintance recalled Miller's buoyant response to the crisis:

⁶⁰ *Scotsman* 2 July 1929 p. 9.

⁶¹ NCL AA.3.3.68 NCS Advisory Council minutes 9 March 1923.

⁶² *Ibid.* 13 November 1924.

I remember meeting him the morning after the chimney of Fulton's Brewery crashed on top of the settlement hall and the old maltings of the brewery itself. 'The Insurance people say that we can claim no damages for this, Rod', he said. 'They call it an Act of God, and so it shall be!' Out of this Act of God came one of the finest gymnasiums and group of club rooms in Britain.⁶³

By the end of January 1925, already a sum of £529 had been raised. Whilst the settlement received almost all its funding through the United Free Church, on this occasion it was noted that many of these donations came from sources outwith the church,⁶⁴ suggesting that the worth of the settlement was felt not only within the section of society who had taken responsibility for running and funding it, but that it was also appreciated more universally. Indeed, the generous response to settlement appeals appears to have given the settlement and the Trust confidence to expand beyond their original plans. In October of that year, the warden laid out plans for the development of the buildings. Along with a large gymnasium, the plans included: a large play room and gymnasium, a club room with coffee bar and a terraced playground with covered area for children. The buildings would have central heating and indoor lavatories. The whole of scheme cost about £10,000 of which £9,500 was already in hand.⁶⁵ Over the course of a year, then, the plans had advanced considerably from the initial plan of simply building one hall. With the support of subscribers, the settlement and Trust buildings were being turned into a centre of sport, leisure and socialisation in the community. A child welfare centre was also built and in 1932 a theatre was opened.

⁶³ Pleasance Church Monthly February 1940.

⁶⁴ NCL AA.3.3.68 NCS Advisory Council minutes 22 January 1925.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 22 October 1925.




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Fig. 7 Pleasance Trust theatre




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Fig. 8 Pleasance Trust gymnasium

However, it was not simply a place of social and recreational facilities that put the buildings in the centre of the community. Health was also something that high on the Trust's priorities. In his 1926 Annual Report (which was published in 1927), William Robertson, the Edinburgh Medical Officer of Health was unstinting in his admiration for what had been achieved in the Pleasance:

That one half of the world does not know what the other half is doing is amply demonstrated by the work of the Pleasance Settlement Trust. Here, in one of the most crowded areas of the St. Leonard's Ward, has sprung up a splendid movement of practical preventative work. I wish the citizens of Edinburgh would visit and inspect the spacious gymnasium, which is only the precursor of more wonderful schemes for brightening up the lives of the young and old in this otherwise dismal place. Visitors will start back in astonishment when they appreciate what has been quietly and without ostentation, built up under their very eyes. The Local Authority is deeply indebted to the Trust for the provision of a splendid Child Welfare Centre, which, it is to be hoped, will be extended in furtherance of the scheme outlined for establishing *foci* of preventative activity in different areas of the extended city. The live wire of this scheme at the Pleasance has been the Rev. Dr J. Harry Miller. A man like Dr Miller is better than a crowd of medical officers of health. In addition to the commodious room set aside for the examination of children, it will be possible to give lecture demonstrations to mothers, and to

medical students. This will provide an excellent training ground not only for the University but also for others interested in Social Work. Added to that provision, an apartment has been set aside for affording the children the benefits of Artificial Sunlight by means of Open Arc and Mercury Vapour Lamps.⁶⁶

That Robertson thought the Trust and settlement were beneficial to the health of the Pleasance is clear. It was not only through the provision of sporting facilities but, as he highlights, the buildings were also a child health centre. Whilst, during this period, the child welfare centre associated with the QMS was moved out of the settlement buildings to new purpose-built buildings, in the Pleasance the Child Welfare Centre became a central part of the fabric of the Pleasance Trust buildings. These developments should be seen in the context of a greater focus on infant and maternal welfare in the aftermath of the Great War. The Maternal and Child Welfare Act was passed in 1918, giving councils the powers to provide midwives, health visitors, day centres for infants, nurseries and nutrition for mothers and children. This built on the 1911 Insurance Act, which had provided for men earning less than £160 per year, but left their wives and children relatively unprotected. As Bradley has noted, extension of local government powers allowed settlements to develop their provision of infant welfare and their relationships.⁶⁷ In Scotland, the settlements had a long tradition of working towards better health and welfare for women and children. The 1918 act did not end this legacy but instead allowed them to build upon it.

The Pleasance clinic was a case in point. This developed as one of the largest in Edinburgh, as the table below demonstrates:

		New Cases			Total Attendances		
Centre	No. of Clinics	<i>Under 1 Year</i>	<i>Over 1 Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Under 1 Year</i>	<i>Over 1 Year</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gorgie	90	161	47	208	1,662	1,245	2,907
Torphican Street	101	313	82	395	2,986	1,933	4,919
High Street	101	180	11	191	2,602	2,398	5,000
Pleasance	144	356	88	444	4,669	3,391	8,060

⁶⁶ EUA LBH 16/2/27 Wm Robertson, Medical Officer of Health, *Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1926* p. Vi.

⁶⁷ Kate Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State* .p. 52.

Windsor Street	100	262	116	378	2,232	1,483	3,715
Stockbridge	94	229	98	327	2,597	1,610	4,207
* Marshall Street	49	134	72	206	1,300	482	1,782
* Elsie Inglis Memorial Hospital	144	294	108	402	1,850	1,139	2,989
Prestonfield	52	108	152	260	1,022	753	1,775
Totals	875	2,037	774	2,811	20,920	14,434	35,354
Figures for 1925	806	1,707	641	2,348	17,964	13,769	31,733

* These Dispensaries received a grant from the corporation

Fig. 9 Table of Preventative Clinics Child and Infant Welfare in Edinburgh ⁶⁸

As one can see from this table, by 1931, the Pleasance Clinic had become the largest preventative clinic (a clinic where children were routinely examined rather than taken when ill) in Edinburgh. Moreover, the Pleasance was also, along with Leith where the treatment began, a place where a pioneering treatment using UV lamps and sun-ray treatment would be implemented. In 1927, moreover, the massage clinic, where ‘1,023 treatments had already been given to poor children under the direction of a medical officer’, was noted in the *British Medical Journal*.⁶⁹ Again, one sees the Pleasance, working with the Health Department, becoming a centre of pioneering treatment with a high volume of people using the facilities. The Pleasance was becoming known as a centre of excellence for infant and maternal welfare.

During this period, the Pleasance area, or St Leonard’s as the ward was known, became a part of a major scheme to improve the health of Edinburgh by radically improving housing conditions. The district and the people that Miller and the settlement were aiming to help became subject to an extensive slum clearance scheme. This would pave the way for a new kind of work for the EUS. After World War I, housing conditions in Edinburgh deteriorated. St Leonard’s had the highest death rate bar one of any ward in the city and the MOH felt that this were clearly linked to high density housing, overcrowding and poor

⁶⁸ EUA LBH 16/2/32 John Guy, Medical Officer of Health, *Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1931* p. 70.

⁶⁹ *British Medical Journal*, 12 November 1927 p. 895.

sanitation.⁷⁰ To counter this, the local government and the Public Health Department began the extensive slum clearance scheme across the city. The plan to clear the St Leonards ward was the largest section of the scheme, involving over 8,000 people.⁷¹ It was also the last of the areas to be cleared but until then detailed descriptions of the district were regularly included in the MOH's reports to highlight the continued need for clearance:

To pass through some of the streets in [St Leonards] and into the grim conditions of the stairs, lobbies and dwellings is depressing enough for the visitor, but the actual daily experience of the regular occupiers can only be imagined.⁷²

The cramped and impoverished conditions in which the people in this area lived demonstrate why such a facility as was provided by the Pleasance Trust and NCS was so admired. When the clearance scheme began in the St Leonard's ward, its impact was clear and the conditions in the Pleasance were later contrasted to the improvements which the new residents of Prestonfield, where many of the St Leonards tenants were moved, could look forward to:

The houses will be bathed in sunshine, since every block has a southern exposure. Those who leave St Leonard's to go to Presonfield will quickly appreciate and experience the value of their new environment. How the children will revel in the sunshine and open spaces of the new district!⁷³

The clearance of this area had, of course, ramifications for the agencies working in the Pleasance, including the settlements. The Pleasance remained a very densely populated area and there were enough people still living there to justify charities and agencies such as the settlements maintaining a presence in the area. Indeed, in spite of the removal of a large section of the population, the Pleasance Trust and NCS continued to expand and cement their presence in the district and showed no inclination to move beyond the boundaries of the area. At the EUS, however, there was a different reaction to the clearance scheme as it actively engaged with the issue of clearance, resulting in the

⁷⁰ EUA LHB16/2/22 A. Maxwell Williamson, *Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1921* p. V.

⁷¹ EUA LBH16/2/230 Wm Robertson, Medical Officer of Health, *Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1929* p. 4.

⁷² EUA LBH16/2/24 Wm Robertson, MD DPH FRCP, Medical Officer of Health, *Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1923* p. 62.

⁷³ EUA LBH16/2/28 Wm Robertson, Medical Officer of Health, *Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1927*, p. Vii.

establishment of a new branch of the settlement in a new area. Whilst the settlement's work in High School Yards suffered for much of the 1920s from a lack of adequate accommodation, a new scheme was developed to provide for those who were moved to the new housing area. In response to the demands from people who had been moved out to the new scheme at Prestonfield, the settlement opened a new branch in 1928. Cameron House, as it was called, was to be a 'community house'⁷⁴ and it was first suggested by those who had used the settlement in High School Yards:

The warden reported that she had been approached by a number of people who had been moved from the settlement area out to Prestonfield, which was the new Slum Clearance Scheme of the Town, asking her if the settlement would consider opening a branch in Prestonfield.⁷⁵

Within a month, the warden was discussing the possibility of renting Cameron House in Prestonfield to establish a new branch of settlement work and from the start this scheme also had the active backing of the town council, who gave financial support to it. Neither was this a development which was confined to Edinburgh. Concern over a need to foster a sense of community in these areas led to a new sphere of work in the voluntary sector. Hilda Jennings explained developments such as these. Whilst she noted that there were settlements in most major cities, she pointed to the creation of the new estates and the lamentable failure of 'housing enthusiasts' to realise that 'even the under-privileged slum dwellers had created for themselves compensatory features which played a highly important part in their lives'. These new estates thus suffered from the same problems as the old communities with the added 'evils' created by uprooting and transplanting a large number of families. Thus, 'it was not a matter of surprise... that the word 'community' took on a new significance and that a deliberate attempt was made to foster the neighbourhood values which had slowly grown up in the old areas'.⁷⁶ Naturally, the settlements followed this trend. In 1929, the New Estates Community Committee was established.⁷⁷ This was the result of a conference between the NCSS, the Educational Settlements Association, and the British Association of Residential Settlements leading to some settlements, including the Birmingham settlement, establishing branches in the new

⁷⁴ EUA GD20/8 EUS *Annual Report 1928*.

⁷⁵ EUA GD20/7EUS Executive Committee Minutes 14 February 1929.

⁷⁶ H. Jennings, 'Voluntary Social Service in Urban Areas' in H. Mess, *Voluntary Social Services since 1918* (London: Kegan Paul, 1947) p. 35.

⁷⁷ J. Matthews and J. Kimmis, 'Development of the English Settlement Movement' in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) p. 60.

estates.⁷⁸ Olechnowicz finds this movement to be rooted in an idealistic conception of community which was closely modelled on that which defined the settlements. Those behind the NECC saw the solutions to interwar housing problems in terms of ‘a theory of mass society’. The new estates that were springing up, such as Prestonfield, were unfavourably contrasted with the ideal of village life and commentators raised concerns about a lack of community spirit. What was meant by ‘community’ was never questioned but it nevertheless remained the goal of the movement.⁷⁹ These concerns informed the rhetoric of the Edinburgh settlement regarding the Prestonfield scheme as the following extract from the 1928 Annual Report demonstrates:

The new housing areas present to the social worker and civic administrator a new set of problems. It is unlikely that the mere transplanting of people from crowded areas will render social work among them unnecessary. It is likely, however, that the greatest need of these centres is not organised philanthropy. Sudden removal from old homes has destroyed the associations and background of many of the residents in these areas. The immediate duty of the social worker is to build up a new set of traditions, to form a group spirit and a community feeling. The adequate tackling of these problems holds out the hope that these schemes will become more than slum clearances, and will be centres for developing morally and intellectually, and indeed aesthetically, the consciences of the residents.⁸⁰

In the new settlement branch at Cameron House, then, one can see the settlement hoped to leave behind the kind of relief agency work and problems associated with deep poverty which was a part of their work in High School Yards. This development was an opportunity to create a sense of community amongst these new residents and to educate them to raise themselves ‘morally and intellectually, and indeed aesthetically’ to match their new surroundings.

⁷⁸ J. Glasby, ‘One Hundred Years of the Birmingham Settlement’ in R. Gilchrist and T. Jeffs, *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2001) p. 98.

⁷⁹ Andrzej Olechnowicz, ‘The Ideology of the New Estates Community Committee’, in Olechnowicz, *Working-Class Housing in England between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁸⁰ EUA GD20/8 *EUS Annual Report 1928*.



Fig. 10 Cameron House

The elevating principle of providing access to these kinds of facilities was not only to be seen in the new housing areas, but also underpinned the development of the Pleasance Trust buildings – which were to be, according to Miller, ‘a garden of God in the Pleasance’.⁸¹ Although the NECC was a secular movement, Miller nevertheless also embraced the idea of bringing beauty into the area. These buildings attracted glowing praise and a large part of their significance lay in the fact that they were very good facilities in a very poor area: part of the reason they were so successful lay in the high standards which underpinned their establishment. The unnamed acquaintance of the warden would recall after Miller’s death:

He himself loved the best and would have nothing less than that for us. There was no lowering of the standard to suit the audience. That is a cheap and patronising method. All he did was of the highest order, from his own clean and fresh appearance to the really beautiful manner in which he conducted worship.⁸²

⁸¹ *Scotsman* 11 January 1924 p. 5.

⁸² *Pleasance Church Monthly* February 1940.

As Miller would argue, ‘There was no doubt that if they gave the best music to their poorest people they rose to it instinctively.’⁸³ This principle underpinned the design and building of the settlement and trust buildings. Indeed, the gymnasium was highly praised for the facilities it provided and the ‘spray baths’ were particularly admired. When the theatre was built in 1932 it was also hailed for its quality. It was, according to the *Scotsman*:

not any kind of makeshift building, but one carefully planned and attractively equipped, with the latest and most scientific apparatus for dramatic rendition. It should serve, indeed, for Edinburgh, if not for Scotland, as a model of what a ‘Little Theatre’ should be.⁸⁴

The amenities provided in the Pleasance were, it is clear, designed to be something that the people of the area could use and be proud of.

