The relationship of Protestant established settlements in Greater Boston to their founders.

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
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THE RELATIONSHIP OF PROTESTANT
ESTABLISHED SETTLEMENTS IN GREATER
BOSTON TO THEIR FOUNDERS

A Thesis

Submitted by
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PREFACE

Historically, the community's agent of charity has been the Church. She has always been in the vanguard of the efforts to relieve and cure pain, loneliness, family distress and social strife. One of the specific activities into which this motive has led the Protestant churches has been that of establishing neighborhood or settlement work in blighted urban communities, "to promote good influences in the life of the neighborhood"¹. It is hoped that this study of the settlement's relations with its Church will contribute to a more complete understanding of the Protestant role in community and neighborhood affairs.

Much of the material for this study of necessity had to come from the memories of many agency headworkers and board members, and from pastors and church administrators. To those who were so kind and patient, and who gave so much of themselves, the writer is deeply indebted. The encouragement received, and the sincerity of their interest was, and continues to be, gratefully appreciated.

¹ East End Christian Union, President's Report, Fourteenth Annual Report.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While the motive to charity toward one's fellow men has been a part of the makeup of human personality since the dawn of history, it received its highest interpretation in the teachings of Jesus, and has remained one of the primary activities of men of the Christian faith. It was the conviction that all men are brothers under a loyalty to one God that impelled them to consider one another in the family relationship, and to have love, one for another. This love issued forth in the form of 'good works', as the New Testament author of the book of James puts it.

Good works has always been a normal part of a church's activities. They have resulted, in the more recent years of our modern age, in the establishment of social agencies for the relief of the sick, the elderly, the immigrant, and others too weak to stand up under the inexorable pressures of our social system.

Because of the magnitude of the task of relief and rehabilitation thrown upon this nation by the great depression, there began a rapid growth of public charitable services, and the increased costs of such work have forced many programs under religious auspices to either cease operations, or drastically reduce them, thus turning over the task to the public
agencies.

It is time for a rethinking of the Church's policies of contributing to the social welfare needs of the national and local communities. The religious imperatives of their faith demand that they serve, but the manner in which it can be done so as to provide the most value is not clear.

**Purpose:**

In this study, an attempt will be made to inquire into the historical connections, purposes, and religious emphases of ten greater Boston settlements founded by Protestant churches or Protestant church related organizations. It is intended also to discover what changes have been made in such connections up to the present time.

**General Questions:**

1. By whom were the settlements founded?
2. What were the relationships between the settlements and their founders?
3. What changes, if any, have been made in these relationships?
4. What were the purposes for which the settlements were established?
5. What changes, if any, have been made in these purposes?

**Scope and Method of Procedure:**

Of the approximately thirty-five settlements presently operating in the metropolitan Boston area, about fifteen were
established by Protestant churches or Protestant church related lay groups. Of these, ten were chosen to form the basis of this study. These settlements are the Bulfinch Place Chapel - Parker Memorial, North End Union, Dorchester House, Norfolk House Centre, South End House, Good Will Neighborhood House, St. Mark Social Center, Trinity Neighborhood House, Cooper Community Center and East End Union. They were selected as they offered as comprehensive a background and manner of development as it seemed possible to obtain in the Boston area.

Sources of data used in the preparation of this study include information gained from direct interviews with executives and pastors of the churches; headworkers, staff members, and board members of the settlements. These interviews were conducted in an informal question and answer manner, utilizing a prepared schedule. Agency records and reports were used as they were available, along with such records as were obtainable from the Church or Church agency headquarters. In addition to these primary sources of material, surveys and other investigative studies made by the agency, the church, or the Greater Boston Community Council were used. Another secondary source, that of the extant early literature of charitable and settlement movements, was also used.

These primary and secondary source materials were combined

1 Robert A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy, Handbook of Settlements.
and interpreted, and conclusions were drawn.

**Definitions:**

Because some of the key words used by the writer often mean different things to different people, the writer here presents the meaning he attached to these words throughout the thesis.

A settlement is an organization or association maintained in a crowded urban setting, to render educational, recreational, or other personal or communal services to its neighborhood or local community. It may be considered a settlement, a neighborhood house, or a community center, as long as it maintains the primary function of thus serving the residents in its locality. Its uniqueness as a social institution lies in

the entrance of the settlement worker upon equal terms with his neighbors into the ordinary channels of local affairs, political, industrial, recreational, educational, religious; his abiding and evergrowing interest in what is socially indigenous to the soil, his becoming not so much the philanthropist and reformer as the good neighbor and good citizen.

Church connection is the relationship that a settlement has with a church, regional or local; or with a church related lay group. While a settlement may maintain ties of friendship or cooperation because of sentiment or proximity, church connection denotes the relationship in terms of administrative or financial interest.

Religious education classes are classes or periods of instruction in Protestant doctrine, church history, Bible interpretation, et cetera; teachings as a supplement to, or substitution for, the church school program of education.

Proselyting is the act of persuading a person to alter his religious beliefs or transfer his allegiance from one faith to another.

Limitations:

While gathering material for this study, the writer found the early sources of information to be primarily in the recollections of former executives and board members. The lack of recorded material and the necessity of relying on human memory often reduced to a minimum the amount of available material relating to the early days of the settlements.

Also, because of the long-standing policy of some of the agencies to be non-sectarian in all of their services and membership and employment procedures, almost to the point of obliterating the memory of former religious connections, there may have been a real inability on the part of many informants to produce an accurate picture of the situation, even for recent years.

