

**ELIZABETH TAYLOR CADBURY (1858-1951):  
RELIGION, MATERNALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM  
IN BIRMINGHAM, 1888-1914**

**By**

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Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951):  
Religion, Maternalism and Social Reform  
in Birmingham, 1888-1914

By

Helen Victoria Smith

Volume 1

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the work undertaken by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951) to support social reform in Bournville and Birmingham during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It concentrates on her involvement in the development and promotion of Bournville village, the establishment and management of elementary and infant schools in Bournville and her local government work implementing school medical treatment provision in Birmingham. The thesis argues that Taylor Cadbury's approach to social reform was shaped by her sense of religious faithfulness expressed through social service and by perceptions of women's maternal expertise, demonstrating that she engaged with maternal work supporting social welfare as a form of religious service. Interpretation of Taylor Cadbury has been informed by the production of a revised catalogue of her largely unexplored personal archive within the Cadbury Family Papers. This catalogue enhances access to papers created and preserved by Taylor Cadbury and provides insight into the religious and social discourses within which she defined her identity and social work. By combining archival cataloguing with analysis of Taylor Cadbury's philanthropic and municipal activities, this thesis offers a distinctive contribution to scholarship exploring how women identified with religion and maternalism in their social reform work during this period.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAHS	Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service
BBNUWW	Records of the Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Women Workers/National Council of Women
BBPNEU	Records of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents' National Education Union
BCC	Records of Birmingham City Council
BDH	Records of Birmingham Dental Hospital
BGAC	Bournville Girls' Athletic Club
BIS	Bournville Infant School
BUGC	Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs
BVT	Archive of the Bournville Village Trust
CFP	Cadbury Family Papers
HAS	Herefordshire Archives Service
KFU/CA	Kraft Foods UK/Cadbury Archives
KNNUDC	Records of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council
LAC	Letters Additional Collection (University of Birmingham, Special Collections Department)
LSC	Local Studies Collection (Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service)
NFLP	Newman Family of Leominster Papers
NUWW	National Union of Women Workers
PNEU	Parents' National Education Union
SEDSMC	South-East District School Managers Committee
UoB	University of Birmingham (Special Collections Department)
UoBA	University of Birmingham Archives
WROCHB	Worcestershire Records Office, County Hall Branch



**Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951)**

Portrait photograph of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, c. 1920s, by Vandyk.  
MS 466/3/1/10, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.

## **ELIZABETH TAYLOR CADBURY (1858-1951): A TIMELINE**

**1858** Elizabeth Mary Taylor (Elsie) is born on 24<sup>th</sup> June at Elm Place, Peckham Rye, South London. She is the second of ten children born to stockbroker John Taylor (d. 1894) and philanthropist Mary Jane Taylor (née Cash, 1833-1887). These children were Margaret (1856-1943), Janet (1859-1908), John Howard (1861-1925), Wilfrid (1863-1913), Rosamund Isabel (1866-1874), Annie Frances (1868-1914), Josephine (1869-1955), Edwin Claude (born 1871) and John Augustine (born 1873). The family moved to Sunbury in Peckham Rye in 1863.

**1872-1874** Elizabeth Taylor is educated at a private girls' school in Saxe-Meiningen, Germany.

**1874-1876** Elizabeth Taylor attends the North London Collegiate School for Girls. She passes the Senior Cambridge Examination for Girls in ten subjects.

**1876-1888** Elizabeth Taylor undertakes philanthropic work in London including teaching at the Peckham Friends' First-Day School. She also leads an adult class for working women in Bunhill Fields and instigates a Boys' Club at Ratcliffe Highway. During the early 1880s she supports the work of a Scandinavian Sailors' Temperance Home established in London's docklands. In 1885 she volunteers at a medical mission in Belleville, Paris, supporting victims of the Franco-Prussian War. On her return to England, she engages in work exploring London's slum districts. Elizabeth Taylor travelled widely during this period, touring Switzerland with her aunt and uncle Barrow in 1883. She also became a prominent member of Quaker reading circles and debating groups including the Portfolio Society.

**1888** Elizabeth Taylor marries George Cadbury (1839-1922) on 19<sup>th</sup> June. She moves to the Cadbury family home, Woodbrooke, in Selly Oak to live with Cadbury and his five children from his first marriage to Mary Tylor (d. 1887). These children were Edward (1873-1948), George Junior (1878-1954), Henry (1882-1952), Isabel (1884-1975) and Eleanor (1885-1959). She begins teaching a class for the wives of her husband's students at the Severn Street Adult School in Birmingham.

**1889-1894** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury becomes the mother of a further five children, Laurence John (1889-1982), George Norman (1890-1980), Elsie Dorothea (1892-1971), Egbert (1893-1967) and Marion Janet (1894-1979). She begins her lifelong involvement with the development of Bournville village. Taylor Cadbury supports the work of the 'Institutes' established by George Cadbury in Stirchley, Northfield and Selly Oak between 1892 and 1893 by participating in Quaker Meeting for Worship, Adult School and Sunday School classes. The family move to the Manor House in Northfield in 1894. During these years Taylor Cadbury begins her work with the Young Women's Christian Society (YWCA).

**1896** Taylor Cadbury becomes a member of the National Union of Women Workers, serving as Honorary Treasurer from 1898 and then as President of the National Union between 1906 and 1907. Taylor Cadbury is also closely involved with the work of the Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Women Workers.

**1898** Taylor Cadbury forms the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs. During the late 1890s she becomes involved in Mothers in Council and presides over the group during its merger with the Parents' National Education Union between 1901 and 1902.

**1899** Taylor Cadbury founds the Bournville Girls' Athletic Club.

**1900** Taylor Cadbury becomes a Trustee of the Bournville Village Trust and a foundation member of the University of Birmingham's Board of Governors.

**1902-1903** Taylor Cadbury is involved in discussions concerning the foundation of Woodbrooke Quaker Settlement in the Cadburys' former Selly Oak home. She is closely involved in the summer school held to inaugurate its opening in 1903 and maintains a lifelong interest in work at the Settlement. She is also co-opted to Worcestershire County Council Education Committee during 1903.

**1904** Taylor Cadbury plays a leading role in negotiations to develop school provision in Bournville. She is elected Chairman of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee in September of this year.

**1905** Bournville Friends' Meeting House is completed. Taylor Cadbury begins her lifelong association with this Meeting. She co-ordinates a visit to Bournville for members of the National Union of Women Workers during their 1905 Annual Conference which was held in Birmingham.

**1906** Taylor Cadbury's sixth child, Elizabeth Ursula, is born.

**1907-1908** Taylor Cadbury oversees the re-development of The Beeches, a children's country holiday home established in Bournville.

**1909** Taylor Cadbury presides over the 1909 Annual Conference of the Parents' National Education Union held in Birmingham. She is also involved with the development of the Woodlands Hospital during this period, chairing the House Committee and later the Education Committee at the hospital.

**1911** Taylor Cadbury is co-opted to Birmingham City Council Education Committee. She serves as a District School Manager for the South-East District of the city and as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee.

**1913** Taylor Cadbury supports the development of the Day Continuation School established in Bournville which was initiated by her stepson George Cadbury Junior (1878-1954).

**1914** Taylor Cadbury is elected Convenor of the International Council of Women's Peace and Arbitration Sub-Committee and Convenor of the National Council of Women's Peace and International Relations Committee. She joins the Executive Committee responsible for overseeing the welfare of Belgian refugees who arrived in Birmingham following the outbreak of the First World War, serving as Chairman of the Allocation Committee. Taylor Cadbury also chairs the Committee responsible for co-ordinating the accommodation and education of young Serbian refugees in the city during the conflict.

**1916** Taylor Cadbury serves as President of the Birmingham Branch of the Child Study Association and becomes President of the Birmingham and Midland Home and School Council. She is also elected to the National Peace Council during this year.

**1918** Taylor Cadbury is awarded the Belgian Croix de Guerre and the Serbian Red Cross for her work supporting the welfare of Belgian and Serbian refugees in Birmingham. She is also made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE).

**1919** Taylor Cadbury is awarded a Master of Arts degree from the University of Birmingham in recognition of her educational work in the city. She is elected Birmingham City Councillor for King's Norton.

**1921-1922** Taylor Cadbury supports the welfare of Austrian children who were invited to stay in Bournville to escape post-war hardship in their home country.

**1922** George Cadbury dies on 24<sup>th</sup> October. Taylor Cadbury assumes Chairmanship of the Bournville Village Trust.

**1923** Taylor Cadbury stands unsuccessfully as the Liberal Party MP for King's Norton. She is closely involved in the development of St. George's Court, a housing complex for women built in Bournville by Residential Flats Limited.

**1924** Taylor Cadbury retires from Birmingham City Council. She serves as Treasurer of the National Peace Council from this year until 1946.

**1925** Taylor Cadbury serves as President of the National Free Church Council (Federal Council of the Free Churches.)

**1926** Taylor Cadbury is made a Justice of the Peace (JP). She delivers the first edition of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Sunday Evening Service to be broadcast from the new BBC studios in Birmingham.

**1927** Taylor Cadbury leads the development of George Cadbury Hall, a memorial to her late husband. This was given to the Central Council of the Selly Oak Colleges to form a meeting place for students at the colleges.

**1929** Taylor Cadbury oversees extensions to the Woodlands Hospital which was renovated to house in-patients from the Royal Orthopaedic Hospital in Birmingham during this year.

**1934** Taylor Cadbury is created a Dame of the British Empire (DBE), becoming Dame Elizabeth Cadbury.

**1935** Taylor Cadbury serves as President of the Union of Educational Institutions.

**1936** Taylor Cadbury takes the place of Lady Aberdeen, President of the International Council of Women, to represent the Council's delegation from the United Kingdom at the World Congress of the International Council of Women in India. She also presides at the inaugural meeting of the World Congress of Faiths during this year.

**1938** Taylor Cadbury publicly advocates the Religious Society of Friends becoming a member of the World Council of Churches.

**1939-1940** Taylor Cadbury supports the development of the Manor Farm into a training camp for the Friends' Ambulance Unit at the outbreak of the Second World War. She leads the refurbishment of the Woodlands Hospital after it is bombed in November 1940.

**1941** Taylor Cadbury becomes President of the United Hospitals in Birmingham, an office which she held until 1948 when the National Health Service assumed direction of the hospitals.

**1946** Taylor Cadbury is elected Vice-President of the National Peace Council on her retirement from the Council. She visits Brussels to participate in work to re-form the International Council of Women following the end of the Second World War.

**1947** Taylor Cadbury attends the Silver Jubilee of the BBC.

**1948** Taylor Cadbury attends a reception given by Prime Minister Clement Attlee (1883-1967) in her capacity as President of the Bournville Branch of the United Nations Association.

**1950** Taylor Cadbury attends a reception held to commemorate the founding of the University of Birmingham in her capacity as one of the original members of the University's Board of Governors. She also attends celebrations commemorating the centenary of the North London Collegiate School for Girls. Taylor Cadbury opens the two-hundredth post-war house to be



built on the Bournville estate. She also oversees the Festival of Youth held in Bournville and the Joint Open Air Service of the Bournville Churches during this year.

**1951** Taylor Cadbury presides over the Bournville Golden Jubilee Celebrations. She dies at the age of ninety-three on 4<sup>th</sup> December of this year.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1: Introduction

This thesis examines the life and archive of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951) through analysis of her largely unexplored work supporting social reform in Bournville and Birmingham during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the production of a revised interpretative catalogue which uncovers her previously overlooked personal papers.<sup>1</sup> The thesis explores Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the development and promotion of Bournville village, the establishment and management of the Bournville Village Schools and her leading role overseeing school medical treatment services in Birmingham as Chairman of the City of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee. Evidence that Taylor Cadbury was involved with planning schemes associated with the Garden City Movement, administrative policy-making concerning educational provision and the formulation of welfare services is considered in relation to scholarship which examines the role played by women in these areas of social activism during this period. It is evident that Taylor Cadbury demonstrated women's capacity to make substantial achievements in public social welfare reform through her philanthropic and municipal endeavours. However, while Taylor Cadbury supported the expansion of social and political opportunities for women, the thesis argues that her approach to female involvement in social welfare work was not focussed on promoting social and political advancement and recognition for women. Rather, the thesis examines the positive relationship which Taylor Cadbury identified between female participation in maternal social reform and religious faithfulness, with reference to studies

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<sup>1</sup> The thesis refers to Taylor Cadbury's work in Bournville and Birmingham, but it is important to note that Bournville was incorporated into the City of Greater Birmingham following The Greater Birmingham Act in 1911. See Michael Harrison, *Bournville: Model Village to Garden Suburb* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1999), 27.

assessing women's engagement with a sense of religious duty for maternal public service. It illustrates the importance of Taylor Cadbury's personal papers for exploring both the extent of her public endeavours and the religious and social discourses which she identified shaped her involvement in such work by featuring an extract from the revised catalogue of her personal archive.<sup>2</sup> This catalogue, which has been produced through collaborative work with Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, builds substantially on the existing inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers by incorporating detailed description of papers created and collected by Taylor Cadbury throughout her life.<sup>3</sup>

Chapter One begins by defining the focus of the thesis and clarifying the scholarly significance of research examining Taylor Cadbury's social service supporting reform in housing, education and health provision. It also illustrates the academic value of the revised interpretative catalogue of her personal archive. The chapter then proceeds with a biography of Taylor Cadbury which provides an insight into her life and work. This biography explores how Taylor Cadbury engaged with a sense of religious faithfulness in her social reform activities and highlights the issues which inform analysis of her public philanthropic and municipal endeavours in Birmingham. The literature review incorporated into this chapter considers Taylor Cadbury's absence from studies of female social action and examines how scholarship has defined women's appeal to religious imperatives and notions of female

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<sup>2</sup> For this revised catalogue, see Papers relating to Dame Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951), MS 466/1/1, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service (Cadbury Family Papers cited hereafter as CFP. Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service cited hereafter as BAHS.)

<sup>3</sup> In addition to papers which Taylor Cadbury produced and preserved, the catalogue incorporates correspondence, obituaries and tributes which were compiled and collected by her family and personal secretaries and deposited among her personal papers following her death in December 1951. A small number of letters revealing her family's endeavours to continue her practice of circulating family news were also added to her archive during the early 1950s. See Papers relating to the illness and death of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 1951-1952, MS 466/1/1/18, CFP, BAHS and Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's family journal letters, MS 466/1/1/15/3, CFP, BAHS.

maternal expertise in their social welfare work. The chapter interrogates the primary sources which form the basis of analysis exploring Taylor Cadbury's public work in Bournville and Birmingham and debates their strengths and limitations for assessing the scope and nature of her social action. The methodological approaches employed to evaluate this material are outlined in this chapter which also explains the process involved in constructing a new catalogue of Taylor Cadbury's personal papers. The chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis which clarifies the structural division of its contents.

## 1.2: The Focus and Academic Significance of the Thesis

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury is variously identified as Elsie Taylor, Elsie M. Cadbury, Elizabeth Mary Cadbury, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Mrs. George Cadbury and Dame Elizabeth Cadbury in documents contained within her personal archive. Reflecting the usage of both maiden and married names among the Taylor and Cadbury Quaker kinship network, she has been identified consistently throughout this thesis as Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, abbreviated as Taylor Cadbury.<sup>4</sup> Her identification as Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury rather than Dame Elizabeth Cadbury reflects the focus of the thesis on the period of her life prior to her being created a Dame of the British Empire in 1934.<sup>5</sup> By choosing to concentrate on Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, this thesis responds to the observations of women's historians concerning the extent to which women's social position is frequently derived from their identity as 'the daughter, wife or mother of some famous man', leaving the women themselves with little or

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<sup>4</sup> The use of Taylor Cadbury also serves to distinguish Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal papers and life history from other women sharing the name 'Elizabeth Cadbury' whose archives form part of the Cadbury Family Papers. These include Elizabeth Cadbury of Philadelphia, Elizabeth Adlington Cadbury and Elizabeth Head Cadbury. See Catalogue of the Cadbury Family Papers, MS 466, BAHS to learn more about these women and their personal papers.

<sup>5</sup> Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), 186.

no 'public credit'.<sup>6</sup> These remarks have particular significance with reference to Taylor Cadbury who is typically recognised as the wife of the Quaker cocoa magnate and housing reformer George Cadbury, described by the *News Review* in 1948 as 'the Queen-Mother of British Chocolate'.<sup>7</sup> Beyond her popular identification with British confectionery, Taylor Cadbury deserves recognition for her lifelong public service supporting education, health and child welfare. Taylor Cadbury's personal archive encompasses a vast body of correspondence, diaries, privately published memoirs and public addresses which demonstrate her active involvement in public work promoting social welfare reform. Paula Bartley, Linda Pittaway and Kevin Dowd have cited material from Taylor Cadbury's personal papers, yet her archive has not previously been catalogued in detail above a paper inventory of the various folders contained within the Cadbury Family Papers.<sup>8</sup> This thesis engages with scholarship which has highlighted the importance of women's archives in work to rectify the preservation of 'a historical record skewed by the absence of particular groups' through the production of a descriptive catalogue of Taylor Cadbury's personal papers.<sup>9</sup> Building on Ruth Watts'

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<sup>6</sup> Rt. Hon. Shirley Williams, 'Women Ninety Years On: A Quiet Revolution', *Women's History Review* 17, no.5 (2008): 808. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair refer to women's lack of 'public credit' in, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 158.

<sup>7</sup> For studies which have portrayed Taylor Cadbury in this way, see Gillian Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), 56; David Burns Windsor, *The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business* (London: Frederick Muller, 1980), 11. Quotation taken from *News Review*, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1948, File of newscuttings relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's ninetieth birthday, June 1948- July1948, MS 466/1/1/6/3/7/27, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>8</sup> Paula Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration: Women and the Civic Gospel in Birmingham 1870-1914', *Midland History* XXV (2000): 143-58; Linda Pittaway, 'The Cadbury Women 1885-1925: Educational Change in a Changing Society' (BA diss., University of Wolverhampton, 1999); Kevin William Dowd, 'The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family: A Study in Manipulative Capitalism' (PhD diss., University of Wales, Swansea: 2001). See the Appendix in Volume Two of this thesis for a copy of the existing paper inventory of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal papers.

<sup>9</sup> Karen M. Mason and Tanya Zanish-Belcher, 'Raising the Archival Consciousness: How Women's Archives Challenge Traditional Approaches to Collecting and Use, or, What's in a Name?', *Library Trends* 56, no. 2 (2007): 354. See also Fiona Terry-Chandler, 'An Introduction to Birmingham Women's History', in *Birmingham: Bibliography of a City*, ed. Carl Chinn (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2003), 126-45.

endeavours to render Birmingham women involved in education and public health work ‘visible in their own right’, the thesis examines Taylor Cadbury’s identity and activism by integrating analysis of her social action with cataloguing work to recover her extensive personal archive.<sup>10</sup>

This thesis focuses on Taylor Cadbury’s philanthropic and municipal endeavours in Bournville and Birmingham during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although it is important to acknowledge from the outset that her work, authority and influence extended far beyond Birmingham and continued well past the early 1900s. Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers reveal that she was actively involved in diverse philanthropic schemes throughout the later years of her life, including visiting India to promote improved international relations in 1936 when she was approaching eighty years of age.<sup>11</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s archive offers ample scope to produce a thesis examining her practical support for charitable initiatives in India which would respond to Siân Roberts’ remarks regarding ‘the paucity of literature’ on the international humanitarian work of Quaker women during this period.<sup>12</sup> The decision to concentrate on Taylor Cadbury’s social action in Birmingham was motivated by similar observations concerning an unforeseen deficit in scholarship exploring her public welfare work in the city where she spent over sixty of her ninety three years. Following her death in

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<sup>10</sup> Ruth Watts, ‘Gendering the Story: Change in the History of Education’, *History of Education* 34, no. 3 (2005): 228. See particularly Ruth Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham 1902-1944’, in *History, Politics & Policy-Making in Education: A Festschrift Presented to Richard Aldrich*, ed. David Crook and Gary McCulloch (London: Bedford Way Papers, 2007), 70-88; Ruth Watts, *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 176-92.

<sup>11</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s visit to India for the World Congress of the International Council of Women and her public work supporting international relations, 1935-1947, MS 466/1/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid; Siân Lliwen Roberts, ‘Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief: Episodes in the Life of Francesca Wilson, Humanitarian Educator Activist’ (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2010), 16.

December 1951, tributes remarked on Taylor Cadbury's significant contribution towards the development of Birmingham, defining her as one of the city's most 'grand and outstanding' women.<sup>13</sup> However, Taylor Cadbury has been marginalised in subsequent histories of Birmingham, despite devoting the majority of her life to philanthropic and municipal commitments in the city which Bartley suggests formed 'almost the equivalent of a full time job'.<sup>14</sup> Bartley and Watts have identified Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the middle-class Nonconformist 'religious and political elite', who played a crucial role in the social reform of Birmingham through their philanthropic and local government work which engaged with the religious and social imperatives of the civic gospel.<sup>15</sup> This thesis seeks to broaden understanding of her unexplored personal contribution to social welfare reform by concentrating on her work to improve urban living conditions, school provision and child health services following her move to Selly Oak in 1888 and particularly during the early 1900s. Public addresses written and preserved by Taylor Cadbury illustrate that she held a particular interest in these areas of social work from the late nineteenth century onwards.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Quotation taken from Mrs. Norman Griffiths, President of the Birmingham Branch of the National Council of Women, *News Chronicle*, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1951, Album of newscuttings relating to the illness and death of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, December 1951, MS 466/1/1/18/2/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>14</sup> Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration': 155. For evidence of the scope of Taylor Cadbury's philanthropic work see also Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*; Sara Delamont, 'Cadbury, Dame Elizabeth Mary (1858-1951)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45784> (accessed 27th October 2008). Ruth Watts has also commented in detail on Taylor Cadbury's philanthropic and municipal work in Birmingham, particularly her role as Chairman of the City of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee. See Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham' and Watts, *Women in Science*, 181. Recent histories of Birmingham have focussed on male social reformers and politicians. See Roger Ward, *City-State and Nation: Birmingham's Political History c. 1830-1940* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration': 144. See also Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 75, 78 and 86. For references to the civic gospel in Birmingham, see particularly Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration': 143 and Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 73.

<sup>16</sup> Public Addresses, 1890-1949, MS 466/1/1/10/1, CFP, BAHS. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Whereunto?', October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Education', November 1909, MS 466/1/1/10/1/8, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Health of the Nation', 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham', *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 169-74, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS.

Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's public addresses also reveals that she approached participation in housing, education and health work from a maternal perspective focussed on promoting child welfare. Speaking in the late nineteenth century, Taylor Cadbury suggested that work supporting the development of children was 'essentially woman's work, and woman's right'.<sup>17</sup> Her comments reflect Watts' observations that women involved with educational work in Birmingham sought to ensure that women exerted an influence in areas of social reform concerning maternal and child welfare.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, the thesis assesses Taylor Cadbury's social action by examining her work to publicise the benefits of Bournville's improved environmental conditions for child health, the development of infant and elementary schooling in Bournville and the implementation of medical treatment schemes for Birmingham schoolchildren. Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's work in these areas, particularly during the early twentieth century, has significance for histories evaluating female engagement with social reform. These years witnessed the emergence of planning initiatives responding to fears over urban industrialisation which contributed towards the Garden City Movement, as well as reforms in educational administration following the 1902 Education Act and the introduction of Liberal Government welfare legislation between 1906 and 1914.

Research into Taylor Cadbury's involvement with Bournville in this thesis concentrates on her participation in the development and promotion of the residential village created from the middle of the 1890s onwards on land surrounding the Cadbury chocolate factory.<sup>19</sup> By

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<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'A Few Thoughts on Band of Hope Work', [n.d.] c. early 1890s, MS 466/1/1/10/1/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>18</sup> Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 77.

<sup>19</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 23-24.



focussing on Taylor Cadbury's work in Bournville, the thesis contributes to redress imbalances identified by Adrian Bailey, John Bryson and Philippa Lowe in their recent studies of the village. These scholars have highlighted the importance of exploring previously overlooked sources which reveal 'simplifications and omissions' in existing accounts of Bournville, particularly in terms of the 'exclusion of female voices' from its history.<sup>20</sup> Analysis examining Taylor Cadbury's active role promoting Bournville village as a response to concerns over the impact of urban conditions on public health also has implications for the view that women were largely uninvolved in planning schemes connected with the Garden City Movement at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> Recent studies of female involvement in educational administration have focussed on 'the period between the major Education Acts of 1870 and 1902', concentrating on women's role as elected representatives for education on late nineteenth-century school boards.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, this thesis examines Taylor Cadbury's educational work in Bournville during the early 1900s. The thesis focuses on her participation in educational policy-making concerning Bournville's elementary and infant schools during the period following the 1902 Education Act, when studies have identified that women were

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<sup>20</sup> Adrian R. Bailey and John R. Bryson, 'Stories of Suburbia (Bournville UK): From Planning to People Tales', *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 2 (2006): 194; John R. Bryson and Philippa A. Lowe, 'Story-telling and History Construction: Rereading George Cadbury's Bournville Model Village', *Journal of Historical Geography* 28, no. 1 (2002): 38. See also Adrian R. Bailey and John R. Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning: George Cadbury and the Construction of Bournville Model Village', *Quaker Studies* 11, no. 1 (2006): 89-114.

<sup>21</sup> See Taylor Cadbury's promotion of Bournville in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. For studies suggesting this view see Helen Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship and the Making of the Modern Environment', in *Women and the Making of Built Space in England, 1870-1950*, ed. Elizabeth Darling and Lesley Whitworth (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 20; Meryl Aldridge, 'Garden Cities: The Disappearing "Woman Question"', in *Urban Space and Identity in the European City, 1890s-1930*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (Budapest: Central European University, 1995), 15.

<sup>22</sup> Jane Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 2. See also Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries": Women and the Making of Educational Policy Since 1800', in *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England: Authoritative Women since 1880*, ed. Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop (London: Routledge, 2000), 7; Joyce Goodman, 'Women School Board Members and Women School Managers: The Structuring of Educational Authority in Manchester and Liverpool, 1870-1903', in Goodman and Harrop, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration*, 59-77.

increasingly excluded from educational administration.<sup>23</sup> Analysis concentrated on the educational activism of an individual is insufficient to question existing conclusions concerning the experiences of female educationalists more widely during this period. However, evidence of Taylor Cadbury's intervention in administrative negotiations with both local and national educational authorities illustrates that women may have been able to exert influence in educational policy-making despite losing their elected representation on local education committees. In this sense, the thesis contributes to scholarship concerned with 'the gender politics of educational change'.<sup>24</sup> While Taylor Cadbury served as Chairman of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee from 1911 until 1924, this thesis focuses on her work co-ordinating the initial implementation of school medical treatment services in the city between 1911 and 1914.<sup>25</sup> Watts has recently demonstrated that Taylor Cadbury and her middle-class Nonconformist contemporaries who were elected and co-opted to Birmingham Education Committee played a vital role in the development of policies concerning public health and education.<sup>26</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's school medical work develops from Watts' research by examining her municipal policy-making supporting the health of the school-age population within the context of the 'mixed economy of welfare'.<sup>27</sup> The thesis considers how the interdependent relationship between central and

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.; Jane Martin, "'Women not Wanted': The Fight to Secure Political Representation on Local Education Authorities, 1870-1907", in Goodman and Harrop, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration*, 78-96.

<sup>24</sup> Martin, "'Women not Wanted'", 78.

<sup>25</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's role as Chairman of Birmingham City Council Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee, 1924, MS 466/1/1/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>26</sup> Watts, *Women and Science*, 181-182. See also Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 85. See also 75, 78 and 86.

<sup>27</sup> For 'the mixed economy of welfare' see Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 198; Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 12; Jane Lewis 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare' in *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the*

local government enabled Taylor Cadbury to exert autonomy in co-ordinating localised responses to Board of Education recommendations during a period in which women have been identified as marginalised from welfare provision by the incursion of state intervention.<sup>28</sup>

Beyond analysing the extent of Taylor Cadbury's social reform activities, this thesis examines how she defined her approach to maternal work supporting social welfare. The thesis focuses particularly on the ways in which Taylor Cadbury engaged with religious faithfulness as the foundation of female participation in social welfarism, exploring how she recognised and promoted religious imperatives as the stimulus underlying maternal social work.<sup>29</sup> Annemeike van Drenth and Francisca de Haan emphasise the religious dimension within the philanthropic work undertaken by Quakers, suggesting that 'serving the well-being of their fellow human beings was their way of serving God'.<sup>30</sup> Taylor Cadbury remained a Quaker and publicly presented herself as a member of the Religious Society of Friends throughout her life, yet she promoted what van Drenth and de Haan define as 'an active and practical Christianity' which she advocated was based on 'ideals that might belong to any community'.<sup>31</sup> Taylor Cadbury

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*Welfare State*, ed. David Gladstone (London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1999), 10; Pat Thane, 'Women in the British Labour Party and the Construction of State Welfare, 1906-1939', in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (London: Routledge, 1993), 359.

<sup>28</sup> Jane Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States: The British Case', *Social History* 19, no. 1 (1994): 40.

<sup>29</sup> For evidence of this see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>30</sup> Annemeike van Drenth and Francisca de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 15.

<sup>31</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Position of Women in the Society of Friends', [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS; Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 15; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also

identified that ‘*the amount of care we have for our neighbour* is the gauge of our Christianity, and not the orthodoxy of our belief’.<sup>32</sup> She suggested that the teachings of Quakerism which formed the foundation of work towards social welfare reform encompassed ‘nothing of a sectarian nature’ and emphasised in 1913 that spiritual fellowship with God expressed through social service was ‘the inspiring force’ of life.<sup>33</sup> While this thesis describes Taylor Cadbury’s religious and social outlook with reference to her Quaker faith, analysis centres on the ways in which her ethic of public service was shaped by her sense of Quaker faithfulness, rather than the theological dimensions of her Quakerism. The thesis assesses Taylor Cadbury’s religious engagement with social reform in relation to scholarship which has examined how women identified with a discourse of Christian obligation and notions of maternal expertise in their social action during this period.<sup>34</sup> Appealing to religious convictions and perceptions of female maternal skills as a mandate for public social work formed a powerful strategy for women who shared a politicised outlook which was

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Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 422. These words appear italicised in Taylor Cadbury’s article. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>34</sup> This scholarship includes Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991); Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*; Clare Midgley, ‘Women, Religion and Reform’, in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, ed. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 138-58; Sandra Stanley Holton, Alison Mackinnon and Margaret Allen, ‘Introduction’, *Women’s History Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 3; Sue Morgan, ‘Introduction: Women, Religion and Feminism: Past, Present and Future Perspectives’, in *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain, 1750-1900*, ed. Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 13; Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); Seth Koven, ‘Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840-1914’, in Koven and Michel, *Mothers of a New World*, 94-135; Julia Bush, *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Megan Smitley has recently identified that women mobilised ‘heterodox interpretations of religiously inspired gendered ideologies’ to contribute to the formation of a middle-class identity based on civic participation. See Megan Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 40.

preoccupied with promoting enlarged social and political opportunities for their female contemporaries.<sup>35</sup> However, it is evident that women who recognised female religious and social responsibility for maternal public welfare work did not unanimously engage with ‘a language of duty and service, drawing on Christian ideals’ with the primary objective of pursuing female advancement.<sup>36</sup> Scholarship has demonstrated that some women prioritised the enactment of social welfarism as a fulfilment of religious duty and a response to maternal social responsibility rather than concentrating on the advantages attainable for women through participation in such work.<sup>37</sup> Anne Summers illustrates that a number of female social reformers and political activists identified their work ‘as an extension into the practical realm of their Christian convictions’ and not as ‘a sphere of action in which individuals or groups should pursue their self-interest’.<sup>38</sup> Through sustained analysis of Taylor Cadbury’s sense of religious faithfulness expressed through social service, this thesis contributes to research exploring the diverse social and religious agendas which shaped women’s engagement with concepts of social maternalism and religious duty in their public work.<sup>39</sup> The thesis builds on

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<sup>35</sup> Morgan, ‘Introduction’, 13; Carole Pateman, ‘Equality, Difference, Subordination: The Politics of Motherhood and Women’s Citizenship’, in *Beyond Equality and Difference: Citizenship, Feminist Politics and Female Subjectivity*, ed. Gisela Bock and Susan James (Routledge: London, 1992), 18. Jacqueline de Vries provides an insight into the ways in which the British women’s suffrage movement utilised religious discourse. See Jacqueline de Vries, ‘More than Paradoxes to Offer: Feminism, History and Religious Cultures’, in Morgan and de Vries, *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures*, 199.

<sup>36</sup> Sue Innes and Jane Rendall, ‘Women, Gender and Politics’, in *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, ed. Lynn Abrams et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 59. See also Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 57; Julia Bush, ‘British Women’s Anti-Suffragism and the Forward Policy, 1908-14’, *Women’s History Review* 11, no. 3 (2002): 434; Julia Bush, ‘The National Union of Women Workers and Women’s Suffrage’, in *Suffrage Outside Suffragism: Women’s Vote in Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. Myriam Boussahba-Bravard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 105-31; Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*; Julia Bush, ‘“Special Strengths for their own Special Duties”: Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain’, *History of Education* 34, no. 4 (2005): 387-405.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*; Anne Summers, *Female Lives, Moral States: Women, Religion and Public Life in Britain 1800-1930* (Newbury: Threshold Press, 2000), 135.

<sup>38</sup> Summers, *Female Lives*, 135.

<sup>39</sup> Innes and Rendall, ‘Women, Gender and Politics’, 59; Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 46-47; Bush, *Women Against the Vote*.

scholarship which has sought to interpret women's identification with religious values at what Phyllis Mack describes as 'face value', contributing towards a more nuanced analysis of 'the influence of religion in the formation of women's private selves and public roles'.<sup>40</sup>

### 1.3: A Biography of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951)

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was born in Peckham Rye, London, on 24<sup>th</sup> June 1858, the second of ten children born to Quaker philanthropist Mary Jane Taylor (née Cash, 1833-1887) and stockbroker John Taylor (d. 1894). The Taylor family home was shaped by the sociability and permeability of Quaker domestic culture that Holton identifies served to create female identities which were 'simultaneously family-centred, outward-looking and publicly minded'.<sup>41</sup> Taylor Cadbury's mother recognised that philanthropic 'good works' constituted 'service to Christ' and promoted the view that work supporting those less fortunate formed a practical manifestation of religious faith.<sup>42</sup> The Taylors encouraged this outlook among their children and from a young age Elizabeth Taylor and her siblings accompanied their mother on visits to workhouses, volunteered at children's hospitals and supported temperance

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<sup>40</sup> Phyllis Mack, 'Teaching about Gender and Spirituality in Early English Quakerism', *Women's Studies* 19, no. 2 (1991): 225-26; Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries, 'Introduction', in Morgan and de Vries, *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures*, 2. For this approach to interpretation of women's engagement with religion, see also Phyllis Mack, 'Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency: Reflections on Eighteenth-Century Quakerism', in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 441 and 444.

<sup>41</sup> Sandra Stanley Holton, 'Kinship and Friendship: Quaker Women's Networks and the Women's Movement', *Women's History Review* 14: nos. 3&4 (2005): 377.

<sup>42</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 19-20; Mary Jane Taylor referred to 'good works and labours of love, and service for Christ' in a letter to her daughter Elizabeth Taylor written in 1880. See Mary Jane Taylor to Elizabeth Taylor, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1880, MS 466/1/1/16/1/1/5, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

initiatives.<sup>43</sup> Following two years at a private girls' boarding school in Saxe-Meiningen, Germany, she entered the North London Collegiate School for Girls in 1874 under the leadership of Frances Buss where she passed the Senior Cambridge Examination in ten subjects.<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Taylor's experiences at this school, particularly the 'ideals of service' which Buss instilled in her students, combined with the dynamic of public service integral to her early home life encouraged her to engage with a religious sense of obligation for social service.<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth Taylor devoted her early adulthood to Quaker philanthropic initiatives supporting her father's temperance work during the late 1870s and teaching classes at the Peckham Friends' First-Day School.<sup>46</sup> Alongside her involvement with an adult class for working women in Bunhill Fields, Elizabeth Taylor organised a Boys' Club at Ratcliffe Highway and participated in the work of a Scandinavian Sailors' Temperance Home established in London's docklands.<sup>47</sup> In 1885 she volunteered at a medical mission in Belleville, Paris, where she supported the health and welfare of people left destitute by the Franco-Prussian War.<sup>48</sup> Her experiences visiting families in the Parisian slums provoked her

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<sup>43</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 19-20. For examples of this see Mary Jane Taylor to Margaret and Elizabeth Taylor, 8<sup>th</sup> January 1873, MS 466/1/1/2/3/18, CFP, BAHS; Mary Jane Taylor to Elizabeth Taylor, 25<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> September 1873, MS 466/1/1/2/3/24, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>44</sup> See Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's schooling in Germany and England, 1871-1876, MS 466/1/1/1/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Reminiscences', 1896, MS 466/1/1/10/3/1, CFP, BAHS. The former duchy of Saxe-Meiningen is now part of Thuringia, the state between Bavaria and Saxony. Information about Saxe-Meiningen courtesy of the German National Tourist Office, London.

