Quaker Studies 11/2 (2007) [204-223]
ISSN 1363-013X

Woodbrooke in Wider Context: The Enduring Thread of Adult Education

Pam Lunn

Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, Birmingham, England

Abstract

The usual story told of Woodbrooke's history is an entirely Quaker-centric account, focused on the currents in the Religious Society of Friends in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, the 1895 Manchester Conference, and its aftermath. However, the currents affecting the religious concern for the education of adults stretch back through all denominations into the eighteenth century, and the Quaker activities were characteristic of the era. Similarly, the fortunes of Woodbrooke in the twentieth century are within the mainstream of other adult education provision and are affected, even though not directly controlled, by the cultural changes creating and created by state-funded adult education. This article traces the threads to situate Woodbrooke within a wider narrative, both influenced by and influencing the trajectory of adult education provision in Britain.

Keywords

Woodbrooke, adult education, Adult Schools, Manchester Conference, settlements

Woodbrooke, situated in Selly Oak, Birmingham, England, opened in 1903 as a Quaker settlement, later designated a college. With buildings given by the Quaker industrialist, George Cadbury, and an endowment from John Wilhelm Rowntree, it was set up—as set out in the founding Trust Deed—to enable students to

> study the Christian religion, especially as it bears upon the doctrines held by the members of the Society of Friends and in connection therewith receive and enjoy the benefit of practical training and experience in Christian work especially as carried on by the said Society; and secondly to study social and economic questions; and thirdly study the classics and theological and psychological and other branches of learning; and fourthly to receive the benefit of spiritual and intellectual culture (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 25-26).

A series of term-long courses were run, in the traditional pattern of the academic year (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 66-67), as well as shorter vacation courses and 'extension work' (lectures in other parts of the country) (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 37, 68-69). This pattern of courses continued, with gradual evolution to suit the times and an increase in the short courses work, until the late 1990s (Doncaster 1953: 79-84; Barlow 1982: 33-43, 58-69, 154-58). Increased pressures on budgets (Barlow 1982: 93-96) and falling term-time numbers led to a major restructuring of programmes and staffing, and from January 2000, Woodbrooke (renamed Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre) dropped the term-long courses altogether and shifted to a year-round programme of short courses and conferences (*Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre Annual Report 1998–1999*: 1-3; *Woodbrooke News*, Spring 2000: 1-7).

The significance of Woodbrooke within the history of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain lies in great part in the story of its founding. The idea of Woodbrooke emerged on the cusp of change that saw the shift in Britain from a more evangelical Quakerism, firmly within a traditional Christian framework (even if distinctively expressed), to a liberal form of religion that fully embraced and celebrated what the modern world had to offer, in terms of scientific advance, archaeological discovery, new historical understanding, and biblical criticism (Punshon 2001: Chapter 9). Woodbrooke continues to be a place that nurtures scholarship which may be challenging to comfortable perceptions of the nature of contemporary or historical Quakerism. The purpose of this article is not, however, to document in detail the history of Woodbrooke itself—this has been done elsewhere, both in 'insider' accounts (Rowntree, A.S. 1923; Davis 1953; Barlow 1982) and to some extent, in rather less detail, in more scholarly 'outsider' histories (Kennedy 2001: Chapters 4, 5; Freeman 2004: 38-40, 66, 78-80, 172-73). My purpose here is rather to situate the creation and continuation of Woodbrooke in the context of a long history of religious concern for the education of adults; and to locate the form that Woodbrooke's work has taken, particularly since the middle of the twentieth century, in the contemporary context that shapes all of adult education—that of government policy and state funding priorities. This is key, since the climate created by the sheer weight and scale of state influence impacts on independent and voluntary adult education activity even in the absence of a direct mechanism of control.

The usual story told of Woodbrooke's history starts with the debates among late nineteenth-century British Friends concerning 'modern thought', scientific advance, consequent challenges to biblical narratives of human origins, and questions about the nature and sustainability of religious belief. The story leads on to the 1895 Manchester Conference and then continues with the growth of the Summer Schools leading to the founding of Woodbrooke in 1903 as a 'permanent summer school'. This story is related in Woodbrooke's own published histories (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 14-30; Wood 1953; Barlow 1982: 1-7), in various books and articles (Punshon 1983, 2001: Chapter 9; Rowlands 2003), and in a substantial scholarly treatment in Thomas Kennedy's study of Edwardian Quakerism (Kennedy 2001: Chapters 4, 5). The most recent examples of this narrative

may be found in connection with the celebration of Woodbrooke's Centenary: in the address given on the occasion (12 October 2003) of the launch of the centenary year (Holdsworth 2003), and in the history panels created for display in the main corridor of the building.

In a recently published history of Unitarian College, Manchester, a former Principal quotes from the 1914 Jubilee history of the college, and then comments:

> it is only part of the story: the one that occurs most obviously when Unitarian history is examined narrowly from a denominational point of view... [A] new approach to church history has emerged wherein historians increasingly tend to examine churches and religious movements not in isolation, but in their social context (Smith, L. 2004: 53).

Similarly, the account I have just summarised of Woodbrooke's history is 'the one that occurs most obviously from a denominational point of view'. I am not suggesting that this story is incorrect, rather that it is—in both senses of the word—partial: partial in that it is both incomplete, and is an 'insider' account. Quaker historical narratives, written by Quakers for Quakers, inevitably tend towards a focus on perceived group distinctiveness and give less attention to commonalities shared with the surrounding culture. As with other issues of that era (such as temperance, slavery, women's suffrage) Friends were neither sole pioneers nor conspicuously out on a limb, but were both riding and contributing to the wave of a wider tide of social concern and action.[1] In this article I trace some of the commonalities, some of the currents of opinion and social change, in relation to the education of adults, in which British Friends participated during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the light of this it will be shown that Woodbrooke, for all its apparent Quaker peculiarity, was—and in some ways remains—firmly in the mainstream of the tide of influences impacting on adult education in Britain.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

Although I start my detailed examination in the early nineteenth century, there is of course a hinterland of influence leading up to the events of that period. Some writers trace the 'beginnings of nonconformity in religious adult education' (Kelly 1970: 8) to John Wycliffe and the Lollards in the fourteenth century (Kelly 1970: 8-10, 21; Elsdon 2003: 42n). Within the compass of the period of Quaker history, the Act of Uniformity of 1662 not only forced non-conformist ministers from their churches but also ejected, and placed restrictions on, school teachers and college tutors. The Dissenting Academies arose in the mid- to late 1660s, undertaking the task of preserving university learning for non-conformists, both lay people and students for the non-conformist ministries. They provided education for the professions as well as in purely academic subjects, and they taught scientific subjects long before they were included in university curricula (McLachlan 1934: Chapter 1; Smith, J.W.A. 1954: Chapters 1, 2; Brooke 2004: 31). However, the established church was not wholly absent from this episode in the history. With the formation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in

1699, the Church of England sought to encourage the formal teaching of reading to adults. This initiative did not have great impact in England, but does appear to have taken root in Scotland and Wales (Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 10; Kelly 1970: 65-69).