This thesis attempts to uncover the factual and tangible relations between the settlement and the religious group. In some cases, where no real link exists, there yet exists a strong bond of friendship and cooperation, sometimes because of proximity to a church or the unity of the members' religious faith,
or because of historical or common heritage. This kind of relationship this thesis does not attempt to portray.

Values:

The writer hopes however, in this study, to contribute, from an analysis of the past history and present status of settlements that were established and nurtured under the aegis of sectarian Protestantism, some understanding of the role which present and future Protestant adventures in social service should take. Is there a place for Protestant Christian-inspired social service in the cosmopolitan urban society?

The future of Protestant action in this area of social service is one which is not clear, and this inquiry into past experience may be of some value in helping to plot the course of intelligent and creative community service by men and women of the Protestant Christian faith,
CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS OF THE SETTLEMENT IDEA

American Beginnings:

The foundations for the settlement movement in America
were laid during the earlier years of the nineteenth century,
when

the rise of industrialism manifested itself in
our cities . . . by a progressively low standard
of living, congestion of families in tenements,
and crowding of houses on land, unemployment, nest-
ing of vice near the homes of those least able to
protect themselves, widespread misery recurring like
an epidemic after every trade depression, and
increasing isolation of well-to-do and poor from
each other . . . It seems almost inconceivable
that up to 1885 only a few of all the responsible
leaders in different walks of life were conscious
that there was, in any real sense of the term, a
social question. 1

The Reverend Joseph Tuckerman, a Unitarian minister of
Boston, began one of the earliest movements toward alleviating
these conditions when, with the support of William Ellery Channing,
in 1826 he established a Ministry-at-large to provide
preaching and visitation for the Protestant poor of the city.
The enterprise expanded, and by 1834 there had been created
The Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches, an association
of delegates from Boston Unitarian churches, gathered together

1 Robert A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy, The Settlement
Horizon, A National Estimate, p. 35
to provide financial support for the work that Fuddeman had initiated.

In the seventies, as the problem of relief became too great for outmoded methods, associations were formed in several of the large cities to adopt the broad and helpful principles of the London Charity Organisation Society. This meant that people of means and education were going across town to come in touch with struggling immigrant groups; and that separate bodies of visitors were devoting themselves continuously to families in a given small district.

The whole city situation was distinctively a challenge to the capacity of the American people. The strong Puritan cast of leadership caused a marked emphasis to be placed upon the peculiar moral responsibility of the college graduate.

The basic impulse to the settlement idea however, came on the one hand from the new humanizing influences of higher education, and on the other, out of the struggle of religious leaders to apply the gospel to the crying demands of a new mode of life.

The plan of College Settlements and University Extension is spoken of as derived from England; but it is pleasant to remember that before Frederick Denison Maurice and his friend established the Working Men's College in London, the fore-runners of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House, the principle of enlisting wage-earners in the pursuit of literature and science had already found expression in this country, and the factory girls on the Merrimac were bringing in the Lowell offering, and in the Essex Institute in Salem, mechanics and mariniers were making contributions to Botany.
and Geology.  

while the beginnings of the American settlement movement are usually considered to be found in England, the soil which gave them such instant growth in the late decades of the nineteenth century had already been tilled and fertilized by American teachers and clerics. Knowing the miseries and deprivations of the urban tenement dweller, they created in the minds of young persons attending college or seminary, the determination "not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."  

English Background:  
The settlement movement in England was a result of the intellectual movement of Social Idealism led by Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin. Within their thought there lay the germ of the settlement idea.

In the old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Social Idealism found its finest setting. Already, in the fifties, . . . news of the social misery in London had been brought to the old Universities, and had awakened their conscience. Maurice, the leader of the Christian Socialists, had tried to arouse interest in the Working Men's College, founded in London in 1854.  

University graduates were already coming to the poor.

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3 Jane Addams, Philanthropy and Social Progress, p. 11.
quarters of London to learn to understand the life there from personal experience. Among the first was Edward Denison who, in 1867, lived there for eight months, giving lectures and religious instruction to working men. Later, the Universities began to found Missions in the slums of London, and in the late sixties, the University Extension movement was established, under the leadership of Charles Kingsley.

Arnold Toynbee, "the most brilliant representative . . . the leader of the younger Oxford generation who were inspired by social ideals", receiving inspiration from Ruskin, affiliated himself with Canon Barnett, who had been serving the poor parish of Whitechapel in East London since 1872.

In 1883, Barnett received a letter from two Oxford men saying that they were ready to do something for the poor, but wished to found no ordinary Mission, because they desired to put their own personalities into the service of social work . . . ."

Inspired by this letter, Barnett asked for and received aid from other Oxford students, and in February of 1885, a society was formed to establish a University Settlement in East London, which in March of the same year was given the name of Toynbee Hall.

Out of the church Missions which were established among the London poor, and from the University extension work for

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6 Ibid., p. 17.
7 Ibid., op. cit., p. 26.
the working classes, came forth this English settlement idea. This idea was soon transplanted in America when, under the direction of Stanton Coit, the University Settlement on New York's east side was founded as the first American settlement in 1887. The first Boston settlement to grow out of this movement was Andover House, founded in 1891.
MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF TEN SETTLEMENTS IN GREATER BOSTON
CHAPTER XIII

PRESENTATION OF DATA

The data here presented have been taken from agency records, and from the replies of executives, board members, and church administrators related to the studied settlements. In order to assemble as complete a picture as possible of the relationships of the church groups and the settlements they inaugurated, the chapter will be divided into three sections. Each section will be discussed under the further divisions of Establishment, Purpose, and Religious Emphasis. The sections to be considered here are: The Beginning Relationship, a record of the very early years of the agency; The Changing Relationship, a record of changes that occurred as the settlements grew; and The Present Relationship, a record of the recent and present status of the settlements.