<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Prize Day Speech', 1933, MS 466/1/1/10/1/30, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>46</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 30-31; Elizabeth Taylor's Friends' First-Day School Class Register, 1876, MS 466/1/1/3/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>47</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 31-33; Typescript of a biographical article about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury published in *Edgbastonia*, 1914, MS 466/1/1/10/4/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Scandinavian Sailors' Temperance Home, 1883-1888, MS 466/1/1/3/5, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth (Elsie) M. Taylor, 'Life in Belleville', 1885, MS 466/1/1/10/4/1, CFP, BAHS; Correspondence relating to Elizabeth Taylor's voluntary work in Belleville, Paris, 10<sup>th</sup> March 1885-4<sup>th</sup> July 1885, MS 466/1/1/3/7, CFP, BAHS.

outrage at debilitating urban living conditions and gave her the impetus to investigate urban housing in London on her return to England.<sup>49</sup> Taylor Cadbury's subsequent writings reflecting on these experiences reveal that they encouraged her to adopt an environmental approach to social welfare work and engage with public debate promoting the reform of the urban environment.<sup>50</sup>

In 1888 Elizabeth Taylor married the widowed Quaker businessman George Cadbury (1839-1922), a like-minded friend of the Taylor family with whom Richenda Scott suggests she had forged a friendship over 'eager discussions on social questions and the possibilities of effective service'.<sup>51</sup> A leading industrialist and philanthropist, George Cadbury shared the Taylor family's conviction that religious faithfulness was expressed through public social service. Michael Harrison suggests that Cadbury was 'imbued with a belief in practical Christianity', sharing religious values which 'produced in him an exceedingly strong sense of duty' to social reform.<sup>52</sup> Cadbury was renowned for his contribution to the reform of urban industrialisation through the relocation of the Cadbury chocolate enterprise from central Birmingham to the healthier environment of suburban Bournville during the late 1870s.<sup>53</sup> Following her marriage, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury moved to Woodbrooke in Selly Oak where she lived with her husband and his five children from his previous marriage to Mary Tylor (d.

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<sup>49</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, *Historical Rhymes*, p. 70, 1937, MS 466/1/1/4/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-22.

<sup>51</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 49.

<sup>52</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 28.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 28-29.



1887).<sup>54</sup> The Cadburys moved to the Manor House in Northfield in 1894 to accommodate their growing family, Taylor Cadbury becoming the mother to six of her own children between 1889 and 1906.<sup>55</sup> Alongside her maternal responsibilities, Taylor Cadbury actively participated in the development of Bournville village.<sup>56</sup> She initiated philanthropic schemes which supported the welfare, health and education of women and children working and living in Bournville.<sup>57</sup> Following the 1902 Education Act, Taylor Cadbury was closely involved in the establishment and management of infant and elementary schools in Bournville, overseeing the development of temporary and permanent school accommodation in the village between 1904 and 1910.<sup>58</sup> Taylor Cadbury also collaborated with her husband, her cousin Rufus Jones and John Wilhelm Rowntree in the development of Woodbrooke Quaker Settlement which opened in the Cadburys' former Selly Oak home in 1903.<sup>59</sup> Between 1907 and 1908 she was involved in the re-development of the Beeches Children's Country Holiday Home which

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<sup>54</sup> These children were Edward (1873-1948), George Junior (1878-1954), Henry (1882-1952), Isabel (1884-1975) and Eleanor (1885-1959).

<sup>55</sup> These children were Laurence John (1889-1982), George Norman (1890-1980), Elsie Dorothea (1892-1971), Egbert (1893-1967), Marion Janet (1894-1979) and Elizabeth Ursula (born 1906).

<sup>56</sup> For studies examining the early history of Bournville village see Harrison, *Bournville*, 33-34 and 44-45 and also Bryson and Lowe, 'Story-telling and History Construction', 27-30.

<sup>57</sup> For evidence of Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the early development of Bournville village see particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entry for Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> July 1897, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal diary for 1897, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1897-31<sup>st</sup> December 1897, MS 466/1/1/15/1/5, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal diary 1888-1894, 19<sup>th</sup> June 1888-31<sup>st</sup> December 1894, MS 466/1/1/15/1/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'George Cadbury', 29<sup>th</sup> September 1929, MS 466/1/1/14/1/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>58</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report 30th September 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, Archive of the Bournville Village Trust, BAHS (Archive of the Bournville Village Trust cited hereafter as BVT); Newscutting from *Birmingham News*, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1905, Committee Meeting 18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, Minute 553, p. 193, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entry dated Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1902, Personal Diary for 1902, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1902-31<sup>st</sup> December 1902, MS 466/1/1/15/1/10, CFP, BAHS; Rufus Jones to George Cadbury and Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 24<sup>th</sup> March 1903, MS 466/1/1/17/10/2, CFP, BAHS; Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 157 and 180.

provided holidays in rural Bournville for children living in urban Birmingham.<sup>60</sup> Taylor Cadbury's active support for the work of the Birmingham and District Crippled Children's Union during the same period led her to take an active role in the work of the Woodlands Hospital which was established in a building owned by the Cadburys in 1909.<sup>61</sup> Taylor Cadbury served as Chairman of the hospital's House Committee and later as President of its Education Committee.<sup>62</sup>

From 1896 onwards, Taylor Cadbury was a member of the female philanthropic organisation the National Union of Women Workers (NUWW), serving as honorary treasurer from 1898 and as President of the Union between 1906 and 1907 alongside her involvement with its branches in Birmingham and Malvern.<sup>63</sup> Taylor Cadbury was also closely involved with the work of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and presided over branches of the Association in the Midlands throughout her life.<sup>64</sup> She was among the foundation members of the University of Birmingham's Board of Governors in 1900 and also served on

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<sup>60</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 116-17; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letters, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 19<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1908, MS 466/1/1/15/3/5, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>61</sup> The Woodlands later became the Royal Orthopaedic Hospital. For Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the Birmingham and District Crippled Children's Union see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1910, MS 466/1/1/15/3/7, CFP, BAHS; 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Birmingham & District Crippled Children's Union, 1<sup>st</sup> April 1907-31<sup>st</sup> March 1908, p. 11, Printed Reports of the Birmingham & District Crippled Children's Union, 1904-1909, HC/RO/B/19, Records of the Royal Orthopaedic Hospital, BAHS.

<sup>62</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 115.

<sup>63</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 82; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. The National Union of Women Workers is referred to in the text hereafter as the NUWW. The organisation was renamed the National Council of Women in 1918.

<sup>64</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 77-78. For evidence of Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) see particularly material within MS 243/13/9, Various Papers 1938-1979, MS 243/13/5/1-16, Records of the Young Women's Christian Association, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick.

Worcestershire County Council Education Committee from 1903.<sup>65</sup> Taylor Cadbury was directly associated with the work of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents' National Education Union and the Child Study Association during the early twentieth century.<sup>66</sup> In 1911 she was co-opted onto the City of Birmingham Education Committee, acting as a school manager for the South-East district of the city and as Chairman of the Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>67</sup> Taylor Cadbury served as Chairman until 1924 and oversaw the development of Birmingham's school medical service.<sup>68</sup> Throughout her life Taylor Cadbury campaigned for improved international relations and in 1914 she was appointed Convenor of both the International Council of Women's Peace and Arbitration Committee and the Peace and International Relations Committee of the National Council of Women.<sup>69</sup> She played a leading role overseeing the welfare and education of Belgian, Serbian and Austrian refugees who came to Birmingham during and following the First World War for which she received

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<sup>65</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 111; Meeting of Worcestershire County Council, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1903, County of Worcester Signed Minutes of the Education Committee, 1903, Document Ref: BA 854/250.601, Worcestershire Record Office: County Hall Branch (Worcestershire Record Office: County Hall Branch cited hereafter as WROCHB.)

<sup>66</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Education', November 1909, MS 466/1/1/10/1/8, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Changing World', February 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/1/16/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>67</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 110. Scott suggests that Taylor Cadbury served on the South-West District School Managers Committee. However, evidence within the archive of Birmingham City Council reveals that she was appointed as a manager on the South-East District School Managers Committee in December 1911. See South-East District School Managers Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1912, BCC/BH/9/6/1/1, Records of Birmingham City Council, BAHS. (Records of Birmingham City Council cited hereafter as BCC); Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> December 1911, Minute 3539, p. 18 and Minute 3550, p. 24, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, Local Studies Collection, BAHS (Local Studies Collection cited hereafter as LSC); Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911, p. 2, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>68</sup> See Sir Oliver Lodge's comments about Taylor Cadbury's educational work attached to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS. For examples of Taylor Cadbury's work in this role see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham', *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 169-74, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS; 'New Central School Clinic for Birmingham', *Birmingham Medical Review* LXXVIII, no. 445 (September 1915): 88.

<sup>69</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 122 and 125; Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's addresses to the International Council of Women and the National Union of Women Workers, October 1915, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/4, CFP, BAHS.

the Belgian Croix de Guerre and the Serbian Red Cross.<sup>70</sup> Taylor Cadbury was awarded an OBE for her public service in 1918, followed a year later by an honorary MA from the University of Birmingham which recognised her contribution towards educational welfare in the city.<sup>71</sup> During the same year she was elected Birmingham City Councillor for King's Norton, standing for municipal election in order to support her educational work on the City Council.<sup>72</sup>

Following the death of her husband George Cadbury on 24th October 1922, Taylor Cadbury became Chairman of the Bournville Village Trust.<sup>73</sup> She continued to take an active interest in the development of Bournville village until her own death in 1951, particularly in the establishment of the women's housing complex, St. George's Court, which opened in 1923.<sup>74</sup> In the same year Taylor Cadbury stood unsuccessfully as the Liberal Party parliamentary candidate for the constituency of King's Norton with a manifesto which was focussed on practical reforms in 'health, education [and] child welfare'.<sup>75</sup> She was a minister of Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting and was closely involved with Bournville Meeting

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<sup>70</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 126-28; Sara Delamont, 'Cadbury, Dame Elizabeth Mary (1858-1951)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45784> (accessed 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008). See the Allocation Committee minutes books within the Records of the War Refugees Fund (Birmingham & District), 1914-1920, MS 652, BAHS. See also Papers relating to Austrian children in Bournville Village, 1921, Document Ref: 119/001386, Kraft Foods UK/Cadbury Archives (Kraft Foods UK/Cadbury Archives cited hereafter as KFU/CA.)

<sup>71</sup> Sara Delamont, 'Cadbury, Dame Elizabeth Mary (1858-1951)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45784> (accessed 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008); Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>72</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 8<sup>th</sup> September 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>73</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 129.

<sup>74</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 135. See also Herbert George Wood to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1924, MS 466/1/1/2/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>75</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 138-40; General Election Poster featuring Mrs. George Cadbury's election address, 1923, MS 466/1/1/12/2/1, CFP, BAHS. The election was won by the Conservative Party candidate, Sir Herbert Austin.

throughout her life.<sup>76</sup> Taylor Cadbury was recognised within and beyond the Religious Society of Friends for her contribution to religious life and was appointed the first Female President of the National Free Church Council (Federal Council of the Free Churches) in 1925.<sup>77</sup> During the following year, Taylor Cadbury delivered the first edition of the BBC Sunday Evening Service to be broadcast from the new BBC studios in Birmingham.<sup>78</sup> Throughout the late 1930s and 1940s she publicly promoted closer relationships between different religious denominations through her enthusiastic support for the World Council of Churches.<sup>79</sup> Taylor Cadbury's highest formal honour came in 1934 when she was created a DBE becoming Dame Elizabeth Cadbury.<sup>80</sup> Two years later, she represented Britain at the 1936 World Congress of the International Council of Women in India and delivered a wireless broadcast promoting Anglo-Indian relations during her tour of the country.<sup>81</sup> Taylor Cadbury remained actively involved in public philanthropic work up until the last days of her life, particularly in Bournville, where she opened the two hundredth post-war house built in the village before addressing the Bournville Golden Jubilee celebrations which began on her

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<sup>76</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting, 10<sup>th</sup> December 1902-14<sup>th</sup> October 1925, MS 466/1/1/9/1, CFP, BAHS; Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 102.

<sup>77</sup> Papers relating to addresses delivered by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury to the National Free Church Council, June 1925-1949, MS 466/1/1/10/1/26, CFP, BAHS. See also Herbert George Wood to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1924, MS 466/1/1/2/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>78</sup> Religious broadcast for the BBC by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, January 1926, MS 466/1/1/10/2/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>79</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the World Council of Churches, 1938-1948, MS 466/1/1/9/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>80</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 186.

<sup>81</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's visit to India for the World Congress of the International Council of Women and her public work supporting international relations, 1935-1947, MS 466/1/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

ninety-third birthday in June 1951.<sup>82</sup> She died on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1951 at the Manor House in Northfield where she had lived since 1894.

Taylor Cadbury received international recognition for her public philanthropy, yet memoirs compiled by her family and colleagues in Bournville following her death emphasised that her social welfare work in Birmingham remained the closest to her heart, reflecting her engagement with the Quaker ‘tradition of public service and practical idealism’.<sup>83</sup> In any study examining Taylor Cadbury’s social reform activities in Birmingham, it is important to consider how far her identity as a Cadbury and her ‘middle-class female power’ afforded her privileged access to influential individuals, facilitated her philanthropic achievements and supported her agency in municipal policy-making.<sup>84</sup> The Cadburys’ status as wealthy middle-class industrialists, supporters of Liberal politics and members of the Religious Society of Friends located them at the forefront of Birmingham’s Nonconformist elite who wielded economic, social and political power in the city during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>85</sup> Recent scholarship has defined Taylor Cadbury in relation to the network of middle-class Birmingham women who, possessing financial resources which freed them from professional and domestic responsibilities, dominated the city’s ‘social and philanthropic

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<sup>82</sup> Photograph showing Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury opening the two hundredth post-war house built in Bournville, 1951, MS 466/3/1/44, CFP, BAHS; Photographs showing Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury at the Bournville golden jubilee celebrations, 24<sup>th</sup> June 1951-30<sup>th</sup> June 1951, MS 466/3/1/47, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>83</sup> ‘Elizabeth Mary Cadbury: 1858-1951’, Memorial Number of the *Bournville Works Magazine*, c. January 1952, MS 466/1/1/18/5, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>84</sup> Jean Spence refers to ‘middle-class female power’ in the context of maternal social welfare work as well as issues of facilitation and access. See Jean Spence, ‘Gender and Class Negotiations in an Edwardian Welfare Organisation: A Tale of Two Women’, *Women’s History Review* 15, no. 2 (2006): 277 and 286.

<sup>85</sup> Bartley describes Birmingham as a ‘stronghold of Liberal Nonconformity’. See Bartley, ‘Moral Regeneration’: 144. See also Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1968, repr. 1990), 187; Linda Jones, ‘Public Pursuit of Private Profit?: Liberal Businessmen and Municipal Politics in Birmingham, 1865-1900’, *Business History* 25, no. 3 (1983): 253; Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’, 70.

circle'.<sup>86</sup> Publicly identified as Mrs. George Cadbury, it is evident that Taylor Cadbury situated her 'social-welfare work within the rhetoric of maternalism', yet also shaped her identity and activism in relation to her husband's prominent public profile.<sup>87</sup> Her familial and marital connections ensured her close involvement with an extensive Quaker kinship network through which she was able to exchange 'social capital' and 'acquire good contacts'.<sup>88</sup> For instance, during the early twentieth century, Taylor Cadbury capitalised on her friendship with Quaker Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, Sir George Newman (1870-1948), to seek advice concerning her work as Chairman of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>89</sup>

Taylor Cadbury may have been privileged in terms of access to networks of public support, but her economic and social position did not grant her the authority to overrule legislative requirements imposed by the Board of Education or Birmingham City Council in her municipal policy-making.<sup>90</sup> She faced opposition from her colleagues on Birmingham Education Committee, medical authorities at the city's hospitals and also the local press.<sup>91</sup> It is apparent that while the Cadburys' 'social capital' in Birmingham supported Taylor

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<sup>86</sup> Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration': 144. See also Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 75. See also 78 and 86.

<sup>87</sup> Koven, 'Borderlands', 109. This is particularly evident in Taylor Cadbury's early work in Bournville. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'George Cadbury', 29<sup>th</sup> September 1929, MS 466/1/1/14/1/1, CFP, BAHS; Minutes of the Bournville Girls' Athletic Club, 12<sup>th</sup> June 1899-11<sup>th</sup> June 1909, Annual Report, 1899-1900, Document Ref: 351/006114, KFU/CA.

<sup>88</sup> Ylva Hasselberg explores this dimension of middle-class social networks in 'Letters, Social Networks and the Embedded Economy in Sweden: Some Remarks on the Swedish Bourgeoisie, 1800-1850', in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945*, ed. Rebecca Earle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 101.

<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Memoir of Sir George Newman, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1948, MS 466/1/1/2/1/27, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>90</sup> See particularly chapters three and four of this thesis.

<sup>91</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5 and 8; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS. See particularly Chapter Four of this thesis.

Cadbury's public philanthropy and participation in municipal educational work, she was not afforded exceptional agency within the city's middle-class elite.<sup>92</sup> Perceptions of the Cadburys' agency in Birmingham reflect the endurance of Cadbury and Bournville as iconic features in the city's cultural heritage.<sup>93</sup> Yet it is important to remember that the Cadburys operated within a wider network of influential Nonconformist families, many of whom occupied more prominent roles within Birmingham's local government and exerted influence over the development of the city's social and cultural institutions.<sup>94</sup> This thesis demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury's work supporting education provision and implementing school medical treatment depended on her skills as a policy-maker as well as her social status as a Cadbury.<sup>95</sup>

#### 1.4: Literature Review

The fullest account of Taylor Cadbury's life and work to date was published by Quaker historian and author Richenda Scott (1903-1985) in 1955 in the form of a commemorative biography which provides an insight into Taylor Cadbury's 'religious experience and faith'.<sup>96</sup> Little subsequent scholarship has examined her social welfare work as an individual in any

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<sup>92</sup> Hasselberg, 'Letters, Social Networks', 101.

<sup>93</sup> Deborah Cadbury, *Chocolate Wars: From Cadbury to Kraft, 200 Years of Sweet Success and Bitter Rivalry* (London: Harper Press, 2010).

<sup>94</sup> Watts identifies that Birmingham Education Committee was 'dominated' by the Unitarian Kenrick family, who, alongside the Clayton, Chamberlain, Timmins, Thackray Bunce and Tangye families played a leading role in the development of Birmingham's major cultural institutions. Watts, *Women in Science*, 181. See also Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham'. Birmingham Public Libraries Report to Council, 1890, Birmingham Public Libraries Reports to Council 1879-1922, LSC, BAHS; Birmingham Museum and School of Art Committee Reports 1893-1906, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>95</sup> See particularly chapters three and four of this thesis.

<sup>96</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*. Scott's biography includes a chapter entitled 'Religious Experience and Faith'. This book was described as marking 'the beginning of the "golden decade"' of Scott's 'Quaker writings'. See Edward H. Milligan's obituary 'Richenda Scott (1903-1985)', *The Friend* (1<sup>st</sup> February 1985): 137-38.



significant depth.<sup>97</sup> Taylor Cadbury's 'passion for social reform' is identified in a number of recent histories of Bournville, but the full extent of her social action in the village and in Birmingham more widely remains largely unexplored.<sup>98</sup> Joel Hoffman and Linda Pittaway have uncovered substantial evidence concerning Taylor Cadbury's involvement with Bournville village and her educational work in Birmingham.<sup>99</sup> Scholarship by Bartley and Watts, who remark on Taylor Cadbury in their analyses of female philanthropic and municipal work in Birmingham, demonstrates the scope for research assessing her public service in its wider social and cultural context.<sup>100</sup> Both Bartley and Watts comment on the relationship between Taylor Cadbury's identity as a middle-class Quaker woman and her participation in maternal social welfare schemes in Birmingham, Watts remarking that Taylor Cadbury's humanitarian endeavours were 'inspired by her active Quaker faith'.<sup>101</sup> Yet Taylor Cadbury, her religious faithfulness and maternal approach remain unexamined in wider histories exploring female social activism. This raises questions concerning the ways in which

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<sup>97</sup> A notable exception is Sara Delamont's biography of Taylor Cadbury produced for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. See Sara Delamont, 'Cadbury, Dame Elizabeth Mary (1858-1951)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45784> (accessed 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008). Studies by Bartley and Watts have also examined Taylor Cadbury's social action in greater detail. See Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration' and particularly Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham'.

<sup>98</sup> Cadbury, *Chocolate Wars*, 144. Deborah Cadbury provides an insight into Taylor Cadbury's public philanthropy in this publication. See *Chocolate Wars*, 160, 173-74. Gillian Wagner and Michael Harrison remark only briefly on Taylor Cadbury's public work promoting reform in working conditions for girls and women and her educational activities. See Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience*, 56; Harrison, *Bournville*, 29. Fuller summaries of her work in Bournville can be found in Carol Kennedy, *The Merchant Princes: Family, Fortune and Philanthropy, Cadbury, Sainsbury and John Lewis* (London: Hutchinson, 2000), 61 and Standish Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 30. Taylor Cadbury is also mentioned in recent revisionist studies of Bournville. See Adrian Raymond Bailey, 'Constructing a Model Community: Institutions, Paternalism and Social Identities in Bournville, 1879-1939' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2003), 203; Bailey and Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning': 96 and 103.

<sup>99</sup> Joel M. Hoffman, 'Imaging the Industrial Village: Architecture, Art, and Visual Culture in the Garden Community of Bourneville (sic), England' (PhD diss., Yale University, 1993); Pittaway, 'The Cadbury Women'.

<sup>100</sup> Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration': 155-56; Watts, *Women in Science*, 181-82; Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham'.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* Quotation taken from Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 76.

existing scholarship has defined and interpreted women's engagement with 'religiously inspired' maternal public social work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>102</sup>

An 'ideal of motherhood' which emphasised religious piety and the 'moral and educative responsibilities' of 'the godly wife and mother' to her children has been recognised by women's historians as the foundation on which middle-class women constructed their identity and familial role from the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Scholars building on the work of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have demonstrated that identification with the figure of 'responsible, religious, redemptive mother and wife' facilitated and shaped middle-class and upper-class women's wider public participation and social activism, demonstrating the permeable boundaries between private and public life.<sup>104</sup> Assumptions concerning women's maternal qualities were incorporated into the nineteenth century middle-class 'humanitarian sensibility' which, influenced by a Protestant evangelical 'emphasis on good works', recognised that it was the duty of citizens to engage in Christian public service.<sup>105</sup> Various

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<sup>102</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 46.

<sup>103</sup> Quotations taken from Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood" and Women's Responses in Britain and France, 1750-1914', *Women's History Review* 8, no. 2 (1999): 205-06; Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, 'Domestic Fathers and the Victorian Parental Role', *Women's History Review* 15, no. 4 (2006): 552; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson 1987, repr. 1988), 114. See also F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 8; Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 101.

<sup>104</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*. Quotation taken from Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood"', 206. See also Gordon and Nair, 'Domestic Fathers': 552; Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 25; Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service*, 101; Jane Lewis, 'Women and Late-Nineteenth Century Social Work', in *Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality*, ed. Carol Smart (London: Routledge, 1992), 86. Jane Rendall draws attention to the 'highly secularised' concept of 'the public sphere' which she suggests 'pays very little attention to the understanding of religious identities', including women's participation in 'voluntary associations', travelling religious ministry and 'religious life' more generally. See Jane Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', *Gender and History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 483 and 486.

<sup>105</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 24 and 45. See also Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere*, 3-5; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 8.

studies conclude that this religious ‘culture of altruism’, combined with assumptions about their capacity for promoting an ideal of family and motherhood enabled middle-class and upper-class women to apply their maternal qualities beyond the domestic environment through religious charitable initiatives and wider participation in social reform work.<sup>106</sup> While Frank Prochaska draws attention to ‘a maternal culture that began to take institutional form’ during the ‘religious activism’ of the nineteenth century, Julia Bush and Megan Smitley have recently illustrated the endurance of women’s maternal social reform work into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>107</sup> Female engagement with ‘a culture of social mothering’ is identified as contributing towards the consolidation of a middle-class identity which was ‘derived from a commitment to civic life and public service’ during this period.<sup>108</sup> Bush suggests that the work of the National Union of Women Workers which comprised socially responsive upper-class and middle-class women centred on a dynamic of gendered social duty, galvanising its female membership in maternal social activism promoting welfare reform.<sup>109</sup> Defined variously as ‘civic maternalism’, ‘social motherhood’ or ‘social maternalism’, women engaged with Victorian and Edwardian discourses of Christian

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<sup>106</sup> Jane Martin refers to the ‘culture of altruism’ in ‘Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling: Towards a Collective Biography of Women “doing good” as Public Moralists in Victorian London’, *Gender and Education* 17, no. 2 (2005): 146. See also Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service*, 98 and 101; Susan Mumm, ‘Women and Philanthropic Cultures’, in Morgan and de Vries, *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures*, 54; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 11; Morgan, ‘Introduction’, 13-14; Midgley, ‘Women, Religion and Reform’, 154.

<sup>107</sup> Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service*, 101. See also Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*. Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 176 and 181; Bush, ‘The National Union of Women Workers’; Bush, *Women Against the Vote*; Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere*.

<sup>108</sup> Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere*, 7 and 3.

<sup>109</sup> Bush, *Edwardian Ladies*, 176. See also Bush, ‘The National Union of Women Workers’, 107-08.

citizenship through ‘a conception of the sphere of womanly duties’ which extended to philanthropic and municipal social welfare work.<sup>110</sup>

As the scholarship cited above demonstrates, religious imperatives and ‘maternalist assumptions’ have been recognised as encouraging and shaping the direction of women’s ‘commitment to social action’ during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>111</sup>

Contributing to the revival of interest in the relationship between religion and female identity, studies have acknowledged that middle-class female philanthropists identified ‘spiritual experience and religious faith’ motivating their public social welfare work, embracing a sense of ‘religious duty which placed service above doctrine’.<sup>112</sup> However, interpretations of female religious philanthropy emphasise the ways in which charitable social action formed ‘the leisured women’s most obvious outlet for self-expression’.<sup>113</sup> As Sandra Stanley Holton, Margaret Allen and Alison Mackinnon observe, scholarship has emphasised the politicised dimensions of religion ‘as a source of social authority for women’.<sup>114</sup> By presenting and

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<sup>110</sup> Seth Koven refers to ‘civic maternalism’ in Koven, ‘Borderlands’, 108. Eileen Janes Yeo identifies ‘social motherhood’ in Eileen Janes Yeo, ‘Social Motherhood and the Sexual Communion of Labour in British Social Science, 1850-1950’, *Women’s History Review* 1, no. 1 (1992): 63-87. See also Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science*, 121. Bush explores ‘the discourse of social maternalism’ in Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 23. Koven refers to ‘a conception of the sphere of womanly duties’ in ‘Borderlands’, 108.

<sup>111</sup> Angela Woollacott refers to ‘maternalist assumptions’ in ‘Maternalism, Professionalism and Industrial Supervisors in World War I Britain’, *Women’s History Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 30; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 306.

<sup>112</sup> Sandra Stanley Holton, Alison Mackinnon and Margaret Allen, ‘Introduction’, *Women’s History Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 3; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 307. See also Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 5; Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere*, 47; Innes and Rendall, ‘Women, Gender and Politics’, 59; Morgan and de Vries, ‘Introduction’, 1-3; Mack, ‘Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency’, 434-59; Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*.

<sup>113</sup> Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 5. See also Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 307; Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere*, 47. Jonathan Mood challenges Prochaska’s interpretation with reference to Quaker women. See Jonathan Mood, ‘Women in the Quaker Community: The Richardson Family of Newcastle, c. 1815-60’, *Quaker Studies* 9, no. 2 (2005): 212.

<sup>114</sup> Holton, Mackinnon and Allen, ‘Introduction’: 3.

promoting their social activism as a religious obligation, women were able to justify their public presence and enlarge their participation in public social and political activism. Studies illustrate that ‘spiritual conviction often allowed women a voice in matters of public concern’, Sue Morgan identifying that an appeal to religious imperatives enabled women ‘to create meaningful forms of political and public involvement’ which empowered them to assert themselves in public and political life.<sup>115</sup> It is evident as Phyllis Mack, van Drenth and de Haan have observed, that within analyses of the social action undertaken by religious women, ‘religious beliefs are most appropriately treated as signposts which direct the scholar toward the “real motives”’.<sup>116</sup> Women’s identification with religious motivation has been interpreted as an expression of ‘personal ambition, or the search for self-expression’, Mack recognising the tendency to interpret religious social action as ‘a function, not of women’s religious principles but of the process of secularization and a nascent feminist consciousness’.<sup>117</sup>

The scholarly emphasis on a politicised interpretation of female social activism becomes particularly apparent in studies examining maternal social welfare work which define women’s engagement with cultural assumptions of their maternal expertise as a form of

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.; Morgan, ‘Introduction’, 13. See also Midgley, ‘Women, Religion and Reform’, 152-53.

<sup>116</sup> Quotation taken from Mack, ‘Teaching about Gender and Spirituality’: 225. See also Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 44 and 41.

<sup>117</sup> Mack, ‘Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency’, 441 and 444. For debate concerning this approach see also Holton, Mackinnon and Allen, ‘Introduction’: 3; Mack, ‘Teaching about Gender and Spirituality’: 225-26; Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 87-88; Mood, ‘Women in the Quaker Community’: 212; Elizabeth A. O’Donnell, ‘Woman’s Rights and Woman’s Duties: Quaker Women in the Nineteenth Century with Special Reference to Newcastle Monthly Meeting of Women Friends’ (PhD diss., University of Sunderland, 1999); Elizabeth A. Castelli, ‘Women, Gender, Religion: Troubling Categories and Transforming Knowledge’, in *Women, Gender, Religion: A Reader*, ed. Elizabeth A. Castelli with assistance from Rosamond C. Rodman (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 5.

‘feminist thought’.<sup>118</sup> Women’s identification with the discourse of social motherhood is defined as a means by which they sought to enlarge participation in public life, exploiting maternal discourse to pursue social and political objectives.<sup>119</sup> Described by Eileen Janes Yeo as ‘maternal feminism’, middle-class female philanthropists are portrayed as promoting their ‘distinctive qualities and experiences’ with the motive of promoting female social empowerment and ‘change in the gender division of power’.<sup>120</sup> Engaging with ‘cultural concepts of sexual difference’ has been recognised as forming a political discourse, which functioned as one of the fundamental strategies employed by women supporting their appeals for enfranchisement.<sup>121</sup> ‘Suffrage feminists’ appropriated notions of Christian duty as well as notions of maternal moral authority to enact what Pnina Werbner defines as ‘political motherhood’, yet it was not only supporters of woman suffrage who utilised these maternal ideals.<sup>122</sup> Recent scholarship has uncovered how ‘conservative female advocates’, anti-

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<sup>118</sup> Mumm identifies this in ‘Women and Philanthropic Cultures’, 55. See also Mack, ‘Teaching about Gender and Spirituality’: 225-26.

<sup>119</sup> Joan W. Scott, ‘Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism’, *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1 (1988): 48; Yeo, ‘The Creation of “Motherhood”’: 201; Harriet Jones, ‘The State and Social Policy’, in *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), 324. See also Gordon and Nair, ‘Domestic Fathers’: 553-54; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 7; Koven, ‘Borderlands’, 95; Alison Creedon, ‘A Benevolent Tyrant? The Principles and Practices of Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936), Social Reformer and Founder of Hampstead Garden Suburb’, *Women’s History Review* 11, No. 2 (2002): 232; Moira Martin, ‘Single Women and Philanthropy: A Case Study of Women’s Associational Life in Bristol, 1880-1914’, *Women’s History Review* 17, no. 3 (2008): 398.

<sup>120</sup> Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science*, 135; Gisela Bock and Pat Thane refer to issues of gender division in Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, ‘Introduction’, in *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States 1880s-1950s*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London: Routledge, 1991, repr., 1994), 7-8.

<sup>121</sup> Scott, ‘Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference’: 48. See also Pateman, ‘Equality, Difference, Subordination’, 18; Sandra Stanley Holton, *Women’s Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 11-12; Eleanor Gordon, ‘Women’s Spheres’, in *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. II 1830-1914*, ed. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 229; Martin, ‘Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling’, 144.

<sup>122</sup> Cecily Devereux, ‘New Woman, New World: Maternal Feminism and the New Imperialism in the White Settler Colonies’, *Women’s Studies International Forum* 22, no. 2 (1999): 177; Pnina Werbner, ‘Political Motherhood and the Feminisation of Citizenship: Women’s Activisms and the Transformations of the Public Sphere’, in *Women, Citizenship and Difference*, ed. Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner (London: Zed Books, 1999), 221-222.

feminist and anti-suffragist women engaged with maternalism as a means of ‘reinforcing women’s ordained role in society’ and pursuing what Lucy Delap describes as ‘a heightened role of social service for women, in local government’.<sup>123</sup> Bush recognises that a maternal conception of ‘womanly social action’ transcended political division, particularly within female philanthropic groups such as the NUWW, Seth Koven demonstrating that a commitment to social motherhood united women ‘across the political spectrum’.<sup>124</sup> These studies emphasise the significance of maternal discourse in shaping female social action by concentrating on the ways in which ‘social maternalism’ challenges scholarly assumptions concerning the division between feminism and anti-feminism, suffragism and anti-suffragism.<sup>125</sup> However, there remains an emphasis on the ways in which such women engaged with maternal assumptions to support their political agendas, Delap concluding that for anti-suffragists and ‘moderate’ suffragists, maternalism formed a means to augment ‘political influence in the “womanly realms” of social policy and local government’.<sup>126</sup>

The literature reviewed here illustrates how existing scholarship has focussed on the ways in which middle-class women identified with concepts of religious duty and female maternal qualities in a self-conscious pursuit of social influence and political recognition. This has

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<sup>123</sup> Bush, ““Special Strengths””: 393 and 396; Lucy Delap, ‘Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters in Edwardian Britain’, *Historical Research* 78, no. 201 (2005): 381. See also Koven, ‘Borderlands’, 108; Rendall and Innes, ‘Women, Gender and Politics’, 59-60.

<sup>124</sup> Bush, ‘The National Union of Women Workers’ 113. See also 127; Koven, ‘Borderlands’, 108. See also Bush, ‘British Women’s Anti-Suffragism’: 432-34. Martine Faraut argues that anti-suffragist women’s ‘essentialist vision of women’ and ‘emphasis on her distinctive role’, was an important strand of feminist discourse. See Martine Faraut, *Women Resisting the Vote: A Case of Anti-Feminism?*, *Women’s History Review* 12, no. 4 (2003): 614.

<sup>125</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 23; Bush, ““Special Strengths””, 392-93 and 405; Delap, ‘Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters’, 381 and 383.

<sup>126</sup> Delap, ‘Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters’, 386. See also Koven, ‘Borderlands’, 108-109.

served to obscure the identity and activism of women who embraced a religious obligation for maternal social welfare work with an approach focussed more directly on fulfilling religious social responsibilities than pursuing social and political advancement for women. The scholarship above illustrates the potential of women's appeals to religious imperatives as the justification for social action in terms of supporting female claims for enlarged public and political responsibilities. However, Van Drenth and de Haan argue that this was not necessarily the motivation underlying religious women's engagement with a dynamic of religious inspiration in their maternal social welfare work.<sup>127</sup> They suggest that the Quaker philanthropists in their study undertook social reform activities 'for no other reason than to try to help others in less fortunate or outright degrading circumstances', and emphasise the necessity for scholarship to engage with 'women's religious motives seriously, instead of reducing them to self-interest'.<sup>128</sup> Scholarship has commented on the difficulties of attempting to recover 'the spiritual aspects of religious life, the influence of inner faith' to demonstrate the methodological complexities inherent in attempting to recover the religious experiences of the past from a contemporary standpoint.<sup>129</sup> Yet Holton's extensive research into the personal papers amassed by kinship networks of Quaker women demonstrates that there is ample scope to examine the relationship which female Friends identified between their commitment to maternal social welfarism and their religious faithfulness.<sup>130</sup> Holton comments on the value of writings by women in the Priestman-Bright circle for assessing 'the varieties of religious

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<sup>127</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 46-47.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 44 and 41. Mack also emphasises the importance of this approach. See Mack, 'Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency', 441 and 444. See also Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 139.

<sup>129</sup> Holton, Mackinnon and Allen, 'Introduction': 4. See also Jane Haggis, "'A heart that has felt the love of God and longs for others to know it": Conventions of Gender, Tensions of Self and Constructions of Difference in Offering to be a Lady Missionary', *Women's History Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 171.

<sup>130</sup> Sandra Stanley Holton, *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780-1930* (Abingdon: Routledge 2007).



experience among this set of women Friends, and the implication of such experience for their participation in larger arenas'.<sup>131</sup> Responding to the scholarly agenda outlined by Mack, van Drenth and de Haan, this thesis analyses how Taylor Cadbury envisaged and promoted maternal work supporting social reform as an obligation of Christian citizenship and an expression of service to God.<sup>132</sup>

## 1.5: Sources and Methodology

### 1.5.1: Sources for Evaluating Taylor Cadbury's Social Reform Work

Koven has observed that the absence of women from studies exploring 'the construction of British welfare policies and programs' is partially due to histories being 'written from the records of the official central state'.<sup>133</sup> Drawing on scholarship which has examined the extent of women's agency in social welfare reform through local level work, Koven advocates a focus on local records to uncover the importance of female contributions towards the formulation of welfare provision during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>134</sup> Indeed, in her recent study of special schooling in Birmingham, Anna Brown emphasises the significance of local archives for understanding the operation of welfare provision at local level and for assessing women's wider role in such work.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, studies have demonstrated the importance of enhancing the analysis presented in 'the "set-piece" histories'

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>132</sup> See particularly Mack, 'Teaching about Gender and Spirituality': 225-26; Mack, 'Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency', 441 and 444; Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 41.

<sup>133</sup> Koven, 'Borderlands', 94-95.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. See, for example, Thane, 'Women in the British Labour Party'.

<sup>135</sup> Anna Elizabeth Brown, 'Special Schooling and the "Feeble-Minded" in Birmingham, 1870-1914' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2008), 29.

based on official institutional records by focussing on ‘individual lives and stories’.<sup>136</sup>

Barbara Caine and Jane Martin have remarked on the “‘biographical turn” in the humanities’, emphasising the currency of biographical treatment in historical research which seeks to examine women’s lived experience.<sup>137</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury’s social action within this thesis responds to these methodological assessments by examining local records produced by the Bournville Village Trust and Birmingham Education Committee in relation to material written and preserved by Taylor Cadbury in her personal archive. In his evaluation of documentary sources for educational research, Gary McCulloch remarks how ‘diaries, letters and autobiographies’ produced by individuals can be ‘highly revealing about public issues and debates’.<sup>138</sup> Beyond contributing a fresh perspective on contemporary events, examining Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers alongside official minutes and reports provides insight into the ways in which she defined her motivation and approach to the public policy-making recorded in these documents.

