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FELLOWSHIP, SERVICE AND THE 'SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE': THE
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND THE OUTDOORS
MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN, C. 1900-1950

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ABSTRACT

This article considers the involvement of members of the Religious Society of Friends in various manifestations of the outdoors movement in early twentieth-century Britain. It examines the Edwardian 'Quaker tramps' and their role in the 'Quaker renaissance', and goes on to consider the influence of Friends in organisations such as the Holiday Fellowship and the Youth Hostels Association, as well as interwar Quaker mountaineers. It argues that, while the outdoor activities of the Quaker renaissance were essentially internal to the Religious Society of Friends, a wider conception of social service took Quakers beyond the boundaries of the Society in the interwar period, resulting in a more profound influence on the outdoors movement. These activities of Friends were associated with the promotion of the 'social gospel', and represented a significant strand of Quaker service in the first half of the twentieth century.

KEYWORDS

Quakers; tramps; outdoors movement; youth hostels; mountaineering

The twentieth century—at least, after 1918—remains seriously neglected within scholarly Quaker historiography, which has not always appreciated the range and depth of Quakers' social involvement. A perhaps understandable focus on the best-known manifestations of Quaker 'social concern'—peace organisations and the adult school movement—has marginalised other important areas in which Friends played an active role. This neglect may in part be due to the isolation in which Quaker history has often been pursued: Brian Phillips, for example, has fiercely criticised 'the inevitable parochialism of "in-house" denominational scholarship'.¹ Although this may be a rather unfair accusation to throw at many historians of Quakerism,² there is a great deal of truth in Pam Lunn's recent suggestion that 'Quaker historical narratives...inevitably tend towards a focus on perceived group distinctiveness and give less attention to commonalities shared with the surrounding culture'.³ Ironically, this,

in turn, has brought about a situation where some Quaker influences on the wider society and culture have often been obscured. Few historians of the outdoors movement in twentieth-century Britain, for example, have noticed the importance of the contribution made by Quakers.⁴

This article examines Friends' involvement in the outdoors movement during the first half of the twentieth century. It begins with a re-examination of the Edwardian 'Quaker tramps', which Thomas C. Kennedy has seen as an important element of the 'Quaker renaissance' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵ This period was notable for the emergence of a cult of rambling and mountain-climbing, often associated with political and religious organisations, which could have a profoundly spiritual dimension. It was also associated with the revival of the 'social gospel'. As Melanie Tebbutt has recently explained, the pioneers of the rambling cult—G.H.B. Ward, and Robert Blatchford, the founder of the Clarion Clubs—'believed strongly in the socially transforming power of open air fellowship in the countryside'.⁶ This belief was shared, as Kennedy has emphasised, by the leaders of the 'new Quakerism'. This article will go a stage further, and explore the impact of Quakers—and the ideas of the Quaker renaissance—on the outdoors movement of interwar Britain. It will show that the generation of Friends that came after the Quaker renaissance played an important role in the 'great outdoors' after 1918, particularly in the Youth Hostels Association and in mountaineering, both in Britain and beyond. This can be attributed partly to the wider horizons of a generation that was more likely to look beyond the Religious Society of Friends and its traditional social activities, and partly to the influence of the First World War, during which many of these pioneers served in the Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU) and similar organisations. This experience enhanced their internationalist outlook and, perhaps, gave some Friends a taste for character-building adventure.⁷

I

The 'great outdoors' played an important part in the Quaker renaissance.⁸ The Religious Society of Friends had its own version of the rambling cult. Many features of the 'Quaker tramp' movement echoed those of the Clarion Clubs and other groups of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in particular a focus on the spiritual dimension of the outdoors and a belief in the power of homosocial fellowship.⁹ The Quaker tramp emerged in 1905, from the activities of the Yorkshire 1905 Committee, 'a sort of "ginger group"' established by Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting in memory of John Wilhelm Rowntree, who died in that year.¹⁰ Ernest Taylor, secretary of the 1905 Committee, pioneered the tramps, and Arnold and Arthur Rowntree (the latter was headmaster of Bootham school from 1899 to 1927) both took schoolboys on visits to Quaker historical sites in Westmorland.¹¹ However, Kennedy attributes the idea of the Quaker tramp to Neave Brayshaw, a Bootham schoolmaster and author of a number of books and pamphlets on Quakerism.¹² The first tramp—preceded by a conference or summer school at Scalby, attended by many of the trampers—was in the Dales in 1905, and there were two, also in Yorkshire, in 1906.¹³

The first tramp involved about sixty Friends, mostly, but not all, relatively young, and all male: according to one report, '[p]ractically all those taking part... are men on the right side of middle life, and nearly all are earnest, capable, and practical middle-class Englishmen, vigorous and healthy both physically and intellectually'.¹⁴ The tramp was variously described as a 'holiday tramp', a 'yeoman pilgrimage' and an 'Apostolic Tramp'.¹⁵ The trampers divided into six smaller groups, each with a 'captain' and around ten 'privates'; these military words echoed the terms used in Blatchford's Clarion Clubs.¹⁶ Although some Quaker 'captains' were uneasy about using military language, and preferred to be termed 'leaders',¹⁷ Taylor himself eagerly stretched the military analogy. Writing to one trampler in 1906, he explained:

Since I saw you, one or two others have joined the Tramp and three have practically fallen out, and among them, Tuckett, so I have put Maurice L. Rowntree as Joint Captain. You still have a splendid team.¹⁸

Brayshaw himself reminded prospective trampers that they might have to 'endure hardship as one of His best soldiers'.¹⁹ The reports of the tramps in the Quaker periodical *The Friend* usually avoided the use of the terms 'captains' and 'privates', but they sometimes crept into the correspondence published in the journal.²⁰ The trampers hiked through the countryside, and visited Quaker Meetings, where they gave and attended lectures, and participated in worship events. The six groups went to Wensleydale, Nidderdale, Pickering and Whitby, Airedale, Pendle Forest and Osmotherley. It is not possible to tell exactly which Friends eventually took part in the tramp, but they included many of the most prominent young Yorkshire Quakers, as well as some from outside the county: the Rowntree family, for example, had seven representatives, including Arnold and Arthur. Prominent members of the 1905 Committee on the tramp included Ernest Taylor and his brother Alfred.²¹ Brayshaw himself, and itinerant Quaker ministers such as Herbert Waller and Richard Westrope, who were supported in this period by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, also participated.²² In subsequent years, many tramps took place, in many parts of England: for example, in 1907 and 1908 there were tramps in Cumberland; and 1907 alone saw 'tramps'—sometimes using bicycles—in the west country, Essex, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire.²³ They lasted up to ten days.²⁴

Tramps were an integral aspect of 'Quaker extension', as it was termed in this period. Extension was a broadening of the idea of the home mission, which from the 1880s had supported vocal ministry within the Religious Society of Friends. Extension took this aim further, aiming to be part of all Quaker lives and to involve all members of the Society.²⁵ The ideal, as one Friend explained in 1908, was 'to draw others into an experience of living communion with God, and to lead them to trust in this as the basis of all worship and church arrangements'.²⁶ Tramps, which brought Friends together physically and spiritually, were intended to support this end. They were sometimes associated with a parallel development, the short-term residential 'settlement', which brought Quakers together for discussion, recreation and worship, and which served a significant educational purpose within the Society. Events were sometimes, as for example at Penrith in 1908, billed as a 'Settlement and Tramp'.²⁷ The distinctiveness of these movements lay in their role in supporting Quakerism

and strengthening the religious ministry within the Society. Trampers presented themselves as the heirs of the early Quakers in the seventeenth century, whose itinerant ministry sustained the Religious Society of Friends.²⁸ The fact that the first group of trampers numbered around sixty invited comparisons with the 'Valiant Sixty' pioneers of early Quakerism.²⁹ A revived interest in Quaker history, and the widespread use of the examples of early Friends to energise modern Quakerism, were features of the Quaker renaissance on which a number of historians have remarked.³⁰ A fundamental aim of the tramps was to strengthen the vocal ministry in Friends' Meetings for Worship, especially in isolated areas. Like other aspects of Quaker extension, tramps were seen as possible stimulants to revivals of struggling Meetings or even the creation of new ones.³¹ Their role was mainly conceived as being within the Society itself: they might help to 'convince' some non-Quakers, but more importantly they aimed to strengthen the sense of unity within the denomination.