Of the ten settlements studied, nine were established by four Protestant denominational organizations, and one was established by a Protestant inter-denominational organization. Of the ten founding organizations, six were churches or church agencies, and four were church affiliated lay groups.
The Beginning Relationship

TABLE 1.

ORIGINAL RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
OF SETTLEMENTS BY DENOMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>No. of Settlements</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Unitarian Churches</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Congregational Churches</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Protestant Episcopal Church</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Methodist Church</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-denominational</td>
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Bulfinch Place Chapel - Parker Memorial:

Establishment:

Located in Boston's west end, the Bulfinch Place Chapel and Parker Memorial are together a community center for the neighborhood. The Chapel is the latest in a series of chapels which began at the corner of Portland and Merrimac Streets on December 2, 1826, as the first meeting-house of the Ministry-at-large.

Parker Memorial was established out of a trust given to the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches by the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston.

Purpose:

The founding purpose of Bulfinch Place Chapel was the
same as that of the Benevolent Fraternity:

the moral and religious instruction and the
improvement of the poor and those who have no
usual place of worship in the city of Boston
and vicinity.

For Parker Memorial the purpose was that "the activi-
ties shall be in the Parker tradition, religious, education-
al, social, vocational ... devoted to the preaching of lib-
eral religion and the promotion of good works".

Religious Emphasis:

Bulfinch Place Chapel was a Unitarian preaching place,
including among its activities a Sunday morning worship
service and church school. The minister of the Chapel also
made pastoral calls on his parishioners.

"Parker Memorial has maintained a varied social pro-
gram, non-sectarian in its emphasis, intended to meet the
needs of the entire community surrounding it."3

North End Union:

Establishment:

The North End Union is the outgrowth of a third branch
of the Ministry-at-large which began in 1854 on Hanover
Street in Boston's North End. A room in the Hancock School

1 The Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches,
Annual Report, 1952, p.3.

2 Ibid.

was the first place of meeting. It was under the direct supervision of the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches.

**Purpose:**

The North Mission had as its purpose that of the Benevolent Fraternity:

the moral and religious instruction and the improvement of the poor and those who have no usual place of worship in the city of Boston and vicinity.

**Religious Emphasis:**

At the time of its establishment, the North Mission was a preaching place and a center of pastoral visitation and religious teaching.

**Dorchester House:**

**Establishment:**

In 1867, a recreational program for boys was initiated by a committee of the First Parish (Unitarian) Church, located on Meetinghouse Hill in Dorchester. This committee was under the leadership of a Miss Lisa Calendar. The first staff of this store-front project was made up from members of the First Parish Church.

**Purpose:**

The intent of the church committee was primarily to provide a place for the boys of the neighborhood to engage in wholesome and educational pursuits, and to keep them off of the

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4 Benevolent Fraternity, op. cit., p. 6.
5 Ibid., p. 3.
streets.

Religious Emphasis:

It is probable that one intent of the program was to enlist the boy's interest in church on Sundays. However, there were never any religious classes or programs held in the store-front clubroom, and the facilities were open to all interested boys in the area.

Norfolk House Control
Establishment:

In 1883 the South End Industrial School was established at 45 Bartlett Street in Roxbury by a group of Unitarian and other Protestant laymen. This school was incorporated as a charitable corporation on November 20, 1884. The agency remained a vocational school until 1914.

Purpose:

"The purpose of the agency was to provide vocational education for the underprivileged youth of the area." 7

Religious Emphasis:

The agency was established primarily as a community service, and as such held no classes in religion. It was never intended, even from the beginning, to perform churchly functions. 8

South End House:
Establishment:

The Andover House Association was formed on October 29, 19---

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6 Interview with Mr. John Hanna.

7 Interview with Mr. Charles S. Bolster.

8 Ibid.
1892 by a group of persons affiliated with the Andover Theological Seminary (Congregational) of Andover, Massachusetts under the leadership of Dr. William J. Tucker, the President of the seminary, and Robert A. Woods, a graduate of the seminary. Andover House was opened at 6 Rollins Street in January of 1892.

Purpose:

The first object of the Association . . . was to establish a house where men could, as actual residents, share the life of a thickly populated part of Boston . . . for the sake of learning the conditions of existence there, and of developing means for their improvement.

. . . a further object was to arouse among its own members a deeper interest in the social problems of their own immediate neighborhoods and of the community at large.9

"It was never intended that the house should have any official connection with the Seminary."10

Religious Emphasis:

From the first, special efforts have been made to secure the interest and cooperation of all who believe in settlement work. In all the work of the house, sectarian distinctions have been simply ignored.11

By holding strenuously to the purpose of not attempting to proselytize persons from a religious faith already held, we feel we shall be able to work freely among all classes of people . . . 12

10 Andover House Association, Circular No. 12, p. 2.
11 Ibid.
12 Andover House Association, Circular No. 7, p. 5.
As to undertaking definitely religious work, our attitude has been exactly the same as with regard to every other helpful effort. The Andover House as such does not attempt to do the work of a church any more than it attempts to do the work of a charity board. To both of these kinds of work, already organized in this district, it gives its hearty sympathy and cooperation.13

Good Will Neighborhood House:

Establishment:

This settlement had its beginning when, in the 1880's, Mr. Edward J. Thomas, a Deacon of the Harvard Congregational Church in Brookline became interested in a group of Italian laborers who were working on the construction of what is now Beacon Street in Brookline. He established a Sunday School class and social activities for them in the Harvard Church. When their work in Brookline was finished, Thomas continued his work in the North End, and then later moved his program to East Boston.