The Methodist revival, especially in Wales, gave rise to 'circulating schools' in the 1780s, intended for children but also attracting adults for whom they were not really suitable (Sadler 1907: 13-15; Peers 1959: 4-10; Kelly 1970: 70-78). This influenced a Methodist minister in Nottingham, William Singleton, to approach a Quaker, Samuel Fox, in the same town and form the first Adult Sunday School—for women lacemakers—in 1798, teaching bible reading, writing, and arithmetic (Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 10; Sadler 1907: 17-18; Peers 1959: 10-13; Kelly 1970: 79-80). In 1811 an adult bible reading school was started in Bala, North Wales and in 1812 a similar one was begun in Bristol. The influence of the Bristol school, under Methodist William Smith and Quaker Thomas Pole, spread to York and Leeds, and from there around the country, forming the first wave of the Adult School movement (Pole 1968 [1816]; Hudson 1969 [1851]: Chapter 1; Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 10-13; Sadler 1907: 18-19; Martin 1924: Chapter 3; Peers 1959: 11-13; Kelly 1970: 78-80). Although the Nottingham school survived into the early twentieth century (Kelly 1970: 80) it was not itself the start of a movement. The initial impetus behind these early Adult Schools began to die away by around 1825–30, partly because pupils were dismissed once they attained a certain level of reading (Kelly 1970: 152-53), but also because the schools 'lost...conviction' (Champness 1944: 168), through excessive reliance on particular individuals (Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 12), or because of a 'too condescending interest' (Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 13).

DEVELOPMENTS IN ADULT EDUCATION PROVISION: SCIENCE AND RADICAL POLITICS

Two strands of social and intellectual change came together in the 1820s which set in train a significant increase in adult education provision.

First, science: there was a lively public interest, among all social classes, in the new findings of science—both in their technical, practical application and in their challenge to traditional religion. In many towns and cities there were well-attended public lectures and demonstrations of scientific apparatuses (Sadler 1907: 21-22; Lea 1968: 2-3; Kelly 1970: 98-106; Money 2004: 96). Religious interest in aspects of science was reflected particularly in the attention to new developments in geology, which was in its heyday in the first half of the nineteenth century, as well as in the controversies surrounding Darwin's theory of evolution. British scientists were pre-eminent in both fields, posing significant challenges to orthodox biblical accounts of creation. This was, inevitably, also a challenge to the established church, and hence to 'The Establishment' generally. Unsurprisingly, non-conformists were at the forefront of these debates, and Quakers and Unitarians in particular embraced the new ideas, though not universally, and not without debate (Grinnell 1976; Desmond 1999: 622-32; Helmstadter 2004;

Money 2004: 70-74). Several series of well-attended public lectures on science in Glasgow, between 1799 and 1820, led directly to the setting up of a subscription library there in 1822, on technical and scientific subjects, followed by the first Mechanics' Institute in 1823. Institutes in Liverpool and London followed quickly and then spread throughout the country, in both urban and rural areas—by 1850 there were nearly 700 of them (Lea 1968: 3-4). The original purpose was to provide instruction in those scientific principles which governed the trades of working men but from the outset they attracted a wider, more general, audience (Lea 1968: 7-8). With the active backing of evangelicals such as Shaftesbury, who had a wider concern for the education of the poor, the original purpose broadened to include general liberal education, and the formation of other literary and philosophical institutes, Athenaeums, subscription libraries, reading rooms, mutual improvement societies, and classes (Sadler 1907: 22-31; Peers 1959: 13-19; Kelly 1966: 232-36; Lea 1968: 3-5; Kelly 1970: Chapter 8; 1977: 28, 95).

The second strongly influential thread in this period was primarily political. The upheavals of the French and American Revolutions had led to anxiety among the British ruling classes about social unrest, and the depredations of war contributed to fomenting that unrest. After the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815, there were returning soldiers swelling the population—both directly by their presence and later by the increased birth rate—and there was famine and severe rural poverty (Halévy 1961 [1923]: 9-34; Mokyr 2004: 2; Wrigley 2004), worsened by climatic factors, which resulted in failure of harvests for two years throughout Europe (Post 1977). As a consequence of the Enclosure Acts, which had started to take effect in 1770, removing people's access to land to grow food or graze animals, the systems of poor relief could no longer cope (Allen 2004: 98-101). Additionally the effects of industrialisation in the towns and cities had led to urban impoverishment and unrest (Voth 2004: 284-88); the rural riots of 1830 and 1831 and trades union agitation of 1833–34 were direct outcomes of this (Halévy 1950 [1923]: 6-9; Plumb 1950: 82-83; Thomson 1950: 11-18, 35-40; Thompson 1968: Chapters 14, 15).

Consequently, the period was marked by a focus on the condition of working men (and to start with it was largely 'men' who were the concern). There were two strands: one was a sincere and philanthropic concern for the uplift of the working man, strongly religiously motivated—for it was discovered that the ignorance of the poor encompassed great ignorance of religion, and this irreligion was a spur to evangelical action by the middle classes (Hunt 2004: 38-44, 65-68); the second strand was enlightened self-interest—a wish to remove the impetus to riot and protest, as in the drive to replace the radical press of the time with 'morally improving' reading matter (Thompson 1968: 789-91).

Similarly, after the start of the land enclosures, the first allotment movement, from about 1793, had begun the task of allocating small parcels of land to working men. There was a resurgence of this provision (in which a number of prominent Quaker landowners were involved) after the unrest of 1830—partly a wish to alleviate poverty and improve the health of the workers; partly to forestall further unrest; partly an explicitly articulated move to give the working man something

to do after his day's work other than to frequent the ale house (Burchardt 2002: Chapters 1, 2). For this was also the period of the rise of the temperance movement, with which the second wave of the Adult Schools movement became closely associated, with many schools forming their own Temperance Associations (Hobhouse 1919: 172-73; Kelly 1970: 203).

The growth of the Chartist movement and increasing pressures for democratisation in many spheres led to radical demands from the disenfranchised for 'really useful knowledge', which would enable them to 'take political action, gain political power and bring about a radical transformation of society'; the early Co-operative Societies flourished in this period (Fieldhouse 1996: 15). The responses from the religious and concerned middle classes and the public authorities were various, but it was clear that education, religion, and politics had become inseparably bound together.