This outlook was also reflected in the kinds of work that the EUS began at Prestonfield. For example, the first, and one of the most popular spheres of work the settlement began, was the Gardeners’ Association, in 1929:

The Amateur Gardeners’ Association... met with surprising success. At the opening meeting, called to discuss the need for such an organisation, eighty-four persons attended, and the Association was formed with enthusiasm. The Committee consists of seven men and seven women, being two from each street in the housing area, with the Warden as Chairwoman. The Associates pay a weekly subscription of one penny, out of the proceeds of which sixty to seventy garden tools have been bought and lent out nightly to members. A Course of Lectures on Gardening is being given ... and Mr Dodds, Assistant Secretary of the Small Holders’ Association, attends one evening a week to give practical advice on gardening.⁸⁵

Gardening, as Olechnowicz has argued, was seen as an important activity in developing citizenship, along with other forms of leisure, as it ‘encouraged sociability and was the common interest around which a new social life could be built on new estates’.⁸⁶ This ideology informed the basis of the gardening club at Prestonfield. The club aimed to give practical help to those interested in gardening through a model of working which involved

⁸³ *Scotsman* 11 January 1924 p. 5.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ EUA GD20/8 EUS *Annual Report 1929*.

⁸⁶ Andrzej Olechnowicz, ‘The Ideology of the New Estates Community Committee’, in Olechnowicz, *Working-Class Housing in England between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 168.

high levels of participation from residents. Gardens were not only a new development for these tenants, they were also a very visible one and it is clear that the settlement workers had managed to engage with a large and representative portion of the community. This was a new and necessary part of these developments within the settlement movement, according to the warden in a speech to the Edinburgh Welfare Housing Trust and the Edinburgh Women's Citizens' Association⁸⁷ in 1930:

The settlement movement had started 40 years ago, but a change of purpose had evolved, and the people in the areas served by settlement workers – who should be men and women of goodwill, of all classes and parties, and occupations – now pulled their weight. The settlement existed to focus and radiate a conception of a wider citizenship for the whole of their community, which could only be made concrete by conscious and sustained effort.⁸⁸

Community involvement was now the expected result of settlement work in these new areas, as was represented by the gardening scheme begun by Cameron House, which held its first Flower Show in 1932.⁸⁹ The ideas of responsibility and citizenship which accompanied this conception became a feature of settlement work in this period.

Jennings further noted that the concern over citizenship and community was also part of a reaction to growing concern over adult leisure time in this period, principally caused by unemployment.⁹⁰ This became one of the most challenging problems that the Scottish settlements dealt with in the 1920s and 1930s as the districts in which the settlements were based were badly affected by lack of work. The unemployment rate of insured men in Scotland increased from 14.3% to a peak of 27.7% in 1932.⁹¹ The impact this had on settlement districts is perhaps best demonstrated in the literature of the QMS, which ran the Charity Organisation Society for the Anderston district – changed in 1927 to the City of Glasgow Council of Social Service.⁹² The reports for this branch of settlement work bemoan the levels of unemployment in the district throughout this period and it is clear that the organisers felt that there was little they were able to do to alleviate distress – the

⁸⁷ For an overview of this movement see: Sue Innes, 'Constructing Women's Citizenship in the Interwar Period: the Edinburgh Women Citizens' Association', *Women's History Review*, Volume 13, Number 4, 2004 and Wright, Valerie 'Education for active citizenship: women's organisations in interwar Scotland', *History of Education*, 38: 3, (2009).

⁸⁸ *Scotsman* 27 January 1930.

⁸⁹ EUA GD20/8 EUS *Annual Report* 1932.

⁹⁰ Jennings, 'Voluntary Social Service in Urban Areas' p. 35.

⁹¹ A. Booth and S. Glynn, 'Unemployment in the Interwar Period: A Multiple Problem', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.10, No.4 (Oct. 1975) p. 619.

⁹² GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report* 1927-28.

methods employed in previous times were of little use in the midst of such difficulties. Indeed, by 1932, their report stated that ‘it is distressing to be able to help so little in proportion to universal need, but in two directions we do accomplish results of lasting benefit – sending tired and delicate folk to Convalescent Homes and sending orphans in institutions.’⁹³ Other settlements also became centres for dealing with unemployment in the districts. The District Committees of Edinburgh Council of Social Service, for example, met in the EUS buildings in High School Yards and also in the NCS buildings in the Pleasance. It was through these centres that services such as the distribution of clothing were provided.⁹⁴ The Edinburgh settlement also provided meals for the children of unemployed men and Grey Lodge also became the base of a relief committee in Dundee.⁹⁵ Thus the settlements were, either directly or indirectly, centres of practical aid for those suffering distress through unemployment.

Unable to counter the systemic problems which put men out of work, the settlements resorted, as other voluntary agencies did, to attempting to provide amenities and activities that aimed to improve the day-to-day life of the unemployed in their districts. To this end, all the Scottish settlements, except Grey Lodge, who expressed their concern for unemployment through their existing clubs, began occupation centres for unemployed men. These types of schemes were not confined to the Scottish settlements and were indeed a product of a wider concern which manifested itself in this period as the increasing rates of unemployment led to fears of the creation of a ‘leisured class’. Some of the leading organisations in this area were the South Wales settlements. In the early 1930s, a new type of educational settlement was established in South Wales. These began by helping striking miners but soon evolved into centres that were primarily concerned with trying to help unemployed men instead. Their main source of funding was through the Pilgrim Trust and they provided recreational activities for the men along with some work experience. The South Wales settlements were established principally to deal with the social problems caused by unemployment⁹⁶ and they were very much like clubs for the unemployed.⁹⁷ As the work of Olechnowicz has shown, the inactivity of unemployed men was a cause for concern in the establishment. ‘Enforced leisure’ was a problem for the

⁹³ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1931-32*.

⁹⁴ *Scotsman* 1 March 1930 p.11.

⁹⁵ DCA GD/OC/GL1/4/2 DSU, *Annual Report 1921-22*.

⁹⁶ Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain* p.278.

⁹⁷ See J. E. Davies, ‘Educational Settlements in South Wales with Special Reference to the Merthyr Tudful Settlement’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1970).

whole of society, due Olechnowicz believed, to the long-standing concern over the ‘fitness for citizenship’ of the working class which was exacerbated by the increasing numbers who did not have the discipline of work.⁹⁸ In order to counter this, especially in South Wales, the settlements were used as places where unemployed men could come and do constructive activities that were designed to provide them with a purpose and a sense of self-worth. One of the pioneers of the South Wales settlements explained that the ‘work of the settlement is permanently needed. The aims are comradeship, social service and research. It may also have some industrial activities, that is, activities offering a slight economic advantage.’⁹⁹ Thus Davies argues that, as unemployment grew, the settlements in South Wales found that ‘education had to be understood in its widest terms in order to meet the needs of the population. The problem of what was euphemistically called “leisure” was a pressing one.’¹⁰⁰ In South Wales, this involved handiwork and crafts and also on occasion organising work experience in public parks.¹⁰¹

Echoing the establishment of the South Wales settlements, a new settlement was founded in Scotland in 1931 with 145 members, moving to larger premises in 1933 as they outgrew the original ones. Harkness House in Bellshill was founded by a grant from the Pilgrim Trust, after whose benefactor it was named and its object was ‘to be of service to the community, particularly those who are unemployed.’¹⁰² Both the QMS and the EUS helped with the founding of the settlement and the warden, Miss KC Dewar, had trained at the QMS.¹⁰³ The activities provided at the settlement included:

Woodwork (men and women), cut paper designing, cardboard model making, needlework, remodelling and cutting out pottery, cobbling and photography, Educational classes include lectures, sketching (outdoor), musical appreciation, still life, speakers’ classes, French, current events, monthly visit to places of interest.¹⁰⁴

The closure of the pits in Lanarkshire thus elicited a similar response to that of unemployed miners in South Wales and the impression of the Prince of Wales when he visited the settlement in 1933 was that ‘work of this kind was helping them to put their

⁹⁸ Olechnowicz, ‘Unemployed Workers’ p. 35.

⁹⁹ Davies, ‘Educational Settlements in South Wales’ p.181.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p.193.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p.182.

¹⁰² *Scotsman* 28 March 1933 p. 13.

¹⁰³ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1930-31*

¹⁰⁴ *Scotsman* 28 March 1933 p. 13.

leisure to good use and at the same time having an educative effect on them'.¹⁰⁵ However, education was also an important part of Harkness' remit. Over the course of five years, 76 pupils gained scholarships which were offered by a number of bodies, including the local education authority, the BBC, the NCSS and individuals. These men and women were sent to colleges and institutions across the UK and also to the International People's College in Denmark.¹⁰⁶ The settlement thus acted as a conduit through which members experience further and higher education. In this sense, the settlement was of the same ilk as the Spennymoor Settlement in southwest Durham, established in 1931. It became known as the 'pitman's academy' after the newspapers covered its sketching club's annual exhibitions and it helped dozens of its members to win scholarships to Oxford and adult colleges.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, whilst Davies casts doubts on the success of the South Wales settlements, the Bellshill project was, it seems, highly regarded within the community. The funding for this settlement was initially only for three years. This was stretched, though, to make it last over five and when, finally, in 1937 closure was imminent, the Bothwell Socialist Party launched a campaign to save it.¹⁰⁸ Support for these schemes was not always universal and whilst Harris notes the sense of genuine idealism that lay behind much of it, this type of provision for the unemployed has been regarded by many as simply 'recreational palliatives', simply designed to keep the working class occupied and content. George Orwell would describe them, for example, as having a 'nasty Y.M.C.A. atmosphere'.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, support for the Scottish settlements in these developments was strong, as shown by the number of people who attended the classes and the support of the unions. The QMS began its work specifically for the unemployed in 1931 – the same year as the Bellshill settlement was established. Initially, the settlement rented out a shop with a supervisor for fifty men. Also like the Bellshill centre, this was done with a grant from the Pilgrim Trust. The popularity of this scheme, though, resulted in a waiting list almost from the start and the opening of a new centre in 1932 which 350 men would attend, being given the opportunity 'of doing something useful and constructive'. This would include drawing classes run by the Education Authority, or classes in carpentry, motor mechanics, cobbling, clog making, photography, physical training, shorthand and

¹⁰⁵ *Bellshill Speaker*, 31 March 1933 p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ *Scotsman* 26 September 1936 p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ Olechnowicz, 'Unemployed Workers', p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ *Scotsman*, 13 February 1937 p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.189.

French – a curriculum high in practical subjects. Lectures, entertainments, outings and an allotment scheme were also run for the men, whilst the unemployed girls had their club too with 50 members where they learned cookery, dressmaking, dancing and games.¹¹⁰ These clubs, however, could vary according to their members' interests, as shown by the differences highlighted between the Edinburgh Settlement unemployed clubs:

The warden reported on the work carried on at Cameron House from February 1932 and at High School Yards from October 1932, for unemployed men. At Cameron House the men had been content with cobbling and carpentry and with some lectures in biology, popular science and wireless; but at High School Yards the men have wanted more variety. They have had classes in cobbling, carpentry, weaving, fretwork, wood carving, metal work and lectures in St Andrew's ambulance work and political economy; also a discussion group. Some of the men had been attending physical training classes.¹¹¹

In order to be successful, as with all settlement activities, the provision had to be tailored to the interests of the members in order to keep them engaged – a degree of populism was always a needful element.

As can be seen above, one of the strong trends of the work with the unemployed was a focus on the importance of education. Educational classes were run on numerous different subjects and in both practical and academic fields, as evinced from the mixture displayed in the Edinburgh and Queen Margaret unemployed clubs. However, educational classes became a feature across all clubs throughout the 1920s, not just unemployed ones. At Grey Lodge settlement, eight teachers were provided by the Education Authority running classes for girls in needlework, cookery and gymnastics¹¹² whilst at the Girls' Club of the QMS the local Education Authority ran a domestic science class, and when the grants for this were stopped, the members continued to hold classes in cookery and needlework.¹¹³ After the closure of the GUSS at the end of the 1920s, some of those involved began a boys' club at the QMS. Echoing the educational focus which had characterised the GUSS, this club began with a programme which included a gymnastics class run by the Education Authority, indoor games and lectures¹¹⁴ whilst by the following year, it was reported that they had been having 'informal talks on many subjects' along with formal lectures.¹¹⁵ As

¹¹⁰ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1932-33*.

¹¹¹ EUA GD20/7 EUS Executive Committee Minutes 7 March 1933.

¹¹² DCA GD/OC/GL1/4/2 DSU, *Annual Report 1922*.

¹¹³ GUA DC22/1/4/2 QMS *Annual Report 1921-22*.

¹¹⁴ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1927-28*.

¹¹⁵ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1928-29*.

Bradley has demonstrated, provision for girls in clubs during this period was based on the assumption that girls spent their leisure time in domestic activities, whilst boys required more physically challenging pastimes¹¹⁶ and there is nothing to suggest that the Scottish settlements challenged this assumption.

Although a feature of settlement work throughout the 1920s, the greatest success in this field was achieved by the EUS in the 1930s as it embarked on what was an ambitious programme to provide a comprehensive scheme of adult education in the deprived area of the settlement district. The advent of Kirk o' Field was a new development for the Edinburgh settlement, and indeed for Scottish settlements, drawing as heavily as it did on the new template for settlements being created by educational settlements in England and Wales. As noted in the previous chapter, the GUSS in Glasgow had attempted to become a centre of adult education by promoting a distinctly educational programme for its members and, as shown above, the QMS was also attempting, with more or less success, to put in place an educational programme for the members of its clubs. However, the EUS went further than either of those two organisations had in establishing itself as a centre of education in the community and the rise of educational settlements shines through as an influence, even if it was not overtly mentioned in the literature. The settlement, and in particular its dynamic warden, Grace Drysdale, certainly had links with educational settlements. In the early 1930s she visited the settlements in South Wales and before funding became too tight, the settlement employed Charles Kemp as an organiser for the college for the first two terms. Kemp had been a tutor at one of the Rhondda Valley Educational Settlements. The warden had met him whilst visiting there and been impressed with his work.¹¹⁷ That one of the first organisers of the work had been directly associated with an educational settlement is indicative of the extent to which the Edinburgh settlement was drawing upon their example in bringing together a range of adult educational classes in one place for the benefit of those who had no other access to education. The settlement was gifted the old picture house which was to become the Kirk o' Field College by Professor Wilkie, Chair of Surgery at the University of Edinburgh and honorary president of the settlement. Kirk o' Field was opened in October 1933 by JM Barrie, then Chancellor of the university with helpers drawn from both the settlement volunteers and the wider student body. A variety of classes were provided at the college – during the day practical crafts were provided for unemployed men in the Occupation

¹¹⁶ Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State* p. 102.