Purpose:

The program was established to give religious instruction and social opportunities to immigrant Italian laborers and their families.

Religious Emphasis:

Sunday School classes were taught on a non-denominational basis, and were intended as an educational measure, not as a means of proselyting for the Harvard Church.

St. Mark Social Center:

Establishment:

In 1920 a social case worker was added to the staff of the St. Mark Congregational Church, a Negro church located at 528 Massachusetts Avenue. This staff addition was supported by the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, an agency of the Congregational Churches of the state.

Purpose:

"The worker was to do work with the parish poor, the courts, [and] the Department of Public Welfare."14

Religious Emphasis:

"The worker was to aid in getting the children of the neighborhood to attend the church school."15

Trinity Neighborhood House:

Establishment:

Trinity Neighborhood House was started as a day nursery. This was the result of the establishment, in 1881, of Trinity Laundry on Hollis Street in the South End, by a group of Trinity Church members under the leadership of Phillips Brooks, rector of the church. The laundry was created to give employment to immigrant women, and Trinity Day Nursery was staffed by members of Trinity Church. The day nursery became a major activity, and was soon moved to a separate building on Tyler Street, also

14 Interview with Reverend Samuel L. Laviacount.

15 Ibid.
in the South End.

Purpose:

The purpose was to provide care for the pre-school children of mothers working in the laundry.

Religious Emphasis:

At its inception, the program of the agency was established on a non-sectarian, service basis.

Cooper Community Center:

Establishment:

Cooper Community Center was started as the Fourth Church Community Center in June of 1916.

The Reverend Albert Scott, pastor of the Fourth Methodist Episcopal Church, upon coming to Boston, found a population of approximately twelve thousand Negroes living in a very dilapidated, congested section. Sensing a keen need for social service activities, he made an appeal on June 1, 1916 to the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As a result of his appeal, a committee was appointed to investigate and act to a limited degree, if they saw fit. The committee investigated and acted immediately. July 1 of the same year marked the beginning of classes.

Purpose:

To provide a Community Center for the persons of the overcrowded lower Roxbury section of Boston.

To conduct a social, religious, and educational program for women, youth, and children.

To provide a full time nursery school for boys and girls.

To form classes and offer instruction in crafts.

16 Hattie E. Cooper Community Center Gazette.
religious education, recreation, and other
classes at the discretion of the Executive
Director.17

Religious Emphasis:
The religious education program of the Center
has always been an active one. The Tuesday
classes were given over to religious education,
and attendance at these classes was required
of members to qualify them for participation
in the other Center activities.18

East End Union:
Establishment:
The East End Union had its beginning in
1875 when Mr. W. C. Clapp of Cambridge began
missionary work in the easterly part of Cam-
bridgeport and established a Sunday School
which became known as the Lower Port Mission
Sunday School. It was conducted in a rented
building at his own expense until a group of
clergymen and prominent laymen from a number
of churches in Cambridge, including the First
Unitarian, First Congregational, and First
Baptist Churches, organized to support his
endeavors.

On June 22, 1887 this group organized as
The Lower Port Mission Building Fund Associ-
ation, and two years later, on May 15, 1889, incorporated themselves as the East End
Christian Union . . .19

Purpose:
To carry forward, on a non-sectarian
basis, Sunday School, Temperance, Industrial
and such other work as shall seem for the
best good of the neighborhood adjacent to the

17 Battie B. Cooper Community Center, By-Laws, Arti-
cle II.

18 Interview with Mrs. Marie Copher.

19 Interview with Miss Bertha L. Goldthwaite.
Religious Emphasis:

As a regular part of the program, religious education classes were held on a non-denominational basis, "to promote good influences in the life of the neighborhood" on Sunday afternoons for children. A Bible class for adults was also conducted.

Summary of the beginning relationship:

Of the ten settlements studied in their beginning relationship it is seen that four denominations are represented. Four of the settlements were Unitarian related, three were Congregational related, one was Protestant Episcopal related, one was Methodist related, and one was not related to any particular church, but to several in one locality. Within the denominations, six of the ten settlements were related to individual churches or church organizations, and four to denominational lay groups. All ten of the settlements were established for the purpose of giving non-sectarian services. In emphasizing religious activity, one settlement required attendance at religious education classes as a basis for using the house facilities; one settlement offered religious education classes on a non-compulsory basis; three settlements made use

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20 Cambridge Chronicle, One Hundredth Anniversary Issue.

21 East End Christian Union, Fourteenth Annual Report.
of local denominational churches for religious instruction, and five of the settlements made no provision for any classes of a religious nature.

The Changing Relationship
Bulfinch Place Chapel - Parker Memorial:
Establishment:

In 1922 a changing neighborhood and the emergence of other social agencies in the area adequate to its needs caused the Berkeley Street property of the Parker Memorial to be sold. The Bulfinch Place Chapel was sold to the Parker Memorial Trust, establishing the Parker Memorial on Bulfinch Place. The Chapel program continued, and the Parker Memorial and Bulfinch Place Chapel occupy the same building. All of the policies of these organizations continued to be under the supervision of the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches.

Purpose:

The original purposes of the Bulfinch Place Chapel and Parker Memorial have not been altered since their founding.