ADULT EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

By the mid-nineteenth century, in the wake of a series of popular uprisings all over Europe, a new wave of activity was underway, in part a result of increasing national prosperity and pressure towards democratisation (Halévy 1962 [1946]: Chapter 5; Thomson 1950: Chapter 4). People's College Sheffield was founded in 1842 (Peers 1959: 36-37); in 1850 the Public Libraries Act permitted a halfpenny rate to be levied, to be spent on the provision of public lending libraries (Kelly 1970: 176-77); from 1851 the foundation of the civic (i.e. municipal, secular) universities started; in 1854 Oxbridge began to be open to Dissenters (Kelly 1970: 216-19), and both the London Working Men's College and Unitarian College, Manchester were founded (Kelly 1970: 183-86; Head 2004: 41). In 1844 the first of the Danish Folk High Schools, a movement later to have a strong influence in Britain, was founded by Nikolai Grundtvig, the Danish clergyman, writer, and philosopher, who had himself been greatly influenced by his earlier experience of educational provision in England (Skrubbeltrang 1952: Chapter 1; Allchin 1997: 167-73).

From 1850 there was a revival of the Adult School movement, largely as a result of the efforts of two Birmingham Quaker businessmen, Joseph Sturge and William White. Sturge's Severn Street school, opened in 1846, added evening classes in arithmetic, geography, and grammar to the basics of scripture, reading, and writing. As well as broadening the range of subject areas covered in this second wave of schools, largely associated with Quakers, there was a growing emphasis on discussion, fellowship, and mutual aid activities such as book or library clubs, savings banks, sick funds, and temperance societies (Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 14-24; Kelly 1970: 154, 202-05). There was an increased focus on social problems and the significance of religion to the world and the schools became a kind of non-sectarian religious club, capable of absorbing all the leisure time of the members. The experience gained through the democratic management of the school's affairs was another part of the educational experience (Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 26-33). This democratic commitment was a marked

difference of 'tone' or outlook compared to the first wave, and one author claims this as the origin of the tradition of democracy in secular adult education subsequently (Halstead 2004: 20). Speaking of Dr Thomas Pole, the Bristol Quaker prominent in the first wave of the Adult Schools, a later commentator wrote:

> We seek in vain through most of these earlier schools for that wholesome quickening spirit of Christian equality, without which philanthropy, charity and 'religious work' degenerate into forms of patronage or interference. A too condescending interest in the 'labouring poor' is patent in the writing of our worthy Bristol Friend (Rowntree and Binns 1985 [1903]: 13).

The initiating influence of Joseph Sturge was of significance in setting this new tone and it is interesting to note, in the light of later accounts in which Friends rather proudly lay claim to the work of the Adult Schools, that in Birmingham in the 1840s, Sturge's Chartism and his work in opening the School were strongly disapproved of by older, more conservative Friends (Hobhouse 1919: 82-88, 166-71).[2]

After the passing of the 1867 Reform Act, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Lowe, remarked that the government would now 'have to educate our new masters' (http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Leducation70.htm). It was as a result of this view that the government passed the 1870 Education Act, setting up school boards and changing the entire nature and scope of elementary education in England. This marked the point at which the state, as distinct from the churches, took responsibility for the education of the nation's children. The Act was steered through Parliament by W.E. Forster, a Liberal from a Quaker family, and the completion of the transformation was made by the subsequent Acts of 1880, which made schooling compulsory, and 1891, which made schooling free (Halévy 1962 [1946]: 447). As these pupils came to adulthood, a population emerged which had less need of the basic literacy teaching which had been the backbone of the Adult Schools and similar endeavours. Adult literacy showed dramatic responses in this period to the universal provision of elementary education. Between 1850 and 1900, both female and male literacy increased from about 55% and 70% respectively to around 95% for both sexes (Mitch 2004: 344). An Adult School in Bradford stopped teaching writing in 1873 as it was felt to be no longer necessary and the time could be better used. The Friends' First Day Schools Association (FFDSA) report for 1878 suggested:

> Our schools ought thus eventually to become increasingly powerful as means for moral religious elevation, being relieved from the necessity for teaching the mere elements of learning, and starting, as it were, with their scholars at a higher level (Martin 1924: 102-03).

This release of time and energy, along with the greater impulse to democracy and discussion, led to the flowering of a wider range of activities which became characteristic of the second wave of the Adult Schools, and fed the significant numerical growth in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Rowntree and Binns 1983 [1903]: Chapter 3; Martin 1924: 112-13; Peers 1959: 34-36).

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE SETTLEMENTS MOVEMENT

With the legislative changes, the focus of voluntary action and education shifted, and 1883 saw the start of the University Settlements movement, inspiring young men from Oxford (initially—later broadened) to live among the urban poor, to research the reasons for poverty and act so as to alleviate the conditions they found, including the running of educational activities (Briggs and Macartney 1984: 1-4; Glasby 1999: Chapter 1). An intention of democracy, and equality with those among whom they were to live, was considerably compromised by deeply ingrained class attitudes (Hobhouse 1951: 133), but nevertheless, the founding of Toynbee Hall in 1884, and the many other residential settlements which followed, was to have deep and lasting influence. Interestingly, for the story of Woodbrooke, 'Quaker settlement' was the description which John Wilhelm Rowntree chose when he later tried to communicate his idea, which was to include social outreach work (Rowntree, J.W. 1899). A number of Quakers were deeply involved in Toynbee Hall, two of them as wardens, the second of these, J. St George Heath, having previously been a tutor at Woodbrooke.[3]

In the wider field of adult education, Toynbee Hall was a direct influence on the founding of a whole movement of residential settlements as well as the beginnings of the Workers Educational Association (WEA) in 1903, and the linking of the WEA with university extension classes (Price 1924; Peers 1959: 61-68; Kelly 1970: 248-50; Fieldhouse 1977; Briggs and Macartney 1984: 76-78). The general upsurge of democratic sentiment in the second half of the nineteenth century had had its effect on Oxford and Cambridge, leading to pressure for the resources of the two ancient universities to be made more widely available. From 1873 Cambridge began university extension classes (followed by London in 1876 and Oxford in 1878), particularly in industrial towns, to attempt to offer university-level education to those for whom conventional university entrance would have been an impossible dream (Peers 1959: 49-59; Kelly 1970: 216-28; Fieldhouse 1996: 41). Then, from 1888, there began—first in Oxford, and later in Cambridge—Summer Schools, which made courses of lectures available to a wider public still (Kelly 1970: 228-29). There followed regional 'tutorial classes' in conjunction with the WEA and later the establishment of university extra-mural departments (Fieldhouse 1996: 166-68). I have found no evidence of a direct causal link between these Oxbridge Summer Schools and the first Quaker Summer School seven years later—but they were certainly emerging from the same cultural milieu. It should be noted in addition that the Methodist churches had been running summer camp meetings since the early nineteenth century, both in England and in the USA (Wearmouth 1954: 131; Messenger 1999: 5).