For this reason, the idea of 'fellowship' lay at the heart of the tramp movement, and indeed many other manifestations of Quaker extension. In a denomination whose theology emphasised the inward personal relationship with God, and the priesthood of all believers, there were inevitable tensions between individualism and collectivism, and between leadership and independence. Some extension activities aroused suspicion in certain quarters within the Society, because of the perceived danger of 'setting up pastors'.³² The Quaker renaissance, and particularly Quaker extension, addressed these tensions through an emphasis on the role of fellowship. Considerable thought was devoted to the best ways in which fellowship could be fostered among the trampers, which reflected a larger set of concerns, aired in a series of articles in the *Friends Quarterly Examiner* in 1905, about the role of fellowship within the Society, and the possibility of widening its membership.³³ The first step in this process was an enhanced fellowship with each other. As William C. Braithwaite—one of the first Quaker trampers—explained, Quaker adult schools were doing a better job than the Society itself in this respect: 'The fellowship with one another that we experience in many of our schools needs to be reproduced in our own meetings, so that they too may have the warmth and charm of a spiritual home'.³⁴ This was echoed in contributions to the conference or summer school at Scalby, which immediately preceded the first Quaker tramp.³⁵ The tramps themselves offered, in many cases, the fellowship which Friends were seeking. Describing a 'holiday tramp' centred on Evesham in 1907, one Friend recalled 'the deep sense of fellowship' that lasted throughout the tramp, and was manifested in 'that willingness to be of help and assistance to others which helps to make some of the brightest spots in life'. This in turn brought greater life to the daily 'devotional Meetings' that were held, and it was felt that more of this kind of fellowship would strengthen Meetings for Worship in the Society.³⁶

The Quaker renaissance perceived an intimate relationship between fellowship and 'service': one historian has called these the two 'omnipresent magic words' of the period.³⁷ Indeed, it was possible to view them as synonymous: in 1905 Rufus Jones noted that the current generation of young Friends 'had discovered the Gospel to be the programme of a new society of men, to whom one of the most sacred words of the Galilean was "service" (or "fellowship")'.³⁸ There was some sense that tramps

could promote the social gospel: this was emphasised by a letter from T. Edmund Harvey, sent out in advance of the first tramp, from Toynbee Hall, where Harvey was then deputy warden. In this letter, he referred to the tramp as the 'holiday service' that he and his fellow Friends were about to undertake.³⁹ There was a sense, although still a rather vague one, that tramps could help to prepare Friends for wider social service, and that they would therefore enhance the Quaker contribution to 'the community's welfare'.⁴⁰ Sometimes there was a direct link between the tramps and the social gospel: for example, eleven Friends participated in the Oxfordshire tramp of 1907, and attended a talk on social service, organised by the Berkshire and Oxfordshire Quarterly Meeting, which focussed on the work of the Sheffield Guild of Help. It was hoped that Guilds might also be started in Reading and Banbury.⁴¹ The Guilds of Help were a distinctive feature of Edwardian urban philanthropy, with which some Quakers were involved.⁴² However, for the most part in the Edwardian period, service through Quaker extension was mainly focussed on the internal affairs of the Society, and to a lesser extent on longstanding Quaker activities, particularly the adult school movement. Thus, in the editorial to the special issue of *The Friend* devoted to tramps, the Birmingham-based trampler Francis Sturge, later warden of Woodbrooke, discerned a need for

a fuller and more careful organisation in our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, a systematic sending out of those who are fitted for the work, the further liberation for service in these directions of the younger Friends, at present tied from week to week by their Adult School and other work. But the experience of this tramp has emphasised openings for work in other directions: the starting of Adult Schools in which men of all denominations will work harmoniously together, the private visiting of families and of small isolated meetings.⁴³

The physicality of the tramps should not be underestimated: 15 or 20 miles of walking in a day was not unusual.⁴⁴ Neave Brayshaw noted that '[t]he question of our being physically fit needs some consideration', and was concerned that physical tiredness undermined the quality of some of the Meetings for Worship held on tramp.⁴⁵ Physical training, particularly the kind of athleticism associated with the late Victorian and Edwardian period, has been seen as anathema to Friends, and Quaker schools were certainly late in promoting organised team games, and in providing gymnasia.⁴⁶ The athletic manliness of public school physicality, associated with patriotism and militarism, was not likely to appeal to Friends, although even in this period some Quakers—and other Nonconformists—were involved in youth movements, such as Scouting, that were sometimes seen as militaristic.⁴⁷ For example, in 1905, the same year as the first tramp, three Friends reported on their work at a free church camp for schoolboys in Dorset: here, in an echo of the trampers' terminology, the 'officers' in charge were known as the commandant [*sic*], adjutant and sub-adjutant. Free church camps featured sport and games, cycle rides and evening Meetings of a religious nature, fostering muscular Christianity among the schoolboys from 'our great Nonconformist schools', including Bootham and Leighton Park Quaker schools.⁴⁸ However, a more longstanding feature of the physical education curriculum at the Quaker schools was walking, often combined with manual labour

in the school grounds.⁴⁹ The Quaker tramps can be seen as extensions of the Spartan conditions often encountered in Quaker schools, and as embodiments of the ascetic forms of spirituality that Tebbutt has identified in the rambling and climbing movements of the 1890s and 1900s.⁵⁰ The traditional Quaker interest in natural history, and the mystical elements of the religion, fitted well with the spiritual dimensions of the great outdoors that were emphasised in the 'Simple Lifeism' of the period. Some historians have seen this as a largely secular movement,⁵¹ but this is to underestimate the religious influences upon it. Rufus Jones, for example, in a pamphlet on *Quakerism and the Simple Life*, argued that 'in no other field of human activity is the doctrine of the simple life so much needed as in religion': intricate theological argument and abstract doctrine were too complicated for most to follow, and a simple religion was likely to attract more adherents.⁵² Importantly, Jones also drew attention to the importance of 'simplicity in recreation', asserting that recreation should be enjoyed not for its own sake only, but also for the enhancement of life: 'The man of the simple life makes his recreations minister to the true fulfilment of his being'.⁵³ Jones's pamphlet originated in a lecture given at the pre-tramp conference at Scalby. Emphasising the link between fellowship and service, Jones also lectured on 'The Gospel of Service' at this gathering.⁵⁴ The Quaker tramps fitted into a wider cultural milieu, in which the social gospel was preached with growing intensity, often linked to recreational activity. In particular, Quaker mystical religion resonated with the spiritual dimension that was often associated with pastoralism and simplicity in Edwardian Britain.⁵⁵