Religious Emphasis:

The program of the Chapel continued to include services of liberal religion, including Sunday Worship services and church school classes. Recently the Chapel became the center for Protestant released-time religious education classes from the Blackstone School.

Parker Memorial maintains a non-sectarian social program.
to serve the surrounding community.

North End Union:

Establishment:

By 1892 the Protestant population of the North End had been substantially replaced by Roman Catholics, primarily of Italian descent. "Whatever else may have been the result of this shift, one thing is sure . . . service to the poor could no longer consist in a house-to-house visitation by Protestant ministers." In that same year the Parmenter Street Chapel was re-organized and converted into a settlement house, the North End Union. It continued its connection with the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches.

Purpose:

The purpose of the Chapel was abandoned in favor of a broad social program of education, recreation, and community service as the organization was re-established as a neighborhood center, serving all residents of the area.

Religious Emphasis:

From what had been a liberal Protestant ministry, including church services and parish visitation, the emphasis was altered to be non-sectarian, and religious activities were no longer to be a part of the program. "... the first definite break with the tradition of a visiting ministry was made."23


23 Ibid.
Dorchester House:

Establishment:

In 1889...quarters at 7 Gordon Place in Field's Corner were rented, and the work was expanded to include activities for all ages and both sexes. As a settlement it was widely known during the next twenty years as Gordon House. On November 19, 1909 the institution was incorporated as Dorchester House.

Purpose:

for the purpose of industrial, educational, and charitable work, and the establishment and maintenance of reading rooms, library and social meetings.

Religious Emphasis:

At the time of incorporation, the connection with the First Unitarian Church of Dorchester was dissolved; however, members of the church continued to be active on the agency's board of directors. The program continued to be non-sectarian in its emphasis.

Norfolk House Centre:

Establishment:

In 1914, historic Norfolk House, a famous old Searbury Inn, located at 14 John Eliot Square was purchased by the South End Industrial School, and a broad program of community activities was instituted. Because of the ample facilities of the former hotel site, a large number of graduate students became residents. These students participated in the house program. On March 19, 1915 the agency was re-incorporated as the Norfolk

24 Dorchester House, After Fifty Four Years Our New Home.
House Centre.

Purpose:

The purpose of the agency now became that of providing a large community-centered program of education, recreation, and social action activities for the residents of the Roxbury area, and a residence for graduate students.

Religious Emphasis:

The agency continued to maintain its policy of providing services on a non-sectarian basis, and maintained no official church connections, although the Board of Managers consisted predominantly of Unitarians.

South End House:

Establishment:

On October 30, 1895 the Andover House Association changed its name to the South End House Association because

the name of the house has made it difficult for many people to appreciate the liberal attitude in which the house has really stood... It would be of great advantage to change the name of the house in such a way as to have it appeal without doubt or hindrance to the different types of college men, and to men in general who may be fitted for the work, whatever their education has been.25

In accord with a policy of expanding services in the various neighborhoods of the South End, the South End House Association established various centers of activity and residence, with headquarters at 20 Union Park. The house continued to be

25 Andover House Association, Circular No. 12, pp. 2 and 3.
financed by member subscriptions from interested individuals.

Purpose:

The purpose of the House did not change from that intended by the founders of the Andover House.

Religious Emphasis:

The House continued to maintain a non-sectarian emphasis, cooperating in community action with all the churches as with other local institutions.

Good Will Neighborhood House:

Establishment:

In 1869 Deacon Thomas's efforts received the support of three missionary organizations of the Congregational Churches: the American Missionary Association, the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, and the Massachusetts Women's Home Missionary Society. A house at 177 Webster Street in East Boston was obtained, and given the name of The House of Good Will.

Purpose:

... representing the interest of the Congregational Churches in the Italian people ... to do civic work in acquainting foreign people with the best standards of American life. Special emphasis is placed upon character building and moral uplift.26

Religious Emphasis:

The House was operated on a non-sectarian basis, serving all who lived in the neighborhood. Sunday School classes of a non-denominational emphasis were continued for a short time;

26 The House of Good Will, Information Pamphlet.
but were discontinued.

St. Mark Social Center:

Establishment:

In 1927, St. Mark Congregational Church moved to 214-216 Townsend Avenue in upper Roxbury. In 1928 another social case-worker was added to the staff of the church by the Massachusetts Congregational Conference and Missionary Society, successor to the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society. The house at 216 Townsend Street was refurnished and established as the St. Mark Social Center with two staff members whose primary work was with individuals and families. In 1939, a cinder brick building was constructed to house gymnasium and recreational facilities.

Purpose:

St. Mark Social Center was established to provide a social and recreational facility for the residents of the neighborhood on a non-sectarian basis.

Religious Emphasis:

At the time of the church's move to its Townsend Street location, the religious education classes held as a part of the weekday program were suspended. Church school classes were available to all the members at the church next door.

Trinity Neighborhood House:

Establishment:

In 1899, after the Episcopal Diocese had conducted a survey in East Boston and found the social facilities there inadequate,
the Tyler Street nursery was moved to Princeton Street in East Boston.

In 1917 the house was moved again to a new location at 406 Meridian Street, and incorporated as Trinity Neighborhood House and Day Nursery Incorporated. Through these years, and until 1941, the staff and funds for operating were supplied by Trinity Church.

Purpose:

The first club and craft and vocational classes were started at the Princeton Street location. At this time the program was extended to include older children.

Religious Emphasis:

The agency continued its emphasis on a non-sectarian social service to the neighborhood.