Taylor Cadbury’s personal archive forms the basis of both the cataloguing and research components of this thesis which have developed through a mutually supportive process.

Whereas research into Taylor Cadbury’s social reform activities has enhanced the descriptive elements of the catalogue, the detailed archival work involved in cataloguing her personal

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<sup>136</sup> Gordon E. Cherry refers to ‘the “set-piece” histories’ in ‘Planning History: Recent Developments in Britain’, *Planning Perspectives* 6 (1991): 37-38; Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1.

<sup>137</sup> Caine, *Biography and History*, 1; Jane Martin, ‘The Hope of Biography: The Historical Recovery of Women Educator Activists’, *History of Education* 32, no. 2 (2003): 222 and 219. See also Watts, ‘Gendering the Story’: 230; Ruth Watts, ‘Collecting Women’s Lives in “National” History: Opportunities and Challenges in Writing for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*’, *Women’s History Review* 19, no. 1 (2010): 109-24; Roberts, ‘Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief’.

<sup>138</sup> Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 101-02.

papers has had significant implications in terms of shaping interpretation of her identity and activism. In a study assessing his archival and biographical work on Nora Barlow (1885-1989) Louis Smith suggests that being responsible for cataloguing Barlow's personal papers promoted 'a gradually evolving sense of who Nora Barlow was', describing his cataloguing work as 'priceless for coming to grips with the subject of the biography'.<sup>139</sup> Reflecting Smith's methodology, my developing interpretation of the relationship between Taylor Cadbury's religious faith and maternal work supporting social welfare has been facilitated by the cataloguing process which demanded close inspection of all material associated with Taylor Cadbury contained within the Cadbury Family Papers. This included documents relating to aspects of her public work and time periods in her life which were beyond the scope of my study and which I may otherwise have overlooked as being of only minor relevance, yet which proved valuable for understanding how she defined her approach to social action. However, interaction with Taylor Cadbury's archive has revealed that there are also significant methodological issues in utilising her personal papers to assess the extent and nature of her public work, implications which are inherent in a 'biographical approach', concerned with issues of 'authorial voice' and 'representation'.<sup>140</sup> In her extensive research exploring the network of Quaker women represented in the Millfield Papers, Holton illustrates how a level of access which enabled her to engage with the full contents of this 'substantial private collection' contributed to inform her understanding of its self-conscious construction.<sup>141</sup> Holton was able to envisage the extent to which women in the Priestman,

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<sup>139</sup> Louis M. Smith, 'On Becoming an Archivist and Biographer', in *Writing Educational Biography: Explorations in Qualitative Research*, ed. Craig Kridel (New York: Garland, 1998), 161.

<sup>140</sup> For analysis of such issues see Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief', 2.

<sup>141</sup> Sandra Stanley Holton, 'Family Memory, Religion and Radicalism: The Priestman, Bright and Clark Kinship Circle of Women Friends and Quaker History', *Quaker Studies* 9, no. 2 (2005): 157. See also Holton, *Quaker Women*.

Bright and Clark kinship circle were responsible for the ‘creation, collection and passing on’ of their family archive, demonstrating how, as Michael Piggott describes, ‘record making and keeping’ served as ‘a form of storytelling’ for these women.<sup>142</sup> Similar unmitigated access to the Cadbury Family Papers has encouraged awareness of the shaping influence which Taylor Cadbury exerted over the formation of her personal archive. The presence of annotations and cross-references on documents alongside multiple copies of her public addresses and publications demonstrate Taylor Cadbury’s ‘conscious attempt to control future presentation and interpretations’.<sup>143</sup> This has significant implications for attempting to construct a biographical account of her life and work. Studies have interrogated the ways in which biographers mould their subjects’ life stories through a situated selection of evidence, yet biographical interpretations of Taylor Cadbury are complicated by the subject’s editorial presence in her archive as the agent who ‘selected, preserved and presented’ its contents.<sup>144</sup> In 1923 Taylor Cadbury circulated edited extracts from correspondence which she had received following the death of her husband George Cadbury to members of her extended kinship network. The excerpts which she selected featured tributes which celebrated how her husband’s social welfare work was an expression of his religious faithfulness, demonstrating

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<sup>142</sup> Holton, *Quaker Women*, 2. See particularly Holton, ‘Family Memory, Religion and Radicalism’: 157-58. Michael Piggott, ‘Human Behaviour and the Making of Records and Archives’, *Archives & Social Studies* 1, no. 0 (2007): 245.

<sup>143</sup> Roberts, ‘Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief’, 20. There are examples of this throughout Taylor Cadbury’s personal archive. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Reminiscences’, 1896, MS 466/1/1/10/3/1, CFP, BAHS which features a cross-reference added by Taylor Cadbury to her personal diary entries for October 1895. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entry dated Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1902, Personal Diary for 1902, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1902-31<sup>st</sup> December 1902, MS 466/1/1/15/1/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s public addresses, broadcasts, reminiscences, publications and related correspondence, 1885-1959, MS 466/1/1/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>144</sup> Roberts considers this dynamic with reference to the construction of archives in her analysis of Francesca Wilson. See Roberts, ‘Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief’, 22. For studies of biographical construction see Liz Stanley, *The Autobiographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992); Hermione Lee, *Body Parts: Essays on Life-Writing* (London: Pimlico, 2005, repr., 2008).

that she collected and distributed material as a means of promoting a familial legacy of Quaker philanthropy.<sup>145</sup> It is possible that through her editorial control Taylor Cadbury also acted to exclude material from the record of her life documented in her personal papers, presenting a similar ‘sentimental and romanticised history’ of Cadbury Quaker philanthropy to the version which Bailey identifies operated in the *Bournville Works Magazine*.<sup>146</sup>

Despite evidence of what Roberts describes as ‘mythology and reinvention’ within Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers, her archive also incorporates material which contests a celebratory narrative of her own religious and social achievements as a Quaker philanthropist.<sup>147</sup> This includes correspondence which she received attacking her interpretation of Christian faithfulness from listeners to her contribution to the BBC’s Sunday Evening Service wireless broadcast in 1926.<sup>148</sup> In addition, in the family correspondence which she produced and conserved, Taylor Cadbury commented on conflict within Birmingham’s Hygiene Sub-Committee concerning her approach to school medical provision as well as protests against her election as Birmingham City Councillor for King’s Norton by Labour Party supporters from Fircroft College in 1919.<sup>149</sup> These examples demonstrate that although material preserved in Taylor Cadbury’s archive was mediated through her editorial intervention, her personal papers provide insight into conflicting interpretations of the Cadbury family’s public social role. This illustrates the usefulness of Taylor Cadbury’s

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<sup>145</sup> See Papers relating to the death of George Cadbury (1839-1922), 1922-1923, MS 466/1/1/5/1-4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>146</sup> Bailey, ‘Constructing a Model Community’, 55.

<sup>147</sup> Roberts, ‘Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief’, 19.

<sup>148</sup> Correspondence relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s religious broadcast, January 1926-March 1926, MS 466/1/1/10/2/1/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>149</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS.

archive as a source for understanding wider perceptions of her social activism and public agency. Considering how Taylor Cadbury shaped the version of her life presented in her archive, it is significant that Caine suggests an approach to life-writing which draws on ‘the representations of themselves that subjects create’ has ‘particular value to historians’.<sup>150</sup> Caine advocates that biographers ‘accept the limits of their knowledge’ and focus ‘rather on the ways in which a subject performs or creates a sense of self’, while McCulloch remarks that autobiographical sources are valuable ‘because of these traits and not despite them’ as they reveal evidence about ‘the nature of individual lives’.<sup>151</sup> Informed by Caine’s and McCulloch’s approach, analysis of Taylor Cadbury within this thesis draws on evidence of the ways in which she forged her identity and legacy through her personal archive.

Bailey observes how the *Bournville Works Magazine* and the archive of the Bournville Village Trust provide ‘a detailed insight into the values and aspirations’ of Cadbury Brothers Limited and the Village Trustees, yet inevitably present ‘sanitised views’.<sup>152</sup> However, he acknowledges that despite these methodological issues, the magazine offers an ‘unparalleled insight into the dominant values of Cadbury Brothers and the ways in which these were reproduced’.<sup>153</sup> It is evident that minutes and reports produced by the Bournville Village Trust illustrate similarly the ways in which the Bournville Village Trustees sought to promote values consistent with those of the Garden City Movement in the development of Bournville village. This demonstrates the strengths of such material for interpreting Taylor Cadbury’s

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<sup>150</sup> Caine, *Biography and History*, 87 and 102.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 87; McCulloch, *Documentary Research*, 121.

<sup>152</sup> Bailey, ‘Constructing a Model Community’, 54-55.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

involvement in work promoting Bournville's improved environmental conditions, particularly when examined with reference to material in her personal archive which reflects her engagement with public debate concerning urban housing reform. Chapter Two of this thesis also uncovers largely overlooked social correspondence sent to Taylor Cadbury by Dame Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936), the founder of Hampstead Garden Suburb, as well as letters relating to a visit to Bournville by the NUWW which was co-ordinated by Taylor Cadbury in 1905.<sup>154</sup> These letters, together with Cadbury family correspondence contained in the University of Birmingham's Letters Additional Collection, form a key source for analysing Taylor Cadbury's endeavours in publicising Bournville and for assessing the relationship of female philanthropists with 'the Garden City idea' during the early twentieth century.<sup>155</sup>

Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the establishment of Bournville's elementary and infant schools featured in Chapter Three of this thesis is based on minutes and reports produced by the Bournville Village Trust which demonstrate her leading role in administrative negotiations concerning the schools during the early 1900s.<sup>156</sup> These documents inevitably portray a subjective account of disputes between the Trustees and the Local Education Authority, King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education

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<sup>154</sup> Letters from Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and George Cadbury, 1897-1925, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1, CFP, BAHS; Helen [Montefirrer] to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, October 1905, MS 466/1/1/2/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Lily Sturge to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/2/6/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*; Lady Portsmouth to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1901, LAdd 1179, Letters Additional Collection, University of Birmingham; Mary Seton Watts to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1903, LAdd 1145, Letters Additional Collection, University of Birmingham. See also Alice Lee Kitchin to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 7<sup>th</sup> December 1900, LAdd 1174, Letters Additional Collection, University of Birmingham (Letters Additional Collection cited hereafter as LAC. University of Birmingham cited hereafter as UoB.) Helen Meller refers to 'the Garden City idea' in Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 20.

<sup>156</sup> See particularly minutes for June 1904 in Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Secretary's Quarterly Report 30<sup>th</sup> September 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

Committee, concerning the schools, supporting the viewpoint adopted by the Village Trust.<sup>157</sup> However, the thesis contextualises the accounts presented in these reports by situating them in relation to minutes recorded by King's Norton and Northfield Education Committee and exploring the wider context of debate concerning Bournville's schools.<sup>158</sup> In order to assess Taylor Cadbury's role in the development of school provision in the village, the thesis utilises the minute books of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee which provide evidence of her educational policy-making with both the local education authority and the Board of Education.<sup>159</sup> These minutes are particularly valuable for understanding Taylor Cadbury's practical involvement in school management. Indeed, beyond recording the educational successes of the Schools Management Committee, they document debate between the Committee and the local education authority, as well as disputes involving parents and school teachers.<sup>160</sup> Examining these minutes alongside school log books in the private collection of Bournville Infant School and newscuttings collected by the Bournville Village Trust supports conclusions that Taylor Cadbury played an instrumental role in managing the Bournville Village Schools.<sup>161</sup> In order to develop a more nuanced interpretation of her participation in educational administration, Chapter Three investigates Taylor Cadbury's

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<sup>157</sup> See particularly references to the development of the Bournville Village Schools featured in reports between 1902 and 1905. Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>158</sup> Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Buildings & General Purposes Sub-Committee, BCK/ATd/1/1/3, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1903-11<sup>th</sup> September 1906, Records of King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council, BAHS; Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Education and School Management Sub-Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1904-11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, BCK/ATc/1/1/5, Records of King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council, BAHS (Records of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council cited hereafter as KNNUDC.)

<sup>159</sup> See particularly Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Bournville Infant School Log Book, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1905-21<sup>st</sup> July 1955, Bournville Infant School (Bournville Infant School cited hereafter as BIS); Volume of Bournville Day Schools Newspaper Cuttings, 1904-1912, Box 11, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.



wider involvement in educational work beyond Bournville. Minute books of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents' National Education Union and correspondence concerning the role played by lady governors at the University of Birmingham are examined for evidence of her engagement with initiatives supporting early and higher education.<sup>162</sup> The thesis also considers Taylor Cadbury's work as a co-opted member of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee as well as exploring minutes and reports relating to her role shaping school provision in Birmingham as a School Manager for the South-East District of the city during the early 1910s.<sup>163</sup>

Chapter Four of the thesis examines the extent of Taylor Cadbury's contribution towards the implementation of school medical treatment provision in Birmingham as Chairman of the city's Hygiene Sub-Committee by exploring the minute books of this Sub-Committee alongside their monthly reports to Birmingham Education Committee.<sup>164</sup> These minutes and reports are an exceptionally useful source as they resist presenting an account which celebrates the achievements of the Hygiene Sub-Committee or unambiguously promotes Taylor

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<sup>162</sup> Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents' National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, Records of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents' National Education Union, MS 2143/1/1, BAHS (Records of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents' National Education Union cited hereafter as BBPNEU); Letters relating to the 'Appointment of a Female Tutor', January 1901-March 1903, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, University of Birmingham Archives, UC14/ii, UoB (University of Birmingham Archives cited hereafter as UoBA.)

<sup>163</sup> County of Worcester Signed Minutes of the Education Committee, 1903, Document Ref: BA 854/250.601, WROCHB; South-East District School Managers' Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1912, BCC/BH/9/6/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>164</sup> City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 3, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, BCC/BH/10/1/1/3, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS.

Cadbury's proposals as the Sub-Committee's Chairman. In contrast, they record disputes between the Hygiene Sub-Committee, Birmingham Education Committee and the Board of Education, as well as the Sub-Committee's internal difficulties in developing and managing the schemes which they implemented across the city. They also detail disagreements between members of the Hygiene Sub-Committee concerning Taylor Cadbury's policies to improve school medical treatment services. Building on the insights provided in these minutes and reports, Chapter Four examines a variety of related sources which comment on the school medical schemes instigated by the Hygiene Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury's leadership. Alongside reports produced by Birmingham Education Committee's Medical Superintendent, the thesis explores newscuttings collected by the Education Committee and reports featured in the *Birmingham Daily Post* which expressed opposition to the Hygiene Sub-Committees' policies.<sup>165</sup> In addition, Chapter Four examines Taylor Cadbury's policy-making with the Hygiene Sub-Committee and the wider Education Committee by considering accounts which she recorded in her family journal letters in relation to Education Committee minutes and reports.<sup>166</sup> The chapter moves beyond municipal debate concerning educational welfare provision and seeks to assess Taylor Cadbury's autonomy in welfare policy-making by exploring how medical treatment schemes instigated by her Hygiene Sub-Committee expanded on existing provision in the city. Chapter Four considers Taylor Cadbury's role in the development of Birmingham's school medical treatment service by analysing minutes and reports produced by Birmingham Dental Hospital and exploring the relationship between

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<sup>165</sup> Birmingham Education Committee: Reports of Medical Superintendent 1908-1914, LSC, BAHS; Birmingham City Council Education Committee Newspaper Cuttings, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1911-15<sup>th</sup> September 1913, MS 229, BCC, BAHS. See particularly editions of the *Birmingham Daily Post* around the period of Birmingham Education Committee's monthly meetings between 1912 and 1914.

<sup>166</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letters, 1912-1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9-10, CFP, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS. See also Birmingham City Council Finance Committee Minute Book No. 20, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1912-18<sup>th</sup> September 1913, p. 445, BCC 1/AH/1/1/35, BCC, BAHS.

earlier schemes operating to improve child dentition and services introduced by the Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>167</sup>

### 1.5.2: Methodological Approaches to Cataloguing Taylor Cadbury's Personal Papers

Fiona Terry-Chandler observes that material 'relating to women's experiences in Birmingham has to be pieced together from fragments ranging widely in terms of place and time'.<sup>168</sup> Yet it is evident that despite forming a substantial and comprehensive archive, Taylor Cadbury's personal papers remain largely unexplored. It is possible that limitations in the existing inventory of her personal papers may have contributed to conceal the value of her archive as a resource for examining the role played by middle-class female philanthropists in social welfare reform in Birmingham during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. McCulloch cautions researchers against relying on archival catalogues which he suggests can be inaccessible in terms of failing to identify significant documents and providing 'misleading' descriptions of items.<sup>169</sup> The existing paper inventory of Taylor Cadbury's personal papers reflects these difficulties by being limited to folder-level summaries providing brief descriptions which exclude useful details for researchers. For example, the inventory identifies the presence of a 'file of correspondence' relating to the Religious Society of Friends among Taylor Cadbury's personal papers with no further indication of the contents of

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<sup>167</sup> Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, Records of Birmingham Dental Hospital, BAHS (Records of Birmingham Dental Hospital cited hereafter as BDH); Dental Hospital Elementary Schools Sub-Committee Minutes No. 1, HC DH/1/1, BDH, BAHS; Minutes of the School Hygiene Sub-Committee, Kings Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1905-16<sup>th</sup> November 1909, BCK/ATg/1/1/2, KNUUDC, BAHS.

<sup>168</sup> Terry-Chandler, 'An Introduction to Birmingham Women's History', 126.

<sup>169</sup> McCulloch, *Documentary Research*, 54.

this file.<sup>170</sup> This has left papers crucial for understanding Taylor Cadbury's engagement with Quakerism during the twentieth century hidden from the researchers' view. Indeed, alongside correspondence with Quaker peace activist Carl Heath (1869-1950), Taylor Cadbury's papers include evidence of her support for Friends' membership of the World Council of Churches, such as letters which she exchanged with Rufus Jones on the subject of religious unity.<sup>171</sup> Archival cataloguing work undertaken as part of this thesis has attempted to rectify the restrictions evident in the existing inventory through collaborative work focussed specifically on cataloguing Taylor Cadbury's personal papers. This has enabled the production of a catalogue encompassing an enhanced degree of interpretation which serves to 'contextualise the archives in hand'.<sup>172</sup> By approaching cataloguing as a researcher undertaking extensive analysis of Taylor Cadbury's life and work, the revised interpretative catalogue responds to observations concerning the importance of harnessing researchers' knowledge of records' historical context in archival work.<sup>173</sup> Francis Blouin and William Rosenberg rightly identify that archives embody 'historical and epistemological issues' concerning the ways in which 'historical knowledge is formed and processed'.<sup>174</sup> This is especially true of archival

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<sup>170</sup> File of Correspondence Re: Religious Society of Friends, 1902-1956, MS 466/163/1-32, CFP, BAHS. Papers from within this file have been re-catalogued in the revised interpretative catalogue of Taylor Cadbury's archive alongside related material as Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Religious Society of Friends, 1902-1960, MS 466/1/1/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>171</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Religious Society of Friends, 1902-1960, MS 466/1/1/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>172</sup> Laura A. Millar, *Archives Principles and Practices* (London: Facet Publishing, 2010), 163.

<sup>173</sup> Helen Wood, 'The Fetish of the Document: An Exploration of Attitudes Towards Archives', in *New Directions in Archival Research*, ed. Margaret Procter and C. P. Lewis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Centre for Archive Studies, 2004), 34; Tom Nesmith, 'Archives from the Bottom Up: Social History and Archival Scholarship', *Archives & Social Studies* 2, no. 1 (2008): 63. See also Michael S. Moss, 'The Scent of the Slow Hound and the Snap of the Bull-dog: The Place of Research in the Archival Profession', in Procter and Lewis, *New Directions in Archival Research*, 14-15.

<sup>174</sup> Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg, *Processing the Past: Contesting Authority in History and the Archives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 140.

catalogues, in which the presentation of documents is mediated by the archivists responsible for their description who are complicit in ‘a deliberate and creative act of representation’.<sup>175</sup> The revised catalogue of Taylor Cadbury’s archive benefits from the application of specialist knowledge supporting description of the content and context of individual documents. However, descriptions of her personal papers presented in the revised catalogue respond to Blouin and Rosenberg’s observations by focussing on conveying the content of documents whilst seeking to avoid consciously editorialising material in a way which would directly influence researchers’ interpretation of the motives behind its creation.<sup>176</sup>

Laura Millar suggests that determining the original ordering of records is a complex process unless there has been ‘no break in the chain of care’ of the documents, or ‘there is no question of who created and used the archives’.<sup>177</sup> There is substantial evidence that Taylor Cadbury created, utilised and preserved much of the material which the existing inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers lists as forming her personal archive. Yet correspondence suggests that attempts were made to reorganise her papers during the 1960s by the Cadbury Works Publications Department.<sup>178</sup> A letter among Taylor Cadbury’s personal archive indicates that staff in this department attempted to divide her papers based on their relation to the Cadbury firm, the Cadbury Family, the Bournville Village Trust and Bournville Quaker Meeting.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Millar, *Archives Principles*, 98.

<sup>178</sup> For evidence of attempts to reorganise Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers see W.E. Cossens to R. V. Wadsworth, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1960, MS 466/1/1/9/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid. There is no indication of this division in the existing inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers and the presence of this letter among Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers suggests that the material to which it refers was subsequently deposited within the Cadbury Family Papers at Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service.

Owing to the difficulties in defining the ‘original order’ of Taylor Cadbury’s archive, the arrangement of the revised interpretative catalogue has been loosely based on the chronological structure implemented in the existing paper inventory.<sup>180</sup> Alternative arrangements could have been adopted, particularly an intellectual order which distinguished between material created and preserved by Taylor Cadbury, correspondence which was sent to her by friends and colleagues and material conserved by her personal secretaries following her death. However, in order to maintain the chronological accessibility of the existing inventory, the re-numbering of Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers has been structured to begin with material from her childhood during the 1860s and to culminate in documents relating to her illness and death in 1951.<sup>181</sup> With reference to issues of accessibility, it is significant that owing to the overlap in the time periods during which Taylor Cadbury was involved with different social welfare schemes, the catalogue does not adhere to a strict chronological order in listing her various public philanthropic works. The revised catalogue combines ‘the concept of the life-course’ with the sequential framework of ‘life-cycle stages’ by implementing a thematic organisation which groups together material relating to specific aspects of her social action.<sup>182</sup> For example, material relating to Taylor Cadbury’s work promoting improved international relations during the 1930s and 1940s is listed together, with individual documents such as papers concerning her visit to India in 1936 being arranged in

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<sup>180</sup> Millar, *Archives Principles*, 98. For an insight into this arrangement see Catalogue of the Cadbury Family Papers, MS 466, BAHS.

<sup>181</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's childhood, schooling and adolescence, MS 466/1/1/1, 1860s-1877, CFP, BAHS; Papers relating to the illness and death of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 1951-1952, MS 466/1/1/18, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>182</sup> Katie Barclay et al., ‘Introduction: Gender and Generations: Women and Life Cycles’, *Women’s History Review* 20, no. 2 (2011): 176-77.

chronological order within this thematic sub-series.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, while the existing inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers defines Taylor Cadbury's archive as comprising a set group of documents, there is evidence that additional correspondence listed in this inventory separately from the bulk of her personal papers also formed part of Taylor Cadbury's personal archive. The inventory imposed an alphabetical arrangement on material within the Cadbury Family Papers, dividing correspondence preserved by Taylor Cadbury across the collection with reference to the name of its sender. For instance, letters which Taylor Cadbury received and collected from her friend and colleague Sir George Newman were catalogued in a separate sub-section from Taylor Cadbury's papers, under the surname Newman.<sup>184</sup> The revised interpretative catalogue has renumbered this correspondence so that it is listed as forming part of Taylor Cadbury's personal papers, bringing together material in the Cadbury Family Papers relating directly to Taylor Cadbury in a unified and comprehensive catalogue.

### 1.6: The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into two volumes, the first of which contains academic analysis of Taylor Cadbury's social welfare work in Bournville and Birmingham during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Three substantive chapters follow the current chapter which explore Taylor Cadbury's work in the arenas of housing reform, educational administration and school medical service provision. Chapter Two examines Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the development and promotion of Bournville village as a planning scheme responding to fears over the impact of industrial urbanisation. Chapter Three analyses

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<sup>183</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's visit to India for the World Congress of the International Council of Women and her public work supporting international relations, 1935-1947, MS 466/1/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>184</sup> Sir George Newman, MS 466/363, CFP, BAHS.

evidence of Taylor Cadbury's leading role in the establishment and management of Bournville's elementary and infant schools during the early 1900s while Chapter Four focuses on her involvement in the design and delivery of Birmingham's school medical treatment services. A concluding chapter explores Taylor Cadbury's approach to social reform, examining the research agenda which emerges from this thesis for analysis of women's engagement with religious faithfulness in their maternal social work. Volume Two of the thesis contains an extended example of the revised interpretative catalogue of Taylor Cadbury's personal archive within the Cadbury Family Papers. The full version of this new catalogue contains extensive examples of correspondence, diaries, public addresses and publications and its size renders it unfeasible for inclusion in the thesis in its entirety.<sup>185</sup> Volume Two features an extract taken from series MS 466/1/1/10/1 of the catalogue entitled 'Public Addresses' which provides an insight into the interpretative entries created to describe public addresses written and preserved by Taylor Cadbury in her personal archive. The inclusion of a catalogue extract featuring Taylor Cadbury's public addresses supports the focus of the academic analysis featured in Volume One. These addresses illustrate the scope of Taylor Cadbury's social welfare work, her views concerning women's capacity for maternal social service and her emphasis on the importance of religious faith in motivating and shaping engagement with social reform. Entries which describe Taylor Cadbury's public addresses also demonstrate with particular effectiveness the extent to which the revised catalogue builds on the existing paper inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers. The second volume of the thesis incorporates a copy of this inventory in an appendix to illustrate how the revised catalogue enhances existing descriptions of Taylor Cadbury's personal papers.

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<sup>185</sup> The full catalogue MS 466/1/1 Papers relating to Dame Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951) will be available to search online at <http://calmview.birmingham.gov.uk>. This catalogue is due to go live at the next update of Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service's online catalogues.



There is a valid argument for situating an extract of catalogue entries describing Taylor Cadbury's public addresses at the beginning of the thesis after this introductory chapter. By implementing such a structure, the reader would be provided with an example of the public works with which Taylor Cadbury was associated and the ways in which she defined and presented her involvement with such work which would contextualise subsequent analysis of her social service. However, the length of the catalogue extract and its divergence in style from the majority of the thesis would have created a substantial interruption between this preliminary chapter and the analysis of her social reform activities featured in chapters two to five. Whilst forming a key element of the thesis, unlike these chapters, the purpose of the catalogue is descriptive not analytical and focusses on describing Taylor Cadbury's personal papers rather than evaluating the insight which they provide into her identity and social welfare work. Therefore, the catalogue extract has been provided in a separate volume following academic analysis of her social reform work in Bournville and Birmingham. Structuring the thesis in this way also serves to demonstrate the interdependent process between its cataloguing and research constituents more effectively. This structure reveals how research into Taylor Cadbury's life and work aided interpretation of her public addresses but also illustrates how cataloguing these papers shaped the conclusions drawn concerning her motivation and approach to participation in maternal social welfare work.

### 1.7: Chapter Summary

This chapter has defined the focus and significance of the thesis by providing an introduction to the analysis presented in Volume One examining Taylor Cadbury's social reform work in Bournville and Birmingham and the archival cataloguing work undertaken to produce a revised catalogue of her personal papers, an extract from which is featured in Volume Two.

The chapter incorporated a biography of Taylor Cadbury and considered her religious approach to maternal social welfare work in relation to existing scholarship which focuses on women's engagement with religion and maternalism in their social action during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The chapter evaluated the sources on which analysis of Taylor Cadbury's work supporting social reform is based and explored the methodological approach adopted in cataloguing Taylor Cadbury's vast personal archive before concluding with an explanation of the two-volume structure of the thesis.



**Fig. 1.1.** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's parents, Mary Jane Taylor (1833-1887) and John Taylor (d. 1894). MS 466/3/1/2, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.2.** Elizabeth Taylor as a young woman, c. 1874.  
MS 466/3/1/5, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.3.** A composite photograph by Birmingham photographer E. B. Momll showing George Cadbury and Elizabeth Taylor at the time of their marriage in 1888. MS 466/3/2/10, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.4.** The Cadbury family, c. 1890s. MS 466/3/2/11, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.5.** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's first home as the wife of George Cadbury, Woodbrooke in Selly Oak. The family lived here until 1894. This photograph was taken in 1885. Woodbrooke was transformed into a Quaker Settlement which opened in 1903. MS 466/3/2/8/2, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.6.** The Cadbury family moved to the Manor House, Northfield, in 1894. Taylor Cadbury lived here for the rest of her life. MS 466/3/2/15, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.





**Fig. 1.7.** Portrait photograph of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, c. 1906. MS 466/3/1/9, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.8.** Photograph showing Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury addressing the crowds at the Cadbury Brothers Ltd. Employees Exhibition in 1906. MS 466/3/2/21, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.9.** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury visiting India for the World Congress of the International Council of Women in January 1936. MS 466/1/1/13/3, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 1.10.** Photograph showing Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury fundraising for the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) on the Association's Flag Day in 1946. MS 466/3/1/30, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.

## CHAPTER TWO

# ELIZABETH TAYLOR CADBURY AND BOURNVILLE VILLAGE: WOMEN AND ‘THE IDEAS OF GARDEN VILLAGES’.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1: Introduction

This chapter examines Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s involvement in the development and promotion of Bournville village during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, focussing particularly on her work advocating the reform of the urban environment from the late 1880s into the first decade of the 1900s. The chapter begins by locating Bournville within its contemporary context as a planning scheme to provide improved environmental conditions by bringing the ‘Garden and the City’ into ‘closer communication’.<sup>2</sup> Existing accounts of Taylor Cadbury presented in histories of Bournville are considered to demonstrate how interpretations of her work in the village have been shaped by perceptions that middle-class female philanthropy was characterised by a dynamic of elitism. The chapter argues that Taylor Cadbury’s environmental approach to social welfare reform has been overlooked and examines how her work publicising Bournville’s improved living conditions informs studies which suggest that women were ‘remarkably absent’ from ‘the Garden City idea’.<sup>3</sup> Evidence that Taylor Cadbury responded to concerns over public health by promoting the reforms

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor Cadbury refers to ‘the ideas of Garden Villages, Garden Suburbs, Garden Cities’ in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Housing’, [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Garden City Association Conference 1901* (London: Garden City Association, 1901), 7. See also Anthony Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1983), 6.

<sup>3</sup> Quotations taken from Helen Meller, ‘Gender, Citizenship and the Making of the Modern Environment’, in *Women and the Making of Built Space in England, 1870-1950*, ed. Elizabeth Darling and Lesley Whitworth (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 20. See also Helen Meller, ‘Women and Citizenship: Gender and the Built Environment in British Cities 1870-1939’, in *Cities of Ideas: Civil Society and Urban Governance in Britain 1800-2000 Essays in Honour of David Reeder*, ed. Robert Colls and Richard Rodger (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 253-54; Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946* (London: E & FN Spon, 1991), 83-84; Meryl Aldridge, ‘Garden Cities: The Disappearing “Woman Question”’, in *Urban Space and Identity in the European City, 1890s-1930*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (Budapest: Central European University, 1995), 13-23. This chapter is reprinted in Meryl Aldridge, ‘Only Demi-Paradise? Women in Garden Cities and New Towns’, *Planning Perspectives* 11, no. 1 (1996): 23-39.



enacted in Bournville contests ideas that women did not play an active role in planning schemes associated with the Garden City Movement due to their preoccupation with social work preventing physical deterioration.<sup>4</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's involvement with female philanthropic networks illustrates that the increased profile of suffrage campaigning did not deter women from engaging with the development of garden villages and reveals that she was instrumental in encouraging female participation in housing and planning reform.<sup>5</sup> The chapter explores how assumptions of female maternal and domestic expertise shaped Taylor Cadbury's work in Bournville and considers her efforts to promote women's participation in housing reform as an obligation of Christian citizenship. Taylor Cadbury's outlook is examined with reference to scholarship which has suggested that women undertook housing and planning work to pursue social and political advancement.<sup>6</sup> The chapter concludes that Taylor Cadbury's approach to such work was focussed on the practical reform of urban environmental conditions, evaluating the implications of evidence that she defined her participation in housing reform as the product of a religious imperative to social service.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.1.1: The Development of Bournville Village and the Garden City Movement

The origins of Bournville can be dated to the late 1870s when Taylor Cadbury's husband George Cadbury and his brother Richard Cadbury (1835-1899) took the decision to remove the Cadbury factory from Bridge Street to a rural suburb south-west of central Birmingham

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<sup>4</sup> Meller suggests this in 'Gender, Citizenship', 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> For suggestions that women's energies were diverted towards suffrage campaigning, see Meller, 'Gender Citizenship', 20; Aldridge, 'Garden Cities', 15; Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 84.

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Darling and Lesley Whitworth identify this emphasis in studies of female housing and planning work in 'Introduction: Making Space and Re-making History', in Darling and Whitworth, *Women and the Making of Built Space*, 9.

<sup>7</sup> For evidence of this see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

which they named Bournville.<sup>8</sup> The new factory, which opened in October 1879, enabled the expansion of the Cadburys' commercial enterprise within an environment which promoted the popular identification of their chocolate products with purity and healthfulness.<sup>9</sup> This was shortly followed by a small number of houses which were built during the early 1880s to accommodate the Cadbury Works Manager and foremen.<sup>10</sup> Largely a greenfield site, Bournville offered ample scope for the development of further housing as Cadbury's workforce increased from just over two hundred to one-thousand two hundred by 1899.<sup>11</sup> Adrian Bailey identifies that, beyond housing Cadbury employees, George Cadbury recognised an opportunity to enact a more extensive planning scheme in Bournville which formed his private contribution towards the amelioration of urban housing conditions in Birmingham.<sup>12</sup>

Rapid urban growth during the nineteenth century provoked fears about the effects of overcrowding, air pollution and poor sanitation on the health of the working-class population living within the urban slums of industrial cities.<sup>13</sup> With a population of over seven hundred and fifty thousand, the improvement of environmental conditions was of central importance

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<sup>8</sup> Michael Harrison, *Bournville: Model Village to Garden Suburb* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1999), 22-23. See also John R. Bryson and Philippa A. Lowe, 'Bournville: A Hundred Years of Social Housing in a Model Village', in *Managing a Conurbation: Birmingham and its Region*, ed. A. J. Gerard and T. R. Slater (Studley: Brewin Books, 1989), 262-77; Deborah Cadbury, *Chocolate Wars: From Cadbury to Kraft, 200 Years of Sweet Success and Bitter Rivalry* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 101-12.

<sup>9</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 23; 'A Visit to Bournville', [n.d.] c. early 1900s, Document Ref: 530/006128, KFU/CA; Cadbury Advertisements 1888-1900, Document Ref: 520/003520, KFU/CA; Graham Parker, revised and extended by Barbara Tilson, 'Cadbury Ltd at Bournville: Design & Packaging' in *Made in Birmingham: Design and Industry 1889-1989*, ed. Barbara Tilson, (Studley: Brewin Books, 1989), 237. See also Elizabeth Outka, *Consuming Traditions: Modernity, Modernism, and the Commodified Authentic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 39.

<sup>10</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 26.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>12</sup> Adrian Raymond Bailey, 'Constructing a Model Community: Institutions, Paternalism and Social Identities in Bournville, 1879-1939' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2003), 1.

<sup>13</sup> Wohl, *Endangered Lives*, 3; Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Influence in England, from 1880 to 1914* (London: Quartet Books, 1982), 4.

within efforts to reform public health in Birmingham at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Scholarship has demonstrated that the predominant commercial emphasis within Joseph Chamberlain's Improvement Plan and political concerns over expenditure resulted in a deficiency of adequate housing in the city during this period.<sup>15</sup> An enquiry by the Artisans' Dwellings Committee in 1884 concluded that housing for Birmingham's artisan and labouring population was 'generally speaking, in a fairly sanitary condition'.<sup>16</sup> Yet the Committee's report drew attention to the limits of municipal reform by highlighting that a substantial proportion of insanitary housing remained within areas of Birmingham.<sup>17</sup> The persistence of such conditions served to perpetuate anxiety over the public health of people living and working in urban Birmingham, a concern which was shared by both George and Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and which intensified demand for reform.<sup>18</sup> As Dennis Hardy illustrates, 'a more radical approach' to improving the urban environment became popular during the final decades of the 1800s, leading to the development of innovations in the form of planning initiatives which provided alternatives to living conditions in the industrial city.<sup>19</sup> Following the establishment of cottages and 'Institutes' in Northfield, Stirchley and Selly Oak during the

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<sup>14</sup> Wohl, *Endangered Lives*, 4. See also Robert Woods, 'Mortality and Sanitary Conditions in Late Nineteenth-Century Birmingham', in *Urban Disease and Mortality in Nineteenth Century England*, ed. Robert Woods and John Woodward (London: Batsford, 1984), 178.

<sup>15</sup> Eric Hopkins, *Birmingham: The Making of the Second City 1850-1939* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 58, 64 and 66; Roger Ward, 'Local Government', in *Birmingham: Bibliography of a City*, ed. Carl Chinn (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2003), 148; Roger Ward, *City-State and Nation: Birmingham's Political History c. 1830-1940* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005), 77; Peter Marsh, *Joseph Chamberlain: Entrepreneur in Politics* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), 97. For a comprehensive summary of problems concerning working class housing conditions in Birmingham, see Bailey, 'Constructing a Model Community'.