The Quaker tramp movement declined in the years after the First World War. However, camps were still held under the auspices of bodies such as the Yorkshire 1905 Committee, where outdoor life and group fellowship could be experienced. As had been the case with the tramps, responses to Quaker camps emphasised the spiritual benefits of the fellowship of camp life:

The simple open-air life, the give and take of the close quarters of tent life, the sharing in daily duties, the cheery meeting of occasional difficulties of burnt porridge or wet weather, the talks with folk younger or older than oneself, the morning united worship and the evening camp fire and sing-song, all made up an experience which brought vitality to a higher plane and made the Kingdom of God nearer.⁵⁶

The Young Friends held camps in Britain and abroad during the 1930s. In August 1935, about fifty Quakers from several nationalities met at Aldegard in Norway, where 'the days were spent in walking amongst the mountains and lakes, talking and sowing the seeds of friendship'.⁵⁷ There was a programme of talks by prominent Friends, including Herbert G. Wood. The report of this camp in *The Friend* emphasised the interconnectedness of the religious discussions and the outdoor activities: 'it would have been impossible to do without one or the other'. Moreover, the spiritual dimensions of the great outdoors were not forgotten: 'The campers had many mountain top experiences'.⁵⁸ Tramps and camps have never completely disappeared from the social activities of the Religious Society of Friends, but they are indelibly associated with the Quaker renaissance and its immediate aftermath. In the interwar period, Quakers would play a prominent role in the wider outdoors movement, and

the language and ideas of the Quaker renaissance would make their impact on a larger scale.

II

The importance of open-air fellowship and wholesome recreational activities was carried over by Quakers into the interwar period, when many Friends sought to involve themselves in wider social service. However, as has been emphasised, most aspects of Quaker extension in the Edwardian period did not involve reaching out very far beyond the boundaries of the Religious Society of Friends. The growth of the adult school movement in this period only represented an intensification of a traditional area of Quaker social endeavour, while the emergence in 1909 of educational settlements, which later became significant arenas of Quaker social influence, was seen only as a 'growth and extension' of the older adult school movement.⁵⁹ Although, as Lunn has rightly asserted, it is important to view Quaker social activity in the context of wider cultural and political influences,⁶⁰ Quakerism did not exercise very much influence outside its own borders during the Quaker renaissance, except in areas of traditional Quaker concern, in particular the peace movement and the adult schools. The main aim of Quaker extension in this period was to build up the corporate and spiritual life of the Society itself.⁶¹

It is therefore significant that the largest and most important venture into the 'great outdoors' beyond the Quaker tramps in the Edwardian period was led by a convinced Friend, who served as a Congregationalist minister before leaving his pastorship in the early 1900s and joining the Religious Society of Friends only shortly before the First World War. Arthur Leonard (1864–1948) was the founder of the Co-operative Holidays Association (CHA, 1893), which organised group holidays in Britain and abroad, specialising in rambling and other outdoor pursuits. According to his obituary in *The Friend*, Leonard was influenced by 'Kingsley, Whitman, Thoreau, [George] Borrow, Carpenter, and, at a later stage, Shaw and Wells'.⁶² The first five writers named here emphasise a blend of muscular Christianity and nature-spiritualism to which many Friends were attracted in this period. The anti-'civilisation' writings of Carpenter, for example, played an important role in the intellectual development of Aubrey Westlake, the Quaker founder of the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, an alternative to Scouting.⁶³ Unlike Westlake, however, Leonard's focus was on the promotion of social and religious fellowship among his holiday-makers, along the lines of the Quaker tramps. According to J.B. Paton—principal of Nottingham Theological College, where Leonard was educated—Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England* was another influence, and Leonard aimed to promote a spirit of 'altogetherness' among his holiday-makers.⁶⁴ The movement was notable, in David Prynne's words, for its 'reverence for nature', a belief in 'world brotherhood', and its 'Christian bias': all features that were also associated with the Quaker tramps.⁶⁵

In keeping with its late-Victorian origins, the CHA was both philanthropic and puritanical in tone, as Harvey Taylor has emphasised.⁶⁶ Paton compared it with the settlement movement, with which Friends such as T. Edmund Harvey were associated: 'Toynbee Hall had brought all classes together in the slums of Whitechapel,

but here we had a new Toynbee of the open air'.⁶⁷ Leonard himself stressed the moral benefits of holidaying with the CHA rather than in the growing seaside resorts:

This kind of holiday led to thoughtless spending of money, the inane type of amusement and unhealthy overcrowding in lodging-houses; moreover, it made for vitiated conceptions of life and conduct and produced permanent effects on character. Clearly the majority of our young folk did not know how to get the best out of their holidays.⁶⁸

The CHA shared many of the concerns that were emerging in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries about the negative spiritual impact of modern material well-being, particularly in cities. The 1902 CHA annual report emphasised that, '[w]ith a civilization in which materialistic conceptions of life and conduct are rapidly becoming dominant, it is imperative that those who really believe in the spiritual and ethical ends of human life should join hands, and in all possible ways counteract this tendency'.⁶⁹ The quest for the simple life among many in the CHA, including Leonard, led to an early sense of disillusionment with it, and the formation of the breakaway Holiday Fellowship (HF), in 1913: this was in response to a situation in which the CHA was becoming, in Leonard's words, 'rather middle-class in spirit and conservative in ideas'.⁷⁰ The HF established youth hostel-type accommodation in remote areas, and extended the internationalism of the CHA. Contacts made through the Friends Relief Committee during the First World War led to the opening of an HF centre in the Savoy Alps in 1923, and tours of the German Alps, the mountains of Thüringen and the Black Forest followed in the 1920s, using a mixture of mountain huts and youth hostels.⁷¹

Although the links between Quakerism and the HF were informal, the impact of Friends on the movement was profound in a number of respects. Not only was there the influence of Leonard's own personality, and the forging of practical links with the Friends Relief Committee, as already noted, but the culture of fellowship through education, as promoted by Friends in the adult school movement, also permeated the HF. Whereas the CHA had its own hymn book, in the 1920s the HF used the *Fellowship Hymn Book*, which was produced for adult school use.⁷² The mixture of tramping, lectures and discussions that characterised the typical HF holiday clearly reflected the shape of Quaker tramps and summer schools, where educational activities were combined with recreation.⁷³ There were similarities and overlaps between Leonard's organisation and other Quaker endeavours: for example, the Religious Society of Friends and National Adult School Union held a summer school at the HF's centre in Whitby, and not long afterwards, in 1919, the adult school guest house at Cober Hill, near Scarborough, was opened.⁷⁴ When the HF established an International Hostel in south London, its first warden was Maud Rowntree, 'a big-hearted Quaker', who lived at the hostel with her husband Maurice, a veteran of the first Quaker tramp, with whom she had also worked at the Rowancroft settlement in Scarborough and the Walthamstow educational settlement.⁷⁵ It is clear, then, that there were many links between the Religious Society of Friends and the CHA/HF, and that influence was exercised in both directions.