¹¹⁷ EUA GD20/7 EUS Executive Committee Minutes, 7 Mach 1933.

Centre, Cobbling and Weaving Rooms whilst in the evening athletics, lectures and discussion groups on numerous subjects, choirs and cooking classes were some of the reasons that both men and women from the district came to the college.¹¹⁸

The importance of this work was explained in the 1934 annual report of the EUS:

The fact is that to adults to whom schools represented the grim repositories of unappetising and often unnecessary details, the College is giving a culture in its widest sense – a combination of knowledge, physical training, and craftsmanship. By means of its classes men and women hitherto silent have become expressive. We are justly proud of this achievement, and in our amateur but, we feel, natural and pleasant way we hope still further to increase the usefulness of the College.¹¹⁹

One sees expressed in this extract the desire to encourage self-improvement and character development, such was also apparent in the literature surrounding the clubs, through the provision of a range of different types of activities. This, it was believed, could be developed through a mixture of classes. Nevertheless, if recreation was designed to encourage citizenship by proxy, the educational classes were often explicit in this aim. At the Edinburgh settlement, for example, the debating society, whose capacity for reasoned arguments would be described as ‘remarkable’,¹²⁰ held debates on citizenship.¹²¹ This had been a feature of settlement work throughout the 1920s and was especially prevalent at the QMS where both the Girls’ and Men’s Clubs had a ‘Citizenship Class’. In 1923, the programme of the girls’ citizenship class was described as:

Varied and interesting, and the attendance good throughout the winter. The opening lecture on Citizenship was given by Sir Steven Bilsland¹²², and was followed by three lectures on Economics, three on Philosophy, three on Architecture with lantern illustrations, two on Local Government, and lectures on Humour, China Clippers, The Work of the Ministry of Labour, The Difficulties of a Teacher, The Songs of the Clyde Valley, and two discussions on questionnaires set by the Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship.¹²³

¹¹⁸ EUA GD20/8 EUS, *Annual Report 1933*.

¹¹⁹ EUA GD20/8 EUS, *Annual Report 1934*.

¹²⁰ EUA GD20/8 EUS, *Annual Report 1932*.

¹²¹ EUA GD20/8 EUS, *Annual Report 1923*.

¹²² Bilsland was the son of a Glasgow Provost who became involved in various projects to promote Scottish economic growth in the 1930s, such as the Scottish Development Council and who was in the 1920s Chairman of the Workmen’s Dwelling Company. See: Richard Davenport-Hines, ‘Bilsland, (Alexander) Steven, Baron Bilsland (1892–1970)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40287>, accessed 2 March 2011].

¹²³ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1922-23*.

The settlement was not the only organisation in Glasgow providing citizenship classes. As Wright has discussed, in Glasgow and Edinburgh there were women's citizenship organisations providing 'education for active citizenship'. The Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship (GSEC) and the Edinburgh Women Citizens Association (EWCA) sprang up in the advent of women gaining the vote in order to prepare women for their new role as citizens. These organisations also provided a range of lectures, discussions and study circles which examined citizenship, women's roles in society and educated them in how to use their vote.¹²⁴ However, whilst the girls' class was doing well, the men's club seemed to struggle with the educational side more: the previous year it had been reported that 'the citizenship class is not always popular'.¹²⁵ Indeed, encouraging the men to become interested in educational pursuits proved a struggle. In 1927, after the closure of the GUSS meant that some volunteers joined the QMS, a series of lectures was attempted for the Men's Club. These, however, 'failed to attract interest' with the leaders adding that they were 'going to persevere on an easier scale'.¹²⁶ The strength of this club always lay in its recreational activities.

Within the provision for the unemployed and the clubs in general, then, one sees a mixture of purely educational provision and recreational activities. As the example of the QMS shows, this was partly because trying to establish interest in purely academic classes could be a struggle. However, this strategy, of 'education in its widest terms' was replicated throughout settlement activities in the 1920s as the desire to influence people's leisure activities became an important motivation. Members of settlement clubs were being encouraged, covertly through activities, and overtly through lectures and classes, to use their leisure time to become 'good' citizens. The QMS, for example, argued that club activities 'educate... through recreation'.¹²⁷ This became the tune to which many settlement activities were played, especially in the clubs. The activities of the clubs tended to centre on recreational activities at least partly because, as mentioned above and in the previous chapter, these were an important means of bringing members into the clubs. However, settlement workers did not believe that this was the only benefit in this type of provision – instead recreation was seen as an integral part of character development and an important means by which to promote citizenship: in this sense the clubs were the

¹²⁴ Wright, Valerie 'Education for active citizenship: women's organisations in interwar Scotland', *History of Education*, 38: 3, (2009).

¹²⁵ GUA DC22/1/4/2 *QMS Annual Report 1921-22*.

¹²⁶ GUA DC22/1/4/3 *QMS Annual Report 1927-28*.

¹²⁷ GUA DC22/1/4/3 *QMS Annual Report 1922-23*.

cornerstone of settlement work. Thus, in 1923, the Annual Report of the EUS explained that:

The true underlying motive [of settlement work] must always be the education of the people in self-control and self-realisation, and these ends we seek to gain not so much by purely educational classes as by the development of character through Clubs, Scout Troops, and Guide Companies.¹²⁸

The literature of the settlements emphasised the way in which the combined activities of the clubs were designed to ‘improve’ the morals and behaviour of those who attended. As Bradley has noted, it was through clubs that most people engaged with settlements and their value increasingly lay in the way they could instil the qualities associated with good citizenship.¹²⁹

The settlements, however, were not alone in regarding leisure in this light during this period and their attitudes were instead reflective of wider thinking on the importance of recreational leisure pursuits. These same sentiments were expressed, for example, in a *Scotsman* article by a member of the Edinburgh Union of Boys’ Clubs, of which both the New College and EUS clubs were members. Under the header ‘Developing Character’, the author explains:

Practically all [clubs] are endeavouring to train their members to be useful citizens of good character, fit in mind, body and spirit. This can be achieved in nearly as many ways as there are clubs. The mind may be cultivated by reading, libraries, talks, discussions, debates, handicraft classes, dramatic and musical productions and so on. Physical activities may embrace physical training, gymnastics, boxing, indoor games, wrestling, football, athletics, swimming and other such exercises, whilst the spiritual side may include Bible classes, boys’ services, and other religious activities. In addition to these, most club programmes include a social and recreational side, with table games, billiards, ping-pong, and other games and social activities ... Men who can teach boys and help boys along their varying interests can all be fitted into a club and fulfil the important function of helping and training boys to make good use of their leisure hours.¹³⁰

The role of boys’ clubs, then, as expressed by a representative of the Boys’ Club Union, was to provide a range of all-round activities dealing with the moral, educational and physical development of their members with the ultimate aim of moulding them into good

¹²⁸ EUA GD20/8 EUS *Annual Report 1923*.

¹²⁹ Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State* p. 100.

¹³⁰ *Scotsman* 10 March 1930 p. 8.

citizens. The role of the Union, founded in 1927,¹³¹ was to promote cooperation between clubs with competitions and leagues and it was a part of a Scottish National Association of Boys' Clubs, which was in itself a part of a British Association. Similar arrangements existed for Girls Clubs, which were also a part of a local Union and a National Association. Members of the settlement clubs were therefore a part of a network whose wide variety of activities were designed with the aim of improving their character. Conferences for Union members were also held and it is clear that these often encouraged attendees to think about the moral implications of how they spent their leisure, as demonstrated by the *Scotsman* report of one such conference, attended by the QMS club, where members discussed the 'effect of the cinema on moral tone'. Attended by ninety girls from across Scotland, the members seem to have agreed that whilst some types of films were acceptable, others were unwholesome: as a QMS member expressed, 'the moral tone of the young folks had had, on the whole, been lowered by the cinema'.¹³² These sorts of conferences, as a part of club life, not only fostered links between Scottish clubs, but enabled them to participate in debates and gave them a forum for expression – perhaps an extension of the kind of motivators which, at Kirk o' Fields, made 'men and women hitherto silent become expressive'. The settlements also began Guide, Scout, Cub and Boys Brigade companies in this period. As Tammy Proctor has shown, this was another form identity which the settlement gave them access to. She argues that the Scouts and Guides 'created one modern youth subculture... This subculture expressed group solidarity and a stated desire to transcend class differences, while reflecting individual identity and the realities of class within the movements.'¹³³ These aims were reflective of the settlements' own. Thus, in joining Club Unions and the Guide and Scout movements, one can see the settlements encouraging their members to become a part of wider networks which reinforced settlement aims. Settlements were not just providers of 'useful' leisure activities but were gateways to them as well.

Leisure activities were therefore important in club activities and were reflective of wider social concerns and this is demonstrated also in the physical and sports activities provided by the settlements. Skillen has noted how within the school system physical education, especially for girls, was designed to 'complement' other areas of the curriculum, such as

¹³¹ *Scotsman* 25 May 1929 p. 13.

¹³² *Scotsman*

¹³³ Tammy Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', *History Workshop Journal*, No. 45 (Spring, 1998), p. 130.

cooking, health education and child care, which were designed to equip girls with the skills to run successful homes and families.¹³⁴ She has further shown how physical education in the Scottish education system during the interwar period came increasingly to be viewed as a means of promoting ‘character training’ or ‘training for citizenship’¹³⁵ thus causing it to evolve from being a ‘peripheral’ subject at the beginning of the century to becoming a ‘vital element of the syllabus’ by the mid-1930s.¹³⁶ As she also notes, the idea that physical education could improve the characters of the young was not an entirely new idea, with the use of games such as rugby in boys’ public schools to promote ‘desirable’ qualities in pupils. However, she argues that ‘by the middle of the 1920s and certainly by the 1930s there is evidence to suggest that games, and physical education more generally, were being used in mainstream education in an attempt to mould the characters of schoolchildren’.¹³⁷ The settlements too had placed emphasis on the importance of physical play for some years in the form of activities such as the Playground Games, which, as noted in previous chapters, were designed to encourage character development by showing children how to play ‘properly’. During this period, however, games and other types of physical recreation became a part of the overall desire by settlements to encourage behaviour and values which were seen to be representative of good citizenship and character. At NCS, the gymnasium became perhaps the organisation’s greatest asset and was used by the EUS for its gymnastics classes too. The rationale behind investing in such facilities was explained by Miller:

They got a gymnasium in which they taught young men to make their bodies the instrument of their mind, afterwards telling them that the mind must be worthy of the body. One of the great problems they had to face was mental outlook. They felt there was a need for a positive kind of direction, and met it by providing clubrooms and gymnasia.¹³⁸

Other settlements also developed a strong sports side to their work. As noted above, for example, gymnastics classes were a feature in settlement clubs. Football teams were formed and at the Queen Margaret and Edinburgh settlements, the desire to have playing fields was also expressed. The QMS acquired one in 1925.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Fiona Skillen, “‘A sound system of physical training’: the development of girls’ physical training in interwar Scotland”, *History of Education*, vol. 38, no. 4 (May 2009) p411

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 410-11.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 412.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 410.

¹³⁸ *Scotsman* 20 November 1935 p. 8.

¹³⁹ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1925-26*.

The character development, team building and sense of responsibility that these activities were supposed to encourage were highlighted in other spheres of settlement activity. For example, at the annual camp of the Queen Margaret Men's Club in 1925, one of the leaders reported that 'there was a good sense and spirit of comradeship among the campers and a general realisation that the welfare of each individual depended on the welfare of the community – the camp.'¹⁴⁰ One of the trends which became increasingly apparent in the settlements in the interwar period is the emphasis which was placed on the importance of club life and corporate spirit within the various clubs run by the settlements. As the settlements consolidated the position of their clubs, especially in the case of the Grey Lodge Settlement, they began to promote a model of club work whereby members took responsibility for the running of the club. This agenda was laid out in the Club section of the DSU's 1921 Annual Report, where, with club members totalling 415, the warden, Miss Batting, explained that 'the ideal before us is to become a complete social centre on a small scale, and finally to become self-organising and self-supporting. This ideal is yet a long way off, but it no longer seems unattainable.'¹⁴¹ Over the next few years, this agenda was actively pursued and reported on, with it becoming a recurring theme in the Annual Reports. For example, the following year it was reported that 'it was encouraging to watch the growing interest of the young men and women in the well-being of the Clubs. They evidently think about the organisation and financial question, and frequently offer suggestions which are very useful. It is very much their club.'¹⁴² A sense of club ownership by members was therefore encouraged.

A similar trend was also emerging in the EUS whose Girls' Club and Men's Club also had their own management committees by the early 1920s. Described in an Annual Report as 'a real help in organising the Club arrangements', the Girls' Club committee worked with the committee of the Men's Club to arrange club dances and Saturday Concerts.¹⁴³ One can see, then, that the club committees were working together and that arrangements were being made jointly. The promotion of this joint 'corporate spirit' was expressed in the DSU's Annual Reports through the way in which the reports of all the clubs were consolidated into a single report written by the warden: in the Annual Reports, the clubs

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ DCA GD/OC/GL1/4/1 DSU *Annual Report 1921*.

¹⁴² DCA GD/OC/GL1/4/2 DSU, *Annual Report 1922*.

¹⁴³ EUA GD20/8 EUS, *Annual Report 1922*.

were treated as one. By the early 1930s, this rhetoric appeared to have been translated into action. In the report for 1931-32, the warden explained how:

We are glad to feel that the impulse towards what is generally known as “mixed club activities” has been a genuine one within. The way having been prepared by a definite policy in the administration of the Settlement, the natural reaction has come about, and should now continue to develop gradually but steadily... [They] have embarked upon a definitely educational as well as recreational programme, carried through by largely self-governing groups.¹⁴⁴

At both settlements, then, the clubs were collaborating and jointly taking responsibility for the organisation of some activities. However, this was more easily facilitated within the DSU than the EUS during the early 1920s because of the problems the latter faced with accommodation. The premises at Grey Lodge had been extended, as noted in the previous section, to include a hostel for workers. The original Grey Lodge buildings could therefore become a centre where all clubs could meet. This allowed the clubs to share the same building and be physically close to one another, thus promoting a sense of shared identity. When the Edinburgh settlement began Kirk o’ Fields, however, the students were given a say in the direction the college should take, as was noted in the executive minutes in 1933: ‘The warden submitted a proposed programme for the education side of the Kirk o’ Field College, and stated this had been drawn up after consultation with both the unemployed and employed men.’¹⁴⁵ In settlement publicity, too, the input of members was highlighted. In an address to the Edinburgh Fabian Society in 1934, club organiser Kemp emphasised that ‘in many cases the subjects of the lecture courses were suggested by the students themselves and the instruction was entirely non-propagandist’.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, students were given a direct say in the running of the college with three students elected ‘by ballot’ to the committee formed to organise classes at the college.¹⁴⁷ Again, this echoes one of the defining characteristics of educational settlements, which was that the students be given a voice, which is, so Freeman has argued, one of the reasons why educational settlements were more successful in this period than the traditional model.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ DCA GD/OC/GL1/4/11 DSU, *Annual Report 1931*.