In 1899 the National Council of Adult School Associations was formed, to federate existing adult school associations, separately from the FFDSA, and to promote their work (Martin 1924: 152-58, Chapter 10). Links were also made with the small number of non-residential educational settlements that were established between 1909 and 1918, having grown out of the work of both the Adult Schools and the Residential Settlements movement (Martin 1924: Chapter 14;

Freeman 2002: 245-50). Arnold S. Rowntree established non-residential educational settlements in York and Leeds, with a primary purpose of educating new leaders for the local Adult School movement (Freeman 2002: 248), and was later (1920) instrumental in the formation of the Educational Settlements Association (ESA) to promote and co-ordinate their work (Allaway 1977: Chapter 2; Freeman 2002: 245-50). Many of the educational settlements, including those in York, also fostered links with the WEA, offering their 'tutorial classes' alongside religious and other secular subjects (Kelly 1970: 263-64).

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE AND WOODBROOKE

It was not only Summer Schools that were 'in the air' when Friends started their own; residential education for adults was also an idea in circulation when British Friends started to pursue the idea of a Quaker college. The first Danish Folk High School had been founded in 1844 (Skrubbeltrang 1952: 13); Unitarian College (initially the Unitarian Home Mission Board), Manchester, was founded in 1854 (Head 2004: 41); and Ruskin Hall (College from 1907), Oxford, was founded in 1899 (Yorke 1977: 1; Pollins 1984: 9-12)—the very year in which John Wilhelm Rowntree's 'Plea for a Quaker Settlement' (Rowntree, J.W. 1899) was published. Although the popular Quaker account of Woodbrooke refers back only as far as this 'Plea'—a useful starting point for the story, in that it was a thoroughly argued case and was published—the idea had been mooted and strongly supported among Friends prior to that. Rowntree himself had spoken of the idea at the 1893 Yearly Meeting (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 17) and during the Summer Schools which followed the 1895 Manchester Conference, John William Graham suggested the idea of a residential establishment (Graham was Tutor in Mathematics, 1886–97, and Principal, 1897–1924, of Dalton Hall, the Quaker hall of residence at Owens College, later the University of Manchester [http://rylibweb.man.ac.uk/data2/spcoll/graham]). Additionally, W.C. Braithwaite, much involved with the Adult School movement, and later to become the first chairman of Woodbrooke's governing Council, was deeply interested in furthering the idea of a 'permanent summer school' (Wood 1953: 16-18). So here we have, in addition to Rowntree, two Quakers, each deeply involved in other aspects of the education of adults prominent at the time, recognising that a current stirring elsewhere also had its place among Friends. George Cadbury had reflected on the need for a settlement to 'infuse a new spirit and energy into the society' (Gardiner 1923: 198), and in 1902 had speculated about 'a kind of Hall of Residence in connection with Birmingham University, with the special idea of preparation for the Quaker ministry and service' (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 25). He responded to John Wilhelm Rowntree's 'Plea' with the offer of his house and grounds, Woodbrooke, to be the premises for the venture (Gardiner 1923: 198-209), and the Woodbrooke Settlement duly opened in 1903.

Rowntree, himself deeply committed to the educational ventures in which Quakers were engaged, saw Woodbrooke as, among other things, a training ground for a great wave of teachers for Sunday Schools, Quaker boarding schools,

and Adult Schools (Rowntree, J.W. 1899: 16-19; Freeman 2002: 250). This never happened, although there were some small moves in this direction in the early days (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 36, 44; Freeman 2004: 78-79). From the start, the students who attended brought their own personal agendas, and many lacked sufficient social seriousness to satisfy Rowntree's vision: 'At the outset there was some tendency towards dilettantism. The students enjoyed their newly-found freedom from life's daily routine' (Rowntree, A.S. 1923: 31). Additionally, the Adult School movement was—unknown to him—nearing its peak, and numbers started to decline sharply from 1910 (Hall 1985: 4, 212-13); before, that is, the inevitable effects of the first world war.

This individualist, dilettante attitude was not limited to Woodbrooke nor was it peculiar to Quakers. Ruskin Hall was founded to offer working men an education in history, politics, economics, philosophy, and literature. The political (and Christian socialist) inspiration behind Ruskin was as deeply serious as the Quaker religious inspiration behind Woodbrooke—but in its first year, many applied, or just turned up, who were not at all the kind of working men the college had been founded to serve (Yorke 1977: 6-11; Pollins 1984: 15). Subsequently, students of the kind intended were mostly recruited through their trades unions (Yorke 1977: 23-24).

THE INFLUENCE OF WOODBROOKE

Following the founding of Woodbrooke, similar concerns—from many of the same Quaker trustees—led to the founding of other colleges in Selly Oak and elsewhere. In 1909 Fircroft was founded, drawing together, it was said, 'the genius of the Adult School movement with that of the Danish Folk High Schools' (Wood and Ball 1922: 53), although it was targeted at labouring men from the cities rather than at agricultural labourers, as was the case in Denmark (Barlow 1982: 71; Bartlett 1993: 2-4; Marks n.d.: 25-27). Fircroft's first warden, a Quaker, Tom Bryan, had been involved in Settlement work and Adult Schools, and had been a tutor at Woodbrooke from its beginning in 1903 until he moved to Fircroft in 1909 (Wood and Ball 1922: Chapters 2, 3; Bartlett 1993: 4-6). The needs of working women were recognised in the founding of the Working Women's College in south London in 1920 (Powell 1964: Chapter 1; Cockerill n.d.: Chapters 1-3); and in 1926 Avoncroft College in Worcestershire was founded to serve the needs of agricultural labourers (Bartlett 1993: 17-20). When the Working Women's College was renamed Hillcroft College in 1926, the name was deliberately chosen to make a clear link by association with Fircroft and Avoncroft (Powell 1964: 13). Utilising available land, buildings, Quaker support, and a community of ideas, other Quaker ventures and other churches set up training colleges of various kinds around Selly Oak, and these came together as the Federation of Selly Oak Colleges in 1919—the units remained independent in operation but co-operated to mutual benefit in a number of ways (Hoyland 1953). Adrian Hastings, surveying the history of English Christianity in the twentieth century, is clear about the significance of this development:

> Woodbrooke had proved within a couple of decades the seed of a mini-university of a new type, predominantly though not wholly religious in character... It was probably the most creative instance of Free Church educational enterprise in this its greatest age (Hastings 2001: 118).