III

A much larger organisation than the CHA or HF—and therefore a more significant outlet for Quaker energies in the interwar period—was the Youth Hostels Association (YHA), established in April 1930. The YHA had 12,000 members in 1932, and grew rapidly to reach 80,000 in 1938 and 154,000 in 1946.⁷⁶ It was noted in 1933 that Quakers ‘have made proportionately... a large contribution to the working and support’ of the YHA.⁷⁷ Writing in *The Friend* in 1950, Oliver Coburn—a Quaker, and a veteran of the FAU and Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens—remarked on the

long list of Quakers... who have played an important role in the [Youth Hostels] Association’s development. Many of the movement’s aims and ideals make a particular appeal to Friends, who can rejoice that through the YHA many thousands of people have found a new contact both with the countryside and with their fellow men.⁷⁸

Friends’ influence was pervasive in the first twenty years of the YHA, although this has rarely been acknowledged by historians.⁷⁹ For example, Arthur Leonard was a vice-president, and Coburn himself was the author of *Youth Hostel Story*, published by the National Council for Social Service in 1950, while financial support for the YHA was provided by the W.A. Cadbury Trust and the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust.⁸⁰ One youth hostel, at Jordans in Buckinghamshire, was a joint venture, open to YHA members, Quakers and adult school members.⁸¹

The single most important Quaker in the early YHA was its founding secretary, Egerton St John (Jack) Catchpool (1890–1971), a figure of considerable importance in the social history of philanthropy and voluntary action in mid-twentieth-century Britain and abroad.⁸² Catchpool attended the inaugural conference of the YHA as a delegate from the Workers’ Travel Association, which was itself influenced by the CHA and HF.⁸³ Catchpool’s involvement in the YHA emphasises the importance of the social gospel: he had been a resident of Toynbee Hall, serving as sub-warden from 1921 to 1929, and was later, briefly, its warden (1962–63).⁸⁴ The Workers’ Travel Association, which he represented, was established at Toynbee Hall in 1921, and promoted both foreign travel and domestic hostelling, through the provision of cheap accommodation along the lines later followed by the YHA. It had explicitly internationalist and pacifist aims and close links with the Labour movement.⁸⁵ In 1926, Catchpool moved to the new settlement of Welwyn Garden City in Hertfordshire, whose New Town Trust, in his words, was ‘largely composed of Quakers’; these included William Ravenscroft Hughes, one of the most important figures in the early history of the town.⁸⁶ Here, Catchpool was warden of a small educational establishment, run by the Welwyn Garden City Educational Association, which was affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association. The YHA headquarters was soon established in Welwyn Garden City, and was shared for a time with the town’s Educational Association. Catchpool remained as secretary of the YHA until 1950, and from 1938 was also president of the International Youth Hostels Federation.⁸⁷ According to one recollection, Catchpool was ‘the focal point for the enthusiasm of

many hundreds of volunteer workers of every background up and down the country' during the early years of the YHA.⁸⁸

Several other Quakers had prominent roles in the YHA. John W. Major (?1896–1966), a convinced Friend who served in the FAU during the First World War and was clerk to various Meetings as well as headmaster of Leigh Grammar School, was the founder and first chairman of the Wear, Tees and Eskdale Regional Group, and for two years served as chairman of the YHA National Council.⁸⁹ In Scarborough, the Quaker businessman Howard D. Rowntree (1879–1974) was secretary to the Regional Group. Another FAU veteran, Rowntree had also accompanied John Wilhelm Rowntree, the prophet of the Quaker renaissance, on his last journey to the USA in 1905. He chaired his local Council for Social Service after his retirement from business, and stood as a Labour parliamentary candidate in 1929 and 1931.⁹⁰ Winifred Braithwaite was secretary of the Warwick and Northamptonshire Regional Group, and Graham Heath was assistant secretary, and later international officer, of the YHA.⁹¹ In Birmingham, Gerald Lloyd represented the Regional Group at the National Council of the YHA in 1933, along with Richard Barrow, who was the first secretary of the Birmingham group, and a city councillor.⁹² John Cadbury, first treasurer of the Birmingham Regional Group, became chairman of the YHA National Council in 1939.⁹³ Paul D. Sturge (1891–1974), yet another Friend who had served with the FAU, was warden of the Folk House, Bristol, and played an important role in the Gloucester and Somerset Regional Group of the YHA. In 1935, Sturge succeeded Carl Heath as secretary of the Friends Service Council, as a result of which he was also, like Catchpool, heavily involved in overseas relief work. According to his obituary in *The Friend*—which did not mention his YHA work explicitly—'[t]here was a good deal of the "open-air" about' Sturge, who appreciated Spartan living conditions.⁹⁴

It is significant that most of these Friends who were involved in the YHA were from a slightly later generation than those who participated in the first Quaker tramps of the Edwardian period. With the exception of Howard Rowntree, they were born in the 1890s, and although many of their relatives—including Jack Catchpool's older brother Corder—had taken part in the tramps, their own education for service had been on the front line, in rescue work, during the First World War. Catchpool himself had served with the FAU and the War Victims Relief Committee.⁹⁵ Kennedy has argued that the experience of the war brought conscientious objectors firmly into positions of leadership and moral authority within the Religious Society of Friends;⁹⁶ however, in terms of the development of lines of Quaker service, the international contacts made during and after the war were just as significant.⁹⁷ Links with Germany in the early 1920s were maintained by individuals and groups, many of them Quakers or associated in some way with Quakers; one such link was through the Holiday Fellowship, as discussed above. Youth hostelling had originated in Germany in the 1900s, inspired and directed by a schoolmaster, Richard Schirman, who established the first *Jugendherberge* in 1910; the *Verband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen* was formed in 1913.⁹⁸ According to Coburn, youth hostels helped to overcome the desperation felt by young people in Germany after the First World War, and to ease political and religious differences. Moreover, 'all through the nineteen twenties

Britons were beginning to re-discover Germany'.⁹⁹ Among them were Quakers such as Arthur Leonard, and alpine mountaineers, among whom Friends were well represented. Quakers' internationalist outlook, and their involvement in wider European service during and after the First World War, was one reason why so many Friends acquired positions of leadership in the YHA.

The language and ideas of the Quaker renaissance clearly influenced the YHA, and it was associated with other Quaker-inspired institutions. In particular, the YHA's emphasis on 'fellowship', one of the 'magic words' of the Quaker renaissance,¹⁰⁰ resonated with the language of the Quaker tramps. Like the tramps, the YHA, in the words of its first president, 'engendered a spirit of comradeship in the delight of out-of-door exercise and the joys of direct contact with the countryside'.¹⁰¹ The founders of the YHA hoped that these experiences would have a religious dimension, as had the Quaker tramps, although this was not always achieved. Indeed, sabbatarians criticised the movement, and there were complaints that youth hostels operated to the detriment of organised religion.¹⁰² More importantly, some users of youth hostels found that their experiences of the countryside did have a spiritual foundation. For example, one member of the Bensham Grove Educational Settlement (in Gateshead) travelled to the Cairngorms with five companions in 1933, staying in youth hostels, and having climbed Cairn Gorm itself, reported 'a sight to fill the mind with peace and wonder and to call forth from the human soul gratitude for creation'.¹⁰³ However, in general it was hardly to be expected that the YHA—most of whose members were not Quakers and were not looking for religious experiences in the countryside—would provide the same intensity of fellowship and spiritual feeling that had emerged in the tramp movement. Indeed, according to Coburn, one of the key attractions of youth hostelling in the late 1940s was the availability of a kind of fellowship that many conscripts had experienced during the Second World War:

in the Services they had also known a sense of companionship, born of dangers and discomforts shared; and at times they would miss this feeling. After such experiences, civilian life was bound sometimes to seem a little flat. If so, they could find in the YHA a fellowship intimately related to the needs of their new peace-time existence, that yet carried a continuity with the comradeship of the Services.¹⁰⁴

As a Quaker, Coburn probably experienced some unease when writing these lines, although, as argued elsewhere, there was more tolerance of 'military virtues' among members of the Religious Society of Friends than many have previously supposed.¹⁰⁵ Youth hostels offered fellowship to their users, and as Friends were increasingly looking outside their own Society to exert spiritual and social influence, there would inevitably be some dilution of the distinctively Quaker aspects of this influence.