<sup>16</sup> *Report of the Artisans Dwellings Committee 1884* (Birmingham, 1884), 9-10. See also Ward, *City-State and Nation*, 77.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Marsh, *Back to the Land*, 4. See also Woods, 'Mortality and Sanitary Conditions', 178. For evidence of the Cadburys' concerns, see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>19</sup> Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 27.

1890s, George Cadbury instigated a housing scheme in Bournville which he suggested would enable a portion of Birmingham's population to live in the 'health and comfort and the brightness of the country'.<sup>20</sup> Housing construction began in 1895 under the auspices of the Bournville Building Estate before Cadbury founded the Bournville Village Trust which assumed control over the project in December 1900. Under the direction of the Trust, of which Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was the sole female member at its inception, Bournville grew into a residential village with commercial, educational and recreational facilities for tenants.<sup>21</sup>

Histories of Bournville have debated the motivation behind its development, interrogating the relationship between commercialism and business efficiency, George Cadbury's identity as a Quaker philanthropist and his engagement with contemporary social concerns.<sup>22</sup> It is evident that the removal to Bournville offered the Cadburys the opportunity to pursue both commercial expansion and philanthropic endeavours. As Bryson and Lowe have recently observed, whether the origins of Bournville were rooted in commercialism or Quaker philanthropy 'does not distract from the role which Bournville village played in the Garden

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<sup>20</sup> Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), 69-70. Quotation taken from George Cadbury to Egbert Cadbury, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1920, MS 466/224/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>21</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 33-34 and 44-45.

<sup>22</sup> For studies which focus on commercialism and business efficiency see Michael Rowlinson and John Hassard, 'The Invention of Corporate Culture: A History of the Histories of Cadbury', *Human Relations* 46, no. 3 (1993): 299-325; John R. Bryson and Philippa A. Lowe, 'Story-telling and History Construction: Rereading George Cadbury's Bournville Model Village', *Journal of Historical Geography* 28, no. 1 (2002): 21-41, particularly their analysis of the Bournville Building Estate, 27-30. For studies exploring Quakerism in the Cadbury business enterprise see Charles Delheim, 'The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931', *The American Historical Review* 92, no. 1 (1987): 13-44; Gillian Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), 165-77. The introduction to Emma Robertson, Marek Korczynski, and Michael Pickering, 'Harmonious Relations? Music at work in the Rowntree and Cadbury Factories', *Business History* 49, no. 2 (2007): 211-34 considers the interplay of 'Quaker ideals' and 'efficiency and profits' in relation to Cadbury's employee welfare initiatives. See particularly 214.

City Movement'.<sup>23</sup> The Garden City Movement, which emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, brought together individuals and initiatives focussed on promoting schemes to develop improved working and living conditions in a healthy environment.<sup>24</sup> The movement was consolidated in the establishment of the Garden City Association, renamed the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1912, which was founded by Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) and twelve male associates in 1899.<sup>25</sup> This Association was established to pursue the reform of the overcrowded, insanitary and unhealthy urban conditions described by Howard in his book *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* which was first published in 1898.<sup>26</sup> Bournville village predated the formation of the Garden City Association, yet the Cadburys and their contemporaries actively publicised Bournville 'on garden city lines' as a practical experiment to reform the environmental conditions of industrialised Birmingham.<sup>27</sup> Newspaper reports produced following a visit by

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<sup>23</sup> Bryson and Lowe, 'Story-telling and History Construction': 29 and 37. See also Adrian R. Bailey and John R. Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning: George Cadbury and the Construction of Bournville Model Village', *Quaker Studies* 11, no. 1 (2006): 109. Indeed, recent literature distributed by Cadbury remarks that 'Bournville's founders were some of the first town planners to recognise the role that the environment played in improving quality of life'. See Cadbury Trebor Bassett, *A Passion for Chocolate* (Bournville: Cadbury Trebor Bassett, 2010), 13. A number of town planning histories locate Bournville within the context of wider endeavours towards planning reform during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Clara H. Greed, *Introducing Town Planning*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Harlow: Longman, 1996), 97-99; Arthur M. Edwards, *The Design of Suburbia: A Critical Study in Environmental History* (London: Pimlico Press, 1981), 79-83; Colin Bell and Rose Bell, *City Fathers: The Early History of Town Planning in Britain*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1972), 267-77; Eleanor Smith Morris, *British Town Planning and Urban Design: Principles & Policies* (Harlow: Longman, 1997), 39-40.

<sup>24</sup> Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 86. See also Dennis Hardy, *Utopian England: Community Experiments 1900-1945* (London: E & FN Spon, 2000), 56; Stephen V. Ward, 'The Garden City Introduced', in *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Stephen V. Ward (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), 4.

<sup>25</sup> Hardy, *Utopian England*, 66; Mervyn Miller, 'Howard, Sir Ebenezer (1850-1928)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34016> (accessed 25<sup>th</sup> March 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 42; Hardy, *Utopian England*, 56.

<sup>27</sup> Bailey, 'Constructing a Model Community', 1. Clara Greed identifies that Bournville village was 'built on garden city lines' in Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 94. For examples of this promotional agenda see J. H. Whitehouse, 'Bournville: A Study in Housing Reform', *The Studio* 24 (1901): 162; A.B. Cooper, 'Mr. George Cadbury at Home', *The Sunday at Home*

the national press to the Cadbury factory in September 1906 illustrate how the provision of rural open spaces in Bournville village was marketed as promoting ‘healthy conditions among workpeople’.<sup>28</sup> This served to directly associate the village with the Garden City Association’s environmental approach towards improving conditions of life for the urban population, a connection reflected at the Association’s first conference which was held in Birmingham and Bournville in 1901. The report produced following this conference concluded that Bournville village combined both Christian ‘philanthropy’ and ‘business principles’ to form an ‘example of national importance’ in efforts to reform the urban environment of the ‘great towns’.<sup>29</sup>

#### 2.1.2: Taylor Cadbury, Bournville Village and Female Absence from the Garden City Movement

Autobiographical reminiscences preserved by Taylor Cadbury reveal that she recalled discussions with her husband concerning the planning of Bournville village as standing out ‘very prominently’ among the ‘many incidents and interests of a long life’.<sup>30</sup> Tributes published following Taylor Cadbury’s death in 1951 also celebrated her social action shaping community life in Bournville and identified her enthusiasm for the work of the Bournville Village Trust.<sup>31</sup> Despite acknowledging her ‘lively interest in the development of Bournville’,

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(February 1909): 244, MS 466/223, CFP, BAHS; W. Alexander Harvey, *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville* (London: Batsford, 1906), 2; *Report of the Garden City Association Conference*, 9.

<sup>28</sup> *Daily Graphic*, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1906, p. 3, *Visit of the Press to Bournville*, compiled by Edward Cadbury, Document Ref: 024/003225, KFU/CA. See also *The Tribune*, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1906, *Visit of the Press to Bournville*, pp. 17-18, compiled by Edward Cadbury, Document Ref: 024/003225, KFU/CA.

<sup>29</sup> *Report of the Garden City Association Conference*, 43 and 9.

<sup>30</sup> Reminiscences written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury aged ninety, June 1948, MS 466/1/1/10/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Elizabeth Mary Cadbury: 1858-1951’, Memorial Number of the *Bournville Works Magazine*, c. January 1952, MS 466/1/1/18/5, CFP, BAHS; Album of newscuttings relating to the illness and death of Elizabeth

subsequent scholarship has neglected to examine the ways in which Taylor Cadbury contributed to the development and promotion of Bournville village as a planning scheme responding to the impact of industrial urbanisation.<sup>32</sup> Recent studies which have acknowledged her role in the early development of Bournville focus on her activities visiting new residents and distributing literature on healthy lifestyle in the form of a pamphlet produced by George Cadbury entitled ‘Suggested Rules of Health’.<sup>33</sup> Memoirs suggest that Taylor Cadbury considered her visits to welcome tenants and their families into their ‘new home in the Village’ to be a particularly important aspect of her work supporting the growth of Bournville which she remarked continued for over twenty years.<sup>34</sup> However, her visiting practices have not been viewed as contributing towards the provision of improved housing conditions in Bournville village with studies emphasising the ways in which such work evinced ‘the dangers of paternalism’.<sup>35</sup> Harrison suggests that Taylor Cadbury visited new residents as a method of ensuring their awareness ‘of their communal responsibilities’.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Bailey and Bryson describe Taylor Cadbury’s visits as ‘a thinly disguised attempt to revive forms of pre-industrial deference among the residents of Bournville and conformity to Cadbury rules’, suggesting that they formed a means by which the Cadbury family

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Taylor Cadbury, December 1951, MS 466/1/1/18/2/1, CFP, BAHS; Envelope of newscuttings relating to the death of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 14<sup>th</sup> December 1951-1<sup>st</sup> March 1952, MS 466/1/1/18/2/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>32</sup> Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience*, 56.

<sup>33</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 78; Bailey, ‘Constructing a Model Community’, 203; Bailey and Bryson, ‘A Quaker Experiment’: 103.

<sup>34</sup> Reminiscences written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury aged ninety, June 1948, MS 466/1/1/10/3/2, CFP, BAHS; See also Typescript of a biographical article about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury published in *Edgbastonia*, 1914, MS 466/1/1/10/4/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>35</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 78. See also Bailey and Bryson, ‘A Quaker Experiment’: 103; Bailey, ‘Constructing a Model Community’, 203.

<sup>36</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 78.

conspired to mould Bournville's developing community.<sup>37</sup> As these interpretations illustrate, Taylor Cadbury's role in Bournville has been defined with reference to assumptions concerning the 'power dynamics' underlying middle-class female philanthropy during this period.<sup>38</sup> Scholarship has observed that middle-class women who undertook public philanthropic work engaged with a sense of 'obligation' to 'educate society', exercising social superiority in their interaction with working-class families during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>39</sup> As public concern over the health of children provoked demand for higher maternal standards, these women promoted their identification with an idealised middle-class interpretation of motherhood, locating themselves in maternal authority over working-class mothers who became the focus of schemes for social reform.<sup>40</sup> Pamela Gilbert suggests that the philanthropist and social reformer Octavia Hill (1838-1912) utilised her 'considerable cultural and moral authority' in her housing management work and exercised

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<sup>37</sup> Bailey and Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment': 103.

<sup>38</sup> Susan Mumm refers to the 'power dynamics' of middle-class female philanthropy in 'Women and Philanthropic Cultures', in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, ed. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 65.

<sup>39</sup> Martha Vicinus, 'Introduction: New Trends in the Study of the Victorian Woman', in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. Martha Vicinus (London: Methuen, 1980), x. See also Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood" and Women's Responses in Britain and France, 1750-1914', *Women's History Review* 8, no. 2 (1999): 205-06; Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), 145; Eileen Janes Yeo, 'Introduction: Some Paradoxes of Empowerment', in *Radical Femininity: Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere*, ed. Eileen Janes Yeo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 16; Gerry Holloway, "'Let the Women be Alive!': The Construction of the Married Working Woman in the Industrial Women's Movement, 1890-1914", in Yeo, *Radical Femininity*, 175.

<sup>40</sup> Leonore Davidoff, 'The Family in Britain', in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson, vol. 2 *People and Their Environment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7; Ellen Ross, 'Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives before the First World War', in *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power*, ed. Kathleen McCarthy (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 176; Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, 'Domestic Fathers and the Victorian Parental Role', *Women's History Review* 15, no. 4 (2006): 551. See also Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).



implicit ‘coercion’ to encourage improved domestic and social practices among tenants.<sup>41</sup> An approach to philanthropy which combined ‘humanitarianism and class domination’ is similarly identified permeating middle-class women’s visiting work more widely.<sup>42</sup> Paula Bartley claims that Taylor Cadbury’s contemporary female philanthropists in the wealthy Birmingham suburb of Edgbaston enacted a ‘one-way power relationship’ with working-class women through which they consolidated their social ascendancy.<sup>43</sup>

This evidence demonstrates how perceptions that middle-class female philanthropy functioned as a form of social supervision have shaped analyses which suggest that Taylor Cadbury’s role in Bournville served to impose authority over tenants in the village.<sup>44</sup> Failure to evaluate her work in Bournville village with reference to its function as a scheme to provide improved environmental conditions can also be attributed to scholarship which suggests that women were absent from planning initiatives associated with the Garden City Movement.<sup>45</sup> A number of recent studies have sought to uncover the role played by women in public work to improve physical conditions within Britain’s industrial and urban areas.<sup>46</sup>

Helen Meller, Elizabeth Darling and Lesley Whitworth describe how women ‘provided ideas,

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<sup>41</sup> Pamela K. Gilbert, ‘Producing the Public: Public Medicine in Private Spaces’, in *Medicine, Health and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1600-2000*, ed. Steve Sturdy (London: Routledge, 2002), 51.

<sup>42</sup> Quotation taken from Paula Bartley, ‘Preventing Prostitution: The Ladies’ Association for the Care and Protection of Young Girls in Birmingham, 1887-1914’, *Women’s History Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 40; Anne Summers, ‘A Home from Home: Women’s Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. Sandra Burman (London: Croom Helm, 1979), 35, 39 and 43.

<sup>43</sup> Bartley, ‘Preventing Prostitution’: 40. See also Paula Bartley, ‘Moral Regeneration: Women and the Civic Gospel in Birmingham 1870-1914’, *Midland History* XXV (2000): 143-58.

<sup>44</sup> Bailey and Bryson define Taylor Cadbury’s role in Bournville village in terms of ‘paternal supervision’. See Bailey and Bryson, ‘A Quaker Experiment’: 103.

<sup>45</sup> Meller, ‘Gender, Citizenship’, 20-21; Aldridge, ‘Garden Cities’, 15; Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 83-84.

<sup>46</sup> Darling and Whitworth, *Women and the Making of Built Space*; Meller, ‘Women and Citizenship’, 231-57; Greed, *Women and Planning*.

organisations and voluntary labour to improve the quality' of the urban environment.<sup>47</sup> Meller draws attention to female social voluntary initiatives which Darling and Whitworth suggest have been previously obscured by a focus on male 'professional practice'.<sup>48</sup> Women were actively involved with initiatives to create open spaces and preserve rural areas within the industrial landscape as well as supporting housing reform through cottage building during the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Clara Greed suggests that women anticipated town planning ideas advocated by the Garden City Movement through their involvement with housing schemes developed during the 1860s.<sup>50</sup> A substantial body of scholarship has also uncovered Octavia Hill's endeavours to provide playgrounds among urban housing in London, as well as her work with the Commons Preservation Society.<sup>51</sup> Closely involved with her sister Miranda Hill in the founding of the Kyrle Society for the Diffusion of Beauty, Hill shaped the founding principles of the National Trust established in 1895.<sup>52</sup> This organisation encouraged women more widely in work to improve the urban environment, such as the author Beatrix

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<sup>47</sup> Quotation taken from Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 232. See also Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 16; Darling and Whitworth 'Introduction', 3. See particularly their discussion on pages 2-3.

<sup>48</sup> Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 16; Darling and Whitworth, 'Introduction', 3.

<sup>49</sup> Gillian Darley, *Villages of Vision* (London: Granada, 1978), 99-105.

<sup>50</sup> Greed, *Women and Planning*, 88-89 and 96.

<sup>51</sup> Gillian Darley, *Octavia Hill* (London: Constable, 1990); Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991); Jane Lewis, 'Women and Late-Nineteenth Century Social Work', in *Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality*, ed. Carol Smart (London: Routledge, 1992), 78-99; Gilbert, 'Producing the Public', 43-59; Ruth Livesey, 'Women Rent Collectors and the Rewriting of Space, Class and Gender in East London, 1870-1900', in Darling and Whitworth, *Women and the Making of Built Space*, 88 and 93; Anne Anderson and Elizabeth Darling, 'The Hill Sisters: Cultural Philanthropy and the Embellishment of Lives in Late-Nineteenth-Century England', in Darling and Whitworth, *Women and the Making of Built Space*, 35, 38 and 40; Caroline Morrell, 'Octavia Hill and Women's Networks in Housing', in *Gender, Health and Welfare*, ed. Anne Digby and John Stewart (London: Routledge, 1996), 94 and 116.

<sup>52</sup> Gillian Darley, 'Hill Octavia (1838-1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33873> (accessed 9<sup>th</sup> December 2009).

Potter (1866-1943), who supported the Trust's efforts to preserve agricultural land from commercial development.<sup>53</sup>

These examples demonstrate that there were close similarities between the work undertaken by women to improve urban living conditions and the aims of the Garden City Movement to preserve 'natural beauties' and secure 'the utmost degree of healthfulness' through the provision of 'ample light and air'.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, Meryl Aldridge suggests that Howard identified an important role for women in the development of garden cities, advocating that both women and men should participate in their management.<sup>55</sup> However, studies draw attention to the paucity of women who held formal office within the Garden City Association, remarking on the presence of only three women on the Association's Council which comprised over twenty members in 1901.<sup>56</sup> The Association was unsuccessful in attracting female interest in its Women's League which was established in 1903 under the leadership of Viscountess Muriel Helmesley to promote the cause of garden cities among a female audience.<sup>57</sup> Membership remained low following a re-launch of the initiative in 1907, and studies conclude that the Women's League failed to play any significant role in the planning ambitions set out by the Garden City Association.<sup>58</sup> Beyond the Association, the absence of female engagement with the wider campaign to develop garden cities has been emphasised in

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<sup>53</sup> Judy Taylor, 'Potter, (Helen) Beatrix (1866-1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35584> (accessed 24<sup>th</sup> March 2010).

<sup>54</sup> 'Monthly Review of Civic Design: Town Planning at Winnipeg', *The Builder* (November 1912): 510, Box 44, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>55</sup> Aldridge, 'Garden Cities', 15.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. See also Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 83-84.

<sup>57</sup> Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 253-54; Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 84.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 249; Ibid.

a number of recent works examining women's 'contribution to the international town planning movement'.<sup>59</sup> Meller and Aldridge conclude that 'at the particular moment of launching the Garden City idea, active, politically minded women had their minds on other things'.<sup>60</sup> Women are identified as being preoccupied with 'developing social services to meet needs recognised in the wake of the 1904 "Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Physical Deterioration of the Working Classes"'.<sup>61</sup> In addition, it is argued that women's attention was drawn away from the Garden City Movement by 'a newly energised campaign for the suffrage' and what Aldridge describes as 'other more fundamental civil rights' during this period.<sup>62</sup> The influence of conclusions emphasising the scarcity of female involvement in 'the formative years of the modern town-planning movement' is apparent in Taylor Cadbury's marginalisation within accounts of Bournville.<sup>63</sup> While Greed identifies that women and men shared ideas concerning the provision of improved environmental conditions, she neglects Taylor Cadbury's contribution towards Bournville village which she describes as 'the factory town built on garden city lines by George Cadbury'.<sup>64</sup>

## 2.2: Taylor Cadbury and an Environmental Approach to Social Reform

As Harrison, Bailey and Bryson have suggested, Taylor Cadbury's activities visiting the homes of new tenants in Bournville village and presenting them with advice on healthy

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<sup>59</sup> Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 248. For evidence of this see Aldridge, 'Garden Cities', 15 and 23; Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 83-84; Meller 'Gender, Citizenship', 20-21.

<sup>60</sup> Quotation taken from Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 20. Meller draws on Aldridge's study in making these remarks. See Aldridge, 'Garden Cities', 15.

<sup>61</sup> Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 20-21.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.; Aldridge, 'Garden Cities', 15. See also 23. Hardy makes similar observations in *From Garden Cities*, 84.

<sup>63</sup> Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 20.

<sup>64</sup> Greed, *Women and Planning*, 94.

lifestyle can be construed as embodying an elitist social attitude.<sup>65</sup> This becomes particularly evident when her visiting practices are considered in relation to her early views concerning methods of enacting social reform. In 1883, aged twenty-five, Taylor Cadbury participated in a discussion instigated by the Quaker literary and debating group, the Portfolio Society concerning methods of relieving poverty.<sup>66</sup> Her paper entitled ‘Can Poverty be Relieved without Almsgiving?’, which was published in the group’s private magazine *The Gatherer*, expressed the view that middle-class cultural authority was required to encourage improvements ‘in the homes of the poor’.<sup>67</sup> Taylor Cadbury described how female philanthropists ought to teach thrift and a healthy lifestyle. She remarked that the poor were ‘grown so dull & hard of hearing to what is right & good, that in order to help we must live with them, & show them what is wanted to keep them from poverty & make them happy & respectable’.<sup>68</sup> While Taylor Cadbury referred frequently to ‘the poor’ in her 1883 paper, she advocated that all inhabitants of urban slums, including working-class people in employment, required the social influence of ‘reformers’ possessing ‘education and refinement’.<sup>69</sup> Recognising that the cause of poverty was ‘want of thrift’, Taylor Cadbury’s comments reveal an approach to social reform which was based on enforcing middle-class perceptions of ‘correct forms of behaviour’ over those in less fortunate social and economic situations.<sup>70</sup> This is expressed explicitly later in her paper, Taylor Cadbury suggesting that poor women

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<sup>65</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 78; Bailey and Bryson, ‘A Quaker Experiment’: 103. See Gilbert, ‘Producing the Public’, 51 and Summers, ‘A Home from Home’, 35, 39 and 43 for an insight into this elitist social attitude.

<sup>66</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 36.

<sup>67</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Can Poverty be Relieved without Almsgiving?’, December 1883, MS 466/1/1/3/2/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*; Bartley refers to ‘correct forms of behaviour’ in ‘Preventing Prostitution’: 40.

may require ‘urging & dragging to be taught’, adding that they ought to be ‘herded in their own dens & taught there’ if they refused help.<sup>71</sup> Although she remarked that this should be ‘done with tact’, Taylor Cadbury’s opinions as a young woman reveal a view of philanthropic work which epitomises what Alison Creedon defines as ‘Victorian middle-class condescension and tacit disdain for working-class cultures’.<sup>72</sup> Her overt assumptions of middle-class social authority support assessments which suggest that her role in Bournville functioned to exert ‘power and authority’.<sup>73</sup> Within this context, Taylor Cadbury’s visits to residents appear as a means by which she could ‘exercise leadership’ over the community in a manner consistent with the social superiority identified permeating middle-class female philanthropy.<sup>74</sup> This suggests that her work in the village served to promote an elitist social agenda rather than support Bournville’s identity as a planning scheme contributing to provide improved housing and encourage the reform of urban conditions. Such an assessment is substantiated by evidence that Taylor Cadbury was not closely involved in publicising the relationship between Bournville and the Garden City Association during the first conference of the Association in 1901. Taylor Cadbury is named as having attended the conference, but records of arrangements to host delegates during their visit to Bournville indicate that she

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<sup>71</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Can Poverty be Relieved without Almsgiving?’, December 1883, MS 466/1/1/3/2/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.; Alison Creedon, ‘A Benevolent Tyrant? The Principles and Practices of Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936), Social Reformer and Founder of Hampstead Garden Suburb’, *Women’s History Review* 11, no. 2 (2002): 241.

<sup>73</sup> Bartley, refers to ‘power and authority’ in ‘Preventing Prostitution’, 40. See Bailey and Bryson, ‘A Quaker Experiment’: 103; Harrison, *Bournville*, 78.

<sup>74</sup> The phrase ‘exercise leadership’ is taken from James Hinton, *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2. For examples of this social dynamic in middle-class philanthropy see Gilbert, ‘Producing the Public’, 51; Summers, ‘A Home from Home’, 35, 39 and 43; Creedon, ‘A Benevolent Tyrant?’: 241.

played only a minor domestic role in its organisation by meeting with the Manager of the Kitchen Department at the Cadbury chocolate factory ‘respecting the Lunch’.<sup>75</sup>

While Taylor Cadbury’s paper for *The Gatherer* suggests that she engaged with an elitist agenda to enact social supervision, assumptions that her visiting work in Bournville aimed to exert authority over tenants are challenged by complexities identified in studies examining the social dynamics within middle-class female philanthropy. Class divisions are acknowledged permeating philanthropic work, yet studies emphasise that defining philanthropy as a means of exercising social authority impedes understanding of the social welfare work undertaken by middle-class women.<sup>76</sup> Ellen Ross identifies that middle-class female philanthropists who made a valuable contribution towards the reform of urban poverty through visiting work in the urban slums have been misrepresented by ‘satirical “lady bountiful” stereotypes, or social-control simplifications’.<sup>77</sup> As Susan Mumm suggests, although ‘power dynamics certainly existed in any charitable transaction and cannot be dismissed’, the relationship between middle-class female philanthropists and working-class women ‘was far more complex and far more reciprocal than has been previously realised’.<sup>78</sup> These observations have particular

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<sup>75</sup> *Report of the Garden City Association Conference*, unnumbered page marked A2; Committee Meeting 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1901, Minute 202, p. 48, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 1, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1901-14<sup>th</sup> August 1902, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>76</sup> Jane Lewis, ‘Gender, the Family and Women’s Agency in the Building of States: The British Case’, *Social History* 19, no. 1 (1994): 39 and 53. Charles Dellheim disputes such assessments with reference to Cadbury philanthropy more widely, suggesting that they are based on assumptions ‘that every relationship is a form of manipulation’. See Dellheim, ‘The Creation of a Company Culture’: 43.

<sup>77</sup> Ellen Ross, ‘Introduction: Adventures among the Poor’, in *Slum Travellers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860-1920*, ed. Ellen Ross (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2007), 5. See also 13 and 23. For commentary on the figure of the ‘lady bountiful’ see Lewis, ‘Women in Late-Nineteenth-Century Social Work’, 79 and 98; Anne Logan, “‘Lady Bountiful’ or Community Activist? Amelia Scott (1860-1952)”, *Women’s History Magazine* 62 (2010): 11-12; Kathleen D. McCarthy ‘Preface’ in *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power*, ed. Kathleen McCarthy (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), xi.

<sup>78</sup> Mumm, ‘Women and Philanthropic Cultures’, 65. Mumm suggests this in her analysis of the social dynamics within religious philanthropic organisations and the role played by female philanthropists in these groups.

relevance with reference to Taylor Cadbury when considered in relation to revisionist studies of Bournville village which have identified the necessity of adopting a more nuanced interpretation of the relationship between the Cadbury family and residents living in the village. Bailey and Bryson dispute the viability of a clear dualism between ‘a nostalgic romantic account of Bournville’ and an interpretation which portrays the Cadburys exerting ‘social control’.<sup>79</sup> They draw attention to the presence of ‘multiple historical narratives’ revealing ‘contradictions and inconsistencies’ which illustrate that the Cadburys’ role in Bournville was more complex than existing accounts have recognised.<sup>80</sup> Considering this, it is significant that analysis of Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers reveals substantial discrepancies between her views as a young woman and the social outlook which she expressed in public addresses and publications during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>81</sup> This suggests that Taylor Cadbury’s approach to social welfare reform underwent considerable change in the second half of the 1880s, implying that her role in Bournville village was more sophisticated than ‘an exercise in regulating and disciplining’.<sup>82</sup>

In 1885 Taylor Cadbury travelled to Paris to volunteer at a medical mission which had ‘grown out of Relief organised by Friends after the Franco-German War’ where she worked dispensing medicines, providing religious guidance and undertaking home visiting work in

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Mumm’s study focusses particularly on the Girls’ Friendly Society (GFS) and the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA).

<sup>79</sup> Adrian R. Bailey and John R. Bryson, ‘Stories of Suburbia (Bournville UK): From Planning to People Tales’, *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 2 (2006): 189. See also 194. Lewis refers to perceptions of middle-class philanthropy as ‘social control’ in ‘Women and Late-Nineteenth-Century Social Work’, 98.

<sup>80</sup> Bailey and Bryson, ‘Stories of Suburbia’: 194.

<sup>81</sup> See particularly Public Addresses, 1890-1949, MS 466/1/1/10/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>82</sup> Lewis, ‘Women in Late-Nineteenth-Century Social Work’, 79.



the impoverished urban quarter of Belleville.<sup>83</sup> Her correspondence during this period reveals that visiting work in the Parisian slums stimulated her awareness of the debilitating impact of the urban environment on its inhabitants.<sup>84</sup> In letters to her mother, Taylor Cadbury remarked that the houses she visited were ‘horribly close’ and ‘more like cupboards’, commenting that their residents lived like ‘rabbits in a warren’.<sup>85</sup> She vividly recalled visiting ‘the homes of the *Chiffonnières*, the street-sweepers and rag-and-bone merchants, who lived in a *quartier* by themselves, in hovels surrounded by a wall’ in her memoirs written in the 1930s.<sup>86</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s concern over the living conditions which she witnessed in Paris encouraged her to investigate urban housing provision in London on her return to England. Writing in 1937 she commented:

Back home again, having been in the slums of Paris...I tried to learn more of social conditions in London...about this time public opinion was being aroused on the condition of houses for the “working classes.” I visited a number of homes in the neighbourhood of Bunhill Fields, Shoreditch and Ratcliff, and like many others became wildly indignant with landlords who took rent from decent people forced to live in such sordid slums, and who never repaired or repainted or made habitable their homes.<sup>87</sup>

Taylor Cadbury’s remarks demonstrate her recognition that her practical experiences of life in the slums of Paris and London during the latter years of the 1880s refocused her social outlook and motivated her engagement with an environmental approach to social welfare reform. While these memoirs date from much later in her life, publications and public

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<sup>83</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, *Historical Rhymes*, 1937, p. 69, MS 466/1/1/4/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>84</sup> Elizabeth Taylor to Mary Jane Taylor, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1885, MS 466/1/1/3/7/1/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*; Elizabeth Taylor to Mary Jane Taylor, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1885, MS 466/1/1/3/7/1/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor to Mary Jane Taylor, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1885, MS 466/1/1/3/7/1/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>86</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, *Historical Rhymes*, 1937, p. 70, MS 466/1/1/4/7, CFP, BAHS. The words ‘*Chiffonnières*’ and ‘*quartier*’ appear italicised in Taylor Cadbury’s printed version of *Historical Rhymes*.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

addresses written by Taylor Cadbury from the 1890s and early 1900s reveal that the experiences of urban life which they recall had an immediate and substantial impact in terms of reshaping her views.<sup>88</sup> In a stark contrast to the elitism which she expressed in *The Gatherer* in 1883, a paper written by Taylor Cadbury for the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* in 1896 reveals how her awareness of the social inequalities inherent in urban housing encouraged her to abandon an approach to social reform based on 'making the poor more like their betters'.<sup>89</sup> Taylor Cadbury remarked on the obligations of employers to provide their staff with fair wages, stating:

Have we a right to judge the way in which our employ[é]s' wages are spent? If a poor man had to audit our accounts, would he not be very likely to consider a good deal of our expenditure needless and wasteful? What of the endless succession of dull though expensive dinner-parties... It is not our place to judge a working man's expenditure, but it is for us to act with justice, and see that the wealth producers of this country have a fair proportion of the wealth.<sup>90</sup>

Her comments reveal that she became explicitly critical of philanthropists who exercised 'superiority' which she argued 'would poison everything', Taylor Cadbury advocating instead that 'those more fortunately placed' ought to 'set themselves... on the same plane as those whom they are trying to serve'.<sup>91</sup> Susannah Wright and Anna Davin identify the contemporary tendency among commentators during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries 'to both pity and condemn the inhabitants of the slums' as 'poor by their own

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<sup>88</sup> This is particularly evident in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-24.

<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Can Poverty be Relieved without Almsgiving?', December 1883, MS 466/1/1/3/2/3, CFP, BAHS. Quotation taken from Summers, 'A Home from Home', 43.

<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 421. The word 'employees' has been printed as 'employés' in this article.

<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

fault'.<sup>92</sup> Although Taylor Cadbury had little sympathy for 'wilfully negligent and neglectful' mothers in public addresses which she wrote during the early twentieth century, she admitted that these women formed 'an extremely small part of the community'.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, Taylor Cadbury empathised with working-class families who she suggested were helplessly 'forced to live in most undecent, un-sanitarily confined spaces on account of the high rents'.<sup>94</sup> She did not condemn families living in urban slums, but attributed social problems to irresponsible 'urban landlords' who drew 'immense revenues from ground covered with houses unfit for habitation'.<sup>95</sup> From the 1890s Taylor Cadbury publicly promoted the view that it was housing reform, not 'want of thrift' which was the mainstay 'of helping to solve the problem of poverty' and commended financial investment in cottage building as a means of relieving impoverishment to Women's Yearly Meeting in 1903.<sup>96</sup> Taylor Cadbury exchanged a sense of middle-class social authority for an awareness of social responsibility, emphasising the necessity of her contemporaries 'awaking to a sense of their obligations' to provide 'a chance to live in a decent home' to 'the poor, & those who cannot help themselves'.<sup>97</sup> Speaking on

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<sup>92</sup> Susannah Wright, 'The Work of Teachers and Others in and around a Birmingham Slum School 1891-1920', *History of Education* 38, no. 6 (2009): 733; Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop* 5 (1978): 54.

<sup>93</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Health of the Nation', 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>94</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 418. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>95</sup> Taylor Cadbury refers to 'urban landlords' in *Women Workers* XIV, no. 3 (December 1904): 48; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 418. This outlook is particularly evident in a paper which Taylor Cadbury wrote for the National Union of Women Workers in 1907 in which she asserted 'I am afraid to trust myself to speak of the owners of slum property'. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>96</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury refers to 'want of thrift' in 'Can Poverty be Relieved without Almsgiving?', December 1883, MS 466/1/1/3/2/3, CFP, BAHS; 'Women's Yearly Meeting', *The Friend* (12<sup>th</sup> June 1903): 395-96. Taylor Cadbury's comments are printed on 396.

<sup>97</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 418; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS.

the subject of housing during the early twentieth century, she advocated that ‘no greater work awaits the reformer, no higher task the administrator, than the transforming of slums & rookeries’.<sup>98</sup>

Taylor Cadbury’s engagement with a sense of social obligation to reform the urban environment and her recognition that housing reform was crucial in efforts to promote social welfare contests conclusions that her role in Bournville served merely to enforce discipline and conformity. This interpretation is disputed further by evidence that Taylor Cadbury identified her work in the village as a response to her concern over the necessity of improving urban housing. Taylor Cadbury remarked in memoirs that her home-visiting work in London and her endeavours running ‘a Boys’ Club in Ratcliffe Highway, down near the Docks, where housing conditions were pitifully inadequate’ had inspired her enthusiasm for practical initiatives which contributed to ameliorate urban conditions.<sup>99</sup> Referring specifically to her involvement with the development of Bournville, Taylor Cadbury identified a direct connection between her ‘experiences of the life of the people of the East End of London’ and her ‘immense interest’ in Bournville’s ‘garden village’.<sup>100</sup> Accounts in which Taylor Cadbury emphasised the relationship between her early experiences of life in London’s slums and her support for Bournville as a housing reform scheme were written retrospectively between the late 1920s and early 1940s. However, it is evident that she actively engaged with public debate promoting urban reform during the period contemporary with the development of

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<sup>98</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Housing’, [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-24.

<sup>99</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘How Did the Garden Grow?’, 1942, MS 466/1/1/5/5, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘George Cadbury’, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1929, MS 466/1/1/14/1/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>100</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘How Did the Garden Grow?’, 1942, MS 466/1/1/5/5, CFP, BAHS.

Bournville village at the turn of the twentieth century. After attending lectures by the art critic and social commentator John Ruskin (1819-1900) during the 1870s, Taylor Cadbury cited Ruskin in her critique of a 'social system' which propagated 'hideous inequalities' in living conditions in her paper for the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* in 1896.<sup>101</sup> Her comments in this paper demonstrate that she defined her approach to social reform in relation to ideas espoused by Ruskin which motivated social action in response to housing problems and exerted considerable influence in planning initiatives associated with the Garden City Movement.<sup>102</sup> Public addresses written by Taylor Cadbury during the early 1900s reveal that the reform of urban housing formed a central element of her social action during this period. Taylor Cadbury asserted that 'the houses & courts built for the industrious, self-respecting, working-men & women of England are a disgrace to England', remarking to the NUWW in 1904 that town planning was 'surely the most important problem before us'.<sup>103</sup> Such evidence informs accounts of Taylor Cadbury's role in Bournville which have neglected to examine her environmental approach to social welfare reform by revealing that she identified her work in the village as serving to support its identity as a planned response to urbanisation. While Taylor Cadbury may not have been prominently involved in promoting the relationship between Bournville and the wider work of the Garden City Association during their 1901 conference, as Meller suggests of women more widely, her work in this direction was more

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<sup>101</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 27; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 420 and 418.

<sup>102</sup> Stuart Eagles, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of the Victorian Prophet, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15. See also 1 and 23; Jose Harris, 'Ruskin and Social Reform', in *Ruskin and the Dawn of the Modern*, ed. Dinah Birch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 24.

<sup>103</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; *Women Workers* XIV, no. 3 (December 1904): 48. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.], c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Adult Schools', November 1909, MS 466/1/1/10/1/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Health of the Nation', 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

‘people-centred’.<sup>104</sup> This becomes apparent when her interaction with Bournville residents is re-examined in relation to her previously overlooked engagement with contemporary debate concerning housing reform.

In a paper written for the NUWW in 1907, Taylor Cadbury criticised ‘charity, meaning gifts of money’ which she suggested gave ‘an undue sense of exaltation & superiority to the giver’.<sup>105</sup> She advocated instead the importance of social reformers taking ‘personal interest’ in the conditions of life experienced by the people they sought to help.<sup>106</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s emphasis on the importance of ‘personal interest’ is evident in her visits to Bournville residents which recent studies have identified extended beyond a call to welcome tenants on their arrival to the village and provide social co-ordination.<sup>107</sup> Standish Meacham and Carol Kennedy observe that Taylor Cadbury also visited tenants with new babies and offered bereaved families a holiday at Wynds Point, the Cadbury family’s home in Malvern.<sup>108</sup> Frequently noting calls to families with babies and visits to see people suffering from illness, Taylor Cadbury’s personal diaries and family journal letters indicate the regularity with which she made calls in Bournville village.<sup>109</sup> Writing to her family in May 1906, Taylor Cadbury

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<sup>104</sup> Meller, ‘Gender, Citizenship’, 16.