The impetus behind Woodbrooke was also felt further afield than Selly Oak. In 1909 the Jesuit priest Charles Dominic Plater was instrumental in founding the Catholic Social Guild, a response to the same social and economic conditions discussed earlier (Chiles 1996: 5-8). Also in 1909 he had written in his diary that he was 'dreaming of a Catholic Ruskin College', and he was a key figure behind the first conference of the Guild, held in Oxford in 1919, and its first Summer School there in 1920, by the end of which there was a resolve to set up a Catholic Workers' College (Chiles 1996: 11-20), a process strikingly similar to the Quaker events some twenty years earlier. The college was founded in 1921, admitted its first women students in 1923 (something which Fircroft did only in 1980), and was renamed Plater College in 1965 (Chiles 1996: Chapter 3). In his history of the college, Dennis Chiles acknowledges the thread of influence:

> [T]he idea of residential education was in the air. The first two manifestations were in Birmingham. In 1903 George Cadbury gave Woodbrooke...for what was then known as the Woodbrooke Settlement, the first residential college after Ruskin... In 1909 George Cadbury Junior founded Fircroft... The inspiration was the admiration which a group of leaders of the Adult School Movement had for the Danish Folk High Schools (Chiles 1996: 21).

WOODBROOKE IN THE ERA OF STATE PROVISION OF ADULT EDUCATION

The 1902 Education Act created Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and permitted them to fund adult education (Peers 1959: 63-64; Fieldhouse 1996: 77-79). There was a growth of evening classes and 'continuation schools'; institutions such as Bournville College of Further Education owe their beginnings to this period of co-operation between voluntary and statutory bodies (Fieldhouse 1966: 79-80). Bournville Day Continuation College, as an example, had links to Cadbury's Bournville factory and the education offered there to its workers, and George Cadbury was closely involved in the development of the college (Weedall 1963). The Education Act of 1918 brought education up to the age of 18 under the purview of LEAs, and a government report on adult education, published in 1919, laid great emphasis on the work of voluntary bodies in providing non-vocational adult education, education for the development of the whole person. The report noted the different and appropriate character of voluntary organisations for this kind of work, and that universities and LEAs were less able to provide it—but the need was much greater than the voluntary bodies could supply (Fieldhouse 1996: 80-85). The LEAs were still only permitted, not required, to provide adult education.

In the period leading up the 1944 Education Act there were differences in priorities between those concerned with schools, universities, and adult education. Recent research shows an attempt by Arnold S. Rowntree, and others associated with the ESA and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust (JRCT), to inscribe the Quaker-influenced ethos and experience of the ESA into the post-war educational landscape. The story (Elsdon 2001, 2003) reveals the changing of an era: a style of voluntarism and public service, enshrined in the work of the ESA and embraced by Quakers who were accustomed to seeing their money give effective expression to their ideas, was sidelined by a new approach of professionalism and politicking. The patrician Rowntree—'by no means as invariably democratic as his...ideology might suggest' (Elsdon 2001: 13)—and JRCT employee William Hazelton, were comprehensively outmanoeuvred by R.H. Tawney and Ernest Green from the WEA; this was in spite of an intervention in parliament by a Quaker MP, T.E. Harvey (Arnold S. Rowntree's brother-in-law), who had been briefed by the ESA (Elsdon 2001: 19), and in spite of Hazelton urging Friends to work actively support the proposals (Elsdon 2003: 34). As Elsdon sums it up: 'The advocacy of "the great and the good" alone was insufficient' (Elsdon 2001: 29). The WEA retained its hold on government grant funding for voluntary sector adult education work and the proposal that an 'appropriate environment for adult education—residential and non-residential institutions—should be made a nationwide provision' (Elsdon 2003: 21) was lost to the 1943 Education Bill. Thus a model of a more integrated adult education (encompassing the 'whole person' and the social context) was defeated by one more traditionally academic, more in thrall to establishment values. Elsdon is clear and trenchant about the failures—deeply regrettable in his eyes—of the well-intentioned Quakers:

> The ESA was never particularly good at translating ideas and practices into realistic larger scale plans, perhaps because its Quaker traditions had accustomed it to the availability of self-sacrificing enthusiasts and far-seeing charitable trusts to assist these in their 'concerns' (Elsdon 2001: 13).
>
> Given [this] failure...did it represent...an omen of the subsequent, and seemingly ultimate triumph of the Philistines which has characterised British society and politics ever since? (Elsdon 2003: 52).
>
> Might we have been spared the shame of the mendacious claim to sponsor 'lifelong learning', where learning is restricted to what the state and employers think they can measure and use? Where freedom to learn and to choose what to learn has become the privilege of the affluent? (Elsdon 2003: 80).

However, Elsdon does point out that, though the proponents of the ESA approach may have lost the 1944 funding battle, in the long run they won at least part of the argument, at least for a while: from the 1950s, by then with the support and advocacy of HM Inspectors, there emerged a network of educational centres, many of them under LEA control, offering evening and day classes—the ESA model without the religious impulse (Ministry of Education 1955; Fieldhouse 1996: 90-93; Elsdon 2001: 15). This provision is, however, now under serious threat (Kingston 2004a, 2004b, 2005).

In the state-funded sector of residential adult education, three more long-term residential colleges were founded: Coleg Harlech in Wales in 1927, Newbattle Abbey in Scotland in 1937 (Kelly 1970: 282), and Northern College in Sheffield in 1978 (Hampton and Ball 2004: 1); in this last case there was the echo of earlier Friends' involvement with this movement in that Quaker money helped aspects of the college's life in its early stages.[4] Throughout this period, when Woodbrooke was running a traditional academic year with term-length courses, it was regarded in wider circles as simply one of these long-term residential colleges (Drews and Fieldhouse 1996: 239-55). It was 'recognised' by the Department of Education in the late 1940s and, until the late 1980s, was inspected very occasionally by HMI responsible for adult, youth and community work (Doncaster 1953: 87).[5]

After the second world war there was a renewed enthusiasm for residential adult education and some two dozen short-term residential adult colleges (STRCs) were founded between 1944 and 1950, all in England. These were in large part an outcome of the 1944 Education Act which this time laid a duty on LEAs to provide adult education. Some were entirely LEA run, some had university extra-mural and/or WEA input as well. Other voluntary bodies were also involved, such as Denman College (Women's Institute), founded in 1948. The growth in these STRCs peaked at 'something over thirty five' in 1969, with only one in Wales and none in Scotland (Drews and Fieldhouse 1996: 255-60).

