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# A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning: George Cadbury and the Construction of Bournville Model Village

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## Abstract

In 1893, George Cadbury initiated the construction of Bournville Model Village, Birmingham (UK). This was the first model settlement to provide low-density housing not restricted to factory employees. This paper examines the relationship between Cadbury's Quaker faith, the growth of his business and the development of a model community. The focus is on exploring the ways in which Cadbury departed from traditional Quaker practices, with respect to visual artistic display and religious intervention in social relations. The article, first, reviews the contribution of Quakerism to the building of George Cadbury's business empire. Second, it examines the relationship between Cadbury's religiously informed brand of benign capitalism and the choice of a particular architectural aesthetic for Bournville. Third, the article shows how evangelical Quaker faith and practice were important in shaping the social development of the Bournville community.

## Keywords

Arts and Crafts, Bournville, community, George Cadbury, philanthropy, planning

## Introduction

Towards the end of the nineteenth century some industrialists became concerned that the housing problems of the central city were having a detrimental impact on the working population. George Cadbury (1839–1922), a wealthy Birmingham-based Quaker manufacturer, was among the vanguard of those who desired to make a practical contribution to the reform of workers housing. In 1893, Cadbury instigated a landmark housing development adjacent to his chocolate factory in Bournville, located four miles outside Birmingham. Bournville was the first model settlement to provide low-density housing that was not restricted to factory employees. In this respect Bournville was a novel departure in an established

tradition of paternal housing provision (see Darley 1975), providing a new method of organising the urban environment and its resident populations. Bournville was the first attempt to persuade speculative builders that the construction of model low-density housing could be profitable, and was also a key influence in the development of the international Garden City Movement (Bryson and Lowe 1996; Hall 1996). As such, Bournville became the model for subsequent Quaker developments, by Joseph Rowntree at New Earswick in 1901 (Davies and Freeman 2004) and James Reckitt at Hull Garden Village in 1907 (Pietrusiak 2004).

Bournville has been the subject of academic studies that emphasise the architectural, social and planned aspects of the village (Atkins 1989; Bailey and Bryson 2006; Bryson and Lowe 1996, 2002; Cherry 1996; Dellheim 1990; Durman 1987; Durman and Harrison 1995; Harrison 1999; Sarkissian and Heine 1978). Building upon these studies, this article seeks to explore the hitherto neglected relationship between George Cadbury's Quaker faith and the philanthropic development of Bournville. With respect to Quakerism, Cadbury's response to the insanitary and inhumane living conditions of the industrial city was unorthodox. In publicising the visual appearance of his housing scheme, Cadbury became engaged in forms of conspicuous visual display that were alien to pre-existing Quaker principles. Moreover, by instigating innovative Meetings, Cadbury envisaged a wider social role for Quakerism. As an evangelical Quaker, Cadbury attempted to influence the lives of those beyond the practising Quaker community. The construction of a Quaker-led community in Bournville, therefore, involved significant departures from established patterns of Quaker worship, which can be located in both the physical and the social design of Bournville.

The article begins, first, by examining different representations of Cadbury's Quaker faith in relation to his business and philanthropic activities. Here we seek to understand the family ideology and Quaker values that were sustained and advocated by the Cadbury family in the mid-nineteenth century. Second, we demonstrate how the building of Cadbury's business empire paved the way for Cadbury's housing experiment in the 1890s. During the period from 1861 to 1899, George and Richard Cadbury (1835–1899), the proprietors of Cadbury Brothers, constructed a brand image that was informed and associated with the virtues encountered in their Quaker faith.[1] In developing an identity for their business, the brothers embraced visual art in a departure from a traditional Quaker aesthetic. This approach to marketing was extended to the architecture of Bournville, which can be considered as a form of public art. Third, we seek to show how evangelical Quaker faith and practice were important in shaping the social and communal development of Bournville.

## GEORGE CADBURY AND QUAKER FAITH

The reason for George Cadbury's business and philanthropic successes are summed up in two works that were commissioned by the firm of Cadbury (Gardiner 1923; Williams 1931). Both interpret Cadbury's success in the late nineteenth century in terms of the puritan qualities of character, which typified the 'plain' Quaker

tradition. In so doing, the authors reproduce the views propounded by George Cadbury during his lifetime. In 1901, for example, Cadbury argued that the training of the Religious Society of Friends provided 'the qualities most likely to lead to success in business. They were taught self-denial, rigid abstinence from all luxury and self-indulgence' (Cadbury 1901; cf. Isichei 1970: 183).

George was raised in a 'plain' evangelical Quaker family, which eschewed elaborate forms of worship, speech, dress and artistic expression. These plain forms of comportment were the legacy of the first two generations of seventeenth-century Quakers, who forged a protest against complicit ecclesiastical and political authorities in support of egalitarian principles. Having received a dispensation under the Act of Toleration (1689) these plain forms of Quaker conduct gradually lost their radical political overtones, but were retained nevertheless as markers of Quaker identity. In the early Victorian period, George Cadbury's father, John Cadbury (1801–1899), exemplified this Quaker ethos of simplicity, which served to distinguish bourgeois Quaker families from other social and religious groups. For example, John renounced playing the flute in deference to his father's will, and 'it was not until he was seventy that he consented to sit in an easy chair' (Williams 1931: 8). During the mid- to late Victorian period, however, many 'plain' Quakers were becoming worldly and adopting forms of consumption and recreation more typical of the rising middle classes (Corley 1988). In many cases the consumer choices of Quakers were modified to conform to the spirit of simplicity that marked previous generations. According to Gardiner (1923), for example, the young George Cadbury was permitted to read a selection of novels infused with a puritan emphasis and was even encouraged in the recreations of horse riding and gardening.

Taken in isolation, however, the puritan disciplines of the Cadbury family are inadequate explanations of George Cadbury's business success and philanthropy. According to Isichei, a full explanation must include the 'qualities of ruthlessness, willingness to take risks, energy, imagination, and ambition—qualities which have very little to do with religion' (1970: 183). Following this line of argument, business historians (Rowlinson 1988; Rowlinson and Hassard 1993), are critical of George Cadbury's attribution of success to religious faith and practice. Instead they identify the ways in which the firm of Cadbury invented its corporate culture by retrospectively attributing significance to the Quaker beliefs of the Cadbury family in order to divert attention from the rational application of scientific management, which was the primary reason for the firm's success. In so doing they reveal the way in which the history of the company was constructed to give meaning to the firm's labour-management institutions, to create the perception of a benevolent capitalist enterprise. These arguments aside, we must still account for the fact that Quakerism sanctioned and encouraged the pursuit of wealth and economic risk taking as a virtuous act of stewardship (Hilton 1986). Furthermore, we must also take cognisance of the economic knowledges that were generated and circulated through networks and entrepreneurial cultures sustained by Quakers involved in a range of economic enterprises. In the following section, therefore, the business activities of the Cadbury family are introduced. We might

disagree with Isichei's interpretation of religion as a conservative activity, but taken in isolation, childhood experiences of religion are an inadequate explanation for George Cadbury's future success as a businessman and philanthropist.

What is also lacking in the works commissioned by the firm of Cadbury (Gardiner 1923; Williams 1931) is an historically contextualised approach to George Cadbury's Quakerism. In discussing George Cadbury's faith and practice, it is important to understand that there were many different expressions of Quakerism operating in the mid- to late nineteenth century (Kennedy 2001). At one end of the spectrum there was the mystic aestheticism of Quietism, which encouraged Quakers to close ranks and perpetuate their own constituency through the practice of traditional practices of simplicity. At the other end of the spectrum there were evangelical Quakers, who gave primacy to the authority of scripture and the world-transforming potential of converting individuals to a Christ-centred faith. Occupying a liberal position were those who sought to interpret traditional Quaker values in the light of contemporary scientific findings and social change. George Cadbury identified with different aspects of all three traditions, but was predominantly influenced by evangelical Quakerism. His position can best be described as a formative leader in the Christian Social Movement, which sought a practical reorganisation of society as a testimony to a Christian gospel that was redemptive not only for the individual soul, but for the interconnected material and spiritual relations that comprised society.[2]

The ideological content and practical expression of Cadbury's religious beliefs can be apprehended in his business affairs, but they are also apparent in his attempts to order domestic life in Bournville. It is perhaps the banal application of Quaker faith and practice to the form of everyday life, therefore, which should be considered as George Cadbury's chief contribution to the development of a model village. Nevertheless, throughout the long process of creating and spending wealth, Cadbury had to carefully negotiate his Quaker identity in order to preserve the cultural capital (i.e. reputation for honesty, fair dealing, reliability, cleanliness etc.) that was bound to the tradition of Quaker testimony. In the following sections, these everyday negotiations of faith and practice are related to the economic exigencies that Cadbury faced during the early development of his business enterprise and housing experiment.