Cooper Community Center:

Establishment:

In October, 1918 a house at 38 Williams Street in Roxbury was purchased by the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church to provide for an expanding program of activities. In 1923 the name of the Center was changed to the Battie B. Cooper Community Center. The original committee of investigation formed the nucleus of the board of directors of the Center. The entire budget of the Center, exclusive of membership fees, continued to be raised by the Women's Home Missionary Society.
Purpose:
The purpose of the agency remained the same as previously indicated.

Religious Emphasis:
The compulsory religious education classes continued to be a basic part of the Center's program, maintaining a non-denominational emphasis.

East End Union:
Establishment:

In 1892 a varied program of vocational classes and activities for boys was initiated. The agency, then located on a street named Brewery, and emphasizing temperance in its program, petitioned the city council to change the name to Burleigh, which was done in 1898. By 1910 Sunday School and other religious activities were discontinued and a system of house membership and clubs was inaugurated. In May, 1922 property at 105 Spring Street was taken as a new location and the agency was re-incorporated as the East End Union.

Purpose:

In recognition of the changes which had occurred prior to 1922, the Union was incorporated as the East End Union with the purpose stated as follows: 'The object of the corporation shall be to provide a center for social and civic life, to study the needs and conditions of the community, to maintain such activities as shall best meet these needs, and to interpret American institutions and ideals for our neighbors of foreign birth.' Thus the last suggestion of the Union's being a religious institution or sectarian organization...
was formally dropped. 27

Religious Emphasis:

The program of Sunday School classes for children and adults was discontinued in 1910 and made official in the re-incorporation of 1922. This was done because the majority of Protestant people in East Cambridge had moved from the area and the incoming population consisted of Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholic families.

Summary of the changing relationship:

As the settlements become established, changes in their relationship with their founding groups and their emphases begin to appear. While the number of related Protestant denominations has remained the same at four, only the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodist related have kept their beginning number at one settlement each, whereas the Unitarians have relinquished two and the Congregationalists two. The one inter-denominational agency became non-denominational, increasing the number of the latter to six.

All ten of the settlements continued to operate their services on a non-sectarian basis.

In emphasizing religious activity, one settlement continued to require attendance at religious education classes as a prerequisite for participation in other activities. One settlement continued to offer religious education classes on a

27 Cambridge Chronicle, op. cit.
non-compulsory basis. One settlement continued to make use of a local denominational church for religious instruction. Two settlements discontinued their emphasis on religious education. Therefore, the number of settlements that provided no activities of a religious nature was increased from five to seven.

The Present Relationship

TABLE 2.

PRESENT RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF SETTLEMENTS BY DENomination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>No. of Settlements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Unitarian Churches</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Congregational Churches</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Protestant Episcopal Church</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Methodist Church</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-denominational</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-denominational</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bulfinch Place Chapel - Parker Memorial: Establishment:

As the Bulfinch Place Chapel and Parker Memorial have continued to occupy the same building, and both are under the direct supervision and control of the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches, they have almost completely merged. The two organizations are still as closely connected with the
Unitarian Churches of the greater Boston area as they were at the time of their establishment.

Purpose:

The purposes of this settlement have not changed from the time of their founding.

Religious Emphasis:

The program of liberal religious worship services, maintenance of a church school, and released-time religious education classes from the Blackstone School is still carried on at the Chapel. The writer, in an interview with the agency Executive Secretary, was told that "The Benevolent Fraternity desires to keep the church active in this area." The Parker Memorial continues to present a broadly conceived social and recreational program on a non-sectarian basis.

North End Union:

Establishment:

The North End Union remains to the present a settlement house serving all the residents of the North End. In 1934 it became a charter member of the Greater Boston Community Chest and Council, and is presently a financially participating member of the Chest's successor, The United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston. The agency still maintains a very strong relationship to the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches. The settlement currently receives approximately one-third of

its operating funds from it.

Purpose:

The purpose of the agency continues to be that of maintaining a broad program of social, educational, and recreational community services, serving the entire North End of Boston.

Religious Emphasis:

Even though the ties with the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches are strong, there are no religious activities in the agency's program, and the emphasis is definitely non-sectarian.

Dorchester House:

Establishment:

In 1942 Dorchester House relocated at its present location at 1353 Dorchester Avenue. It no longer has any connection with the First Unitarian Church of Dorchester. It became a charter member of the Greater Boston Community Chest and Council in 1934, and currently receives approximately three-fifths of its operating funds from the United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

Purpose:

The purpose of the settlement has continued as before, to provide community social, recreational, and educational services to all the residents of north Dorchester on a non-sectarian basis.
Religious Emphasis:

This settlement is no longer known as a church-related agency, and its program contains no religious activities of any kind.

Norfolk House Centre:

Establishment:

Norfolk House Centre has remained in its John Eliot Square location, and continues its large schedule of social activities in recreation and education on a non-sectarian basis. The settlement was one of the charter members of the Greater Boston Community Chest and Council in 1924, and presently is a financially participating member of the United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

Purpose:

The purpose of the settlement continues to be the providing of a broad program of social and recreational services for the surrounding community. It also provides a residence for graduate students of local colleges.

Religious Emphasis:

The settlement has no official church or church group affiliations, and provides no programs of a religious nature.

South End House:

Establishment:

At the present time the settlement maintains three neighborhood centers: 20 Union Park, 430 Rutland Street, and 640 Harrison Avenue, all in the South End. The agency became a
charter member in the Greater Boston Community Chest and Council in 1934, and is presently a participating member of the United Community Services of Greater Boston.

Purpose:

The original objectives of the agency have been continued to the present time.