¹⁴⁵ EUA GD20/7 EUS, Executive Committee Minutes 19 October 1933.

¹⁴⁶ *Scotsman* 23 November 1934 p. 7.

¹⁴⁷ EUA GD20/7 EUS, Executive Committee Minutes 6 June 1934.

¹⁴⁸ Mark Freeman, *The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: A Study in Quaker Philanthropy and Adult Education 1904-1954* (York: William Sessions Ltd., 2004) p.126

However, despite an awareness of the need to allow their students a voice, the limitations of democracy within settlement clubs should be addressed. Whilst some clubs, such as the Gardeners' Club at Cameron House, seem to have had a high degree of active participation, in other cases levels of participation seem to have been limited, especially at the QMS. Before the war, the settlement's girls' club were allowed to appoint their own committee which was given a say in the running of the club and organising activities. It published a magazine, which, because it was for the consumption of the girls themselves, rather than the general public, gives an insight into how the club was run, how the girls used the facilities and engaged with the principles on which it was run. As one might expect, there were those who were more accepting of the rules and strictures set by the leaders. As the leaders were trying to encourage responsible citizenship, on Saturday nights at the club, the busiest night, the committee was struggling to impose discipline. The members of the committee felt that discipline had been a problem on previous nights, with the club becoming too 'disorderly' and noisy, and rules were being flouted. The following account was published in the magazine and comes from one of the lady helpers of an evening at the club:

The Club Secretary made an interesting announcement ... which was to the effect that a sub-committee, consisting of five members of the girls' committee assisted by five stewards had been formed to arrange matters connected with the Saturday Class and also to see that the rules were obeyed. While the Secretary was speaking her remarks were subjected to a running fire of criticism such as 'some stewards', 'jings they want us to be Jam Tarts', 'we'd be better at the jiggin' etc., while the one young lady remarked scornfully 'huh, they'd be better to elect an M.C. that can dance for I'm sure nane 'o that crowd can dance'.

Shortly afterwards a dark haired damsel expressed herself in these terms, 'these stewards are too fond of being in a clique. They have their set partners and they won't dance with any other girl', then with a magnificent toss of her head she added 'not that I want them to dance with me or that I would get up with them if they did ask me'. Just then one of the newly made stewards came up and asked this young lady for a dance. We held our breath in fear and trembling in expecting to see the young man shrivel up before her scornful glance but to our amazement she favoured him with a bewitching smile and was soon dancing vigorously with the rest ...

We paid a visit to [the refreshment area] the other night during the interval. Four committee girls were busy serving lemonade and biscuits to the crowd of young men who besieged the tables. At the various small tables were groups of men and girls laughing and chattering, sometimes sipping lemonade and munching biscuits. One or two couples sat in corners by themselves evidently engrossed in themselves, while every other minute some wag would steal up the switches and plunge the hall into darkness. Then the male members became more boisterous and commenced

throwing little bits of biscuit at each other – till the floor of the hall was quite littered over, and most of the other young men were complaining of the discomforts of harbouring crumbs down the back of their collars. We particularly noticed a young man, whose method of teasing his fellows seemed rather original. This young man, who was the possessor of an unusually long and agile pair of legs, used these latter for the purpose of tilting some other chap's just as he (the other chap) had raised it to his lips. The result was that the beverage was spilled over the floor, and when the victim of this joke pursued his tormentor there ensued such a scuffle, such jumping and such dodging, that in less time than it takes to tell, the hall had the appearance of a Donnybrook. Just then someone called out 'the dance is started', and then there was a rush for the door. The committee girls who were in charge of the refreshment room were once more left alone, and it is to their credit to say that they turned to with a will and soon put the room to rights... they do not often get the consideration they deserve.¹⁴⁹

One can see from this report that there were divisions within the club, with some members becoming involved in the running of the club but others questioning the authority of the committee and their male helpers. The dissenters were also quite vocal in their dismissal of committee girls and it is clear from the above remarks that these girls were not altogether popular. The gulf between the reality of how the club was used by those who attended it and how the volunteers wished it to be used was brought into sharp relief. These issues persisted into the interwar period when the rhetoric of responsibility and inclusiveness in the settlement's club work was greater. Despite repeated claims of 'increased responsibility' in the Men's Club, in 1930 it was noted that:

Whilst our membership has nominally amounted to 70 in the dancing season, it is quite evident that only a much smaller number are really taking part in the other activities of the Club. This number is mainly composed of those who have been associated with the Settlement either through the Boys' Club or through the previous Men's Club. It is this group who form the committee, who take part in the Pantomime and the Plays, and who in fact are the real members of the Club.¹⁵⁰

There were therefore different patterns and levels of engagement with the organisational structure in this club and it is clear that the club suffered from having competing interests within in it as the following quotation from the 1926 Annual Report demonstrates:

The Club Rooms are small and the younger members, growing weary of cards, reading and listening-in, indulged in horse play, which had the effect of making some of the older men leave the club.

General Meeting was attended by a representative number of members. The younger men were shown the evil of their ways, and the older that it was better to

¹⁴⁹ GUA DC22/2/10/11 *Anderston Girls' Club Magazine*, January 1919.

¹⁵⁰ GUA DC22/1/4/3 *QMS Annual Report 1929-30*.

face trouble than to run away from it. The discipline of the club became better and the attendance of members more stable.¹⁵¹

Whilst different expectations of what the club should be appeared to have created problems, the leaders' response appears more akin to a teacher telling off pupils than that of one dealing with a club of grown men. The devolution of responsibility to members seems, at least in this club, to have been limited in practice and the role of the settlement volunteers remained important. Neither was this attitude confined to the QMS. At the DSU, the need for a personal connection to instigate change had not been left behind in the pre-war era as the quote below from the leader of Grey Lodge's Young Men's Club makes clear:

I liken these boys to a quarry of rough blocks of unhewn marble. The blocks can be made into beautiful statues, but only under the skilful hands of good sculptors. We have many such good workmen in our good city, and these I invite to join with me in the work of turning undeveloped young lads into good citizens.¹⁵²

Settlements still remained committed to the idea of moral improvement. Although democracy was a strong theme running through these organisations, the idea that the working classes required to be educated in how to behave was still prevalent.

¹⁵¹ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1926-27*.

¹⁵² DCA GD/OC/GL1/4/5 DSU, *Annual Report 1925*.

3.4 The Remaining Settlements and their Structure

One of the most significant developments in the Scottish settlements during the 1910s was the establishment of schools of social study and training. In some cases, the settlements were actively involved in the establishment of these new university courses – in others, the settlements became training partners to the schools. The period from the end of the First World War saw the evolution of these relationships, with each settlement responding differently in view of its relationship with the schools. At the QMS, for example, the relationship with the School of Social Study and Training remained close but relatively static. As noted in the previous chapter, the settlement had devolved responsibility for the school to the university. The settlement continued to work closely with the school to provide practical training opportunities to Social Study students. A clear and direct interest was taken by the settlement in the students who came to study at the settlement and matters regarding students working in the settlement were regularly discussed at committee meetings. The settlement also continued to fund a scholarship in the name of Janet Galloway, late head of the Queen Margaret College, to allow students to study social conditions at the settlement. This student was resident at the settlement and was now expected to be a student in the School of Social Study and Training. The settlement therefore retained a strong interest in the practical education of students in social study and the names of students at the school were included in the lists of settlement workers. A short report on the work of the School, written by its director, was also included in settlement's annual reports. The two organisations clearly had a close relationship. However, they remained separate and no members of the School sat on the committee of the settlement. The official relationship between the two bodies was therefore conducted entirely through the medium of the settlement as a provider of practical training.

This was a different relationship to that which existed between EUS and the School of Social Study and Training there. Because of the fragile state of the settlement, in 1920 it was absorbed into the School so that the settlement became a branch of the School. This meant that the settlement was no longer recognised as an organisation in its own right. For the next five years, the settlement did not publish its own reports and they were instead incorporated into the School's annual reports. It was also financially dependent on the School. In other ways, however, the settlement remained distinct from the School. The settlement retained its own warden – Grace Drysdale, who took up this position in 1920

whilst the School had its own director, Nora Milnes. These two key roles remained separate and whilst Drysdale reported to the School's committee on a regular basis, the committee took almost no action in the affairs of the settlement. University students also established a Settlement Association, whose aim was to help the settlement raise funds and provide volunteers. The settlement, moreover, held public meetings under the name and auspices of the settlement and were led by people who were longstanding supporters of the settlement. Although the settlement association had been formally incorporated into the School, members of this association therefore still acted in the name of the settlement – the settlement did not lose its identity through its absorption into the School of Social Study and Training. During this period the settlement continued to develop its work and to establish itself not just as the training wing of the School but as a provider of social services in the community. The financial stability that merger with the School granted the settlement allowed the latter to stabilise and grow. By 1925, the limitations that the arrangement imposed on both bodies had become clear and moves to separate the two organisations were made. At a meeting of the committee, argument for breaking the current arrangement was put forward. The settlement was looking to expand. As noted above, the condition of the buildings made them unsuitable. This necessitated an appeal and it was felt 'that in making such an appeal the union of a charitable body with an educational body was not good' as the two appealed to different demographics. Moreover, increasing student interest in the settlement justified their representation on the committee and was necessary to maintain this interest but this was not possible whilst the settlement was a part of the School.¹⁵³ The reasons for the split therefore centred on finance and the ability of the settlement to develop as a philanthropic institution with links to university students. Whilst joining with the School had provided stability and support for the settlement, the relationship was now seen to hinder its development. The settlement's supporters and leaders felt that in order for it to progress, it had to develop a stronger sense of identity in order to capitalise on both the public and the students' support. The split was agreed to and in 1925 the settlement was reconstituted as an independent organisation, paving the way for the settlement to begin the expansion that was to lead to Kirk o' Fields and Cameron House. Although the split was instigated by members of the settlement for the benefit of the settlement, it also cleared the way for the School to develop as a provider of further education and in 1928 the School was fully incorporated into the university as a recognised department under the name of the Department of Social Studies and Training

¹⁵³ EUA GD20/7 EUS *Executive Committee Minutes*, 28 May 1925

with the Executive Committee replaced by a Board of Directors.¹⁵⁴ Official university recognition of students' endeavours had come in 1922 when the university agreed to grant Post-Graduate Diplomas along with a University Certificate for those without a first degree. With such university involvement and endorsement, it seemed natural for the School to be officially a part of the university. The School and the settlement remained close, however, even after the split, with Milne sitting on the executive committee of the settlement and the settlement continued to provide training for students in the School. This break therefore remade the relationship between the settlement and the School into something similar to that which existed in Glasgow.

The training schools which existed in Edinburgh and Glasgow had been founded before 1920 and were by this time well established. As noted above, the Edinburgh School of Social Study and Training had by 1928 gained enough recognition for it to be fully and formally incorporated into the university. However, social training in Dundee during this period faced a much more challenging time. This School had been established in 1920 by the University of St Andrews with Grey Lodge as the training partner. Unlike Glasgow and, until 1927, Edinburgh, the School was run by the university and decisions taken by a Board of Studies, with Elizabeth Batting, leader of the DSU as Director of Studies. The first year of the School was described as 'satisfactory' with eight students.¹⁵⁵ However, it soon ran into problems and by the session beginning 1923, the School was unable to find any new students – a problem which would hamper it throughout its short life. Although new intakes were found for 1924 and 1925, in 1926 the decision was taken to close the School to new students. A lack of public knowledge about the School and economic conditions appear to have played a part in keeping the School from attracting more students. In the School's Second Annual Report, readers were told that

A considerable amount of propaganda work has been accomplished latterly by means of the Press and in periodicals, but if the School is to obtain its merited recognition and take its due and legitimate place, the fact must be faced that the School requires to be much more widely and definitely known than apparently it is and more real interest in its aims awakened. The fact that no new Students have come forward to take the Course is probably due partly to the present difficulties of obtaining posts owing to the abnormal industrial depression which is affecting all classes and branches of work. As conditions improve and a wider knowledge of

¹⁵⁴ EUA ACC 2011/2 Edinburgh University School of Social Study and Training *Annual Report 1928*

¹⁵⁵ DCA GD-OC-GL2/1 University of St Andrews School of Social Study and Training *First Annual Report*

the work and aims of the School is disseminated there is reason to hope that a satisfactory number of students will be forthcoming.¹⁵⁶

At the Edinburgh School, however, 34 students had enrolled¹⁵⁷ that term in the School, in comparison to 26 the previous year,¹⁵⁸ suggesting that the economic situation had not so far put students off enrolling in the Edinburgh course. A lack of public awareness about the Dundee School, nevertheless, remained a problem. In 1924, Batting wrote to James Cunnison of the Glasgow School of Social Study and Training asking if he would look over the prospectuses for the new term. He replied: 'I really haven't a single criticism to offer on your folder ... I really think your whole trouble is that you have not got well established.'¹⁵⁹ In Cunnison's opinion, then, the reason for the lack of students was simply that the School was not well known enough. One can also surmise from this that competing against well-established schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow was problematic for Dundee.

However, a further challenge to the School came from developments within the university. The School had the support of the Principal of St Andrews University, Sir James Colquhoun Irvine.¹⁶⁰ He was Honorary President of the School and sat on the Executive Committee. There was also a correspondence between Batting and Irvine, with the latter sometimes offering his advice. In spite of his support problems arose for the School. George Bonar, President of the Dundee Chamber of Commerce, proposed to give the university a grant of £30,000 to establish a degree in commerce at University College in Dundee, which was a satellite of the university.¹⁶¹ Like the School of Social Study and Training, this was to be a two year course with the aim of preparing students for a career in business. However, in 1927, Bonar instead gave £40,000 to the Dundee Education Authority¹⁶² to establish a new organisation – the Dundee School of Economics and Commerce, with the help of the London School of Economics.¹⁶³ In the meantime, the

¹⁵⁶ DCA GD-OC-GL 2/1 UofSA, SSST, *Second Annual Report*.

¹⁵⁷ EUAACC 2011/2 EUS SSST *Annual Report* 1927.

¹⁵⁸ EUAACC 2011/2 EUS SSST *Annual Report* 1926.

¹⁵⁹ DCA GD/OC/GL/2 Dundee SSST, *Correspondence From Cunnison to Batting* 18 October 1924

¹⁶⁰ See David Traill, 'Irvine, Sir James Colquhoun (1877–1952)', rev. Anthony R. Butler, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 ;online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34114>, accessed 31 March 2011] – Irvine was a close friend of Edward Harkness, the founder of the Pilgrim Trust and Harkness consulted Irvine on its foundation. Irvine also served on the board of that Trust.