The period after the mid-1970s deserves a history of its own, and the opening of Northern College in 1978 represents the high point of this story. The economic turn-down from 1973 and advent of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative administration in 1979, changed the face of all public sector work, from which adult education could not be exempt, and also changed the nature of society (Fryer 2004)—particularly in the period after Thatcher had declared that there was no such thing.[6] Central Government or LEA funding for radical community education gradually disappeared, and support for non-vocational adult education—the 'great tradition' of liberal adult education—began to be eroded (Drews and Fieldhouse 1996: 258-60, 262-63). The state-funded long-term residential colleges were steered towards prioritising Access to Higher Education, rather than a broader liberal education, and then were subject to funding restrictions, as they were regarded as an excessively expensive way of providing Access courses (Kelly 1970: 291; Drews and Fieldhouse 1996: 254-55). Newbattle Abbey closed in 1989, because of summary withdrawal of LEA support (Drews and Fieldhouse 1996: 252), and all the others have had to diversify to survive, mostly by increasing short-term provision; and this at a time when the number of STRCs is reduced to 26, only 15 of which are LEA funded, and even those are under threat.[7]

State funded adult education has become almost wholly vocational and instrumental (Utley 2001; Elsdon 2003: 80-81; Field 2004; Jowitt 2004; http://www.dfes.gov.uk/skillsstrategy), a trend that extends beyond Britain (Gouthro 2002): even the Danish Folk High Schools—about 50 per cent state funded, and whose present constitution *forbids* the teaching of vocational subjects—are facing political and economic pressures for change in that direction.[8]

CONCLUSION

The actual provision of adult education has always arisen from the response of particular individuals or bodies (first religious, later secular) to social, cultural, and economic realities. The Quaker involvement in Adult Schools and Settlements was typical of this, and characteristic of the times, and led directly to the shared awareness that resulted in the founding of Woodbrooke. The creation of the later Selly Oak Colleges and the Long Term Adult Residential Colleges demonstrate that this awareness among Quakers at the beginning of the twentieth century was part of a wider consciousness; Quakers, then as always, were very much of their time and acting in the main current of the surrounding culture, not ahead of, or against it. As Woodbrooke developed though the middle of the twentieth century it was subject to all the financial, cultural, and political influences of the times—serving its Quaker constituency, but never separated from the currents in the wider society in which all its students, staff, and governors lived.

In the light of all this, the financial difficulties experienced by Woodbrooke in the 1990s, its transformation at the end of 1999 from a long-term to a short-term college, and the increasing profile within Woodbrooke's programme of courses which are 'training for Quaker roles' (the 'voluntary' analogue of vocational training in the state sector), are entirely part of the wider cultural trend. It is interesting to note that the last of the long-term residential colleges, the government-funded Northern College, experienced severe financial pressures on exactly the same time-scale as Woodbrooke, pressures which gained a 'greater sense of urgency' in 1999, followed by major restructuring in 2000/2001 (Jowitt 2004: 103). Although Woodbrooke is not government funded, the demographic and economic factors impacting on it were and are the same as for everyone else, state-funded or not. Similar pressures on the other Selly Oak Colleges led to the dissolution of the structure Federation during 1999–2000,[9] and the adult education activities of the other churches are subject to precisely the same strictures, leading to cutbacks in activity and staff.[10] So, in spite of the apparent Quaker peculiarities of Woodbrooke, and its specific place in a particular story of Quakerism in Britain, the existence and fortunes of Woodbrooke have been, and remain, in the mainstream of the influences and changes affecting adult education in Britain over two centuries.

NOTES

1. See for example, my discussion of British Quakers and the struggle for women's suffrage (Lunn 1997). There is certainly an analogous story waiting to be told about Friends and the anti-slavery movement.

2. Paul Foot, in his posthumously published history of the popular franchise, takes issue with this view of Sturge:

> Sturge was never a Chartist. He was a Quaker who believed that human problems could best be solved 'from within', by self-contemplation, self-analysis and prayer.

> But he was also driven by that sense of public duty that inspired so many worthy English liberal gentlemen... When the Charter was first published, Sturge did not support it. He was appalled by the revolutionary upheaval of 1839 and angrily distanced himself from it. But its chief effect on him was to increase his uneasiness about the lack of democratic representation for the masses. In 1841, when he came back from an anti-slavery tour in the Unites States, the full force of the revolutionary activity of the Chartists compelled him to apply his mind to the plight of the white wage slaves of his native country. He started to campaign for a solution to what he called 'the enormous evil of class legislation', while seeking above all to separate that campaign from the social upheaval created by the Chartists. He founded the Complete Suffrage Union (CSU) dedicated to universal manhood suffrage... He and his supporters set out at once to recruit from the ranks of 'moral force' Chartists... What was Sturge doing?... His aim was...very simple: to split the Chartist movement and to isolate the demand for universal suffrage from the 'something extra'...which gave it its revolutionary flavour (Foot 2005: 122-23).

3. Quaker wardens in the early days of Toynbee Hall were T.E. Harvey (1906–11) and J. St George Heath (1914–17). Later Quaker wardens were E. St John Catchpool who had been sub-warden in the 1920s and stepped in as warden from 1962–63 to help out during an interregnum, and Walter Birmingham who was warden from 1963–72. A number of other Quakers were involved at various times in other capacities (see Briggs and Macartney 1984 *passim*).

4. '[T]he prefabs had to be converted into a crèche for the students' children. Funding for this was found from the Rowntree Trust' (Brown and Browning 2004: 52): this was the JRCT in 1978 (personal communication from Juliet Prager, JRCT, 29 April 2005). '[B]y 1980 research was underway for the Rowntree Trust' (Bradshaw 2004: 152): this was the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, now the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (personal communication from Vaughan Birbeck, JRF, 9 May 2005). 'In 1989 the Cadbury and Rowntree Trusts were persuaded to support a Community Operational Research unit' (Grayson and Ball 2004: 176): this was the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, now the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (personal communication from Vaughan Birbeck, JRF, 9 May 2005); and the Paul S. Cadbury Trust (personal communication from Charles Ritchie, DfES, 7 June 2005).

5. The author was present for the last of these inspections in 1989.

6. 'There is no such thing as society, only individuals and families' (Thatcher 1987).

7. Personal communication, 28 September 2004, from Janet Dann, secretary to ARCA (Adult Residential Colleges Association, founded 1983): 'There are currently 26 member colleges of which 15 are local authority run. The remaining 11 are as follows: Charitable Trusts = 6, Further Education = 2, Privately owned = 3'. Woodbrooke is one of the six charitable colleges.