## BUSINESS EMPIRES AND BOURNVILLE

In 1824, John Cadbury began trading as a tea and coffee dealer in Birmingham. In 1831, he diversified into the manufacture of cocoa, and later formed a partnership with his brother Benjamin Head Cadbury (1798–1886), in 1847, to form the original Cadbury Brothers. In 1861, Benjamin stepped down as partner and John handed the firm to his sons, Richard and George. In 1866, Cadbury Brothers began marketing a new product called 'Pure Cocoa Essence' with the slogan 'Absolutely Pure, Therefore Best' (Dellheim 1987). At this time the factory was located in Bridge Street in central Birmingham, where environmental conditions contradicted the image of purity projected by the firm's advertising. The decision

to move the factory from its inner-city location, therefore, was driven by commercial rather than philanthropic reasons. In 1878, a 14.5 acre greenfield site was purchased, situated between the villages of Stirchley, Kings Norton and Selly Oak, adjacent to the Birmingham West Suburban Railway and the Worcester and Birmingham Canal. The first brick of the new factory was laid in January 1879 and the transfer from Bridge Street took place in September. The site allowed Cadbury Brothers to promote its image of pure products produced in a healthy environment.[3]

In 1893, to prevent the factory being surrounded by high-density speculative terraced housing, George Cadbury purchased 120 acres adjoining its grounds. This is an important point as the land was purchased privately by George Cadbury and was never owned by the factory. Cadbury was aware that the success of the chocolate works was attracting people to the area and that soon the land surrounding the factory would be subjected to fierce speculation. Inevitability, market economics would result in the new factory being surrounded by the type of urban landscape that had prompted the move from central Birmingham. Between 1893 and 1895, therefore, George Cadbury established the 'Bournville Building Estate', and appointed fellow Quaker, Alfred Pickard Walker, as estate surveyor. The object of this undertaking according to the general prospectus was:

> to make it easy for working men to own houses with large gardens secure from the danger of being spoilt either by the building of factories or by interference with the enjoyment of sun, light, and air, [and] the speculator will not find a footing (MS 1536 *General Particulars*).

Between 1896 and 1900, George Cadbury released 138 houses on 999 year leases. It was considered that long leases would 'maintain the rural appearance of the district and the comfort of the inhabitants' (MS 1536 *General Particulars*), as Cadbury would retain a measure of control over the appearance of the houses and gardens. The houses were released at cost price plus a 4% return. Not all houses, however, made a return of 4%; 'some did not pay more than 2¾ to 3 per cent; but the plainer ones paid 4 per cent' (Harvey 1904: 163).

Cadbury was prepared to supply up to £40,000 on mortgages at the rate of 2.5% to purchasers who paid half of the cost of the house, and 3% to those able to pay a smaller deposit. Repayment was usually over twelve years. It was considered that the produce obtained from the garden, especially from keeping poultry, should cover the ground rent. According to the Estate Prospectus: 'a tenant renting the house for 15 years almost pays for it and not a brick of the house is his own, while by purchasing lives in it rent free, and owns a house worth probably more than £200 at the end of the time' (Harvey 1904: 163). In 1898, Cadbury realised that all artisans could not or did not wish to purchase property, and constructed 227 smaller houses, in groups of two, three or four, for weekly rent. Houses were let at rentals of 4s.6d and 5s.6d weekly, so that thrifty artisans could afford them (Whitehouse 1902) (Plate 1 [overleaf]).

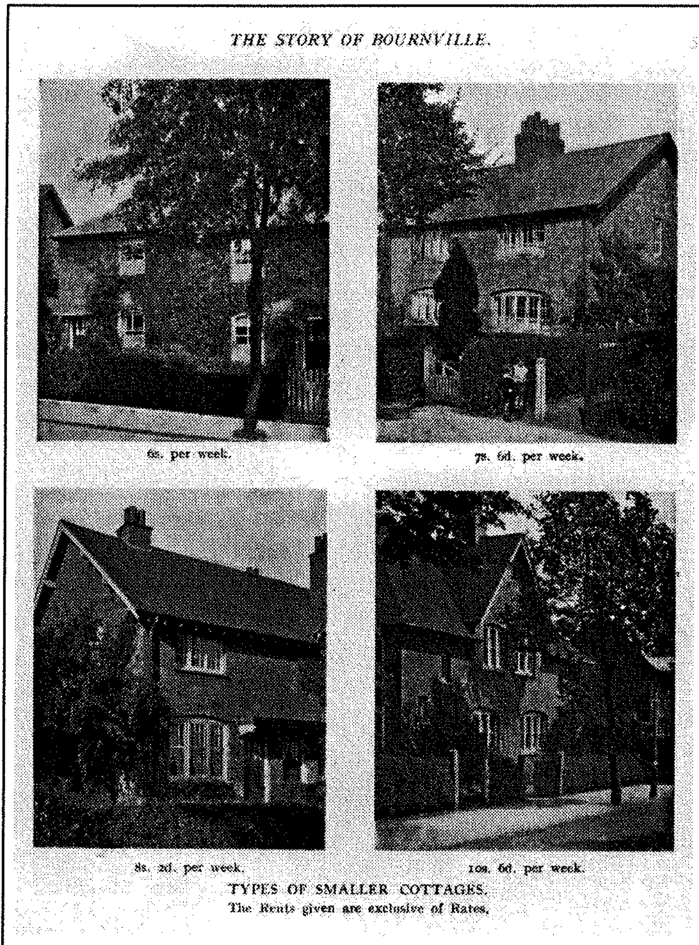



Plate 1. *A selection of Bournville houses designed to be let to 'thrifty artisans'*
(Source: Cadbury Brothers 1924: 5)

## QUAKER AESTHETICISM AND ARCHITECTURE

Quakers are associated with their historic repudiation of image making, religious iconography and artistic display, which originates in their religious dissent during the seventeenth century. The basis for this dissent was the theological understanding that God dwells in the heart of each individual and can be known without the 'sacred' body cultures, rituals and ecclesiastical structures of established religion. The implications of this inward-looking theology and eschewal of visual representation paradoxically gave rise to an intense scrutiny of visual bodily practices and outward display:

> How one organizes one's body in terms of voluntary actions, dress, speech and the appurtenances of daily life that act as supports to that body (furniture, plate and

> tableware, textiles, vehicles for transport, buildings) become a matter of intense significance (Pointon 1997: 399).

In contrast to the exuberance and visual iconography promoted by the established church, Quakerism adopted an aestheticism that repudiated superfluity and extravagance. Practically, this was achieved through the adoption of plain mannerisms of speech and attire. In material culture, Quakers equated beauty with function and utility. Art, however, was to be distrusted for its leanings towards 'Vanity, self aggrandisement, ostentation, the celebration of personal wealth and the improper stewardship of time and resources' (Homan 2000: 72). An unorthodox Quaker in this respect, George Cadbury was influenced by aesthetic ideologies generated outside the Religious Society of Friends and became a patron of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham. His embrace of sculpture, portraiture, drama and dance, however, was carefully managed to preserve both his religious standing and corporate reputation (see Bailey 2002).