The youth hostel common room had an important role to play in the promotion of fellowship. According to Catchpool, and to many others, the 'Common Room' was a vital feature of youth hostels. He and Coburn both capitalised the first letters of these two words, and Catchpool praised the 'comradeship of fellow travellers' that one could find there.¹⁰⁶ Love could also blossom in the common room, which Catchpool felt was 'an infinitely better place than the street corner for boys and girls to get to know each other and find out how well they were suited'.¹⁰⁷ The common

room was also a heavily promoted feature of the educational settlement movement, a pioneering adult education movement also founded and inspired by Quakers: the official journal of the Educational Settlements Association (established in 1920) was called *Common Room*.¹⁰⁸ The settlements—which, in contrast to the short-term ‘settlements’ that were associated with the Quaker tramps, were permanent establishments, offering a continuous programme of educational activity¹⁰⁹—eagerly promoted the idea of ‘fellowship’, and in some places were closely associated with the YHA.¹¹⁰ At Plymouth, the educational settlement was used as a headquarters by the YHA regional group,¹¹¹ while from Bristol Paul Sturge reported in 1931 that ‘[t]he Youth Hostels Association for this area came into being at the Folk House, and several of our members have been active in the work, which is progressing rapidly’.¹¹² The emergence of the YHA offered reciprocal benefits to the Folk House, because it ‘brought a stream of young and active people’ into contact with the settlement, providing a useful recruitment pool for classes and other activities.¹¹³ By 1934, the settlement was running a course on ‘the Countryside’, involving the YHA, Ramblers’ Federation and Cyclists’ Touring Club.¹¹⁴ The *Common Room* announced in 1931 that the YHA was ‘an organisation which should prove attractive to the younger members of Settlements and Colleges’, and published Catchpool’s contact details.¹¹⁵ Catchpool himself addressed meetings to promote youth hostelling at the educational settlements in Plymouth, Rugby, York and Sheffield.¹¹⁶ The social gospel was not overlooked: for example, in 1933, one group of YHA members from Merseyside took unemployed workers for week-long hostelling trips to Snowdonia, while in 1937 ‘special arrangements for parties of unemployed people’ were made by the YHA in collaboration with some educational settlements.¹¹⁷ According to Arthur Leonard, the YHA did ‘immense social service’, and this was recognised by the state during the Second World War, when conscientious objectors were allowed ‘to undertake Youth Hostel service’.¹¹⁸

Youth hostelling offered scope for a ruralist nature-spiritualism that had much in common with traditional Quaker mysticism. There was a persistent anti-urban impulse in the Religious Society of Friends, which fed into the ideas of Catchpool and other Quakers who were associated with the YHA. Some of the early Quaker trampers had expressed concerns about encroaching urbanisation and rural depopulation,¹¹⁹ but these issues were more heavily foregrounded in the politics of the outdoor movement in the 1930s. As noted above, Catchpool was an early resident of Welwyn Garden City, which was established in 1920 as an alternative to the towns that had become central to the British way of life in the nineteenth century.¹²⁰ Quaker philanthropists such as George Cadbury and Joseph Rowntree built garden villages in the early twentieth century, and these can be seen as reactions to what Catchpool, writing in *The Friend* in 1932, called ‘new ill-planned suburbs [that] swallow up the green fields and push the country further away’.¹²¹ Catchpool urged members of the YHA to ‘keep constant vigil against the spoiling of the countryside’, and hoped that youth hostelling would encourage the interest in, and fondness for, the natural world that was an important part of a Quaker school education.¹²² The editorial in the same issue of *The Friend* in 1932, entitled ‘The Call of the Open Air’,

enthused about the freedom enjoyed by 'the soul of man' when he went hiking. The content of this article recalls the ideas, although not the sober tone, of Rufus Jones's pamphlet on *Quakerism and the Simple Life*.¹²³ Significantly, the author of this editorial, P.R. Southgate, referred to the spiritual autobiography by Richard Jefferies, *The Story of My Heart*, written in the 1880s. *The Story of My Heart* described Jefferies's spiritual journey of self-discovery, in which nature-worship played an important role. 'The Call of the Open Air' was an excited peacenote to the glories of the natural world, and cited an impressive range of literature. Wordsworth, Goldsmith, Ruskin, Shakespeare, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Whitman, Francis Thompson and Mary Edgar were all mentioned as well as Jefferies, and there were biblical references to Moses, Elijah and Jacob.¹²⁴ This list of names reflects the wide-ranging influences on interwar British Quakerism, and the variety of ways in which Friends in turn influenced the wider society.

IV

For some Quakers, the English ruralism of the YHA did not make enough demands on the body, mind or spirit, and real character-building could take place only in more spectacular—and dangerous—environments. Even within England, tramping was a more robust activity—'dramatic', to quote Arthur Leonard in 1932—than it had been in the Edwardian years. Leonard, speaking at a conference organised by the YHA's Birmingham group, recalled that, in earlier days, walkers 'did not care to expose our knees, or go without a hat', and that he had worn his bowler hat when out hiking.¹²⁵ More 'dramatic' still was the increasing popularity of mountaineering, particularly in the Alps, among British Friends in the interwar period. For example, the 'leading light' of the Oxford University mountaineering club in the early 1930s was the young Quaker John D. Hoyland (born in 1915), son of John S. Hoyland, who had played an important role in the Young Friends before the First World War and had joined the staff of Woodbrooke in the late 1920s.¹²⁶ Hoyland senior was involved in attempting to revive the Quaker tramp movement in the years after the Second World War.¹²⁷ Hoyland junior was killed in an accident in the Alps in 1934, but was followed at Oxford by a distant relative Robin Hodgkin, who was educated at Leighton Park Quaker school and had experience of climbing in the Lake District.¹²⁸ With two other Quakers, John Jenkins and Michael Taylor, and a fourth climber, Bob Beaumont, Hodgkin undertook a memorable expedition into the Caucasus in 1937, reporting on his experiences for *The Times*.¹²⁹ The following year, Hodgkin was rescued, severely frostbitten, after an unsuccessful attempt on a Himalayan peak.¹³⁰ Richard B. Graham (1893–1957), brother-in-law to Paul Sturge, was another Quaker mountaineer: a member of the Alpine Club and Fell and Rock Climbing Club, Graham was selected for the 1924 Everest expedition, although eventually omitted from the party.¹³¹ Graham was associated with the Friends Education Council, and in the 1930s actively promoted the Scout movement, which some Friends still criticised for its militarism.¹³² Significantly, Hodgkin and Graham became schoolteachers, both starting their careers at Leighton Park, and ending them

as headmasters, although not at Quaker institutions. In this way, Friends' experiences of informal character-building education reached back into the school system: for example, at Abbotsholme school where Hodgkin was headmaster, '[o]utdoor education was given emphasis'.¹³³