Religious Emphasis:

The settlement has continued to maintain a non-sectarian emphasis, cooperating in community action with all the churches as with other local institutions.

Good Will Neighborhood House:

Establishment:

The House of Good Will continued to be sponsored by the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society until the settlement was incorporated in 1916 as the Good Will Neighborhood House. At this time the official link between the Congregational Churches and the agency was severed. As the program grew, the quarters on Webster Street became inadequate, and in 1946 the abandoned Plummer School building on Lawson Street was purchased. The agency became a charter member of the Greater Boston Community Chest and Council in 1934, and is presently a financially participating member of The United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

Purpose:

Since the date of incorporation, the settlement program has been operated as a recreational and educational community
center for the neighborhood around it.

Religious Emphasis:

The settlement has consistently been non-sectarian in its emphasis. No programs of a religious nature are provided.

St. Mark Social Center:

Establishment:

In 1942 St. Mark Social Center was incorporated, and the program emphasis was reoriented toward group work activities. A group worker was hired as director. All of the property and buildings of the settlement are owned by the Massachusetts Congregational Conference and Missionary Society. In the past year the Center has received almost one-half of its operating funds from the Congregational Conference. The Center is a planning member of The United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

Purpose:

The settlement continues to serve its neighborhood with social and recreational activities on a non-sectarian basis.

Religious Emphasis:

The settlement no longer conducts religious education classes or activities in its building. However, during the summer The City Missionary Society uses part of the facilities for several weeks to operate a Daily Vacation Church School.

Trinity Neighborhood House:

Establishment:

In 1941, because Trinity Church could not support the
growing program of the settlement, Trinity Neighborhood House
applied to the Greater Boston Community Chest for admission.
This request was granted only after the settlement board sev-
ered its official connection with Trinity Church. Since that
time there has been no administrative link between the church
and the settlement. From 1941 to 1943, the church continued
to grant the agency a small amount of funds, but since that
time the church has not contributed to the agency's budget.
However, "the interest of Trinity Church in the welfare of the
agency remains at a high level." 29.

Purpose:

The present policy of the agency is:

to offer as a group of friendly people, our
services, friendship and companionship to our
neighbors in times of trouble and emergency,
as well as to share their times of great happi-
ness; to help them, also, to plan their leis-
ure time; to assist in their home problems; to
work closely with them in regard to their chil-
dren; to offer in every way we can, the willing,
outstretched hand of a neighbor who lives next
door. 30

Religious Emphasis:

The agency continues to emphasize a non-sectarian approach
in its services to the community around it.

Cooper Community Center:

Establishment:

The Cooper Community Center continues to be a project

29 Interview with Miss Caroline Orr.

30 Ibid.
governed and financed by the Women's Society of Christian Service. With the exception of agency fees and occasional gifts by interested persons and alumni, the entire budget of the settlement is raised by Methodist lay women. The degree of complete integration of the Center with the Women's Society can be seen in the Center's full name, which is The Hattie B. Cooper Community Center of the New England Conference Women's Society of Christian Service of The Methodist Church, Incorporated. The agency is a planning member of The United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

Purpose:

The purpose of the agency has remained as previously stated.

Religious Emphasis:

In 1945 a story-hour period was substituted for religious education because there were already a large number of churches in the area, and a released time religious educational program was being taught in the Fourth Methodist Church nearby. Also the staff teachers of the Center were poorly trained in religious education, and were unable to satisfactorily carry on the classes.31

In 1949, religious education classes were initiated again, but it is now expected that the religious education program will be transferred to the Fourth Methodist church. The current program of music, arts, and crafts often contains religious themes, and the

31 Interview with Mrs. Marie Cooper.
accent on Protestant Christianity is maintained.\(^{32}\)

**Establishment:**

In 1939, the East End Union became a financially participating member of the Greater Boston Community Chest and Council, and is presently a member of The United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

**Purpose:**

... to provide a center for social and civic life, to study the needs and conditions of the community, to maintain such activities as shall best meet those needs, to interpret and foster American institutions and ideals, and to insulate the essentials of good citizenship.\(^{33}\)

**Religious Emphasis:**

The agency has continuously maintained a policy of non-sectarian service, and since its re-incorporation in 1922, has not provided for religious programs of any kind.

**Summary of the present relationships:**

At the present time, the number of related Protestant denominations is three, one less than previously noted. The Methodist Church continues its relationship with one settlement, while the Unitarians are related to two, and the Congregationalists to one. The number of non-denominational settlements continued at six.

All ten of the settlements continue to offer their

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32 Ibid.
33 East End Union, By-Laws, Article II.
services on a non-sectarian basis.

In emphasizing religious activity, one settlement continues to require attendance at religious education classes as a prerequisite for participation in other activities. One settlement continues to offer religious education classes on a non-compulsory basis. One settlement continues to make use of a local denominational church for religious programs. Seven settlements provide no activities of a religious nature.
CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to inquire into the relationships established between Protestant church groups and those settlements in the greater Boston area which they helped to found. An effort has been made to answer the following questions:

1. By whom were the settlements founded?
2. What were the relationships between the settlements and their founders?
3. What changes, if any, have been made in these relationships?
4. What were the purposes for which the settlements were established?
5. What changes, if any, have been made in these purposes?

Among the ten settlements studied, it was found that there were churches or lay groups affiliated with four Protestant denominations that had been instrumental in establishing them.

The Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches had established Bulfinch Place Chapel - Parker Memorial and the North End Union. The First Unitarian Church of Dorchester established Dorchester House, and a group of Unitarian lay men founded Norfolk House Centre.