With the rise of a consumer-orientated urban culture in the eighteenth century, and mass consumption in the nineteenth century, successful Quaker manufacturers found it increasingly difficult to maintain a commitment to plain aestheticism (Corley 1988). For many Quakers the maintenance of a growing circle of contacts outside the Religious Society of Friends required the adoption of worldly patterns of consumption and comportment. The challenge for Quaker manufacturers was to find a suitable apology for their part in a perceived move away from a societal emphasis on thrift and austerity, towards the attainment of pleasure through material consumption. Cadbury Brothers managed to reconcile its religious commitment to the virtues of simplicity, with the pleasurable connotations of chocolate, by emphasising the virtuous nature of its products. For Cadbury, this initially involved stressing the medicinal properties of cocoa as a nourishing alternative to intoxicating drinks, and the thrift involved in purchasing their cocoa rather than other similar products. By incorporating Quaker virtues within its brand image and aligning themselves with religious protests against alcohol, Cadbury was among a number of firms that contributed to the construction of the moral rational consumer (Loeb 1994). Taking this approach allowed the Cadbury brothers to conduct vigorous advertising campaigns that fully exploited the value of visual representation, without sacrificing their Quaker testimony.[4] The company employed its first artist in 1896. Prior to the establishment of a design department, Richard Cadbury was responsible for creating the first designs for boxed chocolate assortments. These were decorated with portraits of his own children and with holiday scenes (Parker and Tilson 1989: 238-39).

In taking on the mantle of housing developer, therefore, the choice of architect and architectural style was critical for George Cadbury, who needed to forge coherent links with the already existing associations between his public and personal religious identity as a conscientious Quaker manufacturer, and the brand image he had developed for the firm based upon purity and quality. This choice was informed by his participation and patronage of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham. Ideologically the Arts and Crafts Movement was associated with a

move to revive traditional craftsmanship as a challenge to industrial capitalism, with its attendant division of labour, deskilling and distributive inequalities (Cumming and Kaplan 1993: 9). The cultural authors of the movement, such as John Ruskin, William Morris and A.W. Pugin, presented the Victorian public with a romanticised version of Europe's pre-industrial history, which was instrumental in their construction of an imagined future where factory production would give way to a bucolic utopia (Crawford 1984). This utopian vision of rural England appealed to the rising middle classes, who adopted arts and crafts designs as a symbol of moderation, respectability and taste (Davey 1995).

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Cadbury family was an important patron of the Arts and Crafts Movement, especially that produced by Arthur (1862–1928) and Georgie Gaskin, Bernard Cuzner (1877–1956) and Joseph Southall (1861–1944) (Crawford 1984). In the mid-1890s, the Gaskins[5] and other arts and crafts practitioners taught at Birmingham's Art School's Art Laboratories. Together they created a regional form of the Arts and Crafts Movement under the title of the *Birmingham Group* whose identity was based around the writings of Ruskin and the work of early English Pre-Raphaelites including Burne Jones, a local artist (Cumming and Kaplin 1993: 85). Moreover, Cadbury employed John Howard Whitehouse (1873–1955) as the first editor of the Bournville Works Magazine, who was a personal friend of John Ruskin. In 1895, Whitehouse founded the Ruskin Society of Birmingham (RSB) and took on the role of its Honorary Secretary (CFA 1903). Three years later, Whitehouse founded *Saint George: The Journal of the Ruskin Society of Birmingham*. The journal was edited and published from his house in Bournville, which was aptly named George House. By 1897, the RSB had 375 members, including George Cadbury's second wife, Elizabeth (1858–1951),[6] who served as a member of its council from 1899–1902, and as vice-president thereafter (Hoffman 1993: 385). Elizabeth Cadbury was influenced by Ruskin as a young woman when:

> She was a regular attender at various courses organized by London University, and went frequently to lectures at the London Institution, where she several times heard Ruskin speak (Scott 1955: 27).

The enthusiasm expressed by Elizabeth Cadbury was shared by her husband who became a vice-president of the RSB from 1900 until the society was disbanded in 1908. In developing the Bournville Estate as a form of public art, therefore, Cadbury was able to unite his business and philanthropic interests to the symbolic imaginary of the Arts and Crafts Movement, without sacrificing his commitment to old fashioned puritan modesty. The success of this endeavour resided with his choice of architect.

## DESIGNING BOURNVILLE

In 1895, George Cadbury appointed as principal house designer and estate architect William Alexander Harvey (1875–1951), an aspiring twenty-year-old Birmingham architect. Harvey came from an artistic background; his father and brother both being stained glass artists.[7] He received his main architectural training

from W.H. Bidlake (1861–1938), the Birmingham Arts and Crafts architect. Bidlake set a tone of simplicity and restraint in the great suburban expansion of Birmingham by designing houses with strong shapes, usually restricted to two main materials—brick and stone—rather than constructing suburban villas composed of a wide variety of materials (Davey 1995: 107). *The Studio* noted in 1902 that: 'There is probably no architect in Birmingham who has influenced and guided younger men of his profession...as Mr W.H. Bidlake' (Wainwright 1902: 245). From 1892, Bidlake taught at Birmingham's Central Art School in Margaret Street, and Harvey attended these classes (Davey 1995: 109). Bidlake's style is reflected in the development by Harvey of a simple picturesque style. At the Art School Harvey was also introduced to Benjamin Cresswick, a pupil of Ruskin, with whom he later collaborated (Crawford 1984; cf. Harrison 2004: 2). In May 1895, Harvey designed a small block of shops and houses in Stirchley (adjacent to Bournville), and by September he was working for George Cadbury.

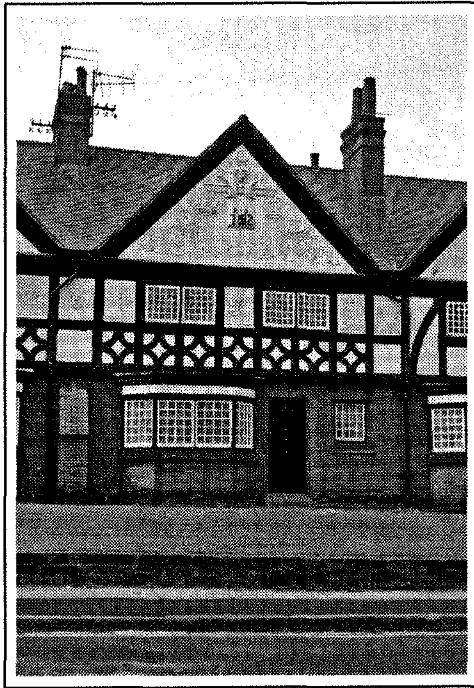


Plate 2. *Terraced house, Port Sunlight, Liverpool* (Source: John R. Bryson 1992)

Harvey was not a Quaker and little is known of his religious affiliations, although he is praised for his unassuming personality.[8] Cadbury's choice of a young unknown architect reflects his commitment to simplicity, modesty and the avoidance of publicity. According to Windsor, Cadbury's 'aim was to get things done, and he held the view that things get done only if the right instruments were chosen and if the perpetrators were indifferent as to who received the credit' (1980: 92). A high-profile architect would have attracted considerable publicity

and also have prevented Cadbury from having a significant input into the overall design of the planning experiment as well as having a say in the micro-details.

In contrast to Cadbury, at Port Sunlight, William Hesketh Lever employed many different architects, mainly from established North-western practices, but also high-profile London architects, such as Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) and Ernest Newton (1856–1922). The result being that Port Sunlight is a 'a showcase for the best late C19–early C20 domestic architecture' and also 'Architecturally it is the most ambitious model village in the country' (Sharples 2004: 300-301). Similarly, Hampstead Garden Suburb (Unwin and Scott 1909) was planned by the well-known architect and planner Raymond Unwin (1863–1940) and famous architects, such as Baillie Scott (1865-1945) and Edwin Lutyens, were responsible for the design of key buildings (Davey 1995: 185). Of these three developments 'Aesthetically Bournville is the less interesting, especially in the lay-out, but socially it has been more successful, since an effective integration of the classes and an active community life have been characteristics since its earliest days' (Pevsner and Wedgwood 1974: 155-56). Due to its modest architecture and design, therefore, it is easy to underestimate George Cadbury's achievements at Bournville (Howard 1965).