Perhaps the best known of all mountaineering Quakers was Jack Catchpool's brother Corder. He was a pupil of Neave Brayshaw's at Bootham school and a veteran of the pioneering Quaker tramp of 1905, and lived for a while with his brother at Toynbee Hall.¹³⁴ He served in the FAU during the First World War, and was subsequently imprisoned as a conscientious objector. After the war, in his mid-40s, Catchpool took up mountaineering: he climbed Mont Blanc in 1933, applied to join the Alpine Club in 1936, and eventually died, in 1952, on Monte Rosa.¹³⁵ For Catchpool, fighting adversity in the mountains strengthened body, mind and spirit, and prepared the soul for greater service. Encounters with the 'mystery' of the 'Alpine Wonderland' enhanced 'respect for the mountains' and through it, reverence for God. This experience, Catchpool remarked, was epitomised in a sentence written on the wall of the English church at Zermatt, based on the canticle *Benedicite Omnia Opera*: 'O Ye Ice and Snow, Praise Ye the Lord'.¹³⁶ Catchpool himself, recalling a failed attempt on the Grand Combin, claimed to feel the presence of God much more close at hand than in a formal religious service: 'there swept over me unbidden, the experience of Christ... God was and is sharing the tragedy and sorrow, and the joy of the world... On up the rocks of ice, rough ways of mountains or of life, though it is a hard struggle, in the strength and richness of spiritual experience renewed'.¹³⁷ For Catchpool, the 'purpose' of the Religious Society of Friends was 'to build character and life in its members', and from this character and life, greater service, in its widest sense, would flow.¹³⁸ The emphasis on character can be traced back to the Quaker renaissance: according to one account in 1918, educational work within the Society had 'the object of moulding character akin to the best type of Friend'.¹³⁹

Character-training assumed considerable importance, in both formal and informal education, during the interwar period, and Friends were often associated with those who did most to promote it. Another FAU veteran, although not a Quaker himself, was Geoffrey Winthrop Young (1876–1958), who lost a leg on ambulance service in 1917, and was also a prominent mountaineer. A godson of the father of muscular Christianity Thomas Hughes, Young promoted a vigorous form of character-training. Although he disliked what he called 'Quaker swaddlings', Young was closely associated with pacifist Friends, including Philip Noel-Baker, with whom he had served in northern Italy during the First World War. In the 1930s, Young befriended the German refugee Kurt Hahn, who founded Gordonstoun school, and both were later involved in the establishment of the Outward Bound Trust.¹⁴⁰ The Trust promoted character-training among young people by deliberately setting them in situations of adversity.¹⁴¹ Outward Bound ran a sea school at Aberdovey in Wales from 1941, and a mountain school at Eskdale in the Lake District, which opened in 1950. Experienced mountaineers, such as Eric Shipton, who had been on several Himalayan expeditions in the 1930s and led the reconnaissance of Everest in 1951, were recruited to run the short-term courses at Eskdale.¹⁴² According to the Quaker

Eric Cleaver, writing in *The Friend* in 1957, Kurt Hahn 'learnt that the mountains and the sea, those two great raw-materials placed by nature at our feet, could yield even more; that in skilled and experimental hands they could become the media and the arena of a new and creative experience for carefully organised groups of young people, and could provide some elements of a training which so many seem to lack'. Not surprisingly, perhaps, Cleaver reported that '[a] number of individual Friends took a practical interest in the [Outward Bound] Movement in its early days'; these included Seebohm Rowntree, the Trust's first president, and his son Peter.¹⁴³ Through this movement, and other avenues of service such as Scouting and Woodcraft, Friends pursued and promoted what might be called 'muscular Quakerism', while trying to bring a distinctively spiritual dimension to youth work.¹⁴⁴ At the heart of this muscular Quakerism were the ideals of fellowship and service that had emerged strongly from the Quaker renaissance, and were increasingly, in the interwar period, channelled in directions that took them beyond the boundaries of the Religious Society of Friends.

V

In 1916, the annual report of the Yorkshire 1905 Committee announced: 'The spirit of adventure is essential to faith'.¹⁴⁵ The Quaker tramps, which the Committee had done so much to foster, offered young Friends some of that spirit, and were seen as important influences on the religious life of the Society in the Edwardian period. Although their impact waned after the First World War, tramps still took place regularly, and as late as 1948 a conference was held 'to consider how the "Quaker Tramps" method might be used more widely and more effectively as a means of Quaker Extension'.¹⁴⁶ The original aim of Quaker extension, to bring more members into the Religious Society of Friends through outreach activities and the promotion of a better and more attractive vocal ministry, had had only a modest impact: membership of the Society changed little in our period: there were 17,346 Friends in 1900, 19,081 in 1925, and 19,673 in 1939, and complaints about the quality of ministry never went away.¹⁴⁷ However, by this time the dimensions of Quaker service had expanded considerably. This was partly because of the decline of the adult school movement, which had consumed so many Quaker energies before the First World War, but also partly because inter-war Friends were able more easily to jettison the introspection that had characterised Edwardian Quaker extension. The attraction of the 'simple life' for Quakers was clear, and the intellectual and spiritual leaders of the Society adopted many of its activities and much of its language in the Edwardian period. However, after the First World War, when a new generation of young Friends discovered their own, often more rugged, versions of the 'simple life', Quaker involvement in the 'great outdoors' increasingly extended outside the boundaries of the Religious Society of Friends, and took the gospel of fellowship and service in new directions. In so doing, they ensured that Quakerism exercised a significant influence on the outdoors movement during the interwar period and beyond.