8. Personal conversation, 9 September 2004, with Jørgen Carlsen, director of Testrup Højskole, Mårslet, Denmark.

9. 'The transfer of part of the trust to the University of Birmingham took place in stages during 1999 and 2000. The agreements and minutes of the relevant meetings are archived in the SOCET office in Elmfield House, University of Birmingham, Selly Oak Campus... The agreements allowed a good deal of the work to have a future where otherwise it would have become non-viable' (personal communication from Michael Taylor, last President of the Selly Oak Colleges, 10 June 2005).

10. Conversations at meetings of CALM (Christian Adult Learning Meeting), an ecumenical coordinating sub-group of Churches Together in England for those with a national responsibility in their church or denomination for promoting adult Christian education and lifelong learning (personal conversation with Helen Rowlands, Quaker representative on CALM, 6 October 2004).

REFERENCES

Allaway, A.J., 1977, *The Educational Centres Movement 1909–1977*, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education and Educational Centres Association.

Allchin, A.M., 1997, *N.F.S. Grundtvig: An Introduction to his Life and Work*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd.

Allen, R.C., 2004, 'Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution, 1700–1850', in Floud and Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, I, pp. 96-116.

Ball, M., and Hampton, W. (eds), 2004, *The Northern College: Twenty-five Years of Adult Learning*, Leicester: NIACE, 2004.

Barlow, F.R., 1982, *Woodbrooke 1953–1978: A Documentary Account of Woodbrooke's Third 25 Years*, ed. Gray, D., York: William Sessions, The Ebor Press.

Bartlett, J., 1993, *The Croft Trust: Its History and Relationships with Fircroft and Avoncroft Colleges*, Bromsgrove: Halfshire Books.

Bradshaw, K., 2004, 'Change and Continuity: Trade Union Education at the Northern College', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 139-53.

Briggs, A., and Macartney, A., 1984, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Brooke, J.H., 2004, 'Science and Dissent: Some Historiographical Issues', in Wood (ed.), *Science and Dissent in England, 1688–1945*, pp. 19-37.

Brown, M.B., and Browning, D., 2004, 'Northern College—the Early Years', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 51-68.

Burchardt, J., 2002, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793–1873*, Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society (The Boydell Press).

Champness, E.F., 1944, 'Adult Schools and the Society of Friends', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 311 (April), pp. 168-73.

Chiles, D., 1996, *A Silken Thread: The History of Plater College 1921–1996*, Oxford: Plater College.

Cockerill, J., n.d. [c. 1983], *Second Chance: The Story of Hillcroft, the Residential Working Women's College and Its Contribution to the Development of Women's Adult Education*, Surbiton: Hillcroft College.

Davis, R., 1953 (ed.), *Woodbrooke 1903–1953: A Brief History of a Quaker Experiment in Religious Education*, London: The Bannisdale Press.

Desmond, A., 1999, *Huxley: From Devil's Disciple to Evolution's High Priest*, Reading: Helix.

Doncaster, H.L., 1953, 'Woodbrooke: 1945–1951', in Davis (ed.), *Woodbrooke 1903–1953*, pp. 79-91.

Drews, W., and Fieldhouse, R., 1996, 'Residential Colleges and Non-Residential Settlements and Centres', in Fieldhouse, *A History of Modern British Adult Education*, pp. 239-63.

Elsdon, K.T., 2001, 'The Archbishop's Conference: Missed Opportunity or Vain Hope?', *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education* 7.2, pp. 9-34.

—, 2003, *Crisis of Opportunity: Perspectives on Adult Education and Humanism*, Leicester: NIACE.

Field, J., 2004, 'Forming Public Policy: Trends and Prospects for Residential Adult Education in an Era of Lifelong Learning', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 198-211.

Fieldhouse, R., 1977, *The Workers' Educational Association: Aims and Achievements 1903–1977*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

—, 1996, *A History of Modern British Adult Education*, Leicester: NIACE.

Floud, R., and Johnson, P. (eds.), 2004, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. I. Industrialisation, 1700–1860*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foot, P., 2005, *The Vote: How it was Won and how it was Undermined*, London: Viking Books.

Freeman, M., 2002, ' "No Finer School Than a Settlement": The Development of the Educational Settlement Movement', *History of Education* 31.3, pp. 245-62

—, 2004, *The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: A Study in Quaker Philanthropy and Adult Education 1904–1954*, York: William Sessions.

Fryer, B., 2004, 'The Northern College from Thatcherism to "New Labour": A Personal Reminiscence', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 69-100.

Gardiner, A.G., 1923, *Life of George Cadbury*, London: Cassell & Co.

Glasby, J., *Poverty and Opportunity: 100 Years of the Birmingham Settlement*, Studley: Brewin Books, 1999.

Gouthro, P.A., 2002, 'Education for Sale: At what Cost? Lifelong Learning and the Marketplace', *Journal of Lifelong Education* 21.4, pp. 334-46.

Grayson, J., and Ball, M., 2004, 'A Bold Experiment: The Northern College Diploma Course', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 174-97.

Grinnell, G., 1976, 'The Origins of Modern Geological Theory', *Kronos* 1.4, pp. 68-76 (http://www.sedin.org/PDFS/Grinneng.pdf).

Halévy, E., 1950 [1923], *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*. III. *The Triumph of Reform (1830–1841)*, trans. Watkin, E.I., London: Ernest Benn, 2nd English edn.

—, 1961 [1923], *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*. II. *The Liberal Awakening (1815–1830)*, trans. Watkin, E.I., London: Ernest Benn, 1st Eng. pbk edn.

—, 1962 [1946], *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*. IV. *The Victorian Years (1841–1895)*, trans. Watkin, E.I., London: Ernest Benn, 2nd English edn.

Hall, W.A., 1985, *The Adult School Movement in the Twentieth Century*, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.

Halstead, J., 2004, 'The Local Tradition of Working-Class and Self-Help Education', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 16-35.

Hampton, W., and Ball, M., 2004, 'Introduction', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 1-15.

Hastings, A., 2001, *A History of English Christianity 1920–2000*, London: SCM Press, 4th edn.

Head, G., 2004, 'The Founders: John Relly Beard and William Gaskell', in Smith (ed.), *Unitarian to the Core*, pp. 30-51.

Helmstadter, R., 2004, 'Condescending Harmony: John Pye Smith's Mosaic Geology', in Wood (ed.), *Science and Dissent in England, 1688–1945*, pp. 167-95.

Hobhouse, S., 1919, *Joseph Sturge: His Life and Work*, London: J.M. Dent & Sons.

—, 1951, *Forty Years and an Epilogue: An Autobiography (1881–1951)*, London: James Clarke & Co.