Harvey was responsible for most of the houses constructed by the Bournville Building Estate, and developed what has come to be known as the 'Bournville style' (Bryson and Lowe 2005). The central ethos of the style can be summed up with reference to economy, simplicity and modest ornamentation. The simplicity of the Bournville style stands in stark contrast to the 'film set', 'self-conscious' and 'flamboyant' building style adopted by W.H. Lever at Port Sunlight (Marsh 1982: 221-22) (Plate 2). Houses were built at a low density of six to the acre, in a variety of designs. Monotony of composition was avoided through the use of porches, bay windows, gables, buttresses, roofing materials, roughcast, brick detailing, an irregular building line, exposed purlins and eaves, and casement windows frequently positioned under the eaves provided a continuity of style. To the casual observer Bournville appears to consist of a variety of different and distinct house types. This is, in fact, an illusion created by Harvey via the simple process of altering the external detailing of houses constructed to the same design. A basic design for a semi-detached pair of houses could be built with or without buttresses, bay windows, roughcast, half roughcast, hoods over the front door supported by wrought-iron stays and the occasional Venetian window. Houses are in pairs or groups of three or four, each pair or group differing from the next.

It is difficult to attribute Bournville design components to either Cadbury or Harvey. Cadbury always claimed that he was totally responsible for Bournville and all planning innovations.[9] Harvey, in his 1906 book *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville*, attributes the development of the concept of low-density housing to Cadbury, but the articulation of this idea and its realisation was his own responsibility. Nevertheless the guiding hand behind Harvey was George Cadbury and his concern with the spiritual well-being of industrial workers. It was Cadbury's vision of simplicity linked to economics that led to his housing experiment in which he intended to demonstrate to 'jerry-builders' that

well-designed low-density housing could be constructed profitability. Bournville forced Raymond Unwin, for example, to reconsider his commitment to high-density housing (22/acre) (Unwin 1901) and to become a firm believer in the Cadbury approach to housing reform that was founded upon low-density housing (Edwards 1981: 84).

## A RELIGIOUS DESIGN?

George Cadbury's choice of architecture was a key aspect that mobilised different elements of his identity as a businessman, philanthropist and Quaker. Various pieces of evidence, however, indicate that George Cadbury had an overtly religious purpose in mind for the Estate, even if this was not realised in practice. In 1894, in a letter to his first architect A.P. Walker, it is evident that George Cadbury intended Bournville to reflect Quaker religious practice in its design and social composition:

> Please let me know whether you would be likely to be able to give up some years to carrying out a scheme I have in hand for laying out 120 acres in the neighbourhood of our works for cottages, each surrounded by their own garden, not more than six to the acre. I would not care for anyone to undertake it who did not enter into the spirit of the undertaking as a labour to the Lord... I am rather hopeful that this will be to a large extent a Quaker colony (Birmingham Central Reference Library, MS 1536: 1894).

It is possible that Cadbury may have initially entertained the formation of a sectarian community before costing the project. As a member of the Liberal political community in Birmingham, Cadbury would have known of Jesse Collings' smallholding scheme for 'three acres and a cow' (Harrison 1999: 35), which was based upon a Chartist colony at Great Dodford, near Bromsgrove (Hadfield 1970). It is more likely, however, that he was acting within a Quaker tradition that had actively shaped the emergence of the 'ideal community movement' in the nineteenth century. This can be traced to the work of John Bellars, the seventeenth-century Quaker, who advocated small village communities in which well-educated labourers produced a range of industrial and agricultural products to the benefit of the 'government and the people' (Purdom 1913). Moreover, Cadbury was aware of contemporary Quaker industrial philanthropy in Ireland, which had founded industrial settlements a generation earlier (Williamson 1992).

Another key influence came in 1849, with 'The Model Parish Mission' (Williams 1931: 19). The Mission was primarily motivated by the temperance issue, claiming that with a little help, working families could save the money they would normally spend on alcohol, which would enable them to 'become possessed of a Model Cottage as their little freehold, and also have a fund to fall back upon in seasons of sickness and old age, instead of taxing the sober and respectable portion of the community for their support' (CFA 010/003250). To raise funds the Mission sold tea, coffee and cocoa. The original Cadbury Brothers partnership (1847–60) of John Cadbury and Benjamin Head Cadbury manufactured the cocoa for the Mission and contributed the whole of the profits to the cause.[10] In

developing Bournville as a model community, therefore, George was following his father's example of connecting improved housing to the Quaker values of self-improvement and moral reform.

George Cadbury's commitment to urban reform can also be traced through his involvement with the Adult School Movement. Adult Schools were established in the late eighteenth century to provide adults with basic reading and writing skills as the first stage in their Christian conversion and as the foundation of self-improvement. The movement was non-denominational, but Quakers played a pivotal role as teachers and benefactors in Birmingham. George Cadbury began a fifty-year association as a Class teacher in 1859, and gained direct experience of the difficulties facing men living in small, overcrowded houses (Gardiner 1923). He came to believe that such an environment resulted in deterioration in physical ability and a 'diminished power to resist temptations to intemperance and to other vices' (Barrow 1908: 137). Cadbury visited the members of his adult class in their homes and stated that it was

> largely through my experience among the back streets of Birmingham [that] I have been brought to the conclusion that it is impossible to raise a nation, morally, physically, and spiritually, in such surroundings, and that the only effective way is to bring men out of the cities into the country and to give to every man his garden where he can come into touch with nature (George Cadbury, quoted in Wood 1933: 190-91).

In the cause of housing reform, therefore, Cadbury developed a philanthropic project in which he could apply Quaker values of self-reliance, thrift and human dignity to assuaging a problem he had vicariously experienced.

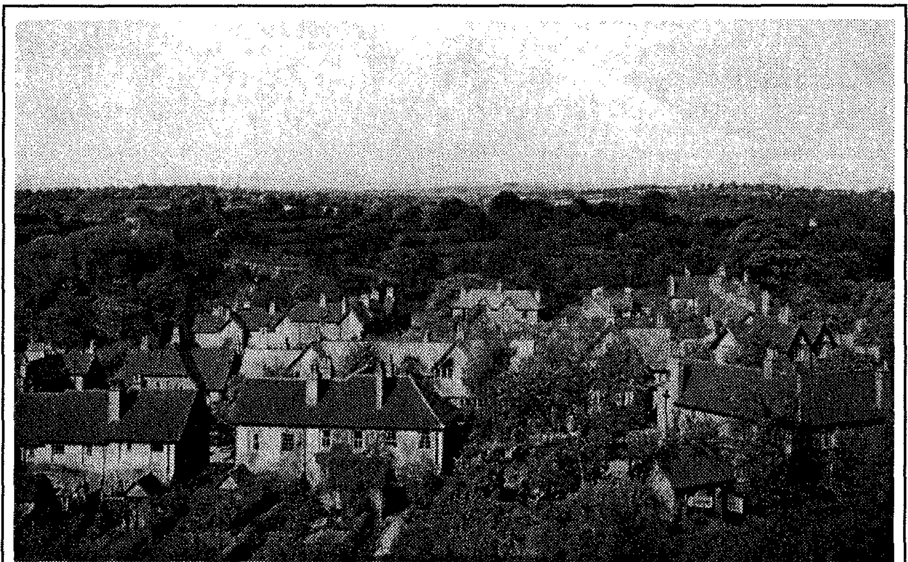

A VIEW FROM THE SCHOOL TOWER.
Showing the rural surroundings west of the village.

Plate 3. *Houses and gardens, Beech Road, Bournville* (Source: Cadbury Brothers 1924: 9)

Consequently, an important new planning principle was written into the Bournville leases. This introduced the requirement that houses should not cover more than one-fifth of the land as Cadbury strongly believed that a man may work in a factory 'if he has a garden and in no way deteriorate physically or mentally' (MS 1536: 1906) (see Plate 3). Gardens and open spaces were the central component of George Cadbury's philosophy. Harvey in his account of the Bournville experiment describes Cadbury's motivation behind the experiment in the following manner:

> [Cadbury's] intimate knowledge of the lives of Birmingham working-men, gained by an experience of some forty years, had shown him that the greatest drawback to their moral and physical progress was the lack of any healthful occupation for their leisure... His conclusion was that the only practical thing was to bring the factory worker out on to the land, that he might pursue the most natural and healthful of recreations, that of gardening... There was an advantage, too, in bringing the working-man on to the land, for, instead of losing money in the amusements usually sought in the towns, he saved it in his garden produce (Harvey 1906: 9-10).