A group of lay men and clergy affiliated with the Andover (Congregational) Theological Seminary established the South
End House. A Congregational lay man, and the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society (Congregational) were instrumental in founding the Good Will Neighborhood House. The Massachusetts Home Missionary Society also helped to create the St. Mark Social Center.

Trinity Church (Episcopal) of Boston established the Trinity Neighborhood House.

The Women's Society of Christian Service, the lay women's group of the Methodist Church established the Cooper Community Center.

A Protestant lay man, assisted by an Association of other Protestant lay folk from the churches of Cambridge established the East End Union.

When this study was made, there were only three denominations still connected with settlements; the Unitarian, Congregational, and Methodist. These three are affiliated with only four agencies, instead of the original nine. The six settlements that no longer have binding ties to their founding Protestant groups still maintain very cordial relations with them.

Two of the settlements, Bulfinch Place Chapel - Parker Memorial, and North End Union were established to provide a center for a Protestant Ministry-at-large, emphasizing a visitation and pulpit ministry. Two others, Good Will House and East End Union were founded to provide Americanization opportunities for immigrants. Trinity Neighborhood House was established as a day nursery for the children of working mothers.
Norfolk House Centre had its beginning as a vocational school for boys. The other four settlements were established as social and recreational centers for the neighborhood around them.

At the time of their establishment, five agencies promoted religious education classes, while at the time of the study, this was true of only two.

All of the settlements have maintained a policy of non-sectarian service. However, one agency has effectively limited its service to Protestants by requiring attendance at non-denominational religious education classes as a prerequisite to participation in other house activities.

Conclusions:

In this study to determine the relationship between Protestant churches and church organizations and the settlements they founded, the writer concludes that:

The majority of the settlements were established with the intent to serve on a broadly conceived religiously humanitarian basis.

None of the settlements have had as a purpose of their operating that of proselyting for their founding religious group.

Four of the ten settlements are still strongly related to a Protestant denomination; the other six settlements have divested themselves of religious relationships.

Of the four settlements still related to a Protestant
denomination, two are owned and supported completely by their denominations; one has all of its property owned by a denomination; the other receives almost one-third of its financial support from its denomination.

Three of the four Protestant-related settlements are members of The United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

A relationship with a Protestant denomination has never kept the settlements from maintaining a policy of non-sectarian service to their communities.

The emphasis on religious education as a program activity is maintained by only two settlements, and one of these will probably abandon it to a related church in the near future.

A major reason for the settlements having severed their relationship with their founders has been a financial one, having grown too large to be supported solely by local religious groups. In order to maintain services the settlements have had to seek assistance from non-denominational groups.

A secondary reason has been that a Protestant affiliation has often made it impossible to serve effectively in neighborhoods which have changed through the years from having a dominantly Protestant population to that of having a dominantly non-Protestant population.

The settlements that are no longer related to a Protestant group have continued to maintain a cooperative and friendly
attitude toward their founders.

Recommendations:

In the past two decades the upsurge of public awareness of social problems and the promotion of corrective programs on every governmental level, supported by tax moneys, has led to a continuing transfer of health, welfare, and recreational projects from private to public hands. More and more the peculiar tasks of private charity are becoming those of experimentation and supplementation.

There seem to be two distinctive roles here for the Protestant churches; to call the attention of the public to unmet needs in its community, and to keep the edge of the community's social conscience from becoming dulled. The church's primary purpose in the field of social service should be the education, continuously and creatively, of its people to an awareness of the needs of their fellow men.

In the light of the knowledge gained in this study, the writer does not feel that the churches should use their substance in building and maintaining social services which public agencies can and should establish. However, for those churches or church groups already maintaining such services or contemplating their establishment, the writer here poses a number of questions to which serious consideration should be given:

1. Is the area of service of such a nature that a public or community agency could more effectively perform it?

2. Is the service of such a nature or in such a location
that a Protestant affiliation would hinder its effectiveness?

3. Has the problem of financing the service in the face of sharply rising costs been thoroughly investigated?

4. Has recognition been given to the need for a professionally trained staff to give the best possible service?

5. Will the agency be allowed complete freedom to plan with other agencies in the area for the best interests of the community-at-large?

6. Are other Protestant churches or inter-denominational organizations aware of the service activity?

7. Is the service intended for the entire community in which it is located?

Approved:

Richard E. Conant
Dean
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SCHEDULE

1. By whom, or what organization was the agency established?
2. When was the agency first opened?
   a) where?
   b) what were its facilities?
3. What was the purpose for which the agency was established?
4. At the time of establishment, was the agency known as a church sponsored, or denominationally oriented social service?
5. Did the agency receive all or part of its operating funds from a religious group at the time of establishment?
6. Was the original administrative policy or policies in any way determined by its relations to a religious group?
7. Were religious education classes and/or other religious activities a part of the original program?
8. Was it intended to use the agency program as a means of proselytizing for the founding religious group?
9. Is the agency still affiliated with its founding group?
   a) if yes; in what way?
   b) if no; when was the relationship terminated, and why?
10. Has the original type of service changed in its purpose and intent?
11. Has the agency changed its location; expanded or decreased its plant and services?
12. Is the agency known to its public as a religiously-oriented or church-affiliated service?
13. Does the agency receive all or part of its funds from a religious group at the present?
14. Are religious education classes or other religious activities
a part of the agency's present program?

15. Does the agency function as a missionary arm of a religious group?

16. Does the agency cooperate in community planning; through what agencies or groups?