<sup>105</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., Bailey and Bryson emphasise the dynamic of social co-ordination in Taylor Cadbury’s work in Bournville. See Bailey and Bryson, ‘A Quaker Experiment’: 103.

<sup>108</sup> Standish Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 30; Carol Kennedy, *The Merchant Princes: Family, Fortune and Philanthropy, Cadbury, Sainsbury and John Lewis* (London: Hutchinson, 2000), 61. See also Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 75.

<sup>109</sup> See for example Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entry for Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> October 1899, personal diary for 1899, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1899-31<sup>st</sup> December 1899, MS 466/1/1/15/1/7, CFP, BAHS. See entries throughout Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s personal diary for 1899. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

remarked ‘I was in the Village in the morning and paid various visits, one on young Mrs. Appleton to see her baby of two months’ old, and another on a young Mrs. Hunt whose baby born the same time died the next day’.<sup>110</sup> Taylor Cadbury also made visits to residents in the village with whom she was associated through the close network of Friends who attended Bournville Meeting and to villagers employed by the Cadbury family when they were suffering from illness.<sup>111</sup> She remarked in October 1904 that she had been visiting a woman suffering from a gastric ulcer who was the daughter of Edwin Gilbert, an associate of the Cadburys involved in Quaker philanthropic work supporting adult education.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, in October 1907, she commented on paying various calls in Bournville ‘one to our foreman bricklayer who is extremely ill and whom I do not think will recover’.<sup>113</sup> Alongside her visits to people affected by bereavement and sickness, Taylor Cadbury supported the domestic stability of tenants living in the village. In November 1904 she remarked that she had called on a recently bereaved woman named Nelly Maldron whose husband had become unemployed, commenting ‘we have just given him a job here to keep him going for a little while’.<sup>114</sup>

Evidence of Taylor Cadbury’s regular visits to residents suffering from illness, grief and domestic difficulties reveals that rather than exerting elitist social supervision, her sustained

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<sup>110</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>111</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/8, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>112</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/8, CFP, BAHS. For references to Edwin Gilbert see Taylor Cadbury’s family journal letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> November 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>113</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>114</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS.

interaction with the Bournville community was aimed at promoting social welfare in the village. In this sense, Taylor Cadbury's work related closely to the 'social action in the form of social work with individual family members' which Lewis suggests was typically undertaken by women and which contributed towards 'the development of social provision' during this period.<sup>115</sup> Considering the relationship between Taylor Cadbury's work in Bournville and the village's function as a planning initiative to reform urban living conditions, it is significant that scholarship has identified the 'positive contribution' of such work in terms of supporting 'the provision of improved housing' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>116</sup> In his remarks concerning the housing management practices of Octavia Hill, Gordon Cherry suggests that an 'emphasis on direct involvement with householders' contributed to inform the development of schemes to improve working-class housing conditions.<sup>117</sup> As Gilbert's comments above illustrated, Hill's social outlook, described as 'patronising in the extreme', differed from the approach promoted by Taylor Cadbury.<sup>118</sup> Yet Meller's description of Hill's visiting practices, in which 'detailed care was taken with each family and help provided in times of crises', reflects the practical function of Taylor Cadbury's work, suggesting that her visits to Bournville residents supported the housing reforms enacted in the village.<sup>119</sup> Recent scholarship has identified that female

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<sup>115</sup> Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency': 46 and 50.

<sup>116</sup> Lewis, 'Women in Late-Nineteenth-Century Social Work', 79. See also Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency': 40; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 1 and 7; Gordon E. Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 19-20; Helen Meller, *Towns, Plans and Society in Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 41-42; Marion Brion and Anthea Tinker, *Women in Housing: Access and Influence* (London: The Housing Centre Trust, 1980), 66; Livesey, 'Women Rent Collectors', 88 and 93; Anderson and Darling, 'The Hill Sisters', 35, 38 and 40; Morrell, 'Octavia Hill', 94 and 116.

<sup>117</sup> Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain since 1900*, 20.

<sup>118</sup> Gilbert, 'Producing the Public', 51; Anderson and Darling define Hill's social outlook in this way in 'The Hill Sisters', 48.

<sup>119</sup> Meller, *Towns, Plans and Society*, 42.



philanthropy within urban slums was ‘seen to lie primarily outside the conventionally more highly regarded arena of policy making’.<sup>120</sup> It is more difficult to identify this ‘bifurcation of interest’ between Taylor Cadbury’s interaction with residents in Bournville and the village’s housing policy.<sup>121</sup> As Lynne Hapgood suggests, the concepts of ‘health, housing, community and happiness’ were fundamental elements in suburban planning schemes which reacted to concerns over urban environmental conditions during this period.<sup>122</sup> This demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury’s endeavours supporting the social welfare of the Bournville community contributed directly towards the function of Bournville village as a planned response to urban housing problems. Her work formed an important dimension of the village’s public identity as a housing scheme which provided ‘homes’ beyond ‘bricks and mortar’ as well as a ‘full and healthy community life’.<sup>123</sup>

### 2.3: Taylor Cadbury, Bournville Village and Public Health

Alongside visiting tenants in their homes, Taylor Cadbury undertook wider work in Bournville which supported the promotion of the village as a planning experiment providing improved environmental conditions. As George Cadbury remarked in 1901, ‘though small in itself’, it was intended that Bournville ‘may do something to open people’s eyes to the cruelty of overcrowding in towns’.<sup>124</sup> Harrison highlights the importance accorded to promoting

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<sup>120</sup> Anderson and Darling ‘The Hill Sisters’, 34. See also Meller, ‘Gender, Citizenship’, 16 and 20.

<sup>121</sup> The phrase ‘bifurcation of interest’ is taken from Meller, ‘Gender, Citizenship’, 20.

<sup>122</sup> Lynne Hapgood, *Margins of Desire: The Suburbs in Fiction and Culture 1880-1925* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 29.

<sup>123</sup> *Garden Cities and Town Planning*: Special Bournville Number XV, no. 7 (July 1925): 156; T. B. Rogers, *Century of Progress 1831-1931* (Bournville: Bournville Village Trust, 1931), 28. See also *Bournville: A Review 1921* (Bournville: Cadbury Bros. Publications Department, 1921), 32.

<sup>124</sup> George Cadbury, 1901, Correspondence of George Cadbury, Box 5, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

Bournville's environmental reforms by drawing attention to the key role played by male members of the Bournville Village Trust and Bournville estate architects in publicising the village during the early 1900s.<sup>125</sup> He also acknowledges Taylor Cadbury's participation in this endeavour by suggesting that she 'oversaw' the production of *Typical Plans*, a book featuring images and plans of Bournville cottages which was produced by the Bournville Village Trust in 1911.<sup>126</sup> Taylor Cadbury's role in the development of literature publicising Bournville among 'national, municipal and private representatives of almost every nation' demonstrates her close involvement in the promotion of the village's housing reforms as a response to urban conditions.<sup>127</sup> Yet beyond Harrison's study, scholarship has largely overlooked Taylor Cadbury's work promoting the health benefits of Bournville's rural suburban environment as an alternative to the 'hideous tenements & dull streets' of industrial cities which she argued in 1907 offered 'no chance of physical development'.<sup>128</sup> Meller acknowledges that 'many socially responsive women' were concerned with the practical issues of raising a healthy family in the city.<sup>129</sup> She suggests that women's work in this direction was focussed on 'the social and cultural aspect to urbanisation', including the location of accommodation and economic and commercial issues rather than environmental questions concerning 'the quality of the urban environment'.<sup>130</sup> While Patricia Hollis has identified that 'housing and town

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<sup>125</sup> Harrison focuses on the endeavours of George Cadbury, the Secretary to the Bournville Village Trust John Henry Barlow and Bournville estate architect William Alexander Harvey. See Harrison, *Bournville*, 86.

<sup>126</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 86; Bournville Village Trust, *Typical Plans* (Bournville: Bournville Village Trust, 1911), Box 2, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. While he acknowledges this, it is significant that Harrison suggests that *Typical Plans* was 'largely the work' of Bournville estate architect Henry Bedford Tylor.

<sup>127</sup> Bournville Village Trust, *Typical Plans* (Bournville: Bournville Village Trust, 1911), Box 2, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>128</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>129</sup> Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 16-17.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

planning' were important aspects of female local government work between 1907 and 1914, Meller remarks on women's absence from municipal 'public health committees', suggesting that aspects of planning associated with 'environmental nuisances' were 'not seen as the province of women'.<sup>131</sup> Greed identifies similarly that 'women's approach to town planning was shaped by the need to deal with daily, practical urban issues', emphasising the divergence between women's work and the focus of male practitioners whose activities were 'based upon technical public health criteria'.<sup>132</sup> These assessments are problematic when considered in relation to Taylor Cadbury who employed an environmental approach towards addressing the social and medical issues created by industrial urbanisation. She argued publicly that 'physical deterioration' as well as infant mortality and drunkenness were the result of debilitating urban conditions, her work in Bournville supporting the promotion of the village as a contribution towards ameliorating the public health risks caused by the urban environment.<sup>133</sup>

Taylor Cadbury's endeavours to publicise the reforms enacted in Bournville were largely focussed on the co-ordination of initiatives encouraging women and children to engage with the opportunities which Bournville's suburban conditions offered to undertake 'healthy recreation' in the form of outdoor exercise in a rural environment.<sup>134</sup> This formed a central element of work to prevent the adverse effects of urbanisation on public health. The

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<sup>131</sup> Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987), 130; Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 16.

<sup>132</sup> Greed, *Women and Planning*, 96.

<sup>133</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. For the impact of the urban environment on child health, see David Hughes, 'Just a Breath of Fresh Air in an Industrial Landscape? The Preston Open Air School in 1926: A School Medical Service Insight', *Social History of Medicine* 17, no. 3 (2004): 445.

<sup>134</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS.

emergence of statistics revealing increased infant mortality and a declining birth rate exacerbated public anxiety over the health of the female and child population living in cities.<sup>135</sup> Commentators responded to these findings by promoting the importance of ‘building up sound and healthy’ mothers and children, suggesting that the responsibility for such an undertaking lay ‘largely with women’.<sup>136</sup> Evidence of Taylor Cadbury’s work in Bournville reveals that she responded to this appeal by promoting the benefits to health attainable through working and living in improved environmental conditions. Indeed, Taylor Cadbury suggested to the NUWW in 1907 that poor maternal and child health was directly related to living and working in detrimental urban conditions.<sup>137</sup> Following her efforts founding the Birmingham Union of Girls’ Clubs (BUGC) in 1898, Taylor Cadbury was closely involved in the establishment of the Bournville Girls’ Athletic Club (BGAC) which provided opportunities for women employed at the Cadbury chocolate factory in Bournville to participate in sporting activities within its rural grounds.<sup>138</sup> The Club’s endeavours to bring female Cadbury employees ‘into the fresh air’ served to promote the advantages of working

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<sup>135</sup> Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and Other Small Children: A History of the Infant Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918* (London: Tavistock, 1987), 167. For an overview of debate concerning maternal and infant health and mortality during the early 1900s, see particularly Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 13-18 and 27.

<sup>136</sup> V. Sturge, ‘The Physical Education of Women’, in *The Education Papers: Women’s Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912*, ed. Dale Spender (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 294 and 284. See also Helen Jones, *Health and Society in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Longman, 1994), 7, 11, 13 and 17.

<sup>137</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2.

<sup>138</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Girls’ Club Movement’, 1948, MS 466/1/1/10/1/37/3, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘George Cadbury’, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1929, MS 466/1/1/14/1/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entry dated Monday 19<sup>th</sup> June 1899, personal diary for 1899, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1899-31<sup>st</sup> December 1899, MS 466/1/1/15/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Minutes of the Bournville Girls’ Athletic Club, Annual Report 1899-1900, 12<sup>th</sup> June 1899-11<sup>th</sup> June 1909, Document Ref: 351/006114, KFU/CA. See also Women’s Recreation Ground Minute Book, Annual Meeting 12<sup>th</sup> May 1900, p. 10, Document Ref: 351/004922, KFU/CA. The Birmingham Union of Girls’ Clubs is referred to in the text hereafter as the BUGC. The Bournville Girls’ Athletic Club is referred to in the text hereafter as the BGAC.

within a rural environment to female health.<sup>139</sup> George Cadbury remarked that the aim of the club was to develop ‘well and strong’ women in contrast with ‘the pale pinched faces’ of London factory girls whose health deteriorated ‘by working in badly ventilated gas-lit rooms’.<sup>140</sup> After becoming a federated club in the BUGC under Taylor Cadbury’s leadership, the BGAC actively contributed towards ‘training Birmingham Girls’ Clubs’ in ‘physical culture and games’ which served to publicise the benefits to physical health attainable through working in Bournville’s rural environment.<sup>141</sup> Similarly, Taylor Cadbury publicly sponsored local events which encouraged children to participate in gardening and physical exercise in Bournville, particularly the annual Bournville Village Children’s Festival.<sup>142</sup> A scholarly focus on the ‘symbolic ritual’ of the Festival’s ‘pageantry and traditional forms’ has obscured the prominence of flag races, skipping races and high jump competitions in this event for which Taylor Cadbury awarded prizes to encourage outdoor physical training amongst children.<sup>143</sup> Hoffman has described events such as the Children’s Festival as an opportunity to parade ‘the progeny of Cadbury reform’, yet Taylor Cadbury’s endeavours to promote the advantages of Bournville’s healthful environmental conditions extended beyond celebrating

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<sup>139</sup> Minutes of the Bournville Girls’ Athletic Club, Annual Report 1899-1900, 12<sup>th</sup> June 1899-11<sup>th</sup> June 1909, Document Ref: 351/006114, KFU/CA.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> *Bournville 1926: Work and Play* (Bournville: Cadbury Bros. Publications Department, 1926), 40.

<sup>142</sup> Pamphlet for the Bournville Estate Annual Gathering and Flower Show, August 1899, Box 48, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; For the importance of gardening in endeavours to improve public health see Whitehouse, ‘Bournville: A Study in Housing Reform’: 166; Stephen Constantine, ‘Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries’, *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 3 (1981): 390-92.

<sup>143</sup> Joel M. Hoffman, ‘Imaging the Industrial Village: Architecture, Art, and Visual Culture in the Garden Community of Bourneville (sic), England’ (PhD diss., Yale University, 1993), 719. Harrison refers to the ‘pageantry and traditional forms’ of this festival in *Bournville*, 83. Printed Programme of the Bournville Village Children’s Festival, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1928, Printed Programmes of the Bournville Village Children’s Festivals 1928-1939, LSC, BAHS.

the physical welfare of Cadbury employees and Bournville residents.<sup>144</sup> From the late nineteenth century until the early 1950s Taylor Cadbury co-ordinated visits to Bournville and the rural grounds of the Cadbury family's homes by children from urban Birmingham.<sup>145</sup> She fostered a close relationship with Pearson's Fresh Air Fund which organised visits to the countryside for 'ill-clad and underfed' children living in the city.<sup>146</sup> Shortly following their move from Woodbrooke to the Manor House in Northfield during 1894, the Cadburys financed the construction of a barn in the meadow between the Manor House and Manor Farm to accommodate large numbers of visitors.<sup>147</sup> The Manor Farm provided children with the opportunity to interact with animals within a rural environment and hosted visits by a diverse range of social, educational and medical philanthropic groups.<sup>148</sup> Taylor Cadbury's diaries illustrate that she oversaw frequent visits to the Manor House and Farm, including a visit by over eight hundred children from the Highgate Schools and All Saints Schools in Birmingham during June 1899.<sup>149</sup> Edith Vaughan from the Birmingham Section of the Pearson's Fresh Air Fund remarked that Taylor Cadbury's lifelong endeavours to facilitate such activities had 'enabled P.F.A.F. to give literally thousands of children a day in the country under the ideal conditions of the Manor Farm'.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Hoffman, 'Imaging the Industrial Village', 730-31.

<sup>145</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury to John Taylor, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1892, MS 466/1/1/16/1/9, CFP, BAHS; Maud K. Adkins to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 28<sup>th</sup> August 1947, MS 466/1/1/2/20/6, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>146</sup> Edith A. Vaughan to Phyllis Cook, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1951, MS 466/1/1/18/1/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>147</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 76.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. See also John F. Crosfield, *A History of the Cadbury Family*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 463.

<sup>149</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entries for Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> June and Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> June 1899, personal diary for 1899, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1899-31<sup>st</sup> December 1899, MS 466/1/1/15/1/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>150</sup> Edith A. Vaughan to Phyllis Cook, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1951, MS 466/1/1/18/1/11, CFP, BAHS. Vaughan refers to Pearson's Fresh Air Fund as 'P.F.A.F.' in this letter.

Taylor Cadbury's work publicising the health benefits afforded by rural environmental conditions informs interpretations of women's approach to planning by demonstrating that she engaged actively with concern over urban environmental problems, promoting the reform of 'stuffy, sunless' houses as a means to improve public health.<sup>151</sup> Speaking during the early 1900s, Taylor Cadbury urged the necessity of 'fighting for reform' in urban living conditions, emphasising the importance of suburbs which were 'healthily planned' by engaging directly with 'public health criteria'.<sup>152</sup> She highlighted the concerns over urban conditions of life expressed by her male peers within the Garden City Association by arguing that the lack of 'fresh air & sunshine' in 'one-roomed tenements' contributed to promulgate 'sickness & disease', particularly pulmonary tuberculosis.<sup>153</sup> Evidence that Taylor Cadbury employed an environmental approach to public health questions the conclusion that women failed to engage with 'the Garden City idea' due to their preoccupation with social work responding to political enquiry into physical deterioration.<sup>154</sup> Taylor Cadbury reacted to public anxiety over 'the Physical Deterioration of the Working Classes' directly through her work supporting the development and promotion of Bournville's environmental reforms.<sup>155</sup> In public addresses written during the early twentieth century, Taylor Cadbury identified that 'social services'

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<sup>151</sup> Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 16; Greed, *Women and Planning*, 96. Quotation taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Adult Schools', November 1909, MS 466/1/1/10/1/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>152</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; *Women Workers* XIV, no. 3 (December 1904): 49. Greed refers to 'public health criteria' in *Women and Planning*, 96.

<sup>153</sup> *Report of the Garden City Association Conference*, 9. Quotations taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>154</sup> Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 20-21.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, 21. This is particularly evident in Taylor Cadbury's public addresses. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Health of the Nation', 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

supporting public health and the reform of urban living conditions were inextricably linked.<sup>156</sup>

In an address written for Manchester Public Health Society she stated ‘we shall never effectively deal with our Housing question – and so with that of Public Health – until all our towns press boldly forward a policy which will make slums impossible in the future’.<sup>157</sup>

Taylor Cadbury publicised ‘the ideas of Garden Villages, Garden Cities, Garden Suburbs’ as an important advance in reforming ‘conditions of life for the Woman and Child’.<sup>158</sup> Her comments illustrate that she advocated planning schemes associated with ‘the garden city concept’ as the solution to social issues which scholarship suggests drew women’s attention away from the Garden City Movement.<sup>159</sup> This is evident in her 1907 address to the NUWW in which she compared the ‘weights & measurements’ of children living in the ‘heavy smoke-laden atmosphere’ of the city with their peers ‘in the new garden villages’.<sup>160</sup> Reflecting her wider endeavours to publicise the advantages of Bournville’s rural environment to physical welfare, Taylor Cadbury concluded that ‘the more healthy & natural conditions of life show improvement in the physique, appearance & general health’.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Meller refers to female engagement with ‘social services’ supporting public health in ‘Gender, Citizenship’, 20. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Housing’, [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Health of the Nation’, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS. This is particularly evident in a paper which Taylor Cadbury delivered to the 1904 Annual Conference of the National Union of Women Workers entitled ‘Hygiene in Relation to the Housing Problem’. See *Women Workers* XIV, no. 3 (December 1904): 48.

<sup>157</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Health of the Nation’, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>158</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Housing’, [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Health of the Nation’, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>159</sup> Greed refers to ‘the garden city concept’ in *Women and Planning*, 96; Meller, ‘Gender, Citizenship’, 20-21.

<sup>160</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*



#### 2.4: Taylor Cadbury, Bournville Village and Women in the Garden City Movement

Taylor Cadbury's activities as an individual are inadequate to contest conclusions that women generally were largely absent from the Garden City Movement. However, evidence that she promoted the importance of schemes to ameliorate urban environmental problems as a means to improve public health among the female membership of the NUWW suggests that women more widely were engaged with issues surrounding housing reform during the early 1900s. The deficit of scholarship examining Taylor Cadbury's involvement in work to promote Bournville's environmental reforms has meant that her substantial contribution towards galvanising female involvement with 'the new garden villages' remains unexplored.<sup>162</sup> This aspect of Taylor Cadbury's social reform work has important implications for assessing the relationship between women and the Garden City Movement, particularly given Meller's observation that there is further work required to uncover how 'women's networks' mobilised female 'responses to the city'.<sup>163</sup> Taylor Cadbury's identity as the wife of George Cadbury, the founder of Bournville village, and her role as a Bournville Village Trustee afforded her a privileged position which facilitated her direct involvement in a planning scheme associated with the Garden City Movement. It is therefore possible to view Taylor Cadbury's engagement with 'the ideas of Garden Villages' as an exception to the broader experiences of her middle-class female contemporaries whose energies scholarship suggests were directed towards alternative social issues, particularly 'the campaign for women's suffrage'.<sup>164</sup> Yet Taylor Cadbury's personal papers suggest otherwise by demonstrating that female

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<sup>162</sup> Taylor Cadbury refers to 'the new garden villages' in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>163</sup> Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 242-43.

<sup>164</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Aldridge, 'Garden Cities', 23. See also Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 20; Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 84.

philanthropists with whom she became associated through social welfare work, particularly within the NUWW, took a close and active interest in the development of planning schemes to reform urban environmental conditions.<sup>165</sup> This challenges assumptions that ‘the garden city campaign’ was merely ‘a sideshow’ for women compared with the more politicised aspects of female social activism during the early twentieth century.<sup>166</sup>

Barbara Caine and Anne Logan have observed that there was increased activity by women in ‘the revived suffrage campaign’ of the early twentieth century, Logan describing the 1906 Annual Conference of the NUWW as one of its ‘most momentous’ for being held during the same week that the first suffragette arrests were made in the House of Commons.<sup>167</sup>

Reflecting the heightened profile of the suffrage debate, in her Presidential Address written for the NUWW’s 1906 conference, Taylor Cadbury engaged directly with the women’s suffrage movement by referring explicitly to the resurgence of political campaigns which asserted ‘the right of women to representation’.<sup>168</sup> However her addresses to the Union in both 1906 and 1907 were concerned primarily with women’s participation in public philanthropic work, Taylor Cadbury encouraging members to recognise their responsibilities for supporting social welfare reform.<sup>169</sup> As Bush suggests, while ‘the impact of suffragism’ on the NUWW

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<sup>165</sup> Lily Sturge to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/2/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Lady Portsmouth to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1901, LAdd 1179, LAC, UoB; Mary Seton Watts to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1903, LAdd 1145, LAC, UoB; Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 26<sup>th</sup> November 1897, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>166</sup> Aldridge, ‘Garden Cities’, 23.

<sup>167</sup> Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 259-60; Logan, “‘Lady Bountiful’ or Community Activist?”: 14.

<sup>168</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

was 'significant', the group 'persisted throughout the suffrage campaign in the pursuit of its own deliberately apolitical aims' which were focused on mobilising female philanthropy in the service of social welfare.<sup>170</sup> Taylor Cadbury's account of the Union's 1904 Annual Conference reveals that this focus on 'public service' encompassed debate concerning the development of planning initiatives to implement improved environmental conditions.<sup>171</sup> The 1904 conference was split into four sessions including one devoted entirely to lectures and discussion concerning 'The Laying Out of Towns and Consideration of Bye-Laws' which was chaired by Taylor Cadbury.<sup>172</sup> In a report of the conference written for her family, Taylor Cadbury remarked that her session had included addresses from Sir Raymond Unwin, the architect of Letchworth Garden City and a prominent figure 'in the implementation and practice of town planning', as well as Mr. H. R. Aldridge, Secretary of the National Housing Reform Council.<sup>173</sup> The NUWW's 1904 conference demonstrates that, despite a lack of female involvement with the Garden City Association, women publicly engaged with 'the new garden villages' through their membership of female philanthropic networks which were focussed more broadly on women's social action supporting welfare reform.<sup>174</sup> Taylor Cadbury's personal correspondence suggests that a concern with housing and planning reform

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<sup>170</sup> Julia Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers and Women's Suffrage', in *Suffrage Outside Suffragism: Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. Myriam Boussahba-Bravard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 108.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 105; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>172</sup> 'Editorial Notes', *Women Workers* XIV, no. 2 (September 1904): 45; Report of the Half-Yearly Conference of the Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Women Workers, *Women Workers* XIV, no. 3 (December 1904): 48-49.

<sup>173</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS; Meller describes Unwin in this way in 'Gender, Citizenship', 24; *Women Workers* XIV, no. 3 (December 1904): 50.

<sup>174</sup> Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 83-84; Aldridge, 'Garden Cities', 15; Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 253-54; Taylor Cadbury refers to 'the new garden villages' in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

‘on garden city lines’ was not peculiar to the female membership of the NUWW.<sup>175</sup> A letter written by Taylor Cadbury to her family in October 1905 reveals that women beyond this philanthropic group took an active interest in the development of the Garden City at Letchworth.<sup>176</sup> Taylor Cadbury remarked that, accompanied by her husband and two stepdaughters Isabel and Eleanor, she had been ‘to Letchworth via London to see the “Garden City”’, where she had inspected ‘cheap cottages’ and taken responsibility for overseeing a ‘Women’s Housing Conference’.<sup>177</sup> Her accounts of such conferences illustrate that although the ‘newly energised’ suffrage debate permeated female philanthropic groups in the early 1900s, this did not preclude socially responsive women from becoming actively involved with schemes to enact environmental reform.<sup>178</sup> As Taylor Cadbury’s 1907 address to the NUWW cited above demonstrates, her involvement with the Union became an important conduit for publicising the ‘more healthy & natural conditions of life’ implemented in Bournville.<sup>179</sup>

At the 1905 Annual Conference of the NUWW which was held in Birmingham, Taylor Cadbury co-ordinated a visit to Bournville for members of the Union who were given a tour of the village and shown exhibitions of physical training by female Cadbury employees.<sup>180</sup>

Taylor Cadbury described this event in detail in a letter to her family:

After writing to you last week I went over to Bournville to see about preparations for our party there of Friday...everybody trooped down to New Street Station and presently arrived at Bournville...the Band was playing as they arrived, and everything

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<sup>175</sup> The phrase ‘on garden city lines’ is taken from Greed, *Women and Planning*, 94.

<sup>176</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Meller, ‘Gender, Citizenship’, 20.

<sup>179</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>180</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

looked gay and bright. We had a little speechifying after lunch and then all departed around the Village. There was some drilling first, and then a swimming display in the Baths...altogether there were nearly 500 going round the Village...we were extremely tired, but very thankful that we had had such a perfect day.<sup>181</sup>

Taylor Cadbury's account implies that she envisaged the NUWW's visit as serving to promote the benefits of the working and living reforms enacted in Bournville among its membership. The displays of female employees participating in physical exercise within Bournville's rural environment exhibited the importance of these reforms in efforts to support the welfare of women workers. This marketed Bournville as a contribution to resolving a key issue which preoccupied the NUWW during this period.<sup>182</sup> Beyond publicising Bournville, it is evident that by demonstrating the potential of 'garden villages' to networks of female philanthropists, Taylor Cadbury inspired her contemporaries' enthusiasm for becoming involved in work to promote environmental reform more widely.<sup>183</sup> In a letter written to Taylor Cadbury following the NUWW's visit, Quaker philanthropist Lily Sturge remarked that she had overheard a woman who had 'much influence in her own village' express her eagerness to obtain all the 'information' she could about Bournville, adding that she 'was likely to work out practically anything that she saw'.<sup>184</sup> A similar response followed visits to Bournville which Taylor Cadbury organised for individual female philanthropists with whom she was associated through social welfare work during the early 1900s, such as Lady Portsmouth and Mary Seton Watts. Following a visit to Bournville in 1901, Portsmouth wrote to Taylor Cadbury commenting that the housing reforms implemented in Bournville village

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> For evidence of this see Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers', 118; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>183</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>184</sup> Lily Sturge to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/2/6/3, CFP, BAHS.

would inform her husband's work directing the construction of 'workmen's dwellings' in London.<sup>185</sup> Seton Watts, who visited the village in 1903, remarked that her experiences in Bournville had inspired her to correspond with a number of gentlemen in Glasgow to encourage the development of an 'ideal village on the Scotch hills'.<sup>186</sup> The letters from Sturge, Portsmouth and Watts illustrate the formative influence of Taylor Cadbury's work promoting Bournville village among 'women's networks' in terms of stimulating practical female involvement in housing and planning initiatives associated with the Garden City Movement.<sup>187</sup> Taylor Cadbury's agency in motivating and shaping her female contemporaries' participation in such endeavours becomes particularly evident through analysis of her previously overlooked relationship with Dame Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936), who was responsible for founding Hampstead Garden Suburb during the early twentieth century.<sup>188</sup> Barnett's development of Hampstead Garden Suburb has been described as 'a high point of women's influence on the built environment'.<sup>189</sup> Studies acknowledge the practical importance of Barnett's involvement in housing work with Octavia Hill during the late nineteenth century in terms of informing her participation in planning reform.<sup>190</sup> Less attention has been paid to the relationship between Hampstead Garden Suburb and Bournville

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<sup>185</sup> Lady Portsmouth to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1901, LAdd 1179, LAC, UoB.

<sup>186</sup> Mary Seton Watts to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1903, LAdd 1145, LAC, UoB. For a similar example of the formative impact of visits to Bournville in terms of inspiring the social action of female philanthropists, see Alice Lee Kitchin to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 7<sup>th</sup> December 1900, LAdd 1174, LAC, UoB.

<sup>187</sup> Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 242.

<sup>188</sup> Seth Koven, 'Henrietta Barnett 1851-1936: The (auto)biography of a late Victorian marriage', in *After the Victorians: Private Conscience & Public Duty in Modern Britain*, ed. Susan Pedersen and Peter Mandler (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), 31.

<sup>189</sup> Meller, *Towns, Plans and Society*, 41.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.* See also 43-45; Creedon, 'A Benevolent Tyrant?'; Koven, 'Henrietta Barnett', 34. See also Kathleen M. Slack, *Henrietta's Dream: A Chronicle of the Hampstead Garden Suburb* (Hampstead: Hampstead Garden Suburb, 1982), 9-12.

village with scholarship neglecting to consider the formative influence of Barnett's relationship with Taylor Cadbury in her work to provide improved living conditions. This is surprising given the similarities between the environmental principles on which Bournville and Hampstead Garden Suburb were founded, particularly concerning the provision of 'gardens and open spaces'.<sup>191</sup> Indeed, Barnett herself described Bournville as 'the parent' of Hampstead Garden Suburb in a letter to Taylor Cadbury during the early 1920s.<sup>192</sup>

Both Barnett and Taylor Cadbury participated in public philanthropic work supporting the education and welfare of children from the late nineteenth century onwards and were mutually involved with the work of the NUWW.<sup>193</sup> Barnett wrote to Taylor Cadbury with reference to the Union's 1897 conference expressing her concern that members discussed the situation of 'pauper children', and she later delivered an address about Hampstead Garden Suburb at Taylor Cadbury's session of the Union's 1904 Annual Conference.<sup>194</sup> Their activities at this conference demonstrate that Barnett and Taylor Cadbury worked closely in endeavours to promote planning schemes which were aimed at reforming urban working and living conditions, correspondence revealing that it was Taylor Cadbury who first introduced Barnett to Bournville.<sup>195</sup> Barnett wrote to Taylor Cadbury in 1897 expressing an interest in seeing

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<sup>191</sup> Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust Limited, March 1906, Box 26, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>192</sup> Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1923, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>193</sup> Seth Koven, 'Barnett, Dame Henrietta Octavia Weston (1851-1936)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30610> (accessed 26<sup>th</sup> August 2009). See also Koven, 'Henrietta Barnett 1851-1936', 31-54; Letters from Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and George Cadbury, 1897-1925, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>194</sup> Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 26<sup>th</sup> October 1897, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS .

<sup>195</sup> Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 26<sup>th</sup> October 1897, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/1, CFP, BAHS; Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1897, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/2, CFP, BAHS.

Bournville which she suggested would ‘help, not only me, but many employers with whom one talks on these matters’.<sup>196</sup> In her personal diary for November 1897, Taylor Cadbury recorded a visit by Barnett during which her husband George Cadbury had accompanied the two women on a tour of the developing suburb.<sup>197</sup> Barnett wrote again to Taylor Cadbury following this visit, commenting ‘I shall not be happy till my husband sees it & knows you’ before returning to Bournville with her husband Canon Samuel Barnett (1844-1913) in 1898.<sup>198</sup> Subsequent letters reveal that Barnett and her husband were encouraged by their experiences to promote the reforms implemented at Bournville in the areas where they focussed their philanthropic efforts.<sup>199</sup> In a letter to the Cadburys in November 1898, Barnett remarked:

I have told many & many a person of the works & the village & the girls house & the big barn & the trees in the street...last week my Canon wrote the suggestion of a similar village in Essex to a very wealthy man, who today asked him to call, told him his letter had gone home, & that he will use 24 acres of land wh[ich] he had in Essex as a beginning.<sup>200</sup>

Correspondence relating to these early visits to Bournville reveals that Taylor Cadbury played a prominent role in terms of shaping Barnett’s participation in schemes to reform urban conditions which culminated in her work overseeing the development of Hampstead Garden Suburb. The impact of Barnett’s experiences in Bournville on the development of the Suburb

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<sup>196</sup> Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 26<sup>th</sup> October 1897, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>197</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entry for 11<sup>th</sup> November 1897, personal diary for 1897, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1897-31<sup>st</sup> December 1897, MS 466/1/1/15/1/5, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>198</sup> Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1897, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/3, CFP, BAHS; Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and George Cadbury, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1898, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/5, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>199</sup> Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and George Cadbury, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1898, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/5, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid. Barnett uses an abbreviation for the word ‘which’ in this letter.



is evident in letters which reveal that she collaborated with Taylor Cadbury to promote the reforms enacted in Bournville village among residents in Hampstead during the 1920s. Writing to Taylor Cadbury in May 1923, Barnett remarked on an event which she had organised to teach staff and young people involved with educational work in Hampstead Garden Suburb about Bournville village.<sup>201</sup> Her letter demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury, who had recently succeeded her husband as Chairman of the Bournville Village Trust, actively encouraged recognition of the relationship between Bournville and Hampstead. Indeed, Taylor Cadbury supplied Barnett with publicity about the health benefits of living in a rural environment to distribute among the Hampstead community.<sup>202</sup> Examples of collaboration between Taylor Cadbury and Barnett demonstrate how a lack of scholarship examining Taylor Cadbury's active involvement in work to promote Bournville's environmental reforms has concealed her role in wider planning initiatives such as Hampstead Garden Suburb. Evidence illustrating that Taylor Cadbury worked with her female contemporaries to promote the development of housing reform schemes also contributes to inform conclusions that women played only a marginal role in the Garden City Movement. Beyond supporting the development and promotion of Bournville village, it is clear that Taylor Cadbury made a substantial contribution towards 'the body of thought that informed modern town planning' through her endeavours encouraging her female peers into work promoting improved environmental conditions.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1923, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Stephen V. Ward, *Planning and Urban Change*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: SAGE, 2004), 9.

## 2.5: Maternalism and Religion in Taylor Cadbury's Approach to Housing Reform

In an address to the NUWW in 1904, Taylor Cadbury motivated her female colleagues to undertake practical social action towards improving urban housing rather than merely debate the necessity of enacting reform.<sup>204</sup> Noting that members were unanimous in 'deploring' the 'terrible overcrowding and unhealthy conditions' within industrial cities, Taylor Cadbury reminded her contemporaries that 'whilst talking about them, new slums are being created'.<sup>205</sup> Taylor Cadbury's endeavours to galvanise women in 'efforts for housing reform' demonstrate her recognition that women were particularly suited for work to improve the housing conditions experienced by the inhabitants of industrial cities.<sup>206</sup> In an address to members of the German Garden City Association in 1911, she asserted that 'the cause of housing reform was the cause of women' as such work 'was helping to render the lot of the children brighter and happier'.<sup>207</sup> Taylor Cadbury's comments exemplify her view that women's association with maternal expertise afforded them a significant role in the development of garden villages owing to the perceived benefits of these planning schemes to child welfare.<sup>208</sup> Indeed, in an address which she delivered at the 1909 Annual Conference of the Parents' National Education Union Taylor Cadbury expressed a maternal approach to work aimed at improving the conditions of urban life, remarking 'we ask for housing reform, that the child may have a

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<sup>204</sup> *Women Workers* XIV, no. 3 (December 1904): 48.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>207</sup> *Bournville Works Magazine* 12, no. IX (December 1911): 381. Harrison refers to these remarks but does not identify their relevance in terms of understanding Taylor Cadbury's and wider female engagement with housing reform during this period. See Harrison, *Bournville*, 92.

<sup>208</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

better chance to live a happy life with beautiful surroundings'.<sup>209</sup> This outlook was shared and promoted by her female contemporaries involved in work to reform the urban environment.