This belief in the redemptive power of productive gardening lay behind his commitment to low-density housing. Cadbury thus believed that the benefits of gardening were both spiritual and financial. These beliefs had much in common with Voysey who considered that the new materialism of the nineteenth-century *fin de siècle* had reduced interest in spiritual ideas and moral qualities and that what was required was a return to a richer form of work that would result in the development of spiritually fulfilled workers (Durant 1992; Townsend 1899; Voysey 1909).

Three years after the successful establishment of Bournville, Cadbury became concerned over its long-term development. Cadbury feared that on his death Bournville would succumb to speculative builders. To prevent this occurrence, in December 1900, he transferred ownership of the estate to a charitable trust to be known as 'Bournville Village Trust' (BVT), of which he was chairman. The Trust's objective was for the 'amelioration of the condition of the working class and labouring populations, in and around Birmingham, and elsewhere in Great Britain, by the provision of improved dwellings, with gardens and open spaces', and 'of securing to the workers in factories some of the advantages of outdoor village life' (Harvey 1906: 9).

One tenth of the village's total area was to be reserved for parks, recreation grounds and other open spaces (Plate 4 [overleaf]). An essential aim of the deed of foundation was to preserve the rural character of the village, and provide a healthy environment for its inhabitants. The term 'Trust' had special significance for Cadbury as a Quaker, as it implied stewardship of God's gifts by the privileged.

Harvey became a consultant to the Trust and was retained to act as architect for the schools, but the Trustees 'intended in the future, as far as possible, to repeat old plans instead of preparing new ones for each new block of houses' (BVTEO 1903). The Trustees considered that this would lead to greater efficiency and economy. In his role as consultant, Harvey set about designing a

number of civic buildings for the expanding residential community of Bournville: Junior Schools (1902–1905); Friends' Meeting House (1905), Infants' School (1910); Anglican Church (St Francis of Assisi, 1925).

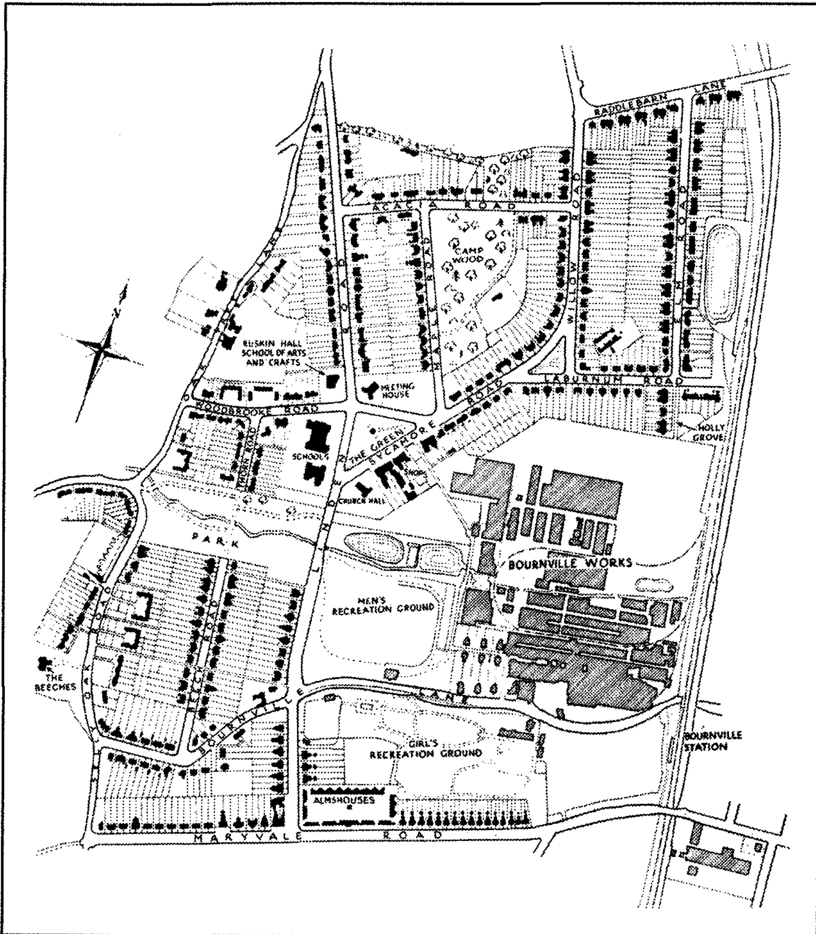



Plate 4. *The Bournville Building Estate, 1915* (Source: Bournville Village Trust 1955: 69)

## BUILDING A QUAKER-LED COMMUNITY

According to Freeman (2003: 196-203), the activities of Quaker philanthropists must be understood in the context of wider changes in the structure and conceptualisation of welfare provision. Towards the late nineteenth century, there was a growing consciousness of the social dimension of poverty, which prompted a range of surveys that pointed to the ineffectiveness of individual pauper relief (Brown 2001). This growing moral conscience prompted evangelical Christians to campaign for social reform as a preliminary requirement of conversion to the Christian faith (Brown 2001). These changes can be witnessed, for example, in

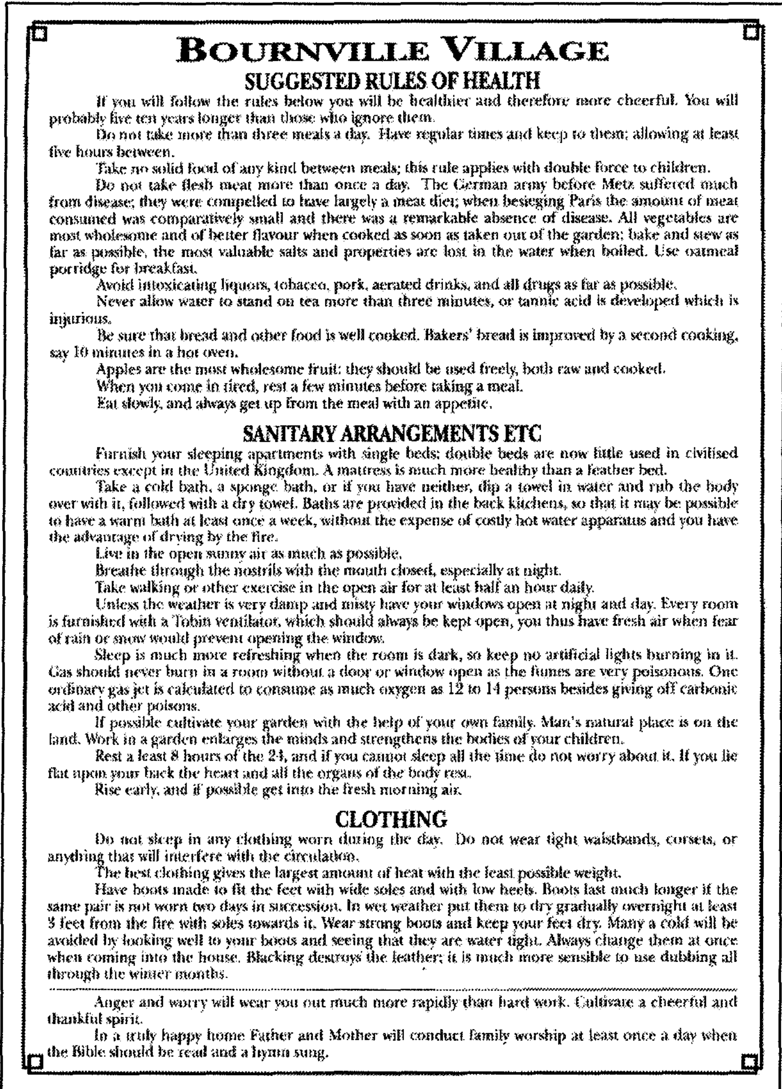
the evangelical Gospel Temperance Movement, which sought to tackle the social causes of drunkenness as part of its Christian appeal to the individual (Shiman 1988). For George Cadbury, poor quality housing was the critical factor preventing the urban poor from adopting Christian faith and the associated virtues of temperance and self-improvement (Bailey and Bryson 2006). The growing recognition of the social dimension of poverty meant that philanthropists came to 'define their responsibilities in terms of the community and the reciprocal social duties of its members' (Freeman 2003: 201). Following the 1867 Reform Act, many Quakers were concerned to foster notions of citizenship and social duty among the newly enfranchised. Playing his part in the emergence of a Nonconformist social conscience (Oldstone-Moore 1999), George Cadbury sought to develop an evangelical Quakerism that would meet the needs of a wider constituency.