¹⁶¹ Alexander Dow, Sheila Dow, and Alan Hutton, 'Applied Economics in a Political Economy Tradition: The Case of Scotland from the 1890s to the 1950s' *History of Political Economy*, 2000 32 (Suppl 1) p90

¹⁶² *Scotsman* 22 December 1927

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 90.

expectation of a Commerce degree at the university impacted on the development of the School of Social Study and Training. It appears that the intention was that the two courses should share staff. Writing to Irvine in 1926 to explain the situation facing the School on the occasion of her resignation as warden of Grey Lodge, Batting made arrangements for the mothballing of the School. However, she planned for her successor as warden to also take on her role in the School and these plans were being made in the expectation of there soon being a Commerce Degree at the university.¹⁶⁴ In the end, with the Commerce degree established outwith the university, the School for Social Study and Training was not revived. The settlement would continue through its Sociology Club to display an interest in social science, but it appears that the failure of the School marked the return of the settlement to focusing on relieving social problems rather than trying to train workers. In 1920, anticipating its development as a training centre, the settlement had converted a building in the grounds of Grey Lodge to a hostel in order to accommodate the students of the School. However, by 1929, rather than being a source of support for the settlement and provider of volunteers, this had instead become a drain on resources. At a meeting of the settlement committee the warden, Miss Cullen, argued that those living in the hostel were not contributing to the work and that it had become an extra strain on the workers.¹⁶⁵ It was subsequently agreed that 'Boarders be discontinued and that Grey Lodge again be used solely for the purpose for which it was intended thereby freeing up the Sub-Warden for definite social work'.¹⁶⁶ Far from supporting settlement work, the hostel was now regarded as a diversion from the true purpose of the settlement. Its abandonment marks the end of the settlement's experiment in training.

The difficulties facing Grey Lodge Settlement in establishing the School of Social and Training were therefore at least partly due to a lack of sufficient number of students willing to take the degree. The more established Schools at Edinburgh and Glasgow, however, did not experience any problems finding students to fill their courses. Despite the straightened economic circumstances, these schools became important institutions in Scotland for providing the country with a trained social work profession. The training which was provided at these institutions was intended to give potential social workers a well-rounded experience in all aspects of social work. As noted previously, this approach was due to the pre-war trend of increasing state involvement in social welfare, at both a national and

¹⁶⁴ DCA GD/OC/GL/2 Dundee SSST, *Correspondence from Batting to Irvine*, 14 June 1926

¹⁶⁵ DCA GD/OC/GL 1/1/2, DSU, Minutes 17 April 1929

¹⁶⁶ DCA GD/OC/GL 1/1/2, DSU, Minutes 19 June 1929

municipal level, combined with a desire to establish social work as a bona fide profession. Students were therefore exposed to as wide a range as possible of different types of social work. The importance of this aspect to the curriculum of the Schools is highlighted in correspondence regarding a letter from the head of the Child Welfare Department of the Industrial Welfare Society to the Dundee School of Social Study and Training enquiring why one of the Society's Welfare Supervisors had not been granted a certificate. The letter was forwarded to the Medical Officer of Health for the city, who sat on the board of the School. In his response, he said:

Your correspondent is apparently of the opinion that the Dundee School of Social Study exists purely for the purpose of providing instruction to potential industrial welfare workers, but unless I am mistaken, that is not the object. Our intention is to cover as far as possible all forms of social work, so as to enable the candidates who receive certificates to specialise later in any direction they care. We have not the time to produce specialists, but merely to satisfy ourselves that each has a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the whole social machine as it exists at present in a community like Dundee.¹⁶⁷

The aim of the certificate was therefore to show that the candidate had demonstrated proficiency in the wider field of social work. In order to accomplish this, these Schools formed networks of social work organisations who contributed to the curriculum and who took students for training. The Schools thus involved the cooperation of a number of different bodies, the settlements being some of their partners.

Within the settlements themselves, though, were brought together a community of service providers, ranging from municipal agencies including Departments of Health to those, such as the COS, who wished to limit the role of the state in social services. This level of cooperation with other bodies was a trend which developed throughout the following period, particularly with regard to municipal agencies. As noted previously, the QMS and the DSU both developed infant welfare services in cooperation with local health departments in the period leading to the end of the war and the Pleasance Trust also developed a close relationship with the Department of Health as it became an infant welfare centre. Furthermore, the settlements became distribution centres for unemployment relief and Edinburgh Council rented property to EUS in Prestonfield. The Dundee Education Authority would also use the settlement to hold classes as its sister organisation in Glasgow would provide classes for the Queen Margaret's girls club. The

¹⁶⁷ DCA GD/OC/GL/2 Dundee SSST, *Correspondence from Burgess to Smail*, 20 November 1923

continued and deepened cooperation with municipal bodies is an indication of the partnership that developed between the settlements and local government agencies and this can be seen in the context of the rise of what would come to be known as ‘the new philanthropy’, a term coined by Elizabeth Macadam.¹⁶⁸ Macadam, a former warden of the Manchester Victoria Settlement, and as noted above, head of the Joint Universities Council for Social Service, drew out in the *New Philanthropy* a picture of growing state involvement in social services which led not to a diminution of voluntary services, but rather a reconfiguration of the type of work they did: voluntary social services were to work with and to support the state, their strength lying in the experimental and specialised services that the voluntary sector could offer, as she would explain in an article published in 1934:

Voluntary effort inside the public services finds expression in another less conspicuous but not less useful shape – individual work supplementing official action. Instances of this may be found in public assistance, after care, school care, maternity and infant welfare ... Such voluntary services inside the machinery of the State naturally lose something of their freedom and spontaneity but they gain in stability and perseverance and provide a valuable method of lubricating the machine, keeping it sensitive and responsive to the human needs it seeks to serve.¹⁶⁹

There have been criticisms of Macadam suggesting that she oversimplified the relationship between state and voluntary organisations, with many remaining independent of the state.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Finlayson has argued that ‘the “new philanthropy” was evident throughout the period, as the organizational frontier of voluntarism, especially in its charitable guise, moved closer to the state.’¹⁷¹

In Scotland, the continued reconfiguration of the relationship between voluntary social welfare organisations and the state should be viewed in light of political and economic developments. Levitt believes that a combination of factors influenced the Scottish debate in this period. Firstly, the economic downturn in the interwar period affected Scotland

¹⁶⁸ See Susan Pedersen, ‘Macadam, Elizabeth (1871–1948)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53582>, accessed 6 April 2011]. Macadam, in her role as warden, turned the Victoria Settlement into a ‘laboratory in social experiments’ in the period leading up to World War 1. During the war she organised training courses for welfare workers before becoming head of the Joint Universities Council for Social Service in 1919.

¹⁶⁹ Elizabeth Macadam ‘The Relations between the Statutory and Voluntary Social Services’ *Public Administration*, Volume 12, Issue 3 p. 310.

¹⁷⁰ See Prochaska, *The voluntary impulse* p. 80.

¹⁷¹ Finlayson, ‘A Moving Frontier Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911–1949’, *Twentieth Century British History* (1990) 1(2) p. 202.

much worse than England, leading to estimates of Scotland's poverty rate being twice that of England's. The decline in living standards was also combined with 'the formal incorporation of the working classes into the structure of government' as, in the local and general elections of the 1920s, the Labour Party made significant gains, leading to a political landscape in which socialism was prominent. This led to, so Levitt argues, 'the emergence of a more assertive National Administration, one which believed the State had a duty to promote the material well-being of society.'¹⁷² In Scotland, therefore, the interwar period saw an increasing political movement which sanctioned the legitimacy of state involvement in social services and it was in this climate that the Scottish settlements developed their services in relation to local government departments and initiatives.

The Scottish settlements, therefore, developed close relationships with municipal bodies and the activities that made up the settlements' work were often a response to the provision, or lack of it, offered by the state. In 1922, for example, the QMS asked for a special appeal for the nursery as 'The care of children under five is likely to remain an object of voluntary effort for a long time to come, and the Council is very anxious that the work undertaken in the Settlement Nursery School should be carried on and extended.'¹⁷³ In 1930, meanwhile, the settlement noted that as the Educational Authority was sending increasing numbers of children to holiday camps, it meant their own Invalid Children's Aid Association could return to its original purpose of finding holiday homes for invalid children,¹⁷⁴ and the following year, the Infant Health Clinic left the settlement for new, specially built premises. Whereas, in 1924, the Edinburgh Settlement began a play hour because the Education Authority had stopped those in schools,¹⁷⁵ at the QMS in 1930, the playground games were stopped because 'owing to the number of games taught in school and the number of societies for children such as Guides, Scouts, etc, the need has now happily passed.'¹⁷⁶ The loss of these services from the QMS, however, was not something to be mourned – quite the opposite in fact, as RS Rait, Principle of the University of Glasgow and Honorary President of the settlement, emphasised in his position as chairman of the 1932 annual meeting:

¹⁷² Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland* pp. 200-201.

¹⁷³ GUA DC22/1/4/2 QMS *Annual Report 1921-22*.

¹⁷⁴ GUA DC22/1/4/3 QMS *Annual Report 1929-30*.

¹⁷⁵ EUA ACC 2011/2 Edinburgh University School of Social Study and Training and EUS, *Annual Report 1924*.

¹⁷⁶ GUA DC22/1/4/2 QMS *Annual Report 1930-31*

Referring to the fact that the Anderston Infant Health Clinic, which was very largely a 'child' of that Association, had been taken over by the Corporation, and that another of their activities, playground games, had been taken up by other bodies, the chairman remarked that he did not think that a voluntary Association like that could have a greater volume of success than when it found that its experiments had been taken up by some official body and carried out with wealth of resources which they could never hope to attain. He thought it wise that they should not attempt to keep firmly in their hands every string that they had ever held, but that they should find out new developments for their work.¹⁷⁷

Rait was highlighting an increasing prominent line of thinking amongst voluntary organisations of social service in this period. He was envisaging a partnership between the state and voluntary services whereby the role of the voluntary services was to support the state and to develop services the state did not yet provide until such time as it might be willing to take it over. In so doing, Rait was painting a picture of voluntary and statutory cooperation which would have been entirely familiar to Macadam. Lewis has also argued that commentators in the interwar period generally saw a larger role for the state as a positive development. She argues that the attitude of the voluntary sector was 'pragmatic': 'voluntary action was conceptualised in relation to the state, not on its own account'.¹⁷⁸ This certainly seems to be how it was viewed in the QMS.

Macadam spoke at the QMS's annual meeting in 1924, and was in touch with both the Edinburgh and the Grey Lodge Settlements. She represents one part of the network which increasingly linked together the settlements in this period. The settlements were increasingly keen to emphasise the way in which they were not working in isolation but were a part of a community of voluntary and municipal organisations working in cooperation to provide services. The workers of all the settlements sat on numerous committees of both local and national organisations and frequently attended conferences. This became an accepted part of settlement duties, especially for the wardens. Again, one can view this as an increasing acceptance of the idea that the individual role of voluntary bodies was limited and that cooperation with other organisations was required for organisations such as settlements to have their voice heard. Thus, from the mid-1920s, the Grey Lodge's Annual Reports contained a list similar to the following:

Representation on Civic Bodies: The Settlement is represented by the Warden on:-

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Jane Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain* (England: Edward Elgar, 1995) pp. 85-87.

The Executive Committee of the Federation of Settlements, London
 The Executive Committee of the Dundee Juvenile Organisations Committee
 The Sub-Committee (and Interviewing Committee) of the Juvenile Advisory
 Committee of the Employment Exchange
 The Executive Committee of the Scottish Club Leaders' Association
 The Executive Committee of the Dundee Branch of the National Council of
 Women
 The Workers' Educational Association¹⁷⁹

Through the warden, the settlement was highlighting the input the settlement had in these areas of social work and the level of cooperation which existed between the settlement and these bodies. The QMS's Annual Reports also contained a list of organisations the settlement worked with, although, containing all the agencies the settlement workers were associated with through the settlement, theirs was a more comprehensive list:

The Settlement Co-operates with the following Organisations through its Workers:-

Public Health Department
 Public Assistance Committee
 Education Committee
 Strathblane Home Hospital
 Glasgow Savings Bank
 Invalid Children's Aid, London (Affiliated)
 Royal Hospital for Sick Children (Almoner's Dept.)
 Glasgow and West of Scotland Union of Girls' Clubs
 Glasgow Union of Boys' Clubs
 National Council of Women
 Infant Health Visitors' Association
 Council of Juvenile Organisations
 The Juvenile Advisory Committee of the Glasgow Employment Exchange
 School of Social Study and Training
 Samaritan Society (Western Infirmary)
 Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship and Glasgow Women's Citizens'
 Association (Amalgamated)
 Burgh Insurance Committee
 Scottish Committee on Women's Training and Employment
 Federation of Residential Settlements
 Workers' Education Association
 Scottish Country Dance Association
 Nursery School Association
 National Vigilance Association of Scotland
 Glasgow and West of Scotland College of Domestic Science
 Women's Help Committee¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ DCA GD/OC/GL 1/4/10 DSU, *Annual Report 1929*

¹⁸⁰ GUA DC22/1/4/2 QMS *Annual Report 1929-30*.

This is an extensive list of bodies and shows the settlement cooperating not only with other social work organisations but also those whose aim was to improve women's education or employment opportunities. The settlement allied itself not only with those who were interested in improving social conditions but also those who aimed to promote the interests of women such as those who worked at the settlement – the settlement's external interests extended not only to those bodies who could help it in its work but also those who might help its workers.

Whilst cooperation was beneficial to the settlements, and something to be encouraged, it could create problems over control and identity. This is demonstrated through a continued tussle that the QMS had over its savings bank which the settlement ran as part of its COS work. In 1925, the COS decided that any surplus money – money which had not been collected by savers after a certain time – should be returned to the central office to be kept as assets. The settlement, however, objected to this – wishing instead to keep the money to use as an entertainments fund for its members, as had been done previously. This request was repeated in 1926, but again the settlement refused. When the question was raised again in 1927, a meeting was arranged with the COS. At this meeting, it was decided that the representatives should discuss:

How the Anderston Collecting Savings Bank originated and point out in what ways it differed from other COS district collecting savings banks particularly in regard to the fact that the Settlement Council were the trustees. The council desired that the bank should be run on the same lines as formerly.¹⁸¹

In 1926, another problem arose in relation to the COS and again the settlement found cause to assert itself against the central COS office:

Miss Lochhead reported that the Head Office of the COS had decided that the district accounts should be audited by the COS auditors instead of by voluntary auditors. Mr Sheen [of the COS] had written Mr Parker [the auditor] saying that his services would no longer be required. As this had been done without consulting the settlement council it was agreed that a letter should be written to Mr Parker explaining the unfortunate incident and thanking him for his readiness in the past years. It was also agreed to write to Mr Sheen regretting that he should have taken such an action and informing him that a letter of apology had been sent to Mr Parker.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ GUA DC22/1/3/7 QMS, Minutes 11 January 1927.