Koven remarks that Barnett engaged with the role of 'social mother' in her public philanthropy, adopting a maternal approach to her work in Hampstead.<sup>210</sup> Viscountess Muriel

Helmsley similarly encouraged women to support the development of Letchworth Garden City by promoting the relationship between 'the benefits of living in an atmosphere such as Garden City will afford' and efforts to help 'children to grow up stronger and healthier'.<sup>211</sup>

Taylor Cadbury's engagement with this maternal social outlook has implications for assessing the motivation underlying her work to promote the reform of urban living conditions. Recent scholarship has observed that there was little homogeneity among female philanthropists and social reformers in their approach to participation in planning and housing endeavours.<sup>212</sup>

Meller observes that many women who worked to reform the urban environment would not have identified themselves as 'feminist', yet she acknowledges the potential of women's work to improve the living conditions of the urban poor in terms of generating a feminist consciousness.<sup>213</sup> A number of studies have attributed a politicised motivation to female work in this arena, suggesting that women exploited the 'rhetoric of maternalism' and a conception of housing reform as 'an extended version of middle-class women's domestic responsibilities' to forge and expand public roles for themselves.<sup>214</sup> Women who undertook home-visiting in

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<sup>209</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Education', 1909, MS 466/1/1/10/1/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>210</sup> Koven, 'Henrietta Barnett', 40.

<sup>211</sup> Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, 84.

<sup>212</sup> Darling and Whitworth, 'Introduction', 6. See also Ross, 'Introduction: Adventures among the Poor', 1 and 3.

<sup>213</sup> Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 241.

<sup>214</sup> Livesey, 'Women Rent Collectors', 90. See also Darling and Whitworth, 'Introduction', 9. For examples of such scholarship see particularly Sharon Haar, 'At Home in Public: The Hull House Settlement and the Study of the City', in *Embodied Utopias: Gender, Social Change, & the Modern Metropolis*, ed. Amy Bingaman, Lise

the slums and became involved with the work of urban settlements have been identified as seeking ‘new claims on urban spaces’ to exert power in enlarged public and political contexts, with Greed describing female planning work as ‘a first-wave urban feminist movement’.<sup>215</sup> These interpretations raise questions concerning the extent to which Taylor Cadbury’s efforts advocating wider female participation in housing and planning reform were focussed on advancing the interests and rights of her female contemporaries.

Taylor Cadbury’s work in Bournville reflected what Moira Martin describes as ‘a gender-based view of service’, her social action supporting the development and promotion of the village relating closely to her domestic responsibilities and maternal capacities.<sup>216</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s efforts co-ordinating initiatives which enabled children from urban Birmingham to experience the conditions of life in the city’s rural suburbs illustrate that her maternal identity shaped her approach to publicising the benefits of Bournville’s environment to public health.<sup>217</sup> This is further evident in her work overseeing the development of The Beeches, the children’s holiday home which opened in Bournville in 1908, providing facilities for children living in urban areas to undertake extended visits to the village.<sup>218</sup> George Cadbury financed

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Sanders, and Rebecca Zorach (New York: Routledge: 2001), 112; Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, ‘Utopian Visions and Architectural Designs of Turn-of-the-Century Social Settlements’, in Bingaman, Sanders, and Zorach, *Embodied Utopias*, 116. See also Greed’s assessment of women’s involvement in urban reform in *Women and Planning*, 88-89.

<sup>215</sup> Ross, ‘Introduction: Adventures among the Poor’, 8; Greed, *Women and Planning*, 88-89. See also Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science*, 255; Haar, ‘At Home in Public’, 112; Spencer-Wood, ‘Utopian Visions’, 116.

<sup>216</sup> Moira Martin, ‘Single Women and Philanthropy: A Case Study of Women’s Associational Life in Bristol, 1880-1914’, *Women’s History Review* 17, no. 3 (2008): 398.

<sup>217</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury to John Taylor, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1892, MS 466/1/1/16/1/9, CFP, BAHS; Maud K. Adkins to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 28<sup>th</sup> August 1947, MS 466/1/1/2/20/6, CFP, BAHS; Edith A. Vaughan to Phyllis Cook, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1951, MS 466/1/1/18/1/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>218</sup> Taylor Cadbury was closely involved with the development of an earlier home also named ‘Beeches’ which was developed to provide rural holidays for children living in the Birmingham slums during the 1890s. See

the construction of The Beeches, although letters written by Taylor Cadbury reveal that she was largely responsible for overseeing the establishment, practical development and interior furnishing of the new facility which she identified as a personal project:<sup>219</sup>

We are not going to do any papering and painting this year, though a great deal of the house badly needs it, but I am glad to say we are going at last to begin to build the Beeches so I do not want to spend anything on this house until that is complete, I have been waiting for it so long.<sup>220</sup>

Taylor Cadbury's comments illustrate that she envisaged a close relationship between her domestic responsibilities managing the private environment of the Manor House and the establishment of the Beeches. This indicates that parallels existed between her role in the domestic context of the Cadbury home and her contribution to the development of Bournville as a scheme promoting the reform of the urban environment. Indeed, her involvement in the development of the Bournville Show Cottage illustrates that her association with the 'female world of household and family' assumed a public purpose in the context of Bournville village owing to its identity as a planning scheme to enable children to 'benefit greatly through living in healthy surroundings'.<sup>221</sup> Harrison describes how, between 1901 and 1902, 'a show house in Bournville Lane was fitted out with simple furniture' designed by Bournville estate architect William Alexander Harvey in order to allow visitors to Bournville to see first-hand

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Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, entries for Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> July and Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup> July 1896, personal diary for 1896, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1896-31<sup>st</sup> December 1896, MS 466/1/1/15/1/4, CFP, BAHS. See also Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 115-17.

<sup>219</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 116-17. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letters, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 19<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1908, MS 466/1/1/15/3/5, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>220</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>221</sup> Koven, refers to 'the private female world of household and family' in Seth Koven, 'Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840-1914', in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (London: Routledge, 1993), 95; Bournville Village Trust, *Typical Plans* (Bournville: Bournville Village Trust, 1911), Box 2, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

the design of the village's cottages.<sup>222</sup> Taylor Cadbury was closely involved in the development of the cottage's domestic interior and its preparation for public viewing.<sup>223</sup> Minutes of Bournville Village Trust Committee meetings record that she was given responsibility for co-ordinating the furnishing of the show cottage, Taylor Cadbury inspecting Harvey's designs and approving his sketches of furnishings before they were presented to her co-Trustees in January 1902.<sup>224</sup> Taylor Cadbury was also responsible for selecting a tenant for the show cottage who would provide visitors with an insight into the improved domestic arrangements provided in Bournville village, for which she chose a female tenant, Mrs. Hartle.<sup>225</sup> As the examples of The Beeches and the Bournville Show Cottage demonstrate, Taylor Cadbury's identification with what Koven defines as 'a specifically female sphere of knowledge' was recognised as a valuable asset in work developing domestic arrangements for families and may have afforded her a wider role in the planning of Bournville's housing.<sup>226</sup> In a letter to her family written in March 1910, Taylor Cadbury referred to a Bournville Village Trust Committee Meeting, remarking 'on Wednesday I was over at Bournville at the Estate

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<sup>222</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 87.

<sup>223</sup> Hoffman observes that little detailed information about the show cottage survives, although the small amount of evidence remaining does reflect the significance of Taylor Cadbury's role in the project. See Hoffman, 'Imaging the Industrial Village', 296. See Committee Meeting 30<sup>th</sup> October 1901, Minute 321, p. 78 and Committee Meeting 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1902, Minute 408, p. 110, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 1, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1901-4<sup>th</sup> September 1902, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>224</sup> Committee Meeting 30<sup>th</sup> October 1901, Minute 321, p. 78, Committee Meeting 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1902, Minute 408, p. 110, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 1, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1901-4<sup>th</sup> September 1902, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>225</sup> Committee Meeting 30<sup>th</sup> October 1901, Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> November 1901, Minute 339, p. 88, Committee Meeting 12<sup>th</sup> December 1901, Minute 367, p. 97, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 1, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1901-4<sup>th</sup> September 1902, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>226</sup> Koven refers to 'a specifically female sphere of knowledge' in 'Borderlands', 97. Minutes of Bournville Village Trust Committee Meetings offer little clarification regarding Taylor Cadbury's participation in the architectural planning process. See Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 1, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1901-4<sup>th</sup> September 1902, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

Meeting, and also visited some sites and looked at plans for fresh cottages on the village'.<sup>227</sup> Taylor Cadbury's maternal approach towards the development and promotion of Bournville and her comments concerning wider female participation in housing reform demonstrate that she formed an exemplar to her female contemporaries of women's capacity for taking an active role in planning schemes associated with the Garden City Movement.<sup>228</sup> However, expanding the spatial boundaries of women's lives does not appear to have been the priority underlying her public promotion of female maternal expertise for housing reform. Taylor Cadbury criticised 'the patronising fashionable craze for "slumming"' as an ineffective motivation for housing work contributing to social reform which she suggested required religious engagement with a sense of social responsibility.<sup>229</sup> Analysis of comments made by Taylor Cadbury concerning the relationship between housing reform and the obligations of Christian citizenship provide insight into the ways in which she sought to define her own and wider women's participation in this arena of social action.

Publications and public addresses in which Taylor Cadbury emphasised the necessity of enacting housing reform demonstrate that she presented work to provide improved environmental conditions as a response to an interpretation of citizenship which centred on a

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<sup>227</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1910, MS 466/1/1/15/3/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>228</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; *Bournville Works Magazine* 12, no. IX (December 1911): 381. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>229</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24.

religiously inspired dynamic of social responsibility.<sup>230</sup> Taylor Cadbury urged her ‘leisured’ contemporaries to fulfil their ‘responsibility to their fellow-citizens’ through social service to reform the conditions of those living in urban squalor.<sup>231</sup> She publicly attributed the persistence of ‘disgraceful slum areas’ to the lack of ‘Christian conscience’ in society and identified that work to reform urban housing formed an expression of the Christian teaching ‘Love thy neighbour as thyself’.<sup>232</sup> Taylor Cadbury went beyond promoting material improvements in housing provision by arguing that work to improve urban living conditions was a fundamental element of wider endeavours to reform an unjust social system which permitted ‘the oppression of the weak and poor’.<sup>233</sup> Evidence of the relationship which Taylor Cadbury recognised between housing reform and the social obligations of Christian citizenship relates closely to the religious dimension which studies have identified within George Cadbury’s work developing Bournville village.<sup>234</sup> Analysis of the association between Cadbury’s involvement in housing reform activities and his Quaker faithfulness draws on evidence that he sought to promote Bournville village as a response to his Quaker

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<sup>230</sup> See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 421-22 and 424.

<sup>232</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Homes & Houses’, 1925, MS 466/1/1/10/1/24, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 419. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, [n.d.] c. 1896, MS 466/1/1/10/4/3, CFP, BAHS, which forms a draft annotated typescript of this paper.

<sup>233</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 418-19.

<sup>234</sup> David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 434-35; T.A.B. Corley, ‘How Quakers Coped with Business Success: Quaker Industrialists 1860-1914’, in *Business and Religion*, ed. David J. Jeremy (Aldershot: Gower, 1988), 171-72; David J. Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians: Business Leaders and the Churches in Britain, 1900-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 143; Harrison, *Bournville*, 29-33; Crosfield, *A History of the Cadbury Family*, 435; Bailey and Bryson, ‘A Quaker Experiment’: 90-92.



philanthropic work teaching students at the Severn Street Adult School in Birmingham.<sup>235</sup>

Pam Lunn has identified the religious foundations of Quaker participation in adult schooling from the late eighteenth century onwards, commenting on Quakers' 'long history of religious concern for the education of adults'.<sup>236</sup> In an interview for *The Sunday at Home* magazine in 1909, George Cadbury remarked 'if I had not been brought into contact with the people in my adult class in Birmingham...I should probably never have built Bournville village'.<sup>237</sup>

Cadbury's comments demonstrate that he presented Bournville as having arisen from his concern over the debilitating living conditions experienced by his students at Severn Street, locating the development of the village within the religious origins of the adult school movement. Taylor Cadbury shared her husband's interpretation of Quaker faithfulness expressed through 'practical activity in this world' and similarly identified a direct relationship between the 'history of the Adult School Movement' and 'Bournville Village' in an address which she wrote on the subject of adult schooling in 1909.<sup>238</sup> Family letters written by Taylor Cadbury suggest she identified that her own Quaker philanthropic work teaching a class of women at Severn Street served to reinforce her alarm over the 'degraded environmental conditions' suffered by working-class families living in Birmingham.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Harrison, *Bournville*, 31 and 33.

<sup>236</sup> Pam Lunn, 'Woodbrooke in Wider Context: The Enduring Thread of Adult Education', *Quaker Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 208 and 205.

<sup>237</sup> A.B. Cooper, 'Mr. George Cadbury at Home', *The Sunday at Home* (February 1909): 244-45, MS 466/223, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>238</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Adult Schools', November 1909, MS 466/1/1/10/1/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>239</sup> Cherry refers to the 'degraded environmental conditions' in Birmingham in Gordon Cherry, 'Bournville, England, 1895-1995', *Journal of Urban History* 22, no. 4 (1996): 496; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS. In this letter Taylor Cadbury expressed her concern that during a discussion on the benefits of sleeping with open windows, some of the women in her class had admitted being unable to do so owing to the 'very impure air' which came into their rooms.

Although studies have examined the relationship which George Cadbury identified between his religious philanthropy and his work to reform urban conditions, Taylor Cadbury's engagement with religious faithfulness as the imperative motivating housing reform remains largely unexplored.<sup>240</sup> This is significant, as the relationship which Taylor Cadbury recognised and promoted between participation in work to reform urban housing conditions and a sense of Christian obligation to philanthropy has important implications for assessing female participation in housing reform during the early twentieth century.

Meller has emphasised the agency of women's identification with a concept of citizenship expressed through socio-religious public service in their housing and planning endeavours, drawing attention to the importance of this religious social outlook for understanding how women defined their activities in this arena.<sup>241</sup> Darling and Whitworth observe that women 'assimilated contemporary political discourses like citizenship' in their work to reform urban conditions as a basis from which to carve out a visible public role for themselves and promote their political profile as municipal policy-makers supporting the welfare of the urban poor.<sup>242</sup> Taylor Cadbury's family correspondence demonstrates that, while she supported the social and political advancement of women, the enactment of practical reforms to improve the urban environment took precedence for her over debate concerning female political recognition.<sup>243</sup>

Taylor Cadbury remarked in a letter written during October 1913 that she had 'escaped' from

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<sup>240</sup> These studies include Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*, 434-35; Corley, 'How Quakers Coped with Business Success', 171-72; Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians*, 143; Harrison, *Bournville*, 29-33; Bailey and Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment': 90-92.

<sup>241</sup> Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 231.

<sup>242</sup> Darling and Whitworth, 'Introduction', 6. See also Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 232-4 and 241; Meller, 'Gender, Citizenship', 16.

<sup>243</sup> Scott identifies that Taylor Cadbury 'was a keen advocate of the right of women to vote'. See Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 118.

a conference of the NUWW which had been disrupted by debate over the Union's position on the issue of women's suffrage 'to pay another visit in the sunshine to [Reckitt's] garden village' in which she was 'very much interested'.<sup>244</sup> Taylor Cadbury's direct connection with Bournville village allowed her to forge a prominent profile among her contemporaries based on her identification with 'the ideas of Garden Villages, Garden Suburbs, Garden Cities'.<sup>245</sup> Her chairing of conferences on town planning and housing reform demonstrates that her peers recognised her as a significant presence in public work to provide improved environmental conditions.<sup>246</sup> Based on this evidence, it is apparent that Taylor Cadbury had little personal need to promote housing and planning work as an obligation of citizenship with the aim of advocating enlarged public roles for women. Yet this does not explain why she utilised her public association with the reform of urban living conditions to encourage female philanthropists more widely to become involved in similar endeavours in response to a religious discourse of social responsibility.<sup>247</sup> Evidence that Taylor Cadbury prioritised participation in housing reform over debate concerning the political profile of women suggests that her endeavours in this direction were focussed on encouraging her contemporaries to concentrate their efforts on practical work supporting urban reform.<sup>248</sup> This

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<sup>244</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. Reckitt's Garden Village was founded in Hull by James Reckitt (1833-1924) in 1908. Like Bournville, the village was established to provide housing within improved environmental conditions.

<sup>245</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>246</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>247</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>248</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

conclusion is supported by Darling, Whitworth and Meller, who identify that women engaged with a discourse of citizenship in their housing work not only as a means to expand social roles for themselves, but with the aim of enacting reform in urban conditions.<sup>249</sup> Meller recognises that women's 'sense of citizenship' motivated them to contribute towards 'improving the quality of the urban environment for those less fortunate than themselves'.<sup>250</sup> It is evident that Taylor Cadbury advocated the importance of maternal expertise to housing reform and presented such work as a means by which women could apply their female skills to fulfil the social responsibilities of Christian citizenship in order to encourage women into practical work to reform environmental conditions.<sup>251</sup> Her efforts to present such work as a product of religious social concern for the welfare of less fortunate citizens demonstrate that she sought to define her own housing and planning work in terms of a religious sense of citizenship expressed through social service. This contributes a gendered dimension to scholarship which has interrogated George Cadbury's endeavours to promote the development of Bournville as a response to religious philanthropic imperatives.<sup>252</sup> Furthermore, evidence that Taylor Cadbury defined work supporting the reform of urban environmental conditions in relation to religious faithfulness demonstrates the agency of a

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<sup>249</sup> Darling and Whitworth, 'Introduction', 6-7; Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 232.

<sup>250</sup> Meller, 'Women and Citizenship', 232.

<sup>251</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; *Bournville Works Magazine* 12, no. IX (December 1911): 381.

<sup>252</sup> Corley, 'How Quakers Coped with Business Success', 171-72; Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians*, 143; Harrison, *Bournville*, 29-33; Crosfield, *A History of the Cadbury Family*, 435; Bailey and Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment': 90-92.

dynamic of religious social service in motivating women's practical participation in housing reform during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>253</sup>

## 2.6: Chapter Summary

Studies of Bournville have omitted to evaluate Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the development and promotion of Bournville village in the context of its identity as a contribution to reforming urban living conditions. Through her work sustaining the social welfare of the Bournville community and her efforts to promote the importance of improved environment to public health, Taylor Cadbury actively supported Bournville's identity as a planned response to urbanisation.<sup>254</sup> Analysis of her work in this direction and particularly her endeavours to encourage contemporary female philanthropists to participate in housing and planning work informs understanding of women's involvement with the Garden City Movement.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>254</sup> See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.], c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Health of the Nation', 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>255</sup> For examples of this see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Lily Sturge to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/2/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Mary Seton Watts to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1903, LAdd 1145, LAC, UoB; Letters from Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and George Cadbury, 1897-1925, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

Taylor Cadbury's identification with maternalism shaped her participation in housing reform during a period preoccupied with the relationship between environment and child health.<sup>256</sup> She recognised that female maternal expertise enabled women to make a valuable contribution to the reform of urban conditions which she defined as a religiously inspired social obligation.<sup>257</sup> Scholarship has identified that women engaged with religious discourses of citizenship and notions of female aptitude for work supporting urban reform with the aim of pursuing advancement for themselves.<sup>258</sup> For Taylor Cadbury, the practical reform of environmental conditions took priority over debate concerning the social and political profile of her female peers.<sup>259</sup> She promoted maternal expertise and a religious duty to social service in her public statements urging the reform of urban housing as a means of galvanising her contemporaries to direct their energies towards practical work in this area.<sup>260</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury provides insight into the ways that a sense of religious impulse to maternal

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<sup>256</sup> See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letters, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS and also 4<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 19<sup>th</sup> May 1908, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1908, MS 466/1/1/15/3/5, CFP, BAHS; Committee Meeting 30<sup>th</sup> October 1901, Minute 321, p. 78, Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> November 1901, Minute 339, p. 88, Committee Meeting 12<sup>th</sup> December 1901, Minute 367, p. 97, Committee Meeting 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1902, Minute 408, p. 110, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 1, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1901-4<sup>th</sup> September 1902, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

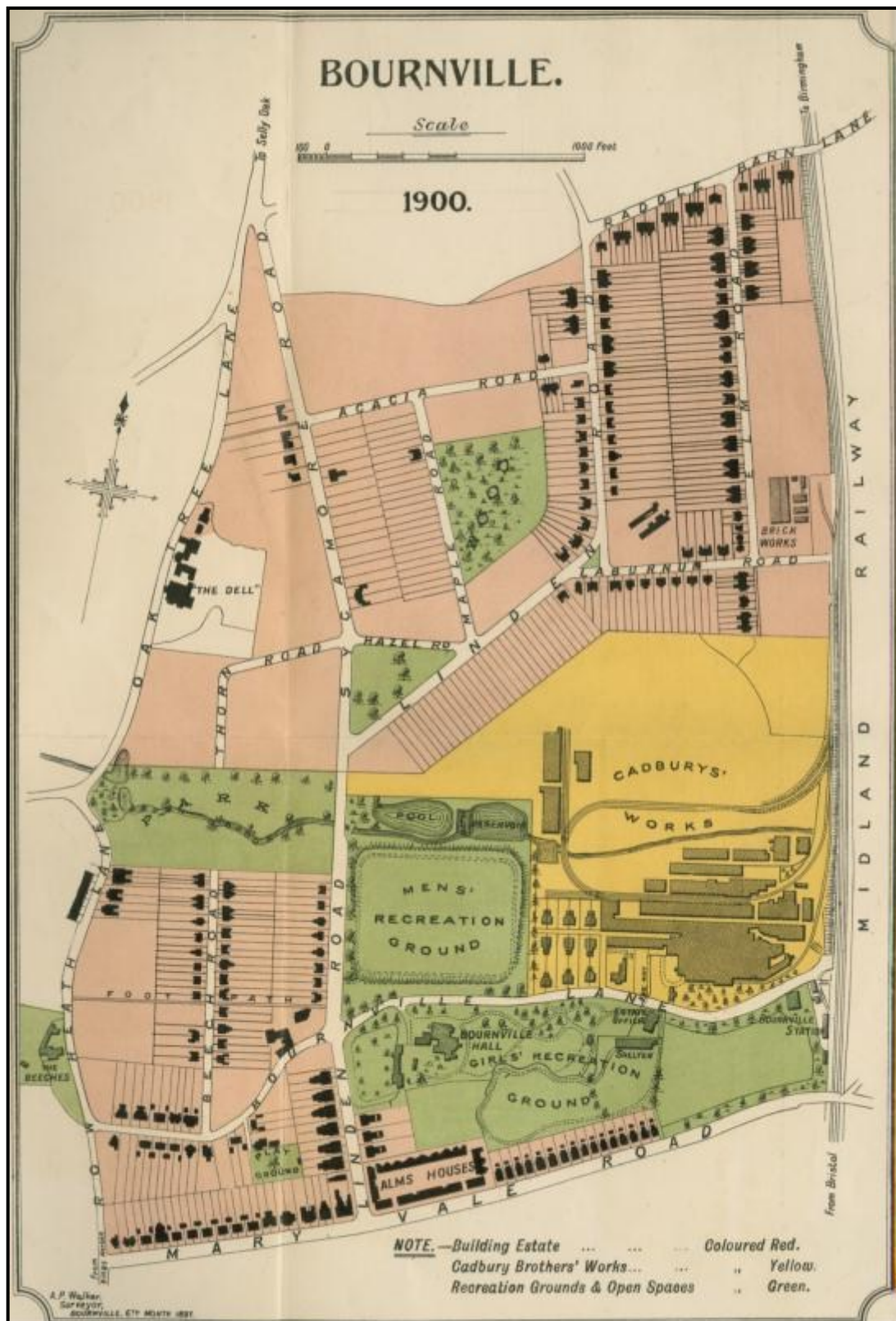
<sup>257</sup> *Bournville Works Magazine* 12, no. IX (December 1911): 381; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS

<sup>258</sup> Darling and Whitworth, 'Introduction', 6 and 9. For examples of such scholarship see Haar, 'At Home in Public', 112; Spencer-Wood, 'Utopian Visions', 116. See also Greed's assessment of women's involvement in urban reform in *Women and Planning*, 88-89.

<sup>259</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. For Taylor Cadbury's emphasis on the importance of housing reform, see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24.

<sup>260</sup> *Bournville Works Magazine* 12, no. IX (December 1911): 381; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

public service informed women's engagement with housing reform at the turn of the twentieth century.



**Fig. 2.1.** This map shows the development of the Bournville estate during the late nineteenth century. From *A Ten Years Record: The Bournville Village Trust, December 1900-December 1910* (Bournville: Bournville Village Trust, 1910)





**Fig. 2.2.** Bournville 1902-1903. Female residents and their children are featured in the foreground. The developing village can be seen in the background with houses on the right and the shops built on Sycamore Road shown on the left. MS 466/41/3/15, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 2.3.** This artistic interpretation of Bournville Village Green in 1929 emphasises the importance of open spaces, trees and grass in the village. The Bournville Village Schools can be seen to the left of the image. From *The Bournville Village Trust* (Bournville: Bournville Village Trust, 1929)



**Fig. 2.4.** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury maintained a close involvement with the Bournville village community throughout her life. This photograph shows her speaking to prospective tenants in 1946 with her stepson Edward Cadbury. MS 466/3/1/31, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 2.5.** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury presents a sports prize to a young girl at the Bournville Village Children's Festival, c. 1920s. MS 466/3/1/14, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ELIZABETH TAYLOR CADBURY AND THE BOURNVILLE VILLAGE SCHOOLS: WOMEN AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION**

#### 3.1: Introduction

This chapter examines Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the development of the Bournville Village Schools, focussing on her participation in the establishment and management of the elementary and infant schools founded in Bournville village between 1904 and 1910. The chapter begins by providing an insight into the history of these schools, considering how the issue of education provision has been approached in existing accounts of Bournville before exploring scholarship which has evaluated the role of women in educational work during this period. Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the temporary school for girls and infants established in Ruskin Hall in 1904 is examined alongside her work supporting the development of Bournville's permanent elementary school which opened in 1906, followed by the village's permanent infant school in 1910. The chapter analyses Taylor Cadbury's educational policy-making as Chairman of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee with reference to her wider educational work with the Parents' National Education Union, the University of Birmingham and local education authorities in Worcestershire and Birmingham. Studies have identified a 'sexual division of labour' governing the work undertaken by female educationalists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which served to exclude women from aspects of educational policy-making.<sup>1</sup> Scholarship

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<sup>1</sup> Quotation taken from Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 79. See also Jill Blackmore, "'In the Shadow of Men": The Historical Construction of Educational Administration as a "Masculinist Enterprise"', in *Gender Matters in Educational Administration and Policy: A Feminist Introduction*, ed. Jill Blackmore and Jane Kenway (London: Falmer, 1993), 44 and 31; Annmarie Turnbull, 'Learning Her Womanly Work: The Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914', in *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850-1950*, ed. Felicity Hunt (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 99; Patricia Hollis, 'Women in Council: Separate Spheres, Public Space', in *Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914*, ed. Jane Rendall (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 202; Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987), 141; Jane Martin, 'To "Blaise the Trail for

observes that women were further marginalised from educational administration by the abolition of school boards and their subsequent loss of status as elected representatives for education after the passing of the 1902 Education Act.<sup>2</sup> This chapter demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury was directly involved in educational policy-making concerning the Bournville Village Schools, arguing that she exerted agency in educational administration during the period following the 1902 Education Act. The chapter considers how Taylor Cadbury's educational work indicates that women involved in education may have been able to play a more active role in administrative negotiations concerning educational policy during the early twentieth century. The chapter concludes by exploring Taylor Cadbury's approach to social action supporting education provision in relation to perceptions that women engaged in educational work as a means of pursuing public authority and political recognition as educational administrators.<sup>3</sup> The chapter considers how evidence that Taylor Cadbury defined public work promoting educational reform with reference to a religiously inspired ethic of citizenship informs understanding of the ways in which female educationalists shaped their identity and activism during the early twentieth century.

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Women to Follow Along": Sex, Gender and the Politics of Education on the London School Board, 1870-1904', *Gender and Education* 12, no. 2 (2000): 172.

<sup>2</sup> Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries': Women and the Making of Educational Policy Since 1800", in *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England: Authoritative Women since 1880*, ed. Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop (London: Routledge, 2000), 6-7; Jane Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 140-46; Jane Martin, "'Women not Wanted': The Fight to Secure Political Representation on Local Education Authorities, 1870-1907", in Goodman and Harrop, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration*, 78-96.

<sup>3</sup> Goodman and Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries'", 2-3; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 68.



### 3.1.1: Taylor Cadbury and the Bournville Village Schools, 1904-1910

The issue of school provision in Bournville village was debated by the Bournville Village Trustees in October 1901 with their decision over the development of schools suspended in anticipation of the 1902 Education Act.<sup>4</sup> Plans for infant and elementary schools in the village were submitted by the Trustees to the Local Education Authority, King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, in May 1903.<sup>5</sup> The construction of the schools was funded by George Cadbury and Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury under the direction of the Trust which opted to 'retain a predominating control' over Bournville's school facilities by establishing them 'on the footing of "voluntary" schools'.<sup>6</sup> Yet the village schools remained under the jurisdiction of the Local Education Authority which exerted considerable authority directing their development and management. The Secretary of the Bournville Village Trust, John Henry Barlow, reported in September 1903 that 'the policy to be followed in regard to the erection of Schools' was 'not technically in the hands of the Trustees'.<sup>7</sup> In their recent study interrogating narratives of Bournville's development, Bryson and Lowe draw particular attention to the Trustees' delay in providing school facilities for Bournville village.<sup>8</sup> Bryson and Lowe make little reference to the ways in which the bureaucratic

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<sup>4</sup> Joel M. Hoffman, 'Imaging the Industrial Village: Architecture, Art, and Visual Culture in the Garden Community of Bourneville (sic), England' (PhD diss., Yale University, 1993), 544; Secretary's Quarterly Report January 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>5</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report June 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report September 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. John Henry Barlow married Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's cousin Mabel Goodall Cash in 1883. He was appointed Secretary of the Bournville Village Trust by George Cadbury following its foundation in December 1900 and became the Correspondent of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee in September 1904. See Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), 17-18.

<sup>8</sup> John R. Bryson and Philippa A. Lowe, 'Story-telling and History Construction: Rereading George Cadbury's Bournville Model Village', *Journal of Historical Geography* 28, no. 1 (2002): 25, 33-34. Bryson and Lowe also overlook the provision of temporary school accommodation in the village during the early 1900s.

deliberations of the Local Education Authority in their dispute with the Bournville Village Trustees impeded the establishment of Bournville's schools.<sup>9</sup> As a result of the delay in erecting permanent school buildings, the Bournville Village Council encouraged the Trust to develop temporary school accommodation in Ruskin Hall in the village.<sup>10</sup> This temporary school which opened in 1904 provided elementary and infant schooling to one hundred and fifty two girls and one hundred and twenty four infants.<sup>11</sup> A Schools Management Committee was established in September 1904 to oversee the school facilities established in the village which was chaired by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury from its inception.<sup>12</sup> During the same year the Village Trust was granted permission to begin construction of a permanent elementary school which was designed by Bournville Estate Architect William Alexander Harvey and opened in April 1906.<sup>13</sup> The first permanent school building in the village provided

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<sup>9</sup> For evidence of this see Secretary's Quarterly Report June 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> June 1904, p. 67, Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Buildings & General Purposes Sub-Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1903-11<sup>th</sup> September 1906, BCK/ATd/1/1/3, KNUUDC, BAHS; Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> June 1904, Minute 188, p. 69, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. See also section 3.3 below.

<sup>10</sup> Committee Meeting 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1903, Minute 13, p. 8, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>11</sup> This school was originally named King's Norton & Northfield Bournville Temporary Undenominational School. See Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. The school was renamed King's Norton and Northfield Bournville School between January and February 1907. Bournville's permanent elementary and infant schools are identified throughout this chapter as Bournville Elementary School and Bournville Infant School. Committee Meeting 17<sup>th</sup> August 1904, Minute 287, p. 106, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. The Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book states that there were 122 girls and 126 infants attending the school in September 1904. Barlow suggests that there were 268 pupils in December 1904. See Secretary's Quarterly Report December 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>12</sup> Committee Meeting 29<sup>th</sup> September 1904, Minute 325, pp. 116-17, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904, p. 1, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>13</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report September 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; John Glaisyer to J. H. Barlow, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1904, enclosed between pages 93 and 94,

accommodation for over four hundred pupils.<sup>14</sup> Following the transfer of the girls' department from Ruskin Hall into the new Bournville Elementary School, the school's infant department was expanded across both floors of the Hall before moving into its own permanent accommodation in a building adjacent to the elementary school in August 1910.<sup>15</sup>

In 1905 Taylor Cadbury was asked to lay the foundation stone for Bournville Elementary School, the local press remarking that the stone would act as 'a permanent record' of 'the large amount of time and thought' she had invested in Bournville's schools.<sup>16</sup> Despite efforts to preserve a record of Taylor Cadbury's educational work in the village, existing histories of Bournville make little reference to the temporary school housed in Ruskin Hall or the work of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee, both of which she was closely involved in. Recent studies acknowledge Taylor Cadbury's contribution to Bournville's school facilities, remarking that she was responsible alongside her husband for financing the construction of the village schools which are recognised as incorporating the Cadburys' shared educational ideals.<sup>17</sup> However, George Cadbury is identified as being responsible for

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Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3. CFP, BAHS.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>15</sup> Committee Meeting 9<sup>th</sup> October 1906, Minute 404, p. 118, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Secretary's Quarterly Report December 1910, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. This report states that following the transfer of the infant school to permanent accommodation, Ruskin Hall became 'a centre for Art & Handicraft work'. See also entries for August 1910 in the Bournville Infant School Log Book, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1905-21<sup>st</sup> July 1955, BIS.

<sup>16</sup> *Birmingham News*, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1905 enclosed next to Committee Meeting 18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, Minute 553, p. 193, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>17</sup> Henry William Bull, 'Learning for Life: Educational Provision at Cadbury, 1831-1981', (PhD diss., University of Aston, 1991), 44; Gillian Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), 59.



negotiating with education authorities concerning their development.<sup>18</sup> Meacham describes the Bournville Village Schools as Taylor Cadbury's 'particular concern', but he provides only a brief overview of her involvement, writing that she 'inspected classrooms and substituted for sick teachers'.<sup>19</sup> Such assessments do not reflect the significance of Taylor Cadbury's role in the management of Bournville's elementary and infant schools, leaving her direct involvement in their development largely unexplored.<sup>20</sup> A compilation of archive material and memoirs produced by Bournville Junior School and more recent research into the educational work undertaken by women in the Cadbury family have contributed to redress this oversight.<sup>21</sup> Pittaway refers particularly to Taylor Cadbury's participation in debate with King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee concerning class size and staffing at Bournville Elementary School.<sup>22</sup> Her study challenges assumptions that George Cadbury was the key figure leading policy negotiations concerning Bournville's school facilities.<sup>23</sup> However, there remains a deficit in scholarship considering how evidence of Taylor Cadbury's educational work in Bournville during the early twentieth century informs assessments of women's participation in educational administration following the 1902 Education Act.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Standish Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 30.

<sup>20</sup> Hoffman identifies this as a key area for future research. See Hoffman, 'Imaging the Industrial Village', 770-71.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew MacFarlane, *Bournville Junior School: The First Eighty Years 1906-1986* (Bournville: Bournville Junior School, 1986); Linda Pittaway, 'The Cadbury Women 1885-1925: Educational Change in a Changing Society' (BA diss., University of Wolverhampton, 1999), 24.

<sup>22</sup> Pittaway, 'The Cadbury Women', 24.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. For such assumptions see Bull, 'Learning for Life', 44; Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience*, 59.

### 3.1.2: Women and Educational Administration in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Failure to identify the extent of Taylor Cadbury's contribution towards the development of the Bournville Village Schools and assumptions that she acted only to reinforce her husband's educational work reflect the wider representation of women within histories of education.<sup>24</sup>

Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch observe how female educationalists have been described as 'wives, sisters, followers, assistants and believers; rarely as leaders, ideologues, founders or policy makers'.<sup>25</sup> Recent scholarship examining the role played by women on locally elected school boards during the late nineteenth century has contributed to uncover women's involvement in the management and administration of education provision.<sup>26</sup> Women were eligible to be nominated and elected to school boards, which were established following the 1870 Elementary Education Act, affording them political responsibilities for educational policy-making.<sup>27</sup> Some female board members, as well as women school managers, were able to become involved in 'the whole surface of educational policy, mapping and meeting the full spectrum of educational needs'.<sup>28</sup> However, scholarship observes that women's educational

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<sup>24</sup> Bull suggests that Taylor Cadbury 'reinforced' George Cadbury's educational work. See Bull, 'Learning for Life', 44. For issues of women's representation in histories of education see Goodman and Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries'", 6. See also Jane Martin, 'Shena D. Simon and English Education Policy: Inside/Out?', *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003): 477; Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch, 'Introduction', in *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress, 1790-1930*, ed. Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), 1.

<sup>25</sup> Hilton and Hirsch, 'Introduction', 1.

<sup>26</sup> See particularly Martin, 'To "Blaise the Trail"': 166; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*; Joyce Goodman, 'Women School Board Members and Women School Managers: The Structuring of Educational Authority in Manchester and Liverpool, 1870-1903', in Goodman and Harrop, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration*, 59-77; Jane McDermid, 'Blurring the Boundaries: School Board Women in Scotland, 1873-1919', *Women's History Review* 19, no. 3 (2010): 362 and 369; Hollis, *Ladies Elect*.

<sup>27</sup> Martin 'To "Blaise the Trail"': 166. See also Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 26.