The practical restrictions of constructing profitable housing meant that matters of economy moderated any sectarian plans that George Cadbury may have harboured for Bournville. To model the burgeoning community of Bournville around his Quaker faith indirectly, however, was not beyond Cadbury's reach. Each new resident was supplied with a copy of his *Suggested Rules of Health* (reproduced in Hillman 1994), which provided a range of advice on diet, sanitation and clothing (Fig. 1 [overleaf]). The rules advocated, among other things: vegetarianism; avoiding intoxicating liquors, tobacco, pork, aerated drinks and drugs; the correct way to brew tea; single beds for married couples; cold and warm baths; outdoor exercise, particularly walking and gardening; good ventilation; sleeping eight hours in twenty-four; early rising; and the avoidance of tight clothing. The way of life advocated by George Cadbury was based upon his own, which espoused simplicity and thrift as acts of family worship. In the final statement of the rules, George Cadbury's evangelical Quakerism is most prominent when recommending that 'In a truly happy home Father and Mother will conduct family worship at least once a day when the Bible should be read and a hymn sung'.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which these rules were followed by Bournville's first residents, although there is strong evidence for the popularity of gardening and domestic thrift (Bailey 2002). Practical encouragement and paternal supervision was on hand, however, in the form of Elizabeth Cadbury.

> As the houses were completed and the families, shy and a little awe-struck at the unfamiliar open spaces, the great sweeps of sky, the clean freshly painted home, moved in, Elizabeth would come to welcome them, to learn their interests, and to help them find a niche in the village community (Scott 1955: 75).

Studies of suburbs and new estates have observed that newcomers, unguided by valid norms, often engage in rapid and wide ranging explorations of neighbouring and community participation (Bracey 1964; Keller 1968; McGahan 1972). During the early development of Bournville, therefore, Elizabeth Cadbury assumed a self-appointed role as a social co-ordinator. Her visits represent a thinly disguised attempt to revive forms of pre-industrial deference among the residents of Bournville and conformity to Cadbury rules.



# BOURNVILLE VILLAGE

## SUGGESTED RULES OF HEALTH

If you will follow the rules below you will be healthier and therefore more cheerful. You will probably live ten years longer than those who ignore them.

Do not take more than three meals a day. Have regular times and keep to them; allowing at least five hours between.

Take no solid food of any kind between meals; this rule applies with double force to children.

Do not take flesh meat more than once a day. The German army before Metz suffered much from disease; they were compelled to have largely a meat diet; when besieging Paris the amount of meat consumed was comparatively small and there was a remarkable absence of disease. All vegetables are most wholesome and of better flavour when cooked as soon as taken out of the garden; bake and stew as far as possible, the most valuable salts and properties are lost in the water when boiled. Use oatmeal porridge for breakfast.

Avoid intoxicating liquors, tobacco, pork, aerated drinks, and all drugs as far as possible.

Never allow water to stand on tea more than three minutes, or tannic acid is developed which is injurious.

Be sure that bread and other food is well cooked. Bakers' bread is improved by a second cooking, say 10 minutes in a hot oven.

Apples are the most wholesome fruit: they should be used freely, both raw and cooked.

When you come in tired, rest a few minutes before taking a meal.

Eat slowly, and always get up from the meal with an appetite.

## SANITARY ARRANGEMENTS ETC

Furnish your sleeping apartments with single beds; double beds are now little used in civilised countries except in the United Kingdom. A mattress is much more healthy than a feather bed.

Take a cold bath, a sponge bath, or if you have neither, dip a towel in water and rub the body over with it, followed with a dry towel. Baths are provided in the back kitchens, so that it may be possible to have a warm bath at least once a week, without the expense of costly hot water apparatus and you have the advantage of drying by the fire.

Live in the open sunny air as much as possible.

Breathe through the nostrils with the mouth closed, especially at night.

Take walking or other exercise in the open air for at least half an hour daily.

Unless the weather is very damp and misty have your windows open at night and day. Every room is furnished with a Tobin ventilator, which should always be kept open, you thus have fresh air when fear of rain or snow would prevent opening the window.

Sleep is much more refreshing when the room is dark, so keep no artificial lights burning in it. Gas should never burn in a room without a door or window open as the fumes are very poisonous. One ordinary gas jet is calculated to consume as much oxygen as 12 to 14 persons besides giving off carbonic acid and other poisons.

If possible cultivate your garden with the help of your own family. Man's natural place is on the land. Work in a garden enlarges the minds and strengthens the bodies of your children.

Rest a least 8 hours of the 24, and if you cannot sleep all the time do not worry about it. If you lie flat upon your back the heart and all the organs of the body rest.

Rise early, and if possible get into the fresh morning air.

## CLOTHING

Do not sleep in any clothing worn during the day. Do not wear tight waistbands, corsets, or anything that will interfere with the circulation.

The best clothing gives the largest amount of heat with the least possible weight.

Have boots made to fit the feet with wide soles and with low heels. Boots last much longer if the same pair is not worn two days in succession. In wet weather put them to dry gradually overnight at least 3 feet from the fire with soles towards it. Wear strong boots and keep your feet dry. Many a cold will be avoided by looking well to your boots and seeing that they are water tight. Always change them at once when coming into the house. Blacking destroys the leather; it is much more sensible to use dubbing all through the winter months.

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Anger and worry will wear you out much more rapidly than hard work. Cultivate a cheerful and thankful spirit.

In a truly happy home Father and Mother will conduct family worship at least once a day when the Bible should be read and a hymn sung.

Figure 1. *Bournville Village: Suggested Rules of Health* (Source: Hillman 1994)

## THE RISE AND ROLE OF THE BOURNVILLE MEETING

George and Elizabeth Cadbury's evangelical Quakerism was evident in their advice and supervision of residents. The values of evangelical Christianity, however, were specifically propagated through innovative forms of Quaker worship in Bournville. These innovations began with the religious community that developed among the factory workforce prior to the construction of the village (c. 1861–1893).

Many Cadbury employees were members of the Religious Society of Friends, but the entire workforce, including non-Quakers, participated in acts of devotional worship. During the early 1860s, George and Richard Cadbury initiated a routine of reading aloud from religious texts at breakfast with their workforce (Williams 1931). By 1866, the daily 'worship' became known as the 'Morning Readings'. In 1870, the brothers wished to discontinue the readings, but a petition from the workforce encouraged them to reintroduce the practice (Gardiner 1923: 30). The original format of these meetings involved a short Bible reading and a few minutes of silent prayer, but later involved communal singing. The 'Morning Readings' were an attempt to instil within the workforce a sense of unity, vocation, duty and diligence, alongside the more obvious opportunity of experiencing the presence of God. The Roman Catholic Church thought otherwise and was concerned that Cadbury was actively proselytising workers. Gardiner (1923: 168) informs us of a visit to the factory by Cardinal Newman, who departed with a qualified acceptance of George Cadbury's intentions.[11] In 1912, the logistics of organising the Morning Readings for an expanding workforce meant that they were discontinued.

Reminiscing about the move to Bournville in 1879, Cadbury employee William Cooper described the firm as a religious endeavour, and that 'Bournville... joined with the Cadbury name was destined to make of the world a Cadbury Parish' (CFA 000/003270). To this end a number of Cadbury employees formed themselves into a committee with the express purpose of 'taking up social and religious work within the district surrounding the new factory' (Table 1) (CFA 000/003270). These employees were prominent members of the factory workforce, consisting of senior managers and foremen, but little is known about their religious activities or denominational affiliation, although presumably the majority were Quakers. In 1879, one member of this group, William Tallis, the Works Foreman, moved into one of sixteen semi-detached houses built by the firm to house key workers alongside the factory. By 1881, Tallis was teaching an Adult School Class in his living room (Wadsworth 1956).