Holdsworth, C., 2003, 'Reflections upon a Centenary', unpublished manuscript (Archive of the minutes of the Trustees of Woodbrooke, item T04Feb, Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre).

Hoyland, J.S., 1953, 'The Selly Oak Colleges', in Davis (ed.), *Woodbrooke 1903–1953*, pp. 169-84.

Hudson, J.W., 1969 [1851], *The History of Adult Education*, London: The Woburn Press.

Hunt, T., 2004, *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Jowitt, J.A., 2004, 'From FEFC to LSC: Resurrecting the Roots in the 21st Century', in Ball and Hampton (eds.), *The Northern College*, pp. 101-11.

Kelly, T., 1966, *Early Public Libraries: A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850*, London: The Library Association.

—, 1970, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain: From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2nd edn.

—, 1977, *History of Public Libraries in Great Britain 1845–1975*, London: The Library Association, 2nd edn.

Kennedy, T.C., 2001, *British Quakerism 1860–1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kingston, P., 2004a, 'Adults Learning Less Under Labour', *Education Guardian*, 18 May, p. 15.

—, 2004b, 'From First to Last', *Education Guardian*, 19 October, p. 14.

—, 2005, 'Evenings Out', *Education Guardian*, 26 April, p. 16.

Lea, J.T., 1968, *The History and Development of the Mechanics' Institutions*, Oldham: Research in Librarianship.

Lunn, P., 1997, ' "You Have Lost Your Opportunity": British Friends and the Militant Phase of the Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1906–1914', *Quaker Studies* 2.1, pp. 30-56.

McLachlan, H., 1934, *The Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England: Its Contribution to Thought and Learning 1700–1900*, London: George Allen & Unwin.

Marks, W., n.d., *George Cadbury Junior 1878–1954: A Short Biography*, Birmingham: Studio Press.

Martin, G.C., 1924, *The Adult School Movement: Its Origin and Development*, London: National Adult School Union.

Messenger, T., 1999, *Holy Leisure: Recreation and Religion in God's Square Mile*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Ministry of Education, 1955, *Evening Institutes (Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 28)*, London: HMSO.

Mitch, D., 2004, 'Education and Skill of the British Labour Force', in Floud and Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, I, pp. 332-54.

Mokyr, J., 2004, 'Accounting for the Industrial Revolution', in Floud and Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, I, pp. 1-27.

Money, J., 2004, 'Science, Technology and Dissent in English Provincial Culture: From Newtonian Transformation to Agnostic Incarnation', in Wood (ed.), *Science and Dissent in England, 1688–1945*, pp. 67-112.

Peers, R., 1959, *Adult Education: A Comparative Study*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edn.

Plumb, J.H., 1950, *England in the Eighteenth Century (1714–1815)*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Pole, T., 1968, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools*, London: The Woburn Press, reprint of 2nd edn 1816.

Pollins, H., 1984, *The History of Ruskin College*, Oxford: Ruskin College Library.

Post, J.D., 1977, *The Last Great Subsistence Crisis in the Western World*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Powell, M.J., 1964, *The History of Hillcroft College: The First Forty Years 1920–1960*, Langham, MD: Herald Press.

Price, T.W., 1924, *The Story of the Workers' Educational Association 1903–1924*, London: The Labour Publishing Company.

Punshon, J., 1983, 'Past Experience—Present Opportunity', *The Friends' Quarterly* 23.2 (April), pp. 50-61.

—, 2001 [1986], *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers*, London: Quaker Books, rev. edn.

Rowlands, H., 2003, 'A Laboratory of the Spirit: One Hundred Years of "Equipping for Service"', *The Friend* 161.41 (10 October), pp. 10-11.

Rowntree, A.S., 1923, *Woodbrooke: Its History and Aims*, London: Friends' Bookshop.

Rowntree, J.W., 1899, 'A Plea for a Quaker Settlement', *Present Day Papers*, II, ed. Rowntree, J.W., York: Henry Binns, pp. 3-21.

Rowntree, J.W., and Binns, H.B., 1985 [1903], *A History of the Adult School Movement*, ed. Charlton, C., Nottingham: University of Nottingham Department of Adult Education.

Sadler, M.E., 1907, *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere: Their Place in the Educational System of an Industrial and Commercial State*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Skrubbeltrang, F., 1952, *The Danish Folk High Schools*, Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab.

Smith, J.W.A., 1954, *The Birth of Modern Education: The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies 1660–1800*, London: Independent Press.

Smith, L., 2004, 'The First Students: The Class of 1854/55', in *idem* (ed.), *Unitarian to the Core*, pp. 52-76.

Smith, L. (ed.), *Unitarian to the Core: Unitarian College Manchester 1854–2004*, Manchester: Unitarian College (Carnegie Publishing).

Thatcher, M., 1987, interviewed by Douglas Keay on 23 September 1987, published as 'Aids, Education and the Year 2000!', *Woman's Own* (31 October), pp. 8-10.

Thompson, E.P., 1968, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, rev. edn.

Thomson, D., 1950, *England in the Nineteenth Century (1815–1914)*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Utley, A., 2001, 'We Have Ways of Making You Learn', *Times Higher Education Supplement* 5 (January), p. 4.

Voth, H.-J., 2004, 'Living Standards and the Urban Environment', in Floud and Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, I, pp. 268-94.

Wearmouth, R.F., 1954, *Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes 1859–1900*, Leicester: Edgar Backus.

Weedall, A., 1963, *Further Education for All: The Story of a Day Continuation College 1913–1963*, Birmingham: Bournville Day Continuation College.

Wood, H.G., 1922, *Tom Bryan, First Warden of Fircroft: A Memoir*, London: George Allen & Unwin.

Wood, H.G., and Ball, A.E., 1953, 'Origins', in Davis (ed.), *Woodbrooke 1903–1953*, pp. 13-18.

Wood, P. (ed.), 2004, *Science and Dissent in England, 1688–1945*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Woodbrooke News, 2000, Birmingham: Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, Spring.

Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre Annual Report 1998–1999, 2000, Birmingham: Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre.

Wrigley, E.A., 2004, 'British Population During the "Long" Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840', in Floud and Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, I, pp. 57-95.

Yorke, P., 1977, *Education and the Working Class: Ruskin College 1899–1909*, Oxford: Ruskin College.

AUTHOR DETAILS

Pam Lunn has been a member of Woodbrooke's teaching team since 1989. She is an Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Theology and Religion at the University of Birmingham.

Mailing address: Pam Lunn, Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, 1046 Bristol Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham B29 6LJ, England. Email: pam.lunn@woodbrooke.org.uk.