<sup>28</sup> Quotation taken from Hollis, 'Women in Council', 202. See also Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 29; McDermid, 'Blurring the Boundaries': 362 and 369; Goodman, 'Women School Board Members'.

work remained largely related to ‘their traditional familial caring functions’, identifying a gender division within educational policy-making.<sup>29</sup> Assumptions concerning female maternal expertise afforded women a role in work promoting the provision of school meals and facilities for children to undertake physical exercise which demonstrated female capacity for work supporting child health and welfare.<sup>30</sup> Women devised and promoted policies concerned with the reform of the domestic curriculum to include teaching in childrearing and advocated improvement in employment conditions for female staff.<sup>31</sup> Yet female educationalists are recognised as having been ‘largely sidelined’ from policy-making and administrative negotiations concerning educational finance or the development of school buildings which were identified as the remit of their male contemporaries.<sup>32</sup> Male educationalists are attributed with managing financial accounts, appointing male staff and overseeing the construction of schools.<sup>33</sup> Studies identify that men dominated professional administrative roles during this

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<sup>29</sup> Quotation taken from Blackmore, “‘In the Shadow of Men’”, 31. See also Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 70; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 117; Turnbull, ‘Learning Her Womanly Work’, 99.

<sup>30</sup> Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 141. See also Hollis, ‘Women in Council’, 202; Jane McDermid, ‘Place the Book in Their Hands: Grace Paterson’s Contribution to the Health and Welfare Policies of the School Board of Glasgow, 1885-1906’, *History of Education* 36, no. 6 (2007): 712-3; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 117; Felicity Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education: Schooling for Girls 1902-44* (Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 62; Turnbull, ‘Learning Her Womanly Work’, 99; Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 62-63 and 72; McDermid, ‘Blurring the Boundaries’: 368-69.

<sup>31</sup> Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 62-63.

<sup>32</sup> Quotation taken from Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 62. See also 72. See also Martin, ‘To “Blaise the Trail”’, 172; Blackmore, “‘In the Shadow of Men’”, 31; Hollis, ‘Women in Council’, 202. Goodman notes that Lydia Becker, Emmeline Pankhurst and Mary Dendy were involved in these areas of work through their membership of Manchester School Board. However, she illustrates that their educational policy-making centred on the education of girls and reform in employment conditions for women teachers. See Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 62-63.

<sup>33</sup> Hollis, ‘Women in Council’, 202; Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 141; Martin, ‘To “Blaise the Trail”’: 172.

period, taking responsibility in their school and poor law work for leading administrative negotiations such as those to ‘side–step’ local authorities.<sup>34</sup>

Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin refer to Felicity Hunt’s concept of ‘organizational policy’ in their work defining women’s participation in educational administration to illustrate that women were able to become involved actively in the ‘middle level of decision making’ through educational work which intervened ‘between government policy and actual school practice’.<sup>35</sup> Goodman has uncovered the educational activities of women school managers in Liverpool who, she suggests, made decisions regarding buildings, finance and staffing.<sup>36</sup> These women were able to ‘engage in organisational policy-making’ by applying skills gained from their broader involvement in philanthropic and political work to their educational responsibilities.<sup>37</sup> However, she observes that they were expected to work in strict conformity with their local school board who retained control over crucial areas of educational policy.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Martin suggests policy-making at this ‘middle level’ was different following the 1902 Education Act which replaced locally elected school boards with local education authorities, the Education Committees of elected councils from which women were disqualified for election.<sup>39</sup> The passing of this Act is identified as having served to reduce and

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<sup>34</sup> Blackmore, “‘In the Shadow of Men’”, 31. Quotation taken from Hollis, ‘Women in Council’, 202. Hollis draws a distinction between men’s administrative responsibilities and those undertaken by women in their school and poor law work. See also Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 141.

<sup>35</sup> Martin *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 5; Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 62; Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education*, 11. See also Goodman and Harrop, “‘Within Marked Boundaries’”, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 69-70.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>39</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 5. See also Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 127; Ruth Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham 1902-1944’, in *History, Politics & Policy-Making in Education: A Festschrift Presented to Richard Aldrich*, ed. David Crook and Gary McCulloch (London: Bedford Way Papers, 2007), 72.

restrict women's involvement in educational policy-making by removing 'organisational policy' into a public and political space to which Goodman and Harrop suggest female educationalists have been perceived to have 'had no or limited access'.<sup>40</sup> Scholarship identifies that by rescinding women's status as elected representatives within educational administration, women were marginalised within educational policy-making.<sup>41</sup> As a result of agitation by the Women's Local Government Society (WLGS), government legislation was passed requiring that women were statutorily co-opted to the new local education authorities.<sup>42</sup> However, studies suggest that in their capacity as co-opted members, women were unable to assert the authority in educational work which they had experienced as publicly elected members of school boards and were constrained from pursuing the implementation of their policy proposals through local government.<sup>43</sup> In her study of women serving on the City of Birmingham Education Committee during the early twentieth century, Watts identifies that women made the most significant impact in work on sub-committees supporting the welfare of school children, while they were less directly involved with the work of the Finance and General Purposes Sub-Committee.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, she identifies that within the context of local education authorities, female co-optees worked alongside male educationalists who were 'more numerous and held more powerful positions', observing that

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<sup>40</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 5; Goodman and Harrop refer to perceptions of women's limited access to policy, administration and leadership in "Within Marked Boundaries", 3.

<sup>41</sup> Goodman and Harrop, "Within Marked Boundaries", 7.

<sup>42</sup> Martin, "Women not Wanted", 79; Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 72. See also Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 141-46.

<sup>43</sup> Mary Hughes, "The Shrieking Sisterhood": Women as Educational Policy-Makers', *Gender and Education* 4, no. 3 (1992): 263-64. See also Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 72; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 141-2; Goodman and Harrop "Within Marked Boundaries", 7.

<sup>44</sup> Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 74 and 85. See also Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 130-1.

‘their general policies were unlikely to differ much from those of male councillors’.<sup>45</sup> The work of women appointed to the Women’s Inspectorate within the Board of Education between 1901 and 1905 also reflected the restrictions which scholarship suggests shaped female participation in local level educational administration.<sup>46</sup> Hunt identifies that perceptions of women’s expertise concerning the delivery of domestic subjects did not afford them wider agency in educational policy-making.<sup>47</sup> Women were unable to assert a separate authority based on their skills in these aspects of educational work and were ‘answerable to their male colleagues, who were in that sense always “senior” to them’.<sup>48</sup> Women’s limitation to co-opted status on Local Education Authorities was removed by the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act of 1907 which sanctioned women’s election to County and Borough Councils. Yet Hollis suggests that women continued to struggle ‘to make the impact’ on County Councils that they had been able to exert as elected members of school boards before 1902.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Blackmore concludes that educational administration became increasingly identified as ‘a masculinist enterprise’ following state intervention into education during the early twentieth century.<sup>50</sup>

### 3.2: Gender Division within Taylor Cadbury’s Educational Work

Evidence of Taylor Cadbury’s involvement in the development of education provision in Bournville and Birmingham supports conclusions that a gender division shaped women’s

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<sup>45</sup> Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’, 78.

<sup>46</sup> Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education*, 52-3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-60.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 422. See also 421-23. See also Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 145.

<sup>50</sup> Blackmore, “‘In the Shadow of Men’”, 27-28. See also 31-32.

participation in educational work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following her marriage and subsequent move from Peckham Rye to Selly Oak in 1888, Taylor Cadbury became involved with the Birmingham group Mothers in Council.<sup>51</sup> This comprised informal gatherings of parents who were concerned with the upbringing and education of their children.<sup>52</sup> Taylor Cadbury actively participated in the work of Mothers in Council, delivering addresses which drew on her maternal responsibilities to a growing family.<sup>53</sup> In a paper entitled ‘Self Control’ delivered in March 1900, Taylor Cadbury remarked upon the important role played by parents ‘in training their children in habits of self-restraint’.<sup>54</sup> Mothers in Council was originally intended to support women in their child-rearing capacity, although it was decided that fathers should be invited to meetings, and subsequently that they should play an active part in the work of the group including delivering papers.<sup>55</sup> This decision, made by the female membership of the group, can be identified as serving to reinforce the ‘gender stereotypes’ identified by Blackmore in terms of emphasising women’s maternal responsibility for overseeing the educational development of children supported by their husbands in their paternal capacity.<sup>56</sup> This dynamic is further evident in Taylor Cadbury’s wider work with Mothers in Council following her election as the group’s

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<sup>51</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 102.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Minutes of a meeting of Mothers in Council held on 5<sup>th</sup> October 1899 and minutes of the 47<sup>th</sup> meeting of Mothers in Council held on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1900, Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents’ National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS.

<sup>54</sup> Minutes of the 47<sup>th</sup> meeting of Mothers in Council held on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1900, Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents’ National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS.

<sup>55</sup> Minutes of the 44<sup>th</sup> meeting of Mothers in Council held on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1899 and Minutes of the 55<sup>th</sup> meeting of Mothers in Council held in June 1901, Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents’ National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS.

<sup>56</sup> Blackmore, “‘In the Shadow of Men’”, 44.

President in October 1900.<sup>57</sup> Between 1901 and 1902 Taylor Cadbury presided over Mothers in Council during its merger with the Parents' National Education Union (PNEU) which was founded by educationalist Charlotte Mason (1842-1923).<sup>58</sup> Stephanie Spencer identifies that the PNEU 'fostered closer links between the home and children's educational experience' with Mason promoting the important role played by mothers in the education of their children.<sup>59</sup> Reflecting this maternal ethic, under Taylor Cadbury's leadership, the group heard papers advocating that 'the atmosphere of the home' was 'the best educator' which encouraged recognition for the importance of maternal influence and the domestic environment in the formation of children's character.<sup>60</sup>

A 'sexual division of labour' is similarly evident in Taylor Cadbury's work as a lady governor at the University of Birmingham following her election to the University's Board of Governors on the awarding of the University's Royal Charter in 1900.<sup>61</sup> Carol Dyhouse notes that Taylor Cadbury was among the 'keen advocates' of a proposal that a female tutor should be appointed to support women students at the University.<sup>62</sup> She suggests that concern to

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<sup>57</sup> Minutes of a meeting of Mothers in Council held on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1900, Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents' National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS.

<sup>58</sup> Minutes of a meeting of Mothers in Council held on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1900, minutes of the 55<sup>th</sup> meeting of Mothers in Council held in June 1901 and minutes of the 56<sup>th</sup> meeting of Mothers in Council held on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1901, Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents' National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS; Stephanie Spencer, "'Knowledge as the Necessary Food of the Mind': Charlotte Mason's Philosophy of Education", in *Women, Education and Agency, 1600-2000*, ed. Jean Spence, Sarah Jane Aiston, and Maureen M. Meikle (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 105. The Parents' National Education Union is identified in the text hereafter as the PNEU.

<sup>59</sup> Spencer, "'Knowledge as the Necessary Food of the Mind'", 105, 108 and 121.

<sup>60</sup> Minutes of the 59<sup>th</sup> meeting of Mothers in Council held on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1902, Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents' National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS.

<sup>61</sup> Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, 79; Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 110.

<sup>62</sup> Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995), 66-67.



ensure the academic standing of the lady tutor reflected efforts to expand professional educational roles for women.<sup>63</sup> Supporting Dyhouse's observation, the University of Birmingham was promoted at the turn of the century as offering 'exceptional opportunities' for female academic achievement.<sup>64</sup> However, it is questionable how far the appointment of a lady tutor was directly intended by the lady governors to promote the academic profile of women within higher education. Correspondence suggests that the decision to appoint a female tutor to women students did not originate from the lady governors themselves.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, while incorporating academic work in the fields of History, Philosophy, Economics, Greek or Education, a memorandum states that in appointing a lady tutor, the University 'would be guided in its selection to some extent by the specific powers of [a] candidate highly qualified on the personal side'.<sup>66</sup> The University's concern to ensure the personal qualities of candidates implies that the lady tutor was envisaged as serving principally to support the pastoral welfare of female students.<sup>67</sup> The post of 'Tutor to Women Students' was given to Helen Wodehouse, who was made an Assistant Lecturer in Philosophy, during 1902.<sup>68</sup> Dyhouse observes that Wodehouse 'took her duties in philosophy at least as seriously as any pastoral work with female students'.<sup>69</sup> Yet Taylor Cadbury's

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> University of Birmingham Hall of Residence for Women Students, May 1904, OL 245, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-258, UC14/ii, UoBA, UoB.

<sup>65</sup> Letters relating to the 'Appointment of a Female Tutor', January 1901- March 1903, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, UC 14/ii, UoBA, UoB.

<sup>66</sup> 'Lady Lecturer – Suggested Motions', [n.d.] c. January 1901-March 1903, OL 219, Letters relating to the 'Appointment of a Female Tutor', Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, UC14/ii, UoBA, UoB.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.; Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 66-67.

<sup>68</sup> Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 66.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 67.

colleague, lady governor Rachel Albright King, informed the University's Principal Sir Oliver Lodge (1851-1940) that the lady governors supported Wodehouse's appointment based on 'the hope that she will care for the welfare of the women students'.<sup>70</sup> Taylor Cadbury did not comment directly on Wodehouse, but her correspondence with Lodge illustrates that she shared Albright King's perception that women involved with the University were primarily responsible for supporting the welfare of female students at the University. Taylor Cadbury remarked to Lodge that she and her female colleagues were 'anxious to be helpful to the women students'.<sup>71</sup> She also emphasised the importance of the Lady Governors being 'consulted' in matters appertaining to women at the University.<sup>72</sup> Prior to Wodehouse's appointment, she promoted the view that 'the lady governors should certainly have some representation on the Council' concerning the appointment of the 'lady lecturer', which Professor John Henry Muirhead (1855-1940) suggested was a matter for 'the ladies' involved in the University's government.<sup>73</sup> Taylor Cadbury's and Muirhead's comments demonstrate that women's role in educational administration at the University of Birmingham was defined in terms of responsibility for assessing female staff and supporting women students. This is evident in Taylor Cadbury's wider work within the University which included promoting the development of accommodation for female students. Taylor Cadbury was closely involved

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<sup>70</sup> Rachel Albright King to Oliver Lodge, 13<sup>th</sup> June 1902, OL 229, Letters relating to the 'Appointment of a Female Tutor', January 1901-March 1903, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, UC14/ii, UoBA, UoB. Dyhouse also cites this quotation in *No Distinction of Sex?*, 66.

<sup>71</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (Elsie M. Cadbury) to Oliver Lodge, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1901, OL 226, Letters relating to the 'Appointment of a Female Tutor', January 1901-March 1903, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, UC14/ii, UoBA, UoB.

<sup>72</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (Elsie M. Cadbury) to Oliver Lodge, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1901, OL 224, Letters relating to the 'Appointment of a Female Tutor', January 1901-March 1903, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, UC14/ii, UoBA, UoB.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*; J. H. Muirhead to Oliver Lodge, 30<sup>th</sup> March 1901, OL 231, Letters relating to the 'Appointment of a Female Tutor', January 1901-March 1903, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, UC14/ii, UoBA, UoB.

with a number of female colleagues in schemes to establish a hostel for women students at the University during 1907 when she served on the University House Canvassing Committee.<sup>74</sup>

Taylor Cadbury's association with female and maternal 'domestic skills and interests' served to shape her most substantial contribution towards educational provision during the early twentieth century which was through her work supporting the development of the Bournville Village Schools.<sup>75</sup> Minutes of a Bournville Village Trust Committee meeting in July 1904 reveal the Trust's view that women possessed particular expertise appertaining to the education of girls and young children.<sup>76</sup> As the temporary school in Ruskin Hall was to provide schooling for girls and infants only, the Trust recommended to the Bournville Village Council that they 'elect a lady as one of their representatives' to serve on the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee which resulted in the appointment of Mrs. Cottrell.<sup>77</sup> This gendered outlook was reflected in Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the schools in her capacity as female co-founder and Chairman of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee. Taylor Cadbury participated in visiting and inspecting the work of female teachers who applied for posts at the temporary school and was given responsibility for approving the appointment of female candidates selected by senior staff.<sup>78</sup> She also

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<sup>74</sup> See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's family journal letters dated 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1907, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1907 and 26<sup>th</sup> November 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS; Meeting of the University House Canvassing Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1907, p. 41, University House Committee Minute Book No. 1, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1902–14<sup>th</sup> July 1910, UA24 Acc. 1997/27, UoBA, UoB.

<sup>75</sup> Martin refers to women's 'domestic skills and interests' in *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 29.

<sup>76</sup> Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> July 1904, Minute 229, p. 87, Bournville Village Trust, Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903–18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> October 1904, Minute 13, p. 4, Committee Meeting 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1904, Minute 18, p. 6 and Committee Meeting 10<sup>th</sup> November 1904, Minute 26, p. 9, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904–22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

supported the educational welfare of children attending Bournville's schools by awarding prizes for attendance and progress, as well as funding and presiding over an annual Christmas party for Bournville school pupils.<sup>79</sup> Personal accounts written by Taylor Cadbury reflect her maternal approach to her educational work in Bournville. In a letter to her family in January 1908 Taylor Cadbury remarked 'this morning, after baby and I had together arranged many household matters, I went over to the Infants' School at Bournville to give away the prizes for last year. The children there always look so bright and bonny'.<sup>80</sup> Taylor Cadbury actively contributed towards educational provision in Bournville through her work with female administrative and teaching staff to implement the teaching of domestic subjects to girls at Bournville Elementary School. The school included a basement area for manual instruction, which provided facilities for the teaching of cookery classes for girls.<sup>81</sup> Both Taylor Cadbury and Mrs. Cottrell were closely involved in the planning of the cookery and later laundry classes, minutes stating that the two women met with W. A. Harvey to discuss equipment for Laundry classes in February 1907.<sup>82</sup> During the same period, Taylor Cadbury remarked to her family that she had participated in 'interviewing laundry teachers'.<sup>83</sup> Later that year both Taylor Cadbury and Miss Grove, a female assistant appointed to teach cookery and laundry, worked with the Headmaster of Bournville Elementary School, James Fielden, to design and

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<sup>79</sup> Entry dated 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1908, p. 100, entry dated 8th December 1909, p. 124, entry dated 21st December 1910, p. 142, Bournville Infant School Log Book, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1905–21<sup>st</sup> July 1955, BIS. See also Richard Holding, *Memoirs of Bournville Infant School from the early twentieth century*, [n.d.] c. 1990s and George Parsons, *Memoirs of Bournville Infant School from the early twentieth century*, [n.d.] c. 1990s, BIS.

<sup>80</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 28<sup>th</sup> January 1908, MS 466/1/1/15/3/5, CFP, BAHS. The baby to whom Taylor Cadbury refers was her youngest daughter Elizabeth Ursula Cadbury who was born in 1906.

<sup>81</sup> Architect's Quarterly Report September 1903, Bournville Village Trust, Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>82</sup> Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> February 1907, Minute 49, pp. 145-6, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>83</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

co-ordinate the delivery of the domestic curriculum at the school.<sup>84</sup> Evidence of the prominent role played by Taylor Cadbury, Cottrell and Grove in this work demonstrates how identification with domestic expertise privileged women's participation in policy-making concerning the schooling of girls, allowing women to carve out a role for themselves in public educational work. Indeed, through her responsibilities in this capacity, Taylor Cadbury was able to participate more widely in debate concerning the teaching of domestic subjects by 'writing a paper for the National Association of Domestic Economy Teachers'.<sup>85</sup>

### 3.3: Taylor Cadbury and the Establishment and Management of the Bournville Village Schools

Evidence that Taylor Cadbury and her female contemporaries promoted a maternal approach to educational reform, supported the welfare of women students, appointed female staff and directed the implementation of the domestic curriculum reinforces perceptions of 'the sexual division of labour within educational organizations'.<sup>86</sup> However, minutes relating to meetings of the Birmingham Branch of the PNEU suggest that female members of the Union also engaged in debate concerning aspects of educational theory and policy which were not directly related to their educational activities in a domestic and maternal capacity. In an address delivered in May 1902 entitled 'Education in Sociology', Professor Muirhead spoke about the foundations of educational policy in relation to contemporary movements towards social reform and the group's meetings provided opportunity for both male and female

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<sup>84</sup> Committee Meeting 30<sup>th</sup> May 1907, Minute 580, p. 174, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>85</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>86</sup> Blackmore, "'In the Shadow of Men'", 44.

members to debate educational theory and the focus of the modern education system.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the Bournville Village Schools extended beyond decision-making regarding female staffing and work co-ordinating the implementation of the domestic curriculum. This is evident in her school management work overseeing the appointment of a headteacher for Bournville's elementary school in 1905. Minutes relating to a Special Committee Meeting held to consider applications for this post in September 1905 state that the twelve applications which had been received by the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee were submitted to Taylor Cadbury in her capacity as Chairman.<sup>88</sup> The Committee requested that Taylor Cadbury visit the candidates at their schools which indicates that she was given responsibility for inspecting and evaluating the abilities of senior male school teachers and administrators.<sup>89</sup> Taylor Cadbury made a preliminary assessment, following which two candidates from Birmingham schools were selected and Birmingham school inspector John Starkie Barnes (1843-1922), was consulted as to their suitability.<sup>90</sup> Minutes recorded by the Schools Management Committee state that Barnes had recommended the appointment of a candidate named Mr. Allen, despite admitting

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<sup>87</sup> Minutes of the 59<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents National Education Union held on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1902, Minutes of the 52<sup>nd</sup> meeting of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents National Education Union held on 7<sup>th</sup> February 1901 and Minutes of the 57<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents National Education Union held on 19<sup>th</sup> February 1902 in Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS.

<sup>88</sup> Committee Meeting 28<sup>th</sup> September 1905, Minute 148, p. 44, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Committee Meeting 11<sup>th</sup> October 1905, Minutes 160 and 161, pp. 47-48, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 17<sup>th</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS. John Starkie Barnes (1843-1922) was the father of Ernest William Barnes (1874-1953), Bishop of Birmingham. He was appointed Inspector of Schools for Birmingham in 1882, a post which he served in until his retirement in 1908. It appears that he occupied a senior role as head school inspector for Birmingham. See A. E. J. Rawlinson, 'Barnes, Ernest William (1874-1953)', rev. Matthew Grimley, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30601> (accessed 10<sup>th</sup> August 2010); J. Barnes, *Ahead of his Age: Bishop Barnes of Birmingham* (London: Collins, 1979), 21.

that he lacked experience as a Head Master.<sup>91</sup> While Barnes was asked to advise the Schools Management Committee on the most appropriate candidate, Taylor Cadbury retained ‘the casting vote’ based on her individual judgement.<sup>92</sup> She took the decision that Mr. James Fielden be employed as the first Head Master of Bournville Elementary School based on her personal view that ‘a man of experience & proved organising ability’ was required for new Bournville school.<sup>93</sup> The Schools Management Committee liaised with Barnes in an advisory capacity and was not obliged to accept his proposals regarding the headship of Bournville Elementary School. Yet it is significant that Taylor Cadbury possessed authority to make an independent decision concerning the appointment of a senior male staff member which resisted deferring to the view of a male municipal educationalist. Taylor Cadbury’s agency in educational decision-making illustrates that the educational work which she undertook did not adhere to the gender division outlined in existing accounts, suggesting that she was able to participate in broader aspects of educational administration.<sup>94</sup> This becomes further evident through analysis of her involvement in educational policy negotiations with King’s Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee concerning infant and elementary school provision in Bournville during the early twentieth century.

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<sup>91</sup> Committee Meeting 11<sup>th</sup> October 1905, Minute 161, p. 48, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> November 1905, Minute 163, pp. 48-49, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. James Fielden served as headmaster of Bournville Elementary School for seventeen years and remained fondly remembered by early pupils at the school eighty years after his appointment. See MacFarlane, *Bournville Junior School*. Florence Hackett and Wilfrid Beswick recall memories of Fielden in their memoirs of Bournville Elementary School recorded for the Bournville History Society. See Florence Hackett and Wilfrid Beswick, July 1984, Bournville History Society Project, CD Ref No: R362/C334, City Sound Archive, Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery.

<sup>94</sup> Hollis, ‘Women in Council’, 202; Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 141; Martin, ‘To “Blaise the Trail”’: 172; Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 62; Blackmore, “‘In the Shadow of Men’”, 44. See also Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, 79.

In order to assess Taylor Cadbury's agency in educational policy-making concerning the Bournville Village Schools, it is significant to consider that scholarship suggests she occupied a privileged position in relation to Bournville's schools.<sup>95</sup> In her study of women who served on the London School Board during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Martin observes how 'the possession of certain cultural capital' was important for these women in securing their election to the Board.<sup>96</sup> Taylor Cadbury's membership of the elite network of wealthy middle-class families who dominated social and political life in Birmingham similarly supported her participation in local educational administration.<sup>97</sup> As a co-opted member of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, Taylor Cadbury worked alongside educational policy-makers including Mr. M. J. Barrington Ward, the Head School Inspector for the District.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, Taylor Cadbury's socio-economic status as a Cadbury, as well as her position as a Bournville Village Trustee, allowed her to play a prominent role in schemes to establish elementary and infant schools in Bournville. Her role as co-founder and financier of the village's elementary and infant schools suggests that she held a unique position which enabled her to exert authority in policy-making concerning their development. However, Taylor Cadbury's local profile as Mrs. George Cadbury did not afford her authority to direct educational policy independently at the Bournville Village Schools. The Cadburys and the Bournville Village Trust more widely were unable to implement educational policy at

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<sup>95</sup> Bull, 'Learning for Life', 44; Hoffman, 'Imaging the Industrial Village', 543, 567-71 and 770-71.

<sup>96</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 10.

<sup>97</sup> Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 75.

<sup>98</sup> Meeting of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1903, County of Worcester Signed Minutes of the Education Committee, 1903, Document Ref: BA 854/250.601, WROCHB. Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> June 1904, Minute 188, p. 69, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. For identification of Mr. M. J. Barrington Ward as Head School Inspector of the District see the Secretary's Quarterly Report January 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.



the schools without engaging in negotiations with King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee.<sup>99</sup> The local authority's close involvement in the management of Bournville's schools is evident from their representation on the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee. This Committee comprised members nominated by the Village Trust but also representatives from the District Council Education Committee, originally Mr. A. J. Kelley and Mr. J. F. Moore.<sup>100</sup> Taylor Cadbury was initially nominated to serve on the Schools Management Committee by her kinship network within the Bournville Village Trust, although she was elected Chairman of the Committee by the members themselves.<sup>101</sup> Alongside representatives of the District Council Education Committee, the Schools Management Committee included members from the Bournville Village Council who had originally petitioned the Trust over the urgency of establishing schools in Bournville.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report September 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. For evidence of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee's intervention in the development and management of Bournville's schools see Committee Meeting 10<sup>th</sup> October 1904, Minute 9, p. 3, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1904, Minute 258, p. 97, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 17<sup>th</sup> November 1905, p. 163, Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Education and School Management Sub-Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1904-11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, BCK/ATc/1/1/5, KNNUDC, BAHS. See also Committee Meeting 16<sup>th</sup> June 1905, p. 117 and Committee Meeting 12<sup>th</sup> June 1906, pp. 226-227, Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Education and School Management Sub-Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1904-11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, BCK/ATc/1/1/5, KNNUDC, BAHS.

<sup>100</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904, Minute 1, p. 1, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. Two members of the Local Education Authority, Mr. A. J. Kelley and J. F. Moore, Secretary to the District Council Education Committee, served on the Schools Management Committee at its inception in 1904. Councillor Mr. George Shann was appointed to the Committee in May 1905. While Shann was an associate of the Cadburys involved in Quaker adult school work, he served on the Schools Management Committee as a representative of the Local Education Authority. See Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>101</sup> Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> July 1904, Minute 229, p. 87, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904, Minute 1, p. 1, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*; Committee Meeting 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1903, Minute 13, p. 8, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

Her election by members principally concerned with expediting effective educational provision in Bournville disputes assumptions that her authority over the village's schools was due entirely to her identity as a Cadbury and a Bournville Village Trustee and suggests that she was perceived to possess skills for educational management.<sup>103</sup> As Mary Hughes observes of female educationalists more widely during this period, Taylor Cadbury was required to accommodate the conflicting priorities of educational authorities and financial constraints in her work as Chairman of the Schools Management Committee.<sup>104</sup> She was obliged to adhere to and ensure conformity with the policies of the Local Education Authority in the same way as the female school managers in Liverpool identified by Goodman were required to abide by school board regulations.<sup>105</sup> Throughout the early twentieth century the local authority opposed and contested educational policies promoted by Taylor Cadbury and the Schools Management Committee under her leadership, requiring her to defer to their regulations based on Board of Education legislation.<sup>106</sup> The Authority reprimanded decisions made without their sanction, taking exception to the distribution of unapproved circulars by the Schools Management Committee.<sup>107</sup> In addition, the Committee faced criticism from the Authority and the local press who opposed their policy of giving preference for school places to children living on the Bournville estate, despite the schools having been founded to accommodate

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<sup>103</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904, Minute 1, p. 1, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>104</sup> Hughes, "The Shrieking Sisterhood": 270.

<sup>105</sup> Goodman, 'Women School Board Managers', 69.

<sup>106</sup> For evidence of the Committee enforcing conformity with local authority regulations see Committee Meeting 10<sup>th</sup> October 1904, Minute 9, p. 3, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 16<sup>th</sup> June 1905, p. 117 and Committee Meeting 12<sup>th</sup> June 1906, pp. 226-227, Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Education and School Management Sub-Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1904-11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, BCK/ATc/1/1/5, KNNUDC, BAHS.

<sup>107</sup> Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> June 1906, Minute 345, p. 98, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

children in their immediate vicinity.<sup>108</sup> It is evident from these examples that Taylor Cadbury's achievements in the development of school provision in Bournville involved expertise in the field of educational provision and an ability for strategic negotiation. This demonstrates that while her social capital as a Cadbury facilitated her participation in educational administration, her agency in educational work was to a considerable extent dependent on her capacity for policy-making.

Gillian Wagner and Henry Bull suggest that George Cadbury was responsible for the political 'struggle' with the Local Education Authority concerning class size and staff provision at the Bournville Village Schools.<sup>109</sup> Their focus on George Cadbury relates to his public identification as the founder of Bournville and his role overseeing visits by the local press and educational authorities to Bournville Elementary School in 1907.<sup>110</sup> Such an assessment may also reflect the male association with educational administration, particularly during the period following women's loss of status as elected representatives for local education after the 1902 Education Act.<sup>111</sup> Throughout the early twentieth century the Bournville Village Trustees and later the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee were engaged in debate with the Local Education Authority concerning school provision on the Bournville

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<sup>108</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> September 1907, Minute 14, p. 4, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 2, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1907-25<sup>th</sup> July 1917, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; See unidentified newscutting 'Alleged Irregularities at the Bournville Day School', Bournville Day Schools Newspaper Cuttings 1904-1912, Box 11, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. For evidence of the intended remit of the schools see Committee Meeting 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1903, Minute 13, p. 8, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> May 1904, Minute 172, p. 63, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>109</sup> Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience*, 59; Bull, 'Learning for Life', 44. Linda Pittaway has identified Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's leading role in political negotiations concerning class size and staff shortages at the Bournville Village Schools. See Pittaway, 'The Cadbury Women', 24.

<sup>110</sup> *Worcester Herald*, 11<sup>th</sup> May 1907, p. 9, Volume of Bournville Day Schools Newspaper Cuttings, 1904-1912, Box 11, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>111</sup> Blackmore, "In the Shadow of Men"; Goodman and Harrop, "Within Marked Boundaries", 7.

Estate. Following the submission of plans to the Authority by the Trust, progress in the establishment of the schools was delayed by dispute concerning the size of the classrooms within Bournville's permanent school buildings.<sup>112</sup> Taylor Cadbury took a prominent role in negotiations to secure the development of a temporary school in Ruskin Hall in the village to provide school facilities during this ongoing debate.<sup>113</sup> Ruskin Hall was originally constructed to form a memorial to the art critic and social commentator John Ruskin (1819-1900) by the Ruskin Memorial Committee.<sup>114</sup> Following a disappointing response to their appeal for subscriptions for the Hall, the Committee decided that 'the Memorial site, and building be handed over to the Bournville Village Trust'.<sup>115</sup> A variety of ideas concerning the use of Ruskin Hall was submitted to the Trustees by the Ruskin Society and the Bournville Village Council.<sup>116</sup> The Village Council recommended that it be used primarily as a school for young

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<sup>112</sup> See committee meetings throughout June 1904, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. See also Secretary's Quarterly Reports for December 1903 and June 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>113</sup> Committee Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> May 1904, Minute 172, p. 63, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 15<sup>th</sup> June 1904, Minutes 206 and 206a, p. 75 Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. Although Hoffman, Bailey and Bryson have acknowledged Taylor Cadbury's role as both an Officer of the Council and a Vice President of the Ruskin Society of Birmingham, her contribution to the development of the temporary school housed in Ruskin Hall has been overlooked in studies of Bournville's community facilities. See Hoffman, 'Imaging the Industrial Village', 384 and 393 and Adrian R. Bailey and John R. Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning: George Cadbury and the Construction of Bournville Model Village', *Quaker Studies* 11, no. 1 (2006): 96. Taylor Cadbury first appears named as a member of the Council of the Ruskin Society of Birmingham in The Ruskin Society of Birmingham: The Society of the Rose, 'Syllabus for Session 1899-1900 and Rules', Syllabuses 1896-7 to 1907-8, LSC, BAHS. She appears named as Vice President in The Ruskin Society of Birmingham: The Society of the Rose, 'Report for Session 1902-1903', Ruskin Society of Birmingham Annual Reports 1896-7 to 1907-8, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>114</sup> J. H. Whitehouse to J. H. Barlow, 13<sup>th</sup> March 1902, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 1, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1901-14<sup>th</sup> August 1902, pp. 131-32, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903, Minute 2, p. 2, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>115</sup> The Ruskin Society of Birmingham: The Society of the Rose, 'Report for Session 1903-1904', pp. 9-10, Ruskin Society of Birmingham Annual Reports 1896-7 to 1907-8, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>116</sup> Committee Meeting 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1903, Minute 30, p.18, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

children in Bournville who lived a considerable distance from neighbouring schools.<sup>117</sup> In an open letter to her co-Trustees in May 1904, Taylor Cadbury expressed her support for the Village Council's suggestion that 'the building be used as a school' as well as for the provision of a library, reading room and a temporary Quaker Meeting House.<sup>118</sup> The Trustees took the decision to develop the Hall into 'a school for the young children of Bournville'.<sup>119</sup> However, their plans were delayed after the Head School Inspector for the District, Barrington Ward, failed to reply to their request for approval to apply to the Local Education Authority to begin developing the school.<sup>120</sup> Taylor Cadbury and her co-Trustees responded to this by capitalising on her association with Worcestershire County Council Education Committee. The Trustees concluded that a private meeting be organised between Ward and Taylor Cadbury, accompanied by the Trust's secretary J. H. Barlow, at the next meeting of the Education Committee in an attempt to encourage progress.<sup>121</sup> Bournville Village Trust Committee Minutes record that Ward 'fully approved the purpose to open a temporary school' presented by Taylor Cadbury and Barlow at this meeting and advised the Trust to apply to the local education committee for the development of the school, recommending 'immediate application to the local committee'.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Committee Meeting, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1904, Minute 172, p. 63, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> June 1904, Minute 188, p. 69, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Committee Meeting 15<sup>th</sup> June 1904, Minute 206, p. 75, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

Taylor Cadbury continued to play an active role in policy negotiations at local authority level after Bournville's first permanent school building, Bournville Elementary School, opened in April 1906. In her capacity as Chairman of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee, Taylor Cadbury mediated between the Local Education Authority and the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee concerning staffing shortages at the school. Writing to her family in April 1906 she reported that she had 'visited all the classes' at the elementary school to find that the institution was severely understaffed owing to restrictions imposed by the Local Education Authority.<sup>123</sup>

There are 420 children already in the school & we require more teachers. We should have had more already, but the District Council would not give us the number which we asked, as they would not believe we should have such a full school. They have only allowed us one certified man teacher beside the Headmaster.<sup>124</sup>

After visiting the school, Taylor Cadbury called a special meeting of the Schools Management Committee 'at very short notice' to discuss concerns over 'the urgent necessity of increasing the teaching staff', with only six teachers including the headmaster to supervise 437 children.<sup>125</sup> Taylor Cadbury became immediately engaged in debate with King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, reporting to the Management Committee that owing to their efforts to save costs, the Authority refused to sanction the appointment of an additional certificated female assistant.<sup>126</sup> Taylor Cadbury's close

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<sup>123</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. Please note that the typewritten text on this document is considerably faded, meaning that the figure 420 cited here may be inaccurate.

<sup>125</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> April 1906, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's introductory statement to the Committee, p. 77, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>126</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> April 1906, Minute 269, p. 78, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. June Purvis suggests that the appointment of uncertificated teachers was more cost effective. See June Purvis, 'Women and Education: A Historical Account, 1800-1914', in *Equality and Inequality in Education Policy*, ed. Liz Dawtrey et al. (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd. in association with The Open University, 1995), 15.

involvement in negotiations concerning the staffing shortage is evident in the frustration she expressed at the situation in a letter to her family at the beginning of May 1906:

In some of our classrooms planned for only 40 or 50 we had 75 & 80 children under one teacher. This is another of the wicked doings of the local authority. We knew the schools would be full, but they would only consent beforehand to the appointment of half the number of requisite teachers, although they saw how many we should have. The consequence is the teachers we had have been working at very high pressure & under great difficulties.<sup>127</sup>

During April and May 1906 Schools Management Committee Meetings were held at regular intervals, dominated by the problems in appointing staff for the new school.<sup>128</sup> Taylor Cadbury remarked to her family ‘on Thursday I was again at the Schools at a Committee at 9 o’clock, to try and get supplementary teachers. It was a most terrible day, snow nearly all day long, very cold and damp’.<sup>129</sup> Through negotiations with the Local Education Authority, two permanent and three temporary members of staff, none of whom was a certificated teacher, were appointed to Bournville Elementary School.<sup>130</sup> Taylor Cadbury remarked that the school required three additional permanent teachers to make its staff ‘anything like sufficient’, and both she and Fielden expressed concern over the impact of the staffing deficiency on education provision at the school.<sup>131</sup> In a letter to her family, Taylor Cadbury commented ‘the niggardly District Councils...will only allow the extra teachers uncertificated, and we have

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<sup>127</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. See also Committee Meeting 30<sup>th</sup> April 1906, pp. 80-81, Committee Meeting 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1906, pp. 82-84 and Committee Meeting 9<sup>th</sup> May 1906, pp. 84-88, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.; Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> April 1906, Minute 272, p. 79, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. James Fielden suggested at this meeting that owing to the deficit in certificated staff ‘it would not be possible for him to secure such good results’ at Bournville Elementary School as he had achieved in his previous post as Headmaster of Icknield School in Birmingham.

had to refuse two very good applications on this account.<sup>132</sup> This evidence demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury was obliged to comply with the policy adopted by the Local Education Authority concerning staffing provision. While the Authority subsequently sanctioned the appointment of four temporary assistant teachers, it is difficult to determine how far Taylor Cadbury was responsible for persuading the Authority to employ additional staff for Bournville's elementary school.<sup>133</sup> However, it is evident that Taylor Cadbury was actively engaged in administrative negotiations disputing the Authority's procedures concerning the recruitment of staff for schools under their jurisdiction. This demonstrates that her work as a school manager incorporated administrative responsibilities which went further than ensuring conformity with the Local Education Authority during a period when women's educational policy-making is identified as having been limited by their marginalisation within local level educational administration.<sup>134</sup>

Beyond negotiating staffing provision with the Local Education Authority, Taylor Cadbury's educational policy-making included substituting for the authority of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee in the implementation of educational policy at the Bournville Village Schools. Minutes relating to the work of the Schools Management Committee indicate that in November 1904 there was growing concern among the Committee about the number of children who were absented from school by their parents

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<sup>132</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>133</sup> Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> May 1906, pp. 218-19, Minute Book of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee Education and School Management Sub-Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1904-11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, BCK/ATc/1/1/5, KNUUDC, BAHS.