Table 1. *Membership of the Religious Committee 1879*

| *Name of Employee* | *Position* |
|---|---|
| William Tallis | Works Foreman |
| Thomas E. Edwards | Australian Representative (1881–1903) |
| Thomas Hemming | Foreman Cocoa Essence Sieving |
| Joseph J. Figures | Department |
| Mark Skidmore | Foreman Chocolate Grinding Department |
| David Skidmore | Not Known |
| John Fisher | Not Known |
| William Cooper (Secretary) | Not Known |
| | Australian Representative (1882–unknown) |

Source: W. Cooper 1929[12]

In 1882, it was George and Richard Cadbury who invited members of their family and the firm to meet on Sunday at the factory. This was an informal meeting of members of the Religious Society of Friends and should be distin-

guished from the regular 'Morning Reading' held everyday as part of the working life of the factory. It was not until 1891,[13] when there were 91 members and attendees, that the Warwickshire Monthly Meeting accepted the Bournville Meeting as a Particular Meeting.[14]

In 1892, the Bournville Meeting met in an Institute provided by George Cadbury in the populous neighbourhood of Stirchley, the nearest settlement to the factory prior to the construction of Bournville.[15] In housing the Bournville and Stirchley Meeting, George Cadbury was following the example of Frederic Impey, the manager of the White and Pike tin box factory in Longbridge (two miles south of Bournville), who provided land on which to house the Longbridge Meeting (Wadsworth 1956: 5). The building of the Institute was also influenced by Cadbury's desire to reform the moral character of the working-class population of Stirchley:

> Stirchley...contained a large proportion of slum dwellers. There was no place of recreation or refreshment for these people, save the public-house... They therefore decided to build a roomy institute on the main street as a social and educational centre... The building quickly became the headquarters of a number of activities, including a flourishing Adult School, a children's Sunday School, temperance and saving societies, and allied causes. A coffee-room, classrooms, and a meeting house to accommodate 500 people were included in the Institute (Scott 1955: 69-70).

The impact of the Institute is difficult to assess, because the building accommodated the existing needs of the 'Christian Society', which since 1879 had held its meetings in the Stirchley Board School. The Christian Society was the offspring of the Severn Street Adult School, which had generated a demand for a Sunday evening meeting. The close links between the Adult School and the Cadbury family meant that the Christian Society had no objection to a merger with the evening Bournville Meeting that met at the Institute.

The Bournville and Stirchley Meeting was the parent of the neighbouring Selly Oak (1894), Cotteridge (1902), Bournville (1905) and Stirchley (1913) Meetings. The Bournville Meeting was formed when twenty-four members of the Bournville and Stirchley Meeting met in a new meeting house financed by George Cadbury and designed by W.A. Harvey (1903-1905). Set against the Quaker tradition, the Gothic meeting house is uncharacteristically ornate, with a Y-shaped plan, mullioned windows, octagonal stair turret, Norman entrance and cruck framed hall (Plates 5 and 6). On completion the Bournville meeting house was the only BVT building to have an electricity supply, which was provided by the factory at the expense of Cadbury Brothers Ltd. The primary connection with the firm, however, was the dominating presence of George Cadbury (Wadsworth 1956). The paternal influence of the Cadbury Directors at the Bournville Meeting was strengthened by the presence of many employees and residents who were accountable to George Cadbury in his role as employer and chairman of BVT. Bournville Quakers that wished to escape Cadbury control, or perhaps the evangelical sermonising, had to walk to neighbouring districts. Harold Watts, a Quaker trustee and personnel manager at Cadbury, claimed that the Cotteridge Meeting was the only democratic Meeting for Cadbury employees in the locality, because

it lacked the presence of a Cadbury Director (Hooper 1996: 2). From a theological perspective, John Milligan found the move to Cotteridge (c. 1908) was 'an escape from the evangelicalism of Bournville and Selly Oak Meetings', and reflected the mood of the National Quaker Home Mission Committee of 1895, which appealed to a more liberal formulation of Quakerism (Hooper 1996: 1).

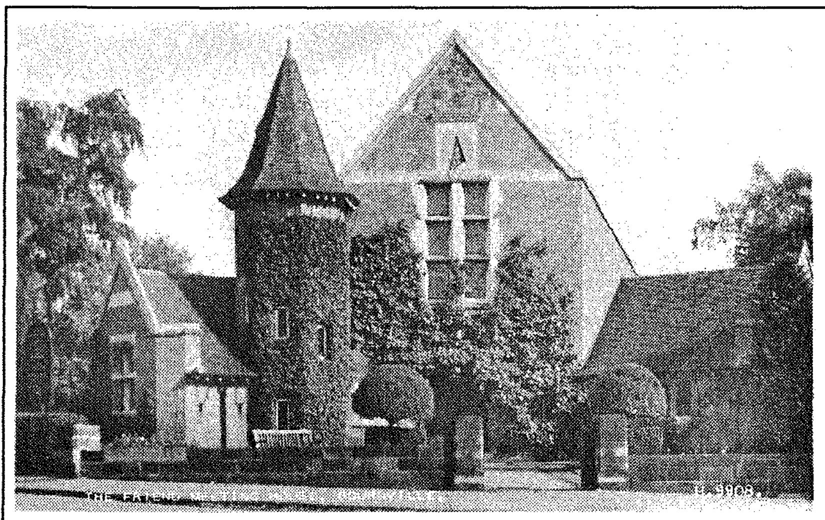

Plate 5. *The Exterior of the Bournville Meeting House* (postcard)

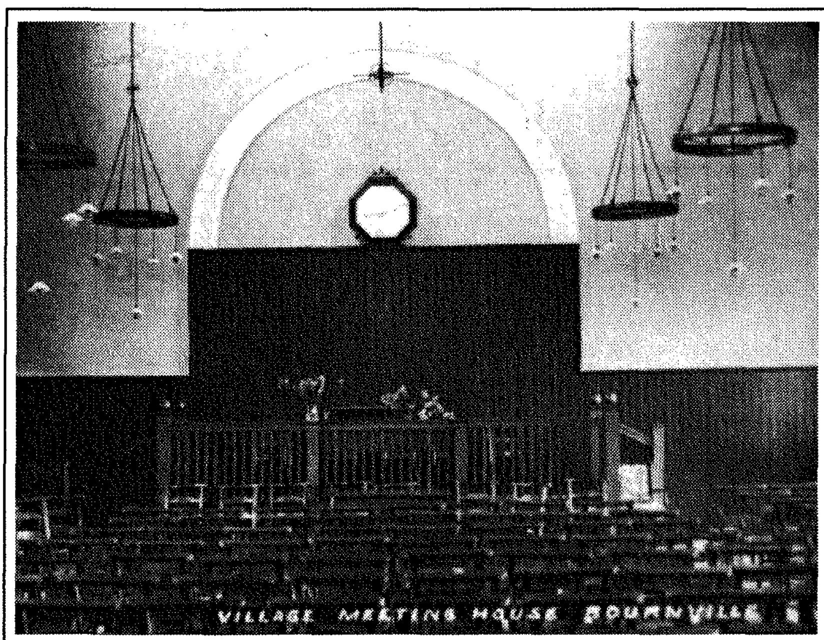


Plate 6. *The Interior of the Bournville Meeting House* (postcard)

The format of the evening Bournville Meeting was an unusual departure from traditional Quaker practice, mimicking the functions of a parish church in the absence of any Anglican presence in Bournville:

> For this purpose certain modifications of Friends' customary usage were introduced; there were always at least two hymns, towards the beginning and end of the Meeting, and a Bible reading early in the Meeting before it finally settled into silent waiting before God (Scott 1955: 102-103).

This Congregational Evening Meeting and the more traditional Quaker Morning Meeting were associated with a range of committees, including foreign missions, sick visiting, seating and welcoming, finance and building. The Meeting also ran a Sunday School, Children's Classes, Adult Classes, Adult School Classes, a Brotherhood Guild, choir and library.[16] That George Cadbury insisted on holding the last few minutes of a Meeting in silence further demonstrates how Quaker principles of spiritual equality were replaced with a form of paternal control that was more representative of other, clerical ecclesiastical traditions (Wadsworth 1956).