NOTES

1. Phillips, B., 'Friendly Patriotism: British Quakerism and the Imperial Nation 1890-1910', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1989, abstract and pp. 10, 22-24, 27, 59, cited in Kennedy, T.C., *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 261-62.
2. See Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, p. 262 n. 97. Neither Kennedy nor the present author is a member of the Religious Society of Friends.
3. Lunn, P., 'Woodbrooke in Wider Context: The Enduring Thread of Adult Education', *Quaker Studies* 11 (2007), p. 206.
4. See, for example, Taylor, H., *A Claim on the Countryside: A History of the British Outdoors Movement*, Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997; Prynn, D., 'The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the 1890s', *Journal of Contemporary History* 11 (1976), pp. 65-77; Collette, C., "'Friendly Spirit, Comradeship, and Good-Natured Fun": Adventures in Socialist Internationalism', *International Review of Social History* 48 (2003), pp. 225-44.
5. Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, pp. 288-91.
6. Tebbutt, M., 'Rambling and Manly Identity in Derbyshire's Dark Peak 1880s-1920s', *Historical Journal* 49 (2006), p. 1131.
7. A parallel interest among Friends, which cannot be examined here, was in youth movements such as Scouting. See Freeman, M., 'Muscular Quakerism? The Society of Friends and Youth Movements in Britain, c. 1900-1950', *English Historical Review* (forthcoming).
8. This importance was reflected in the fact that a special issue of *The Friend*, devoted to Quaker tramps, was sent to all Quaker households in Britain, to encourage more of them to subscribe.
9. Although Quaker tramps usually involved both sexes, Neave Brayshaw preferred men-only tramps: Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, p. 290 n. 65.
10. Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, p. 289; see Freeman, M., *Quaker Extension c. 1905-1930: The Yorkshire 1905 Committee*, Borthwick paper 112, York: Borthwick Institute, University of York.
11. Whiting, J.R., *Ernest E. Taylor: Valiant for Truth*, London: Bannisdale Press, 1958, Chapter 4; Freeman, M., *The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: A Study in Quaker Philanthropy and Adult Education 1904-1954*, York: William Sessions, 2004, p. 31.
12. Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, p. 288.
13. Yorkshire 1905 Committee, annual report for 1906, p. 7. The annual reports are in LSF, 032.26.
14. *Keighley News*, n.d., press cutting in tramps scrapbook, Borthwick Institute for Archives, York (BIA), Rowntree papers (RP), JRCT93/VI/7(a). These documents were formerly stored at the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, The Homestead, York.
15. *The Friend*, 6 October 1905, pp. 641, 642-43; letter from twelve Friends to Quaker trampers, 10 July 1905: tramps scrapbook.
16. Programme of routes, and envelope containing material sent to 'privates': tramps scrapbook. See Prynn, 'Clarion Clubs', p. 67.
17. *The Leader*, 15 September 1905, press cutting, tramps scrapbook.
18. Taylor to Allan Hall, 13 September 1906, tramps scrapbook.
19. Brayshaw to Friends, 6 September 1905, tramps scrapbook.
20. *The Friend*, 6 October 1905, letter from E. Vipont Brown (p. 656), and account of Osmotherly tramp by G.H. Mennell and 'A.P.' (p. 657).
21. See Freeman, *Quaker Extension*, pp. 9-13.
22. Programme, with names, in tramps scrapbook. See Freeman, *Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, passim*, for details of the Trust's support for these itinerant ministers.
23. See tramps scrapbook; *The Friend*, 19 April 1907, p. 253; 14 June 1907, p. 409; 9 August 1907, pp. 532-33; 20 September 1907, pp. 624-25.

24. Yorkshire 1905 Committee, annual report for 1921, p. 6.
25. Freeman, *Quaker Extension*, pp. 8-9.
26. *British Friend*, July 1908, p. 199.
27. Tramps scrapbook; see also *The Friend*, 9 August 1907, pp. 532-33. These short-term 'settlements' should not be confused with educational settlements, which were also established, in many cases, under Quaker inspiration, and are discussed below (see pp. 82-83) in relation to the Youth Hostels Association.
28. See, for example, Ernest Taylor, 'The Work of Tramps and Settlements', n.d., tramps scrapbook, and *The Friend*, 2 August 1907; Westlake, C.J., 'Signs of Revival', *The Friend*, 20 October 1905, p. 697.
29. See Taylor, E.E., *The Valiant Sixty*, London: Bannisdale Press, 1947.
30. See in particular Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, pp. 197-210.
31. Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, p. 290; Freeman, *Quaker Extension*.
32. Quoted in Freeman, *Quaker Extension*, p. 17.
33. Albright, M.C., Newman, G., Nicholson, H., Fry, J.M., Cadbury, B., and Braithwaite, W.C., 'Friends in Council: The Widening of Quaker Fellowship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 39 (1905), p. 493-540.
34. In Albright *et al.*, 'Friends in Council', p. 537.
35. *The Friend*, 6 October 1905, p. 649.
36. *The Friend*, 20 September 1907, pp. 624-25.
37. Greenwood, J.O., *Quaker Encounters*. III. *Whispers of Truth*, York: William Sessions, 1978, p. 188.
38. Jones, R.M., 'The Gospel of Service', *The Friend*, 6 October 1905, pp. 647-48. This was originally delivered as a lecture at Scalby in Yorkshire.
39. Harvey to Friends, 1 September 1905, tramps scrapbook. Harvey succeeded Samuel Barnett as warden of Toynbee Hall in 1906, and was himself followed in 1911 by another Quaker, Maurice Birley. See Briggs, A., and Macartney, A., *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, pp. 79-82.
40. *The Friend*, 2 August 1907, pp. 509-10.
41. *The Friend*, 9 August 1907, pp. 532-33.
42. See Laybourn, K., *The Guild of Help and the Changing Face of Edwardian Philanthropy*, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1994; Freeman, *Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust*, pp. 10-11.
43. *The Friend*, 6 October 1905, p. 642.
44. On the first tramp, about 15 miles a day was standard. Arthur Leonard (see below) recalled walking 20 miles a day: *The Friend*, 30 September 1932, p. 838.
45. 'Memorandum Concerning the Strength, Weakness and Prospects of the "Tramp" Movement', n.d., BIA, RP, JRCT93/VI/1(c).
46. Stewart, W.A.C., *Quakers and Education, as Seen in Their Schools in England*, London: Epworth, 1953, pp. 157-59.
47. See Dedman, M., 'Baden-Powell, Militarism and the "Invisible Contributors" to the Boy Scout Scheme 1904-1920', *Twentieth Century British History* 4 (1993), p. 215.
48. *The Friend*, 1 September 1905, pp. 564-65.
49. Stewart, *Quakers and Education*, p. 157.
50. Tebbutt, 'Rambling'.
51. See, for example, Samuel, R., *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain*, ed. Light, A., Alexander, S., and Jones, G.S.; London: Verso, 1998, p. 299, where 'Simple Lifeism' is presented as the 'secular analogue' to the Arts and Crafts movement.
52. Jones, R.M., *Quakerism and the Simple Life*, London: Headley Brothers, 1906, pp. 15-17.
53. Jones, *Quakerism and the Simple Life*, pp. 36-37.
54. *The Friend*, 6 October 1905, pp. 646-48.
55. See Marsh, J., *Back to the Land: the pastoral impulse in England from 1880 to 1914*, London: Quartet Books, 1982.