¹⁸² GUA DC22/1/3/7 QMS, Minutes 14 September 1926.

The settlement had worked with the COS for thirty years and maintained a strong relationship with it during this time. However, the settlement also desired to retain its independence and resisted any attempts, however minor, to move control of the COS branches it ran back to the centre. The settlement council clearly felt that its contribution in running the savings bank entitled it to retain control over it at the local level, despite what was happening in other districts. As the COS wished to remove some control back to the central body, the settlement found itself trying to protect its local autonomy. Although the COS gave the settlement access to resources and support it would not otherwise have had, the settlement's council was clear that this relationship should not be at the expense of an erstwhile independent branch and whilst the settlement was happy to be identified and contribute to national organisations, it was still protective of its freedom.

Problems between the settlement and the COS arose because of attempts to reconfigure the relationship between the two and similar problems also arose between the Pleasance Trust and the NCS. The warden, Harry Miller, retired in 1934 and the following year long-running concerns were brought to light about the relationship between the Pleasance Trust and the NCS in a Memorandum prepared by the Executive Committee of the New College Missionary Society:

For over 50 years this society has engaged in social and religious work in the Pleasance, and during this period many generations of students have passed through the settlement and given willingly of their devotion and service in the fulfilment of the society's aim, viz., that the spirit of Jesus Christ might, through their friendship and fellowship, in visitation and organisation, enter into the lives and homes of the people of the Pleasance.

In the furtherance of this aim this society welcomed the rapid growth of the Pleasance Trust and the promise of expansion held out in its excellent halls and clubrooms.

But the past two or three years have given the gravest concern to the society. The views, methods and practices of the society have so diverged from the lines laid down by the society and from the traditions of the settlement as to render it imperative that the policy of the trust and its relationship to the settlement be immediately defined ... the society is convinced that the settlement of these problems demands the immediate consideration and determining of what is the greatest problem of all i.e. the relationship of the Pleasance trust to the NCS and the rediscovery of aim and purpose at present to lamentably lacking.

As the trust developed and so in turn the gymnasium, play hall, new hall and clubrooms arose, it was presumed that the accommodation was primarily for the extension of the NCS. Premises were held out, and clubs and organisations of the

settlement helped to raise funds and looked forward to increased facilities for their work. As long as promises were fulfilled there was a spirit of harmony and friendly cooperation: but now, during the last two years, this spirit has almost entirely disappeared to be replaced by a spirit of tension. The singleness of aim and purpose so characteristic of all the work has vanished and with it the atmosphere conducive to real effective work. During these past few years the Pleasance Trust in extension of buildings and increase of staff has been led into expenditure out of all proportion to its normal income, with the result that, to a great extent, the outlook of the Trust has been coloured by financial considerations. The hall so eagerly awaited has been transformed into a theatre for the public of Edinburgh.¹⁸³

The relationship between the two bodies had broken down and would continue to deteriorate until 1936. The aims of the two had begun to move apart, and one of the reasons was the feeling of the students that the Trust was betraying the religious and moral purpose of the settlement by giving secular and financial aims priority:

[One] problem is the impact which the theatre is making upon the district. The quality of certain productions presented in it has clashed very significantly with the work we are seeking to do, and the behaviour of some of those using it has been deplored by many of the Pleasance people. The interval between acts has meant an exodus to the public house; shop keepers in the district and the gentlemen in charge of the buffet, all have been very candid and frank in their criticisms.¹⁸⁴

In subsequent correspondence, Trust workers denied these charges and the role of the Trust – to support the settlement and work it carried out in the district – was emphasised by the Trustees. Nevertheless, there was evidently a feeling, and had been for some time, that the aims of the two bodies were no longer the same. In many ways, the settlement remained dependent on the Trust and the two bodies must have been interconnected in the minds of many people in the district. Indeed, much of the problems seem to stem from a confusion of the roles and spheres of work that each group undertook. Thus, when the problems had not been resolved by 1936, the Pleasance Trustees and the Missionary Society Advisory Council decided that the only way forward was for the Trust and the Settlement to have clear and separate roles. The two bodies had supported each other for many years, and would continue to do so. However, as problems arose between the two, the easy working arrangements which had characterised the previous ten years of cooperation were no longer adequate and a more formal delineation of the work needed to be laid out. In Dundee the relationship between the Grey Lodge Settlement and the DSU was also brought forward

¹⁸³ NCL AA3.3.51 New College Missionary Society, 'Memorandum prepared by the Executive Committee of the New College Missionary Society', June 1935.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

for consideration because of a lack of clarity in their relationship, although it was not characterised by the problems that characterised the relationship between the Pleasance Trust and the NCS. These two bodies had been working together for many years, published joint reports and shared the same staff. However, constitutionally, they remained separate. This, it was felt, created confusion in the minds of many people. This led to calls to formally amalgamate the two bodies throughout this period, although no action was taken until 1936.¹⁸⁵ As cooperation and affiliation with other bodies increased in this period so did issues of control and identity and these were not always easy to resolve. Settlements, whilst embracing their role as affiliated bodies were nonetheless unwilling to devolve too much control away from their organisations and their identity remained as local grass-roots, independent bodies.

Nevertheless, the Scottish settlements found a new form of identity in this period. As well as forming connections with local and national campaigning bodies, settlements were also in this period forming their own interest groups. In 1920, the Federation of Residential Settlements was formed to provide an umbrella body for the settlements. It brought together thirty residential settlements in the same year that the Educational Settlements Association was formed.¹⁸⁶ There was, therefore, in this period the creation of a corporate identity by settlements in this period and the Scottish settlements became a part of British group of settlements. As noted previously, attempts had been made to initiate a similar scheme before the war, but had encountered resistance from the QMS. Now, however, the Queen Margaret, Grey Lodge and Edinburgh Settlements were all actively involved in the Federation of Residential Settlements. As noted above, the warden of Grey Lodge, Miss Cullen, was on the Executive Committee of the Federation, as was Miss Drysdale, warden of EUS and Miss Banks of the QMS. The settlements took it in turns to alternatively attend the monthly meetings in London¹⁸⁷ and were also visited on a fairly regular basis by Wyndham Deedes, head of the Federation of Residential Settlements.¹⁸⁸ They thus found a

¹⁸⁵ DCA GD/OC/GL 1/1/2, DSU, Minutes 7 July 1926.

¹⁸⁶ The Federation of Residential Settlements became the British Association of Settlements in 1967 before being renamed the British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres (BASSAC) in 1927, and remains the umbrella body for British Settlements today. See Mark Parker, *The past, the passion and the potential: How the history of the Settlement Movement informs our pursuit of social justice today* (BASSAC), 2009.

¹⁸⁷ DCA GD/OC/GL 1/1/2, DSU, Minutes 19 January 1927.

¹⁸⁸ See Andrew Chandler, 'Deedes, Sir Wyndham Henry (1883–1956)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32768>, accessed 6 April 2011]. Deedes was also head of the National Council of Social Service, whose formation Owen regards as an 'explicit recognition of voluntary

new identity as part of national organisation which reinforced the sense that in order for charities to have a voice in a society where the state was increasingly taking control of social services, they had to work together and have a presence on the national as well as the local level. This was reinforced by the decision in 1936 of the Grey Lodge Settlement to drop the 'Social Union' part of its name. The reasons for this were given thus:

The name 'DSU' whilst well understood by those of Miss Lily Walker's generation is not so well understood by the present one. There are some who no doubt will regret – perhaps be inclined to resent – the change of name, but the Committee ask them to accept the view that the change will be to the advantage of the Union ...

Then the word 'Settlement' is chosen since there are now throughout the country various Settlements – certainly usually 'University Settlements' – and these Settlements are well known to such bodies as the Pilgrim Trust which are in a position to give grants for Settlement work.¹⁸⁹

The identity of the organisation was now explicitly that of a settlement. This was firstly because the term 'Social Union' was one which was no longer widely recognised whilst the term 'settlement' had become widespread enough to be easily identified – a situation no doubt aided by the creation of a national and unifying body. This affiliation and identification with a national movement, moreover, brought the benefit of being recognised by other bodies which could support the settlements.

The Scottish settlements were therefore cooperating with each other through the medium of the Federation of Residential Settlements. Whilst there was no formal, exclusively Scottish channel for the settlements informal and personal communication between the settlements was entirely probable though unrecorded. More formal interaction between the settlements did occasionally take place. Harry Miller, warden of New College, for example, spoke at annual meetings of both the Grey Lodge Settlement and the EUS, whilst Francis Melville, head of the Queen Margaret College and president of the QMS, also addressed the Grey Lodge's annual meeting. Meanwhile Elizabeth Batting who had been warden of the Grey Lodge settlement resigned this post in 1926. Although no reason was given for her resignation, it was not due to a disagreement with the settlement and she remained on the committee until 1931 when she resigned because she was now based in

and statutory agencies concerned with similar problems and a working understanding, if not formal partnership, was essential.' (Owen, *English Philanthropy* p. 530).

¹⁸⁹ DCA GD-OC-GL 4-6-5 Statement re Change of Constitution, 1936.

Glasgow.¹⁹⁰ However, in 1928, she had been appointed warden of the QMS. Despite not putting in a formal application, she was appointed because she had let it be known to a committee member that she was willing to be considered. She was not interviewed for the post.¹⁹¹ She was known to the committee of the QMS and they had enough knowledge of and faith in her abilities that she was accepted without question or discussion over the course of one committee meeting. For the next three years, the warden of the QMS therefore also sat on the committee of the Grey Lodge Settlement. Although formal channels of communication were limited to secondary bodies and the National Federation of Settlements, it is clear that the Scottish settlements communicated and interacted through an informal and personal network.

There was also a continued connection between members of the GUSS and the QMS even when the former was defunct. In 1926, it was noted in the minutes that the GUSS had closed and that perhaps attempts could be made to interest the volunteers in the QMS.¹⁹² It certainly seems to have worked and a number of men from the GUSS, including William Boyd, leader of the GUSS, joined the QMS and began reinvigorating the men's club with an educational programme which echoed that which the GUSS had been pursuing. The push for volunteers from the GUSS demonstrates not only the constant need for volunteers which the settlements had always felt, but the way in which university ties remained important to the settlements. At Dundee, for example, although the School of Social Study and Training did not develop, the settlement still pursued a relationship with another college in Dundee. Although the land for the School of Economics and Commerce was purchased in 1928, the School itself did not open until 1931. However, from the time that it opened, the relationship between its students and the settlement was close as the settlement showed willingness to capitalise on the resources that the School offered. In 1932, for example, the settlement began a Sociology Club, which was held in the School's premises and with included representatives from the School. The aim of this club was to discuss and study social problems and to bring together workers in the field. Lectures and discussions were held and in 1934, it was decided to also begin taking members on visits. In its first year, this club had 117 members, demonstrating that there was still an appetite for social study in Dundee, although this had not translated into students for full time study. Cooperation between the two bodies happened at other levels too, and was something that

¹⁹⁰ DCA GD/OC/GL 1/1/2, DSU, Minutes 30 November 1931.

¹⁹¹ GUA DC22/1/3/7 QMS, Minutes 25 May 1928.

¹⁹² Ibid. 14 September 1926.

the settlement seemed keen to encourage, as one can see from the below extract from their 1931 annual report:

We much appreciate the recognition of the possibility of co-operation between the Settlement and the School of Economics ... We have had the help of three of the research students from the School this winter; one has given practical help in one of the largest clubs, and two have led discussion groups. We are most grateful to them all.¹⁹³

The settlement was keen to acknowledge and quick to see the potential in having an organisation in the city who were interested in social science. However, the Dundee School of Economics and Commerce was not the only college which the settlement collaborated with. The Dundee Training College for Teachers also provided volunteers to the settlement. The settlement was increasingly reliant on the volunteers from the Training College. In the absence of support from St Andrews after the failure of the School of Social Study and Training, the Settlement instead linked with other educational bodies, most prominently the Dundee Training College, who had an interest in providing their students with practical experience for their future careers.

Dundee was not, however, the only settlement to benefit from student support. The QMS, as well as gaining helpers from the by now defunct GUSS, maintained a strong relationship with the student community, with student and graduate representatives sitting on their committee with a further representative from the Students' Representative Committee. In the annual women's edition of the *Glasgow University Magazine* the settlement was generally mentioned and it was one of the bodies to benefit from Charities Day, a yearly event, inaugurated in 1920 as Infirmary Day, whereby students raised money for charity.¹⁹⁴ The settlement remained strongly identified with the university and was able to draw on the resources provided by the university. As noted previously, one of the reasons the GUSS had not managed to survive was because, although it had the support of university professors and lecturers, it failed to engage with the student body. Other settlements, however, made concerted attempts to draw on the resources these bodies offered and benefited from a strong relationship with the student body. The EUS, too, reinforced its relationship with Edinburgh University. As noted above, one of the reasons it wanted to split from the School of Social Study and Training was so that the settlement could capitalise on the growing support from university students. This support had been

¹⁹³ DCA GD/OC/GL 1/4/12, DSU, *Annual Report 1931*.

¹⁹⁴ Moss, Munro and Trainor, *University, City and State* p. 160.

growing since 1922 and culminated in the formation of a 'University Settlement Association' in 1924, which was recognised as a university society.¹⁹⁵ The settlement acknowledged the importance of such help:

It is difficult to overestimate the value of such an Association to the Settlement, first in enthusiastic help and sympathy in the work of the Settlement, and secondly in the spread of greater knowledge and understanding of the aims of the Settlement work which the members of such an Association gain.¹⁹⁶

University students were, therefore, an important resource for the settlement and their support paved the way for the organisation's independence. As a university body, the settlement drew on the support and patronage of the university's upper management. Not only was the Principal of the University Honorary President of the settlement, but the settlement's properties were also largely university buildings. However, the settlement also sought grass-roots support from the university and, it seems, was successful in doing so. In Glasgow, again as mentioned above, the GUSS attempted to capitalise on the efforts to revitalise the student community that came about out of the influx of student at the end of the war. In a book written in 1933, A. Logan Turner suggests that a similar trend in student participation in university life also happened in Edinburgh. Referring to the Students' Representative Council, he described how it:

benefited greatly, along with other undergraduate organisations, from that remarkable renaissance of student activity which took place in the years immediately following the Great War. The return to interrupted careers of men who had spent two, three or even four years in the trenches, and the arrival as freshers of those who had been 'called up' straight from school, and those whose appearance and manners most clearly belied the term, united to make the University Matriculation roll during this period the largest upon record; and by men grown accustomed to military life the promotion of corporate student activity was unlikely to be forgotten in the pursuit of purely academic study.¹⁹⁷

Not only was there an increase in the number of students but Turner believed that the maturity and life experience that these men brought to the undergraduate community led to a renewal in the corporate life of the university. The EUS was able to draw upon this revival to secure a source of support and workers. The extent and importance of this in the development of the Edinburgh Settlement became clear when the settlement opened up the

¹⁹⁵ EUA ACC 2011/2 Edinburgh University School of Social Study and Training and EUS, *Annual Report 1924*.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ A Logan Turner *History of the University of Edinburgh: 1883-1933* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1933), p. 344.