As the only place of religious worship within Bournville until the Anglican Hall was built in 1913, the Bournville Meeting acted as a social hub and was an important site for worship, recreation and the formation of social networks (Bailey 2002). In 1918, 193 BVT households possessed at least one regular attendee at the Bournville Meeting, which constituted 26 per cent of BVT households (BMA 1918). The number of BVT households attending Quaker Meetings was probably much higher, because there were opportunities to practice at the Stirchley, Cotteridge, Selly Oak, Northfield, Moseley and Longbridge Meetings, all within a few miles of Bournville.[17] By 1939, BVT contained 2197 households, and the opportunities for religious worship had been broadened by the foundation of the Weoley Hill Presbyterian Church (1921) and St Francis of Assisi Parish Church (1925). Assuming that attendance at the Bournville Meeting remained constant between 1932 and 1939, only 10 per cent of BVT households were attending at this later date (BMA 1932).[18] The Bournville Meeting, therefore, had a great but diminishing impact on the Quaker constitution of the village during the early twentieth century. This impact lessened following George Cadbury's death in 1922 and the provision of alternative places of worship in the village.

## CONCLUSION

Existing accounts of Bournville highlight the formative role played by George Cadbury's planning experiment in the development of town planning and the Garden City Movement (Bryson and Lowe 1996; Burnett 1986; Cherry 1988). Another literature explores the management of the factory and the application of scientific management in a British industrial setting (Rowlinson 1988). In this paper we have tried to understand the relationship between the Bournville experiment and George Cadbury's Quakerism. This is a difficult task as Cadbury's Quakerism meant that he was a modest individual who, in many instances, was reluctant or even unable to reflect on the relationship between his deeply held Quaker beliefs and his industrial patronage.

Bournville model village was founded on the back of Cadbury's religious commitments but these were mediated and shaped by the exigencies of economies encountered in the formation of his business empire and the market for housing. The size and even the style of housing altered over time to meet the demands of tenants, as the working class were unable to afford the level of rents that could support the capital invested in a detached or even semi-detached house.

The success of a model village should not be established by assessing the quality of its buildings and landscape; the only true measure of the success or failure of a model housing scheme must come from the people who either bought or rented houses and from an appreciation of the social development of the community (Bryson and Lowe 2002: 38). The Quaker community that developed in, as well as around, the chocolate factory provided a mechanism that united a significant proportion of Bournville residents together. The meeting house provided an opportunity for social networks founded upon religious beliefs to develop in Bournville. Nevertheless, over time, the influence of the Meeting diminished as Bournville expanded and other denominations established places of worship.

Port Sunlight has always been considered to be one of the most architecturally important model villages in the United Kingdom. In contrast, Bournville has been considered aesthetically less interesting, but in social terms it has been and remains much more successful. The development of the Bournville architectural style can only be understood as the outcome of the interplay between Cadbury's Quaker aesthetics and his decisions that led to the development of his planning experiment. His choice of a young inexperienced local architect ensured that he was able to maintain a strong level of control over both the macro and micro features of his housing experiment. This paper reveals that what occurred at Bournville was a result of a complex interplay between George Cadbury and W.A. Harvey. It would appear that Cadbury controlled the vision while Harvey attended to the details. Harvey was closely attuned to Cadbury's aesthetics. One indication is Voysey's influence on the work Harvey undertook at Bournville. Voysey's architecture was an attempt to develop an architecture for the soul based upon attention to detail and a reaction against useless ornamentation.

It is impossible to overstate the local and international significance of Cadbury's model village at Bournville. The timing of the development and its innovative character meant that it influenced the design and development of the Garden City Movement; it is still considered to be one of the most innovative housing developments. It is worth noting that Cadbury's decision to transfer ownership and control of Bournville to an independent charity has allowed the housing experiment to continue and ensured the survival and success of his vision (Bryson and Lowe 1996). Hampstead Garden Suburb and Port Sunlight have been privatized with the result being that they maintain their model environments but are no longer socially inclusive communities. The Bournville Village Trust still exists and, in Bournville, owns and manages 2317 secure and assured tenancies, 1476 leaseholders and 2382 freeholders, alongside a smaller number of Housing Association tenancies, care and residential homes, community buildings, shops and Almshouse Trust tenancies (BVT 2003).[19] Bournville was and remains, therefore,

an important provider of social housing. George Cadbury's practical solution to the housing problem continues to improve the lives of Birmingham's inhabitants and BVT plays an important role in providing innovative solutions to current housing issues.

## NOTES

1. George Cadbury designed and funded the model village at Bournville as an applied lesson in housing reform. Richard, his older brother, considered that 'his first responsibility was towards those who worked for him' (Windsor 1980: 83). At Bournville, he erected 33 almshouses that were endowed with the rents from 38 adjoining semi-detached houses. Bournville's story, however, is that of George rather than Richard. Richard died during the early years of the Bournville experiment while much of his public service was in the field of adult education (Alexander 1906).

2. To foster a deeper theological understanding of Quaker faith and practice, George Cadbury funded Woodbrooke College (Birmingham) as a 'Settlement for Social and Religious Study' (1903) and West Hill (Birmingham) as a Sunday School teacher training college (1907).

3. The successful relocation of Cadbury Brothers to Bournville served as a model for other industrialists in the late nineteenth century, most notably, Lever's move to Port Sunlight in 1888 (Jeremy 1990).

4. Cadbury Brothers chief competitor in the confectionary market, Joseph Rowntree, eschewed advertising until 1892 (Wagner 1987).

5. Between 1903 and 1924, Arthur Gaston was Head Master of the Central School of Art, Margaret Street.

6. George Cadbury's first marriage (1872–87) ended with the death of Mary Cadbury (née Tylor). The marriage produced five children, Edward, George, Henry, Isabel and Eleanor.

7. Obituary of William Alexander Harvey, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 58/6 (1951), pp. 247-48.

8. Obituary of W.A. Harvey, *Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute* (February 1951).

9. BVT Archives, Birmingham Central Reference Library, MS 1536 contains a representative collection of newspaper cuttings covering the period 1902–1903. Most contain an account of an interview with George Cadbury.

10. In 1849, George Cadbury was ten years old. At the time, the firm was run by his father, John Cadbury.

11. John Henry Newman was made Cardinal by Leo XIII in 1879 and died in 1890, thus dating his visit to Cadbury Brothers between these years.

12. Cadbury Archive, Bournville, Personal Reminiscence of Bridge Street and Bournville 1870–99 by 63 Men and Women living at the time of the Bournville Jubilee, 000/003270, p. 33, W. Cooper

13. Elizabeth Cadbury may have inspired the conversion of the informal Meeting into a Particular Meeting after her marriage to George in 1888. Elizabeth was comfortable in leading committees and became the first clerk of the Bournville Meeting in 1891, which was a post she held until 1898.

14. A Preparative, or, Particular Meeting is often, but not necessarily, the most frequently held meeting of the Society of Friends. The Monthly Meeting is the primary meeting of the Society of Friends, which involves the gathering together of several Preparative Meetings. Monthly Meetings decide upon membership and are responsible for monitoring the correct and regular holding of worship. General Meetings, or Quarterly Meetings, consist of several Monthly Meetings in which members discuss a range of issues. A 'Friend' may bring a concern before the Monthly Meeting and if felt appropriate this may be brought before the national Yearly Meeting in which the aim is to examine Quaker practice and apply Quaker values to issues of national and international interest (Weening 1997).

15. To avoid confusion with the later development of the Bournville Meeting (1905), the initial Bournville Meeting (1891) originating in the factory will be referred to as the Bournville and Stirchley Meeting. The Bournville and Stirchley Meeting moved into a purpose-built meeting house in 1913, whereupon it was known as the Stirchley Meeting.

16. Bournville Meeting Archive, *List of Attenders*, Bournville, 1918.

17. Edward and Dorothy Cadbury constructed the Selly Oak Meeting House in 1926. Previously the Meeting had taken place in the Selly Oak Institute.

18. Bournville Meeting Archive, *List of Attenders*, Bournville, 1932.

19. For more information consult the annual report of the Bournville Village Trust published online at http://www.bvt.org.uk/.

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