56. Yorkshire 1905 Committee, annual report for 1924, p. 4.
57. *The Friend*, 9 August 1935, p. 738.
58. *The Friend*, 9 August 1935, p. 738.
59. Arnold Rowntree, quoted in Freeman, M., "'No Finer School than a Settlement": The Development of the Educational Settlement Movement', *History of Education* 31 (2002), p. 249. On the adult schools, see Hall, W.A., *The Adult School Movement in the Twentieth Century*, Nottingham: Nottingham University Department of Adult Education, 1985; Freeman, M., 'The Magic Lantern and the Cinema: Adult Schools, Educational Settlements and Secularisation in Britain c. 1900–1950', *Quaker Studies* 11 (2007), pp. 192–203. See also n. 109 below.
60. Lunn, 'Woodbrooke'.
61. See Freeman, *Quaker Extension*.
62. *The Friend*, 20 July 1948, pp. 635–36. Perhaps surprisingly, there is no entry for Leonard in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Prynne, 'Clarion Clubs', pp. 71–75, notes that Leonard was a Congregationalist minister, but does not mention his later Quakerism.
63. See Edgell, D., *The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry 1916–1949, as a New Age Alternative to the Boy Scouts*, 2 vols.; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1993, I, p. 33; Freeman, 'Muscular Quakerism?'
64. Paton, J.L., 'Introit', in Leonard, T.A., *Adventures in Holiday-Making, Being the Story of the Rise and Development of a People's Holiday Movement*, London: Holiday Fellowship, 1934, pp. 13–16.
65. Prynne, 'Clarion Clubs', p. 72.
66. Taylor, *Claim on the Countryside*, Chapter 6.
67. Paton, 'Introit', p. 15. On Harvey, see p. 76 above.
68. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, p. 19.
69. Quoted in Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, p. 36.
70. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, p. 54.
71. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, pp. 51–54, 72, 81–83.
72. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, p. 119.
73. See Freeman, *Quaker Extension*, pp. 21–27.
74. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, p. 141; Freeman, *Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust*, pp. 79–80.
75. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, pp. 97–98; *The Friend*, 28 October 1949, p. 869.
76. *The Friend*, 29 September 1946.
77. *The Friend*, 14 April 1933, p. 314.
78. *The Friend*, 11 August 1950, pp. 602–603.
79. Taylor, *Claim on the Countryside*, does not mention the Quaker influence on either the YHA or the Holiday Fellowship. Even Coburn himself, although he was pleased to acknowledge Quaker involvement in the YHA in the pages of *The Friend*, did not mention the Religious Society of Friends in Coburn, O., *Youth Hostel Story*, London: National Council for Social Service, 1950.
80. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, pp. 64, 67, 80, 90. There were several other sources of funding, including the Carnegie Trust, the King George V Jubilee Trust and the Board of Education. See Taylor, *Claim on the Countryside*, p. 254.
81. *The Friend*, 11 August 1933, p. 713.
82. See Catchpool, E. St J., *Candles in the Darkness*, London: Bannisdale Press, 1966; Heath, G., 'Catchpool, (Egerton) St John Pettifor (1890–1971)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37268> (accessed 27/01/2009).
83. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, p. 18; Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, pp. 141–42.
84. Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness*, Chapter 2; Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, pp. 152–53.
85. Taylor, *Claim on the Countryside*, p. 251; Collette, "'Friendly Spirit'"; Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, pp. 97–98.
86. Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness*, p. 134. On Hughes and Welwyn Garden City, see Hardy, D., 'Utopian Communities in Britain in the Early Twentieth Century: The Example of

New Town', *Communal Societies* 12 (1992), pp. 90-112. In 1919 the New Town Trust was established, 'most of whom were members of the Society of Friends': see Filler, R., *A History of Welwyn Garden City*, Chichester: Phillimore, 1986, esp. pp. 10-12, 34 (quoted), 73, 86, 97-98. Hughes was the biographer of Catchpool's brother, the mountaineer Corder Catchpool: see n. 134 below.

87. His election was partly the result of internal difficulties, resulting from the effective forcing-out of the first president, Richard Schirman, by the Nazi government, and the withdrawal of the German association from membership of the Federation: Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, p. 151.

88. Heath, 'Catchpool'.

89. *The Friend*, 1 April 1966, pp. 381-82.

90. *The Friend*, 5 April 1974, p. 392. This obituary does not mention Rowntree's youth hostel work, for which see Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, p. 186.

91. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, pp. 163-64, 171, 186.

92. *The Friend*, 14 April 1933, p. 314. See Lloyd's entry in the *Dictionary of Quaker Biography*, LSF. On Barrow, see Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, p. 39.

93. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, p. 84.

94. *The Friend*, 17 January 1975, pp. 59-60.

95. Heath, 'Catchpool'.

96. Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, Chapters 9-12.

97. See Greenwood, J.O., *Quaker Encounters*. I. *Friends and Relief*, York: William Sessions, 1975, Chapters 10-13; Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters*, III, Chapters 7-8.

98. Other sources date the first *Jugendherberge* to 1907 and the *Verband* to 1909: Moir, D.G. (ed.), *Youth Hostelling in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Scottish Youth Hostels Association, 1944, p. 13; Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness*, pp. 136-37.

99. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, pp. 13-14.

100. See n. 37 above.

101. The first president was G.M. Trevelyan, quoted in Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness*, pp. 172-73.

102. Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness*, pp. 138-39. All youth hostels displayed details of nearby places of worship.

103. Owen, C., 'Tramping in the Highlands', *Common Room* 43 (June 1934), p. 18. It is not clear whether this writer was a Quaker. There is a full run of bound volumes of the *Common Room* for this period in the Educational Centres Association archive, box 144: Institute of Education Archives, London.

104. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, p. 101.

105. Freeman, 'Muscular Quakerism?'

106. *The Friend*, 6 May 1932, p. 377. See Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, pp. 69, 116.

107. Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness*, p. 146.

108. Freeman, *Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust*, p. 74.

109. On the short-term 'settlements', see p. 74 above. The educational settlement movement was a significant feature of the interwar adult educational landscape, although the Quaker influence in it tended to decline over time. See the references in n. 59 above.

110. *Common Room* 22 (June 1930), p. 4.

111. *Common Room* 27 (February 1932), p. 13.

112. *Common Room* 25 (June 1931), p. 28.

113. *Common Room* 28 (June 1932), p. 11.

114. *Common Room* 33 (March 1934), p. 30.

115. *Common Room* 25 (June 1931), p. 10.

116. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, p. 27.

117. *The Friend*, 14 April 1933, p. 314; Educational Settlements Association council minutes, 10 July 1937, BIA, R.P., JRCT93/IV/6.

118. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-Making*, pp. 131-32; Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness*, p. 159.

119. *The Friend*, 9 August 1907, pp. 532-33.
120. On Welwyn Garden City, see n. 86 above.
121. *The Friend*, 6 May 1932, p. 377. On Quaker model communities, see Davies, J.S., and Freeman, M., 'A Case of Political Philanthropy: The Rowntree Family and the Campaign for Democratic Reform', *Quaker Studies* 9 (2004), pp. 105-107; Bailey, A.R., and Bryson, J.R., 'A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning: George Cadbury and the Construction of Bournville Model Village', *Quaker Studies* 11 (2006), pp. 89-114.
122. On Quakers and natural history, see Stewart, *Quakers and Education*, pp. 147-53.
123. See n. 52 above.
124. *The Friend*, 6 May 1932, pp. 369-70.
125. *The Friend*, 30 September 1932, p. 838.
126. See *Dictionary of Quaker Biography*, LSF; Freeman, *Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust*, pp. 95, 97, 100.
127. Freeman, *Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust*, p. 178; *The Friend*, 19 March 1948, p. 244.
128. Obituary of Robin Hodgkin, *The Times*, 17 September 2003.
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134. See Hughes, W.R., *Indomitable Friend: Corder Catchpool 1883-1952*, London: Housmans, 1964 (1st edn 1956), pp. 11-15.
135. Hughes, *Indomitable Friend*, pp. 212, 215, and Chapter 13.
136. Catchpool, C., 'Where Frontiers Vanish', *Friends Quarterly Examiner* 68 (1934), p. 349. Sentence written in capitals in original; original emphasis. Catchpool wrongly placed this church in Chamonix. The full inscription reads 'O, ye ice and snow, O, ye children of men, bless ye the Lord, praise Him and magnify Him forever'. The *Benedicite Omnia Opera* is itself based on an addition to Dan. 3.
137. Quoted in Hughes, *Indomitable Friend*, pp. 218-19. Original emphasis.
138. Hughes, *Indomitable Friend*, p. 210.
139. Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust minutes, 19 February 1918: The Garden House, York. I am grateful to the Trust for allowing me access to these minutes.
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