Kirk o' Field College, where the volunteer lecturers were largely drawn from the student body. In 1934, it was noted in the minutes that:

The Warden reported that she was anxious to form a strong committee of university people and those interested in education to link up with the university students who were assisting at the Kirk o' Field College and thus help with the organising of the various classes and lectures at the college.¹⁹⁸

As teachers at the college were largely drawn from among university students, the warden, Drysdale, felt that their input was required in the organisation of classes. The management of Kirk o' Field therefore became a tripartite affair consisting of educationalists, university students and settlement workers.

Whilst the settlements found that student help was necessary, this kind of support was not without its problems. As the Grey Lodge Settlement noted above, much of the help given by students was limited to term-time only. In practice, this meant that either the work lapsed during the summer or permanent settlement helpers had to pick up the slack. The difficulties caused by transient and non-professional volunteers were also highlighted by Miller, warden of New College. Miller retired in 1930 and some of the problems that he faced were revealed in a letter six years later, in which he gave his response to the problems which had arisen between the Pleasance Trust and settlement:

The real difficulty is, and I had it before me all the 25 years I was there, was that the constantly changing personnel of the students and their absences during vacation made the continuous running of a club wellnigh impossible. It means that the Warden has to stand in to be the permanent element in these things, and 24 years of it broke my health completely. The students never understood or realised the strain that was put upon the one permanent person amidst all their changing generations. That kind of work, Church or Settlement, simply is impossible for a young man with nothing of experience behind him. The men saw this 27 years ago, and they came to me asking me to take it up. I have done so in the hope that someone would follow me up who was both experienced and keen.¹⁹⁹

After his retirement, Miller was able to reflect on the toll that the work had taken on him. He believed that the real root of the problems which existed between the Pleasance Trust lay in the lack of conceptualisation by the students of the challenges of running such an organisation. He clearly felt that the level of commitment displayed by the students was not enough to sustain settlement work and that this was a problem they consistently failed

¹⁹⁸ EUA GD20/7 EUS, Executive Committee Minutes, 13 March 1934

¹⁹⁹ NCL AA3.3.51 Letter from Miller to Lamont, 2 March 1936.

to appreciate. Miller's role was as the lynchpin of the settlement and was one of the few constants amidst a changing regularly changing workforce.

Miller's role highlights the value of leadership within settlements and the importance of the warden. Whilst he brought together the Trust and the settlement, the problems which would later plague the two bodies remained contained and even after he left he was applied to for help in resolving the issues. He left the settlement in 1934 to become Principle of St Mary's College at the University of St Andrews. Upon his resignation, a collection was held for a fund in his name – the preliminary amount collected coming to over £4,000. This fund, however, was to be used in the development of the Trust and settlement work and buildings.²⁰⁰ His parting gift to the organisation he had worked for for 25 years was a significant contribution to its financial stability. He was appointed moderator of the Church in 1928, and his high profile brought to the Pleasance publicity and recognition of the work that was on-going there. The contribution of other wardens to settlement work was, however, no less appreciated. In 1927 the warden of the QMS, Annie Banks, died. The obituary written by Francis Melville and printed in the *Glasgow Herald* eulogised the woman who led the settlement for eight years:

In the years that followed her coming work began to multiply, and burden after burden was laid upon her willing shoulders as the conditions in the city grew worse and worse with increasing unemployment. Committee after committee, charged with the relief of distress, the care of the young, the mitigation of social calamities, found that in the Warden of the Settlement there was an indefatigable member and worker, with a clear and highly trained intelligence, a calm judgement, unswerving sincerity, and a devotion to duty without reserve. In these last difficult years she spent herself without measure, and it may be said truly that she gave her life in the unceasing endeavour to remove some of the misery that has brooded so long on our city.

But the Warden gave her life happily. Though she had a stillness about her and a concentration in work, everyone who knew her in the midst of the Settlement and its neighbourhood rejoiced in the play of wit and humour that were equally characteristic of her. Often the hall of the Settlement has rung with laughter as delighted audiences listened to the rippling fun of the pantomimes whose clever libretti were written by the Warden. The very titles were full of mirth. And elsewhere, as she went about, one was sure of the droll phrase, the humorous turn of speech and glance that showed the gay spirit within the quiet lady of the Settlement. And indeed she met life gallantly. Dedicated from her youth to the service of her fellows, she made no sad tale of these all too brief years of

²⁰⁰ *Scotsman* 27 July 1929.

endeavour, but packed them full to overflowing with the rich experience of a rare personality.²⁰¹

The warden is described in terms which paint her as an integral part of the relief services which operated in Anderston in what was a period of much distress. Banks is also described in terms which suggest martyrdom – giving her life for those in need, though her sense of humour and liveliness is also emphasised. One clearly senses that Banks was a fundamental part of the settlement whose loss was clearly felt. As the settlements grew and liaised with a growing number of organisations, the wardens became ever more important as representatives and leaders of the settlements.

However, the of role workers and volunteers remained as important as ever, despite the professionalisation which had led to the settlements having at least the warden and the sub warden as paid workers. The contribution these people made to the settlement tended not be acknowledged publically, although the donors were occasionally named and their contribution was certainly mentioned in the minutes, especially if they died. In 1930, however, the Grey Lodge Settlement did highlight the contribution that one specific volunteer had made:

Grey Lodge has lost the services of a very good friend of long standing this year. Those who travel regularly by the Blackness line of tramcars will know well Mr James Galloway, one of the Corporation's servants. Mr Galloway has given readily all his spare time for the Grey Lodge garden for 17 years, and it was with the greatest regret that owing to ill-health he had to give up his arduous service last summer. We miss him greatly, for there was no aspect of the Settlement work in which he was not keenly interested. Those who remember the Settlement in Miss Walker's days will appreciate his long service and remember gratefully his wife Kate McKenzie, who first interested him in Grey Lodge. His son and daughter-in-law, Mr and Mrs Will Galloway, as caretakers in the Clubhouse, carry on the tradition of loyal service and keen interest, and we are grateful to Mr Joseph Bibby, the brother of a Ranger Club member, who has undertaken the care of the garden as a piece of voluntary service, which is greatly appreciated.²⁰²

Galloway was a working-class man for whom the settlement was a large part not just of his life but of his family's. The settlement was a community of workers and volunteers. Galloway had been brought into the settlement by his wife and this connection continued through their children. In comparison to the often transient support that was given by students, the backbone of the settlements was provided by volunteers and workers such as

²⁰¹ *Glasgow Herald*.

²⁰² DCA GD/OC/GL 1/4/11, DSU, *Annual Report 1930*.

the Galloway's, who gave continued service over a number of years. It was the contribution of workers such as the Galloway's which allowed the settlements to continue and to develop. The settlements were part of a network of local and national organisations, both statutory and voluntary. Nevertheless they also operated as communities in their own right. Just as in club work, for example, workers tried to create a corporate spirit so there existed within the relationships of those who formed the core workforce of the settlements a sense of community and family.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the challenges faced by the Scottish settlements through the 1920s and into the 1930s. As ever, the settlements had to adapt to the changing political and social climate. This period was characterised by the acceptance that voluntary bodies' role had moved away from providing economic support to the impoverished and that they now had to work with the state to pioneer services.

The need to develop 'good' citizens became increasingly important during this period. This was set against a background of increasing working-class and female enfranchisement but also rising amounts of unemployment, leading to concerns over how the working classes were spending their leisure time. The settlements became one of a number of organisations providing recreational activities for the unemployed. As well as running clubs this also involved the establishment of the new Harkness Settlement in Lanarkshire. Although these efforts have been derided as simply 'recreational palliatives' the limited evidence for Harkness shows that there was a great deal of support for this organisation, including from trade unions, suggesting that its work was valuable and appreciated. However, training for citizenship was not confined to the unemployed but was prevalent throughout settlement clubs with 'citizenship' classes. The activities provided in clubs were designed to mould those who attended into 'good' citizens. Whereas previous generations of settlement work had been defined by the individual connection that existed between settlers and members the working classes, the concern now was the creation of 'active' citizens who would play their part in the creation of a better society. Young people especially were encouraged to work as a team and to take responsibility for their club. However, as with all settlement activities, the ways in which individual members used them differed and it is clear that not all engaged with or adopted the principles that the settlements espoused.

Through the work of the settlements an ideal of 'community' was promoted. In the Pleasance, NCS became the centre of health, welfare and recreational provision through a complex of buildings built for the community. However, as residents were being cleared out of this district to new estates, the EUS decided to make this new area of work. Concern about these new estates was voiced by commentators worried about the lack of community that existed in these areas, which were far removed from the problems of poor

housing, sanitation and lack of open spaces that characterised the slums. Part of a wider movement by settlements, the new branch at Prestonfield attempted to create a sense of community identity for those in this district, focusing on activities such as gardening. Like the idea of ‘connection’ that had been the foundation of earlier settlement work, the terms of this community remained vague. However, it allowed the settlement to move away from the dealing with the effects of poverty and unemployment in the Edinburgh slums and in this work, the settlement moved closer to the community centre model that would characterise later settlement work.

However, the settlements also had to draw on communities to help them survive. The student body was an important source of volunteers and funds and settlements had to engage with them. This period saw a renewal in attempts to create a corporate life in Scottish universities, with a rise in student unions and clubs. Settlements were able to capitalise on this, as the QMS did by becoming a beneficiary of the university’s Charity Day. The importance of this was highlighted in the decline of the GUSS. It failed to engage a new generation of students and was unable to recover from the break imposed by the First World War. Although its work remained popular with working-class members, it was not able to move on from the model of work that had existed pre-war and it became unable to survive financially. However, the GUSS does highlight the importance of the community that existed between settlement workers. Although settlements sought to create a sense of solidarity between those who participated in its activities, the reminiscences of those who worked in the settlement suggest that for them, the friendship and community they found there between settlers had just as profound an effect as the work that they carried out. Although many volunteers came and went, others provided support for decades. Whilst these organisations were an intrinsic part of the life and identity of many leaders, such as Mary Lily Walker and Harry Miller, who came to embody their respective organisations, for many volunteers the settlements were also important sources of friendship and community.

4 Conclusion

The Scottish settlements made important contributions to Scottish society through social work, training courses and adult education. They pioneered new methods, explored new areas of work and provided their local communities with access to services that they may not otherwise have received. Nevertheless, these organisations have attracted little attention from historians and have not previously been considered together. This thesis has sought to address this lacuna and situate their achievements within the wider context of the changing role of voluntary organisations in this period. It has attempted to show how they evolved in response to both local and national pressures and changing social attitudes. As diverse organisations whose wide remits made them easily adaptable to changing priorities, their history encompassed a wide range of themes. The original settlement ideal focused on reforming the individual through personal connection between the working classes and middle-class settlers. Over time, however, the relationship between citizen and state changed and as the latter began to take increasing responsibility for social services, the role of voluntary organisations, including settlements, changed. Scottish settlements had to adapt to these changes and their relationships with local communities and the work that they did with these communities evolved in a number of ways.

The beginnings of the Scottish settlements were rooted in civic communities. Toynbee House drew strongly on the model of work that has been described by Meacham at Toynbee Hall during this period¹ and it employed largely the same rhetoric of connection. There were, however, differences: the founders of Toynbee House were attempting to *reconnect* the settlement with the Cathedral district. Its leaders were drawing on the historic legacy of the University in Glasgow. The division between east and west, rich and poor, was framed within the duty of the university to the city that hosted it. This was compounded by the way in which its founders were part of the civic elite and that Toynbee House was simply one expression of their civic duty. Those who worked at the Queen Margaret Settlement (QMS) were also a part of this class and for them too settlement work was only one facet of their charitable work in the city. Perhaps the purest expression of this was the Dundee Social Union, which was founded with the expressed aim of

¹ S. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform, 1880-1914: the search for community* (London: Yale University Press, 1987)

improving living conditions for the working class in the city and was heavily influenced by Geddes' theory of civics.

Although settlements were a relatively new concept in the 1890s, two Scottish organisations used the idea to expand on work that was already being done. For New College Settlement (NCS) and the Glasgow University Student Settlement (GUSS), settlement work was a means of deepening their work in the district. Both of these organisations grew out of missionary societies. NCS would remain an integral part of the missionary society and indeed New College itself. For this organisation the settlement was a means of extending its missionary work, demonstrating how interchangeable missionary and settlement work could be. One thus sees both the flexibility of the settlement ideal and a belief that this would allow these organisations to move away from the associations with missionary work. This was indicative of a growing sense that home missions were not as accepted or welcomed in working-class areas. Indeed, these organisations demonstrate that in order to flourish and bring new communicants into the church, religious bodies increasingly had to offer a range of recreational pursuits to first draw people into the organisation. Charting the rise of secularism, Brown has argued that the middle classes withdrew from missionary work during this period.² At NCS, however, middle-class congregations provided many of the volunteers. Whilst the GUSS increasingly drifted away from the idea of religious conversion to focusing on education, NCS remained committed to missionary work. However, Brown has also argued that missionary organisations increasingly had to compete with secular leisure pursuits.³ This was certainly the pattern at NCS where religious activities were increasingly subsumed into a range of social, recreational and welfare facilities to the extent that by the 1930s there were concerns that the settlement was not fulfilling its original aim. For the workers, bringing people into the church remained the lynchpin of the settlement's work. What evidence there is, however, suggests that this was not always the case for those who used the settlement. Those who flouted the settlement's insistence on religious observation and certain standards of conduct were dealt with but one cannot but wonder the extent to which performance of religious obligations at the settlement was simply a means by which people could gain access to the facilities provided it.

² Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707* p.130.

³ Ibid. p.131.

The other way in which settlements differed from missionary societies was in the idea of residence. The settlement model allowed young men to experience living and working in a poor area and reaching out to one of the most deprived communities in Edinburgh – important skills that they would use in their future careers as missionaries or ministers. Total immersion in the district, they believed, gave them a fuller understanding of the problems faced by the poor. This knowledge and understanding became an increasingly important element of settlement work as new theories about social deprivation emerged during these decades. Increasingly, scientific social investigation was used to generate knowledge about poverty and its causes. Again, this mirrors the pattern that Meacham identified at Toynbee Hall, where the vague idea of connection gave way to the scientific investigation of poverty.⁴ In Scotland, the greatest contribution was made by the DSU, whose report on living conditions in Dundee⁵ brought it to national attention and turned it into an authority on life in the inner city. The conditions that surveys such as these revealed suggested that the power of the individual was limited in the face of social and economic circumstances. The limitations of the idealistic but unfocused aim of reforming the lives of the working classes through friendship began to be revealed. This is not to say that the rhetoric of undeserving or thriftless working classes did not continue to pepper settlement literature, particularly the QMS, whose links to the Charity Organisation Society ensured that the belief in the primacy of the individual remained strong. However, the idea of ‘connection’ was challenged. It rested on the idea that the example set by the middle classes would elevate the working classes. By the turn of the century it was increasingly realised within the settlements that this was an inadequate response to social problems and one can see acknowledgements of this in the literature of the Scottish settlements. The foundation of the EUS was an acknowledgement that the original aims of the settlements were now outdated. Scotland has argued that the settlement movement was waning by the 1900s as the initial enthusiasm abated.⁶ However, the foundation of EUS, which was to become one of the most vibrant Scottish settlements, demonstrates that this movement was evolving rather than dying off. The withdrawal of motivations based on class amelioration was countered by the desire to investigate the causes and consequences of poverty and disseminate this knowledge to workers.

⁴ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and social reform*.

⁵ Dundee Social Union Report on the Housing and Social Conditions in Dundee, (Dundee: John Leng & Co, 1905)

⁶ Nigel Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late-Victorian Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007) pp. 210.

The problems faced by the EUS in its first decade were indicative of the changing role of settlements. It faced declining subscriptions and criticisms from committee members as it failed to develop as a centre of social investigation and training. By contrast, the women's branch attached to it went from strength to strength and began to work as part of a network of social care providers in their district. This was an increasingly important function of settlement work as the role of voluntary organisations changed and local government began to take over roles that were once the preserve of voluntary organisations. It was the result of the Liberal government's programme of reform and in response to it settlements began to work with and support local government. This is most clearly seen in healthcare work. The development of the Pleasance Trust by NCS, for example, saw the settlement become part of a complex of buildings where settlement work and health clinics were combined. This supports Bradley's findings when she argues that settlement leaders were 'keen to use settlement expertise to drive the welfare mix in their locality or area of interest'.⁷ Although QMS had close ties with the COS, which was averse to the intervention of the state in social welfare, it developed strong relationships with the local authority. This should be seen in the context of the political situation in Glasgow, where the city council was embracing its enhanced role in its citizens' lives. These developments should therefore be seen as a product of local relationships as well as national changes.

Close relationships developed between the settlements and local authorities: often the settlements worked on behalf of local officials, such as Medical Officers of Health. In other schemes, however, the focus of this work was often as much a result of what local government was not providing as what it was. The settlements addressed the lacunae that existed between what local government provided and what settlements felt should to be done. The DSU in particular developed its work in response to areas of work that it felt the local authority was neglecting. Its role was not to replace the council, but to fill the gaps until the local authority took it over and leaders expressed frustration when the council failed in what the DSU considered their duty.⁸ The settlements saw themselves as pioneers whose role was to develop new methods or areas of work. This idea became prominent in the interwar period and was labelled as the 'new philanthropy'.⁹ It saw the state and voluntary agencies in working partnership. By this period, the settlements were

⁷ Katharine Bradley, *Poverty, philanthropy and the state : charities and the working classes in London, 1918-79* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 194

⁸ DCA, DSU Box 9, *DSU Annual Report 1913*.

⁹ Macadam, Elizabeth 'The Relations between the Statutory and Voluntary Social Services' *Public Administration*, Volume 12, Issue 3 pp. 305-313

increasingly finding their identity as part of a network of bodies working to improve social services. Settlement leaders took part in an array of committees, participated in national conferences and liaised more generally with other bodies.¹⁰ The DSU, QMS and EUS also became members of the national representative body for settlements – the Federation of Residential Settlements. NCS did not, however, join this body. This can be seen as indicative of the extent to which its identity was closely bound with home mission work. Until the mid-1920s, the Scottish settlements were individual organisations with no corporate identity. Whilst we must assume that communication took place between the Scottish settlements on an informal or personal level, there was no formal means of interaction. During this period, however, they formed a new identity as part of national organisation. This reinforces the sense that in order for charities to have a voice in a society where the state was increasingly taking control of social services, they had to work together and have a presence on the national as well as the local level.

The changes taking place were in part driven by the increasing political power of the working classes. At a local level some historians, including Maver¹¹ and Yeo,¹² have seen the attitudes of municipal authorities as a means of appeasing the working classes. Nevertheless, socialists worked within the DSU and it actively sympathised and engaged with trade unions. However, although the legitimacy of working-class concerns was acknowledged by these organisations, anxiety still abounded over the fitness for citizenship of the working classes. Whereas previous generations of settlement work had been defined by the individual connection that existed between settlers and members the working classes, the concern now was the creation of ‘active’ citizens who would play their part in the creation of a better society. This concern underpinned the GUSS’s educational provision and by the interwar period all the settlements were attempting to provide their members with a grounding in citizenship. The high rate of unemployment gave this concern piquancy. As the numbers of unemployed did not abate, how to occupy their time usefully became paramount. The greatest effort was made by the Edinburgh University Settlement, which began Kirk o’ Fields, a college for the unemployed. A further scheme to provide occupations for men in the Lanarkshire coal fields was a joint effort between Edinburgh University and QMS. Olechniowicz has argued that these schemes were merely

¹⁰ GUA DC22/1/4/2 QMS *Annual Report 1929-30*.

¹¹ Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) p. 443.

¹² Yeo, Eileen, ‘The Social Survey in Historical Perspective 1830-1930’ in *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective 1880-1940* ed. by Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, Kathryn Kish Sklar p. 57.

palliatives designed to appease class tensions.¹³ Yet both of the above remained popular with workers and the latter was supported by trade unions. Evidence from these Scottish schemes points to their being used and appreciated by local communities.

As social services began to be removed from the voluntary sphere and the complexity of social problems began to be realised, so workers began to require professional training and qualifications. The settlements were at the fore of this in Scotland, with the QMS establishing the first training school, the Edinburgh University Settlement joining with the second and the DSU founding the third. These developments should be situated within a wider trend. As Harris has identified, in England settlements and the COS were at the forefront of establishing Schools of Social Study and Training.¹⁴ It is therefore no surprise that in Scotland the organisation that took the lead in this was the QMS, which was part of a higher education college and which worked closely with the COS. After the School became part of the university, the settlement rescinded control of it, although it remained a training provider. The EUS, however, was saved by its amalgamation with the training school. It was not until the settlement was secure and financially stable that the two parted. For the DSU, however, things were more complicated. It failed to attract enough students to sustain the school. The schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow fulfilled the demand for training and the Dundee school did not have the full backing of the university. From the experiences of Edinburgh and Glasgow, one can see how important the involvement of the university was in providing accredited training.

Lewis has argued that social work supported the domestic ideal of women's roles.¹⁵ However, this was subverted to some extent by the positions of authority it allowed women to assume in the community. Settlement women became councillors and sat on school boards, and the training schools run by settlements enabled social work to be recognised as a profession. It attracted women who wished to challenge women's role in society: it took 'the angel out of the house'.¹⁶ For female settlers, then, this work could be a liberating experience. Settlement life, however, also had an impact on male settlers. This was

¹³ A. Olechnowicz, 'Unemployed Workers, 'Enforced Leisure' and Education for 'the Right Use of Leisure' in Britain in the 1930s', *Labour History Review*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2005), pp. 27-52.

¹⁴ Jose Harris, 'The Webbs, The Charity Organisation Society and the Ratan Tata Foundation: Social policy from the perspective of 1912' in M. Bulmer, J. Lewis, and D. Piachaund, *The Goals of Social Policy* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) pp. 30-35.

¹⁵ Jane Lewis 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States': The British Case', *Social History* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan., 1994) pp. 55-53.

¹⁶ Dorice Williams Elliott, *The angel out of the house: philanthropy and gender in nineteenth-century England* (London: University Press of Virginia, 2002)

recognised by members of the GUSS, most prominently William Boyd,¹⁷ who described its profound effect. This was a product of the collegial atmosphere within the settlement and is indicative of the way in which the value of settlement work lay not just in the provisions that were made for the working classes but also through the comradeship they found within the settlement. The idea of ‘connection’ with the working classes may have fallen by the wayside but the friendships that settlers found within the settlement is perhaps its most enduring legacy. Scottish settlements were used by the working classes even if the evidence shows that they did not always buy into settlement principals. The Scottish settlements demonstrated their flexibility and were able to adapt work to suit the needs of their local communities – even going so far as to migrate with them to new areas. It was this that kept them relevant and ensured their continued survival.

¹⁷ GUA GB248 DC130/1, *The autobiography of William Boyd*

5 Bibliography

5.1 Manuscripts

5.1.1 Dundee Council Archives

Dundee Social Union

Dundee Social Union Box 9 Annual Reports 1888-1920

GD/OC/GL 1/1/1 Minute Book 1906-1920

GD/OC/GL 1/1/2 Minute Book 1920-1936

GD-OC-GL 1/2/1 Minute Book Country Holiday Fund for Children 1909-1923

GD-OC-GL 1/3/1 Minute Book Housing Factorial 1913-1922

GD/OC/GL 1/4/1 – 15 Annual Reports 1920-1935

GD/OC/GL 1/7 Explanatory Booklet on Dundee Social Union by Miss M. O. Valentine 1920

Dundee School of Social Study and Training

GD-OC-GL 1/2/1 Minutes 1919-1927 (including Annual Reports)

GD-OC-GL 1/2/2 First Annual Report and Constitution 1921

GD-OC-GL 1/2/3 Prospectuses c.1922

GD-OC-GL 1/2/4 Class Syllabuses 1926-1927 and Correspondence

GD-OC-GL 1/2/5 Evening Class Syllabuses 1925-1926

Grey Lodge Settlement

GD-OC-GL 3/1/1 Minute Book 1913-1925

GD-OC-GL 3/1/2 Minute Book 1925-1936

GD-OC-GL 3/2/1 House Committee Minute Book 1922-1944

5.1.2 Edinburgh University Library

Edinburgh University Settlement

GD20/1 Meetings of Council / Annual General Meetings 1925 1959

GD20/3 Association letter books 1905-1933

GD20/4 Finance Committee minutes 1929-1944

GD20/7	Executive Committee minutes 1925-1955 (Volume one)
GD20/8	Annual reports 1905-1934

Edinburgh University School of Social Study and Training

ACC 2011/2	Annual Reports
ACC 2011/2	Prospectuses
ACC 2011/2	Executive Committee Minutes 1921-25
ACC 2011/2	Minutes of Association and Council 1917-1928

Public Health Department of the City of Edinburgh

LHB16/2/22	Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1921
LHB 16/2/24	Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1923
LHB 16/2/27	Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1926
LHB 16/2/28	Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1927
LHB 16/2/30	Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1929
LHB 16/2/32	Annual report of the Public Health Department and Various Sub-Departments of the City of Edinburgh for the year 1931

5.1.3 Glasgow University Archives

Queen Margaret Settlement

DC22/1/1/1	Chronology of Events in the Growth of Queen Margaret College Settlement, Glasgow, 1897 to 1907
DC22/1/2/1	Memorandum and Articles of Association of Queen Margaret College Settlement Association
DC22/1/3/1-9	Annual general and committee meeting minute book 1897-1935
DC22/1/4/1	Annual reports 1897-1909
DC22/1/4/2	Annual reports 1909-1934

DC22/1/7/3	Documents relating to the Zodiac Fair 30-31 May 1924
DC22/1/7/4	1924 Plan of layout of stalls at the Zodiac Fair
DC22/1/7/5	Appeal letter 1908
DC22/2/10/9	Girls' club committee meeting minutes 1903-1914
DC22/2/10/10	Anderston Girls' club magazine 1918-1919
DC22/2/10/15	Invalid Children's Aid Association case notes 1931-1939
GB248 DC130/1	Complete copy of the autobiography of William Boyd
School of Social Study and Training	
SST4/4/1	Diploma Lists
SST5/5/1	Syllabuses

5.1.4 Glasgow University Library Special Collections

Toynbee House

Bf76-e.9	Report 1897-1898
Kelvin 106	Report 1889-90
MacLehose 762	Report 1888-1889
MacLehose 764	Report 1892-93
MacLehose 765	Report 1891-92
MacLehose 771	Report 1894-1895
MacLehose 772	Report 1895-1896
MacLehose 773	Report 1896-1897
MacLehose 782	Report 1899-1900
MacLehose 782	Report 1900-1901
MacLehose 784	Report 1901-1902
MacLehose 791	Report 1903-1904

Glasgow University Students' Settlement

MacLehose 806	Annual Report 1906-7
MacLehose 807	Annual Report 1907-8
MacLehose 817	Annual Report 1908-9
MacLehose 822	Annual Report 1909-10
MacLehose 832	Annual Report 1910-11
MacLehose 838	Annual Report 1911-12

MacLehose 841	Annual Report 1912-13
MacLehose 846	Annual Report 1913-14
Mu22-d.10	Reports and financial statements for year 1895-96
Mu22-d.10	Reports and financial statements for year 1900-1901
Mu22-d.10	Report for 1903-1904
Mu22-f.9	Report for 1902-1903
MS Gen 670	Minute Book, 1903-1926
MS Gen 670	Final report to Glasgow Students' Settlement of work as Poor Man's Lawyer, 1925-6, unsigned, but by Robert Grierson
MS Gen 670	List of outstanding residents and sub-wardens of Settlement, 1900-26

5.1.5 New College Library

New College Missionary Society

AA 3.3.40	Minutes
AA 3.3.49	Miscellaneous papers 1902-36
AA 3.3.51	Miscellaneous papers 1930-43

New College Settlement

AA 3.3.65	Committee minutes 1890-94
AA 3.3.66	Kirk Session minutes 1913-19
AA 3.3.67	Advisory Council minutes 1904-19
AA 3.3.68	Advisory Council minutes 1920-32
AA 3.3.70	Minute book of the Joint Executive Committee of New College and Free St Andrews Mission, 1890-1901
AA 3.3.75	St Andrew's Church Record, December 1900
AA 3.3.75	Appeal Letter by Free St Andrew's Church (December 1895)
AA 3.3.75	Annual Reports of the New College Settlement 1891-1935
AA 3.3.75	New College Settlement Magazine 1915
Z.H.20.4	John Harry Miller Scrap Book

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