<sup>134</sup> Goodman 'Women School Board Members', 69; Goodman and Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries'", 3 and 7; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 5. See also Blackmore, "'In the Shadow of Men'".



to attend private music lessons.<sup>135</sup> Liaison with the District Council Education Committee regarding their policy in relation to this matter served little purpose, the Committee stating that they ‘must decline to given an opinion’ in March 1905.<sup>136</sup> In the absence of direction from the Local Education Authority, Taylor Cadbury prepared a memorandum ‘respecting the question of granting time out of school hours for music lessons’ clarifying school policy for staff and parents which reflected her own educational views.<sup>137</sup> Writing in 1916 Taylor Cadbury expressed concern over ‘the short school days, into which have to be crammed so much’.<sup>138</sup> Her memorandum concerning music lessons called upon parents to ensure that their children were present ‘during the whole of the prescribed hours’.<sup>139</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s involvement in formulating educational policy at Bournville Elementary School reflects Hunt’s conclusions concerning female participation in educational policy-making between 1902 and 1944. She suggests that there was ‘ample room for innovation and creativity’ in defining policy at school level during this period.<sup>140</sup> Goodman observes similarly that there was scope for women school managers to formulate policy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, provided that policies accorded with the procedure of local

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<sup>135</sup> Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> November 1904, Minute 43, p. 12, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>136</sup> Committee Meeting 17<sup>th</sup> March 1905, p. 86, Minute Book of the King’s Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Education and School Management Sub-Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1904-11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, BCK/ATc/1/1/5, KNNUDC, BAHS.

<sup>137</sup> Committee Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> May 1905, Minute 108, p. 32, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>138</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Untitled article for *Cathedral Magazine*, May 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/4/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>139</sup> Committee Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> May 1905, Minute 108, p. 32, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>140</sup> Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education*, 11.

educational authorities and the Board of Education.<sup>141</sup> However, as her negotiations concerning staffing at Bournville elementary school demonstrate, Taylor Cadbury's educational policy-making in Bournville went beyond determining school policy in relation to guidelines fixed by the Local Education Authority. This is further evident in her efforts to encourage progress in the development of Bournville Elementary School and promote the expansion of infant school provision in Bournville village during 1904 and 1906.

In order to resolve their debate over class size with King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, the Bournville Village Trustees sought the opinion of Sir Michael Ernest Sadler (1861-1943), an educationalist and advisor to local education authorities.<sup>142</sup> Sadler supported the Trustees' view that classrooms to house sixty pupils were 'too large for really efficient teaching', encouraging amendment of the original Bournville Village School plans to incorporate a reduction in class size.<sup>143</sup> These revised plans were approved by the Board of Education, but Barlow reported that 'the cultured & broad minded statesmen on the District Council Education Committee' continued to raise objections to the

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<sup>141</sup> Goodman 'Women School Board Members', 70 and 69.

<sup>142</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report December 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Secretary's Quarterly Report 30<sup>th</sup> September 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Roy Lowe, 'Sadler, Sir Michael Ernest (1861-1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004, online edn. Oct 2007, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35905> (accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2009); Roy Lowe, 'Personalities and Policy: Sadler, Morant and the Structure of Education in England', in *In History and In Education: Essays Presented to Peter Gordon*, ed. Richard Aldrich (London: Woburn Press, 1996), 98.

<sup>143</sup> Report of J. H. Barlow's Meeting with Michael Sadler, enclosed between pages 169 and 170, Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> October 1903, Minute 1062, p. 169, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 2, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1902-2<sup>nd</sup> December 1903, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Secretary's Quarterly Report September 1903, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. See also Committee Meeting 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1903, Minute 1034, p. 159, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 2, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1902-2<sup>nd</sup> December 1903, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

reduction in the size of classrooms from sixty to forty students.<sup>144</sup> The Local Education Authority's Buildings and General Purposes Sub-Committee insisted that the Trustees revise their plans to incorporate classrooms which housed sixty pupils.<sup>145</sup> Their opposition meant that little progress had been made in the development of school provision in the village by June 1904.<sup>146</sup> Taylor Cadbury shared the concerns over class size expressed in Trust minutes and reports, commenting publicly about the disadvantages of large class sizes and the necessity of reform in this area of educational policy.<sup>147</sup> Evidence illustrates that these views shaped her participation in educational policy-making to resolve the situation of stalemate between the Bournville Village Trust and the Local Education Authority concerning the dispute over the size of classrooms. In their meeting with Barrington Ward to discuss plans for the temporary school established in Ruskin Hall, Taylor Cadbury and Barlow had also enquired specifically about 'the delay in building the permanent schools caused by the action of the local education committee'.<sup>148</sup> Barrington Ward advised that the Cadburys should 'obtain an interview with the Secretary of the Board at Whitehall', adding that as a result of their direct interaction with the Board of Education 'the delay to the permanent plans might

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<sup>144</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report March 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>145</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> May 1904, p. 60, Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Buildings & General Purposes Sub-Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1903-11<sup>th</sup> September 1906, BCK/ATd/1/1/3, KNNUDC, BAHS. The District Council Education Committee continued to adhere to their 'former resolution', requiring the Managers 'to provide a school according to the original plans'. See Secretary's Quarterly Report June 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> June 1904, p. 67, Minute Book of the King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Buildings & General Purposes Sub-Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1903-11<sup>th</sup> September 1906, BCK/ATd/1/1/3, KNNUDC, BAHS.

<sup>146</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report June 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>147</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Changing World', 1<sup>st</sup> February 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/1/16/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>148</sup> Committee Meeting 15<sup>th</sup> June 1904, Minutes 206 and 206a, p. 75, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

probably be removed at once'.<sup>149</sup> He recommended that both George and Elizabeth Cadbury should meet with the Board, suggesting that he would also attend.<sup>150</sup> However, subsequent minutes reveal that Taylor Cadbury met with Robert Laurie Morant (1863-1920), the Secretary of the Board of Education, accompanied by Trust secretary Barlow, to discuss the local authority's objections to the revised school plans.<sup>151</sup> Morant subsequently corresponded directly with Taylor Cadbury to inform the Trust that the Board were engaged in financial deliberations concerning the District Council Education Committee's objections to the implementation of smaller classrooms at Bournville Elementary School.<sup>152</sup> Within a month of Taylor Cadbury's meeting with Morant, the Trust received a letter from the Board of Education stating that they approved the reduction in class size presented in the revised school plans.<sup>153</sup> Through her consultations with senior educationalists, Taylor Cadbury secured a resolution which the Trust's reports record was 'entirely favourable to the Trust', the Board of Education agreeing to 'overrule the objections of the local Committee'.<sup>154</sup> The Board concluded that the smaller classrooms proposed in the revised plans were 'educationally better than the original ones' and directed the Local Education Authority to approve the

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Committee Meeting 29<sup>th</sup> June 1904, Minute 222, p. 84, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Geoffrey K. Fry, 'Morant, Sir Robert Laurie (1863-1920)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004, online edn. Jan 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35096> (accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2009).

<sup>152</sup> Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> July 1904, Minute 230, p. 87, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>153</sup> John Glaisyer to J. H. Barlow, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1904, enclosed between pages 93 and 94, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. See also Secretary's Quarterly Report, September 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>154</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report September 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Committee Meeting 29<sup>th</sup> June 1904, Minute 222, p. 84, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

plans.<sup>155</sup> The significance of Taylor Cadbury's contribution towards the development of school facilities in Bournville is further evident in the Trust's Quarterly Report for September 1904 which recorded a 'very definite advance' in progress with the schools.<sup>156</sup> The report states that the Board of Education had been 'stirred to action by the interview which E. M. Cadbury obtained with Mr. Morant' which had led to the removal of the 'last obstacle' in the progress of the schools.<sup>157</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain the reasons why Taylor Cadbury was successful in her negotiations with the Board of Education. Ward's recommendation that the Cadburys meet with Morant illustrates that their public profile allowed them access to the Board and afforded them social capital in terms of petitioning the national educational authority with their views concerning Bournville's school facilities.<sup>158</sup> Morant had served as a member of staff at Toynbee Hall, the University Settlement in which Taylor Cadbury's friend and colleague Henrietta Barnett was closely involved.<sup>159</sup> Yet there is little evidence to suggest that Taylor Cadbury was closely associated with Morant in a way which would have given her a privileged position from which to influence Board policy. Indeed, the Board were reluctant to offer their immediate approval for the Trust's reduction in class size proposed by Taylor Cadbury at her meeting

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<sup>155</sup> Committee Meeting 27th July 1904, Minute 249, p. 93, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; John Glaisyer to J. H. Barlow, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1904, enclosed between pages 93 and 94, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>156</sup> Secretary's Quarterly Report September 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Committee Meeting 15<sup>th</sup> June 1904, Minutes 206 and 206a, p. 75, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>159</sup> Geoffrey K. Fry, 'Morant, Sir Robert Laurie (1863-1920)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004, online edn. Jan 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35096> (accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2009).

with Morant. Correspondence between the Trust and the Board following this meeting reveals that while Morant, like Ward, was sympathetic to the educational advantages of reduced class size, the Board remained concerned to support King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee in defining their policy concerning Bournville's permanent elementary school.<sup>160</sup> In a subsequent letter, Morant informed Taylor Cadbury that the Board were anxious that the Local Education Authority did not incur 'greater expenses' by being required to maintain a school with more numerous smaller classrooms.<sup>161</sup> However, the Board's deliberations culminated in their decision to support the Trustees owing to their view that the proposed reduction in class-size was 'educationally the better'.<sup>162</sup> This demonstrates that while Taylor Cadbury's access to Morant was facilitated by her status as the co-founder and financier of the Bournville Village Schools, her agency in obtaining the Board's approval for the reduction of class sizes reflected her capacity for negotiating educational policy. Evidence that the Board's decision to sanction the smaller classrooms was based on their educational advantages indicates that the Trust's success was due to a considerable extent to Taylor Cadbury's aptitude for effectively promoting the revised plans in the context of contemporary approaches to improving the efficiency of educational provision.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> July 1904, Minute 230, p. 87, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Committee Meeting 27<sup>th</sup> July 1904, Minute 249, p. 93, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; John Glaisyer to J. H. Barlow, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1904, enclosed between pages 93 and 94, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid. For contemporary approaches to improving the efficiency of educational provision see Report of J. H. Barlow's Meeting with Michael Sadler, enclosed between pages 169 and 170, Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> October 1903, Minute 1062, p. 169, Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 2, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1902-2<sup>nd</sup> December 1903, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

Through her work as Chairman of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee, Taylor Cadbury was instrumental in efforts to resolve disputes over educational policy between the Schools Management Committee and the Local Education Authority through liaison with the Board of Education. In July 1906 she negotiated with the Board regarding plans to expand the infants' department in Bournville's temporary school across both floors of Ruskin Hall following the transfer of the girls' department to Bournville's permanent elementary school building in April 1906.<sup>164</sup> Hilda Pumphrey, the Head Mistress of the infants' department, had engaged unsuccessfully in negotiations to obtain sanction from the Local Education Authority and the Board of Education to expand the department without necessitating the appointment of an additional headmistress.<sup>165</sup> The local authority had insisted that the Board recognise the upper floor of Ruskin Hall as a separate school which would require supervision from a further head mistress who they were unwilling to appoint.<sup>166</sup> Minutes record that, following the local authority's response, the Schools Management Committee asked Taylor Cadbury to contact the Board directly in her capacity as Chairman in order to clarify the situation regarding the changes to school provision in Ruskin Hall following the removal of the girls' department.<sup>167</sup> Taylor Cadbury capitalised on her access to Morant to encourage the Board's recognition that the upper floor of the Hall was no longer a separate department and did not require a further Head Mistress. She wrote directly to Morant at the Board who she reported had 'promised to look into the matter & do what he could to

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<sup>164</sup> Committee Meeting 20<sup>th</sup> July 1906, Minute 362, p. 104, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

meet the wishes of the Managers'.<sup>168</sup> Her intervention in negotiations led to the Board's approval of the Management Committee's plan to expand their school accommodation for infants to the upper floor of Ruskin Hall.<sup>169</sup> The Board's decision enabled the Committee to increase admissions to the infant school by one hundred and fourteen pupils in advance of its transfer to permanent accommodation in 1910.<sup>170</sup> Evidence of Taylor Cadbury's involvement in negotiations concerning education provision in Bournville demonstrates that she took a leading role in negotiations to 'side-step' regulations imposed by the Local Education Authority during a period in which women's participation in educational administration was restricted.<sup>171</sup> Her educational work went further than overseeing the adoption of local government policy at school level, pushing the boundaries of 'organizational policy-making' within the limits of conformity to the Local Education Authority.<sup>172</sup> As the examples above demonstrate, Taylor Cadbury intervened in dialogue between the Board of Education and the local authority to encourage the modification of regulations and promote innovation in local level educational policy.

#### 3.4: Taylor Cadbury and Co-opted Membership of Local Education Authorities

Taylor Cadbury's participation in the formulation of educational policy extended beyond her school management activities in Bournville through her work as a co-opted member of

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<sup>168</sup> Committee Meeting 16<sup>th</sup> August 1906, Minute 371, p. 107, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>169</sup> Committee Meeting 9<sup>th</sup> October 1906, Minute 404, p. 118, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> The phrase 'side-step' is taken from Hollis, 'Women in Council', 202. Goodman and Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries'", 3 and 7; Blackmore, "'In the Shadow of Men'", 27.

<sup>172</sup> Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education*, 11; Goodman, 'Women School Board Members', 69-70.



education committees in Worcester and Birmingham during the early 1900s. Evidence of her municipal educational work demonstrates that she was able to participate actively in educational policy-making as a co-opted member of local education authorities following the 1902 Education Act. ‘Mrs. Elsie Cadbury’ was one of three women amongst the fifteen ‘selected members’ co-opted to Worcestershire County Council Education Committee in April 1903, alongside Miss Eliza Mary Sturge, the niece of Quaker social activists Joseph and Sophia Sturge and the first woman elected to the Birmingham School Board in 1873.<sup>173</sup> At the first meeting of the new Worcestershire Education Committee in April 1903, Taylor Cadbury was nominated to serve on the Organization Sub-Committee which was later renamed the Higher Education Sub-Committee.<sup>174</sup> Her work on this Sub-Committee supports Watts’ conclusion that women were involved in educational activities supporting elementary and higher education through their role as co-opted members on local education authorities.<sup>175</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s responsibilities on the Organization Sub-Committee also included the allocation of financial grants to schools for ‘building, maintenance or a particular purpose’, which enabled her to become involved in work concerning the financing and construction of schools, areas of policy-making from which studies suggest women were largely uninvolved

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<sup>173</sup> Meeting of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1903, County of Worcester Signed Minutes of the Education Committee, 1903, Document Ref: BA 854/250.601, WROCHB; J. D. Schooling, *The County Fathers: A History of Worcestershire County Council 1889-1974* (Worcester, 1983), 29; K. D. Reynolds, ‘Sturge, Eliza Mary (1842-1905)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56273> (accessed 19<sup>th</sup> July 2009). K. D. Reynolds suggests that Sturge was unable to make a significant impact on the Birmingham School Board. However, in their co-option to Worcestershire Education Committee, it would appear that both Sturge and Taylor Cadbury were publicly recognised for their prominent profile as philanthropists and their association with educational work.

<sup>174</sup> Meeting of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1903 and Meeting of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, 6<sup>th</sup> June 1903, County of Worcester Signed Minutes of the Education Committee, 1903, Document Ref: BA 854/250.601, WROCHB.

<sup>175</sup> Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’, 73-75.

during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>176</sup> Members of the Organization Sub-Committee were required to report recommendations for improving the efficiency and quality of education delivered at ‘all the Higher Schools, Colleges, Classes and Institutions in the County’.<sup>177</sup> As co-opted members, Taylor Cadbury and her female colleagues were unable to pursue the implementation of these recommendations ‘through the full council’.<sup>178</sup> Yet Taylor Cadbury acknowledged that serving on Worcestershire Education Committee provided her with ‘insight’ into ‘the opportunities, advantages, limitations, and possible future developments of state education’.<sup>179</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s assessment of her work suggests that she was able to become involved in the development of policy concerning education provision as a co-opted member of a local education authority. This becomes apparent through analysis of her work as a District School Manager, serving on the South-East District School Managers Committee (SEDSMC) of the City of Birmingham Education Committee following her co-option to the Committee in 1911.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Meeting of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, 6<sup>th</sup> June 1903, County of Worcester Signed Minutes of the Education Committee, 1903, Document Ref: BA 854/250.601, WROCHB. These studies include Hollis, ‘Women in Council’, 202; Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 141; Martin, ‘To “Blaise the Trail”’, 172; Goodman, ‘Women School Board Members’, 62. Watts notes women’s absence from the Finance and General Purposes Sub-Committee of the City of Birmingham Education Committee. See Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’, 74.

<sup>177</sup> Meeting of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1903 and Meeting of Worcestershire County Council Education Committee, 6<sup>th</sup> June 1903, County of Worcester Signed Minutes of the Education Committee, 1903, Document Ref: BA 854/250.601, WROCHB.

<sup>178</sup> Hughes, “‘The Shrieking Sisterhood’”, 263-64. See also Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’, 72.

<sup>179</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Education for Pleasure’, October 1935, MS 466/1/1/10/1/34, CFP, BAHS. Scott’s observations concerning Taylor Cadbury’s work on Worcestershire Education Committee support this assessment. See Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 105.

<sup>180</sup> Scott states that Taylor Cadbury was ‘invited’ to serve on Birmingham Education Committee following the extension of the city boundaries which brought Aston, Erdington, Handsworth, King’s Norton and Yardley under the jurisdiction of the City Council. See Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 110. Birmingham was divided into six District School Management Committees following this boundary extension. This was reduced to its former number of three in 1915. The South-East District School Managers Committee is cited in the text hereafter as the SEDSMC.

Taylor Cadbury served as a District School Manager following the passing of legislation sanctioning women's election to county and borough councils in 1907, although she did not pursue elected membership of Birmingham Education Committee and remained as a co-opted member of Birmingham City Council until 1919. Committee members who served as district school managers were given responsibilities for visiting schools to 'consider the reports and suggestions of the Superintendents and Inspectors of Schools appointed by the Education Committee, and of H.M. Inspectors' and to survey their implementation at school level.<sup>181</sup> Managers were expected to confer with the Superintendents and Inspectors appointed by Birmingham Education Committee regarding the schools under their jurisdiction.<sup>182</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's work reveals that she also became directly involved in shaping policies concerning the provision of school facilities and the development of school sites in the city. Taylor Cadbury was requested to visit Bordesley Trinity Church of England School, Golden Hillock Road Council School and Floodgate Street Council School in her capacity as a District School Manager.<sup>183</sup> She commented on her experiences of this work in letters to her family, remarking in 1912 that the majority of children who attended Floodgate Street were 'very poor', before describing the low quality of school accommodation at Bordesley Trinity School.<sup>184</sup> Taylor Cadbury did not confine her work to reporting on conditions at the schools and monitoring the implementation of recommendations made by Birmingham Education Committee's Superintendents and Inspectors of Schools. She sought to implement

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<sup>181</sup> Printed circular attached to p. 2 of minutes relating to a Committee Meeting of the North Birmingham District School Managers of the Education Committee, Birmingham District School Managers' Minute Book No. 1, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1903-13<sup>th</sup> March 1908, BCC/BH/8/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Committee Meeting 6<sup>th</sup> December 1911, Minute 8, pp. 2-3, South-East District School Managers' Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1912, BCC/BH/9/6/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>184</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

improvements in educational provision for their pupils by intervening in the formulation of educational policy by Birmingham Education Committee. In May 1912 the SEDSMC heard recommendations concerning school furniture proposed by the District Inspector who noted the need for improved glazing and library storage facilities at the Golden Hillock Road Schools which Taylor Cadbury was responsible for visiting.<sup>185</sup> Taylor Cadbury forwarded her own recommendations concerning the improvement of facilities, emphasising the necessity of providing a piano for Golden Hillock Road Infants' School.<sup>186</sup> Her proposals did not only contribute to the development of the schools under her supervision, but shaped the wider educational policy adopted by the SEDSMC. Minutes record that following her suggestion the Committee resolved 'that the attention of the Elementary Education Sub-Committee be called to the desirability of all Infants' Schools being provided with such instruments'.<sup>187</sup> Similarly, the reports which Taylor Cadbury delivered concerning her school visits served to encourage the SEDSMC to oppose decisions made by Birmingham Education Committee which would affect the schools within their geographical jurisdiction. In October 1912 Taylor Cadbury expressed concerns to the SEDSMC regarding plans by Birmingham Education Committee's Sites and Buildings Sub-Committee to reduce the outdoor space available for children at the Golden Hillock Road Infants' School.<sup>188</sup> The concerns raised by Taylor Cadbury in this report reflected her priorities as Chairman of the Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee and illustrated her concurrence with contemporary opinion regarding the 'therapeutic benefit of the fresh air environment' which David Hughes suggests formed part of a wider movement

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<sup>185</sup> Committee Meeting 9<sup>th</sup> May 1912, Minute 201, p. 66, South-East District School Managers' Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1912, BCC/BH/9/6/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Committee Meeting 31<sup>st</sup> October 1912, Minute 368, pp. 119-120, South-East District School Managers' Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1912, BCC/BH/9/6/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

towards enhancing the educational capacity of children by improving their physical health.<sup>189</sup> Taylor Cadbury publicly promoted the relationship between fresh air and the health and effective education of children living in urban Birmingham and supported the development of the open air school at Uffculme established by Barrow and Geraldine Cadbury in 1912.<sup>190</sup> Susannah Wright remarks that the Medical Superintendent of Birmingham Education Committee called for greater local government intervention in efforts to improve child health in schools within Birmingham slum districts during the early twentieth century.<sup>191</sup> Taylor Cadbury's efforts to enact reform in this direction involved intervening to oppose local authority policy which suggests that she was able to 'make a mark' in educational policy-making as a co-opted member of a local education authority.<sup>192</sup> Taylor Cadbury's report had a significant impact by contributing to mobilise wider opposition towards the reduction of outdoor space at schools within the remit of the SEDSMC. Minutes from a Committee meeting on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1912 state:

Mrs. Cadbury having reported on a visit she had paid to the Golden Hillock Road Council School on 31<sup>st</sup> October, it was Resolved – That this Body of Managers protests against the action of the Sites and Buildings Sub-Committee in deciding to utilise part of the playground of the Golden Hillock Road Infants' School, or the garden attached thereto, for the purpose of erecting a Carpenter's Shop, as they consider this action inadvisable in view of the extension of open air classes.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> David Hughes, 'Just a Breath of Fresh Air in an Industrial Landscape? The Preston Open Air School in 1926: A School Medical Service Insight', *Social History of Medicine* 17, no. 3 (2004): 443 and 446-7.

<sup>190</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 8<sup>th</sup> February 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>191</sup> Susannah Wright, 'The Work of Teachers and Others in and around a Birmingham Slum School 1891-1920', *History of Education* 38, no. 6 (2009): 738.

<sup>192</sup> Hollis suggests that 'women were seldom as co-opted members able to make a mark'. See Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 130.

<sup>193</sup> Committee Meeting 31<sup>st</sup> October 1912, Minute 368, pp. 119-120, South-East District School Managers' Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1912, BCC/BH/9/6/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

It is evident that Taylor Cadbury's participation in educational administration as a District School Manager went beyond supporting the implementation of local authority educational policy. She actively engaged in administrative negotiations to oppose developments which contravened her wider educational views and encouraged the SEDSMC to intervene in shaping the educational policies adopted by Birmingham Education Committee. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Taylor Cadbury's educational activities reflected those of contemporary female district school managers without sustained analysis of the work undertaken by her colleagues which is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>194</sup> However, evidence that Taylor Cadbury was able to shape educational policy without elected authority on Birmingham Education Committee suggests that co-opted membership of education committees afforded female educationalists opportunity and a degree of agency to engage in educational policy-making during the early 1900s.

### 3.5: Taylor Cadbury's Approach to Female Participation in Educational Work

The evidence above demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury actively contributed towards the development of education provision in Bournville and Birmingham during a period in which women were relegated from elected status as policy-makers and marginalised from educational administration within local education authorities.<sup>195</sup> Taylor Cadbury was able to shape a local identity for herself as an educationalist through this work, receiving public recognition for her educational endeavours in Birmingham's local press during April 1906. The *Birmingham Post* commented that Bournville's schools reflected Taylor Cadbury's

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<sup>194</sup> Watts identifies that a number of women served as district managers of elementary schools on the City of Birmingham Education Committee. See Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 74.

<sup>195</sup> Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 130; Goodman and Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries'", 6-7; Blackmore, "'In the Shadow of Men'", 27-28.

educational views, while the *Birmingham News* reported that her ‘knowledge of the subject of public education and her views as to the conditions under which it should be imparted entitle her to speak with authority’.<sup>196</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s ‘authority’ was identified in the *Birmingham News* in terms of her capacity for directing educational provision, demonstrating recognition of her aptitude for work within the contested realm of educational administration.<sup>197</sup> Taylor Cadbury remained publicly sceptical about her abilities as an educationalist, beginning her Presidential Address to the Birmingham Branch of the Child Study Association in 1916 with the assertion ‘I am not an educational expert’.<sup>198</sup> Nonetheless, her public role in educational administration and the acknowledgement which she received for this can be identified as contributing indirectly to demonstrate women’s capacity for assuming a prominent role within such work.<sup>199</sup> As Watts observes of the Unitarian educationalist Mary Carpenter, Taylor Cadbury’s ‘public voice, her recognition as a respected social and educational reformer, made her a role model for other women’.<sup>200</sup> Furthermore, in publications and addresses written during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Taylor Cadbury actively encouraged her female contemporaries to become involved in public educational work. In a paper commenting on the training of women written for the *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* in 1899, Taylor Cadbury expressed concern that there were ‘so few able

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<sup>196</sup> *Birmingham Post*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1906 and *Birmingham News*, April 1906, pp. 6-7, Volume of Bournville Day Schools Newspaper Cuttings, 1904-1912, Box 11, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

<sup>197</sup> *Birmingham News*, April 1906, p. 7, Volume of Bournville Day Schools Newspaper Cuttings, 1904-1912, Box 11, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 117; Goodman and Harrop, “‘Within Marked Boundaries’”, 7; Blackmore, “‘In the Shadow of Men’”.

<sup>198</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Changing World’, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/1/16/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>199</sup> Deborah McDonald identifies that Clara Collet indirectly supported ‘the case for women’s rights’ by setting an example to other women through her public work. See Deborah McDonald, *Clara Collet 1860-1948: An Educated Working Woman* (London: Woburn Press, 2004), 218.

<sup>200</sup> Ruth Watts, ‘Breaking the Boundaries of Victorian Imperialism or Extending a Reformed “Paternalism”? Mary Carpenter and India’, *History of Education* 29, no. 5 (2000): 448.

educationalists' within the Religious Society of Friends which had once been 'in advance of their age in matters educational'.<sup>201</sup> She identified the importance of female participation in educational work in her Presidential Address to the NUWW in 1906, commending women who were 'rightly and none too strenuously engaged' in 'useful work and social reform' supporting 'efficient education'.<sup>202</sup> These examples illustrate that Taylor Cadbury undertook educational endeavours which enabled her to forge a public profile as an educationalist and publicly advocated that women more widely should participate in social reform supporting education provision. This raises questions concerning the extent to which her involvement in educational work was focussed on the pursuit of public and political recognition for women in the field of educational administration.

Martin illustrates that women defined their participation in educational work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the context of a culture of altruism closely related to a religiously inspired ethic of social responsibility.<sup>203</sup> She describes the work of Honnor Morten (1861-1913) on the London School Board, suggesting that Morten was 'driven by the spirit of service to suffering humanity' and inspired by 'the doctrine of work to alleviate social injustice'.<sup>204</sup> As Martin suggests, 'feminism was just part of the equation' for women such as Morten who were involved in educational work during the late nineteenth and early

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<sup>201</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Importance of Training', 1899, MS 466/1/1/10/4/4, CFP, BAHS. See also the printed version of this article Elsie M. Cadbury, 'The Importance of Training', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* XXXIII (1899): 79-84.

<sup>202</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>203</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 28 and 30. See also Goodman and Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries'", 2; Camilla Leach, 'Religion and Rationality: Quaker Women and Science Education 1790-1850', *History of Education* 35, no. 1 (2006): 71.

<sup>204</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 146.



twentieth centuries.<sup>205</sup> Yet identification with a concept of religious social duty for applying female expertise to public work supporting education provision has been interpreted as forming a strategy by which women sought to obtain enlarged public responsibility and recognition as educational policy-makers.<sup>206</sup> Goodman and Harrop suggest that female educationalists ‘argued for the widening of women’s sphere in the realm of educational policy-making’ based on notions ‘of “duty”, some on the basis of a professionalism that contained both equality and difference while some others argued for the extension of women’s activity on the basis of domesticity’.<sup>207</sup> Their analysis recognises that women’s approach to educational work was shaped by differing social and political outlooks, yet women’s engagement with educational work is represented as being focussed on ‘the widening of women’s sphere’.<sup>208</sup> Research examining the identity and activism of female school board members similarly identifies that these women shared the objective of promoting women’s profile in public and political life through their educational work.<sup>209</sup> In her study of women serving on the London School Board, Martin concludes that ‘women’s efforts in School Board politics were often part of a broader quest to consolidate a niche for women as voters, as political candidates, as organizers and elected representatives’.<sup>210</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s work supporting both compulsory and higher education in Bournville and Birmingham, and her comments concerning female involvement in education provision

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Jane McDermid, ‘School Board Women and Active Citizenship in Scotland, 1873-1919’, *History of Education* 38, no. 3 (2009): 334.

<sup>207</sup> Goodman and Harrop, ““Within Marked Boundaries””, 2-3.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> McDermid, ‘School Board Women and Active Citizenship’: 334; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 68.

<sup>210</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 68.

demonstrate her recognition that women had an important role to play in public education.<sup>211</sup> However, analysis of her response to the 1902 Education Act suggests that enlarging opportunities and securing political status for women as educational administrators was not the priority underlying her efforts to mobilise women in educational work.

Scholarship identifies that ‘politicised women’ publicly opposed the 1902 Education Act owing to their concern over the impact of this legislation on women’s public identity as educationalists and their desire to preserve women’s political authority within local level education.<sup>212</sup> Martin draws attention to female educationalists who campaigned against the abolition of school boards, commenting that they devoted ‘energy, resources and time towards the fight to safeguard this bastion for women in local politics’.<sup>213</sup> In contrast, she identifies that a number of senior members within the WLGS and prominent female philanthropists supported the 1902 Education Act.<sup>214</sup> Taylor Cadbury similarly ‘welcomed’ the passing of legislation reforming educational provision, situating her among the women described by Hollis as being ‘willing to waive women’s claims for the greater good’.<sup>215</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s outlook concerning female participation in educational work therefore differed from the ‘political and feminist women’ identified by Goodman and Harrop for whom the 1902 Education Act ‘constituted a watershed’ due to women’s loss of elected status as educational

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<sup>211</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>212</sup> Martin, “‘Women not Wanted’”, 79. See also 94-5; Goodman and Harrop, “‘Within Marked Boundaries’”, 7; Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 141-45; Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 126-31.

<sup>213</sup> Martin, “‘Women not Wanted’”, 79.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 93. See also Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 128-29.

<sup>215</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 101; Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 129.

administrators.<sup>216</sup> The removal of women's political authority within educational administration may have been of less importance to Taylor Cadbury owing to her membership of 'Birmingham's tightly-knit bourgeoisie' who were privileged with opportunities for involvement in the development of the University of Birmingham.<sup>217</sup> However, it is difficult to sustain this argument given Martin's observation that the majority of women on the London School Board who actively pursued political recognition within educational administration were also from middle-class or upper-class backgrounds.<sup>218</sup> She suggests that the majority of these women were similarly 'well connected and better educated than others of their sex and class', equipped with social and financial resources which enabled them to participate in public educational work.<sup>219</sup> As Lindy Moore suggests, such women were unable to 'point to social class' as a qualification for participating in the establishment and management of schools during the late nineteenth century.<sup>220</sup> Indeed, Taylor Cadbury remained barred from elected membership of local education authorities in Worcester and Birmingham during the early years of the 1900s in the same way as her middle-class female contemporaries. By situating Taylor Cadbury's positive response to the 1902 Education Act in this context, it is apparent that she prioritised the reforms to educational provision proposed by this Act over the securing of elected status for women within educational administration.

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<sup>216</sup> Goodman and Harrop, "Within Marked Boundaries", 7.

<sup>217</sup> Eric Ives, Diane Drummond and L. D. Schwarz refer to the role played by Birmingham's 'tightly-knit bourgeoisie' in the development of the University of Birmingham. See Ives, Drummond, and Schwarz, *The First Civic University: Birmingham 1880-1980, An Introductory History* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2000), 131.

<sup>218</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 55, 2 and 31. Martin notes that, with the exception of Mary Bridges Adams, all of the women who served on the London School Board were from such backgrounds.

<sup>219</sup> Martin, 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women to Follow Along": 168. See also Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 23.

<sup>220</sup> Lindy Moore, 'Education and Learning', in *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, ed. Lynn Abrams et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 127.

Her commitment to educational reform is further evident when her support for the 1902 Education Act is considered in relation to the approach taken by the wider Quaker community to the Act. Many Quakers and Nonconformists in Birmingham opposed the Education Act owing to its implementation of legislation directing the use of local rates to provide financial support to Church schools.<sup>221</sup> Members of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches expressed a hostile response to the Act, stating ‘it compels Nonconformists to pay rates and taxes to schools whose teaching is repugnant to their conscience’.<sup>222</sup> Taylor Cadbury expressed her opposition to this outlook by resigning from the Council.<sup>223</sup> She remarked retrospectively on her decision to resign in a family letter, commenting to her brother Claude Taylor ‘I do not agree with their policy’ and adding that she thought the Council ‘ought to confine themselves more to spiritual work & take up less political work’.<sup>224</sup>

Taylor Cadbury’s reaction to the 1902 Education Act illustrates that the development of ‘efficient education’ took precedence for her amidst wider social and political issues relating to the administration of the state education system.<sup>225</sup> Her remarks to the NUWW in 1906 demonstrate her recognition that women possessed a particular aptitude for participation in work supporting education provision.<sup>226</sup> Indeed, Taylor Cadbury engaged with an outlook

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<sup>221</sup> Eric Hopkins, *Birmingham: The Making of the Second City 1850-1939* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 120; Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 100-01. See also Brian Phillips, ‘Friendly Patriotism: British Quakerism and the Imperial Nation, 1890-1910’ (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1989).

<sup>222</sup> ‘The Education Bill: Resolutions of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches’, *The Friend*, 25<sup>th</sup> April 1902, 265-66. The Council disputed the introduction of local education authorities, recommending the maintenance and extension of locally elected school boards.

<sup>223</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 100-01.

<sup>224</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>225</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

which Bush observes was shared among female educationalists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries concerning the relationship between women's maternal expertise and their capacity for educational work.<sup>227</sup> Yet Taylor Cadbury identified with this outlook with an emphasis on encouraging her contemporaries into 'useful work' in the service of educational reform which took priority for her over asserting women's maternal skills as grounds from which to demand female status and authority on local education authorities.<sup>228</sup> Comments which she made concerning the abolition of school boards during a discussion about effective social work at Women's Yearly Meeting in 1902 demonstrate how her approach to female involvement in educational work was shaped by this agenda.<sup>229</sup> Taylor Cadbury engaged with wider concerns that women's work on school boards was 'threatened' by the 1902 Education Act, although she did not define this threat in terms of the removal of women's status as elected representatives for education.<sup>230</sup> Taylor Cadbury expressed apprehension because the replacement of school boards with education committees meant that women's 'chances of service' were 'diminishing'.<sup>231</sup> She also emphasised the importance of women being 'willing to serve on education committees' despite being barred from elected representation as municipal educationalists.<sup>232</sup> Taylor Cadbury's remarks demonstrate that she was concerned with promoting women's agency to support educational reform, encouraging

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<sup>227</sup> Julia Bush, "'Special Strengths for their own Special Duties': Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain", *History of Education* 34, no. 4 (2005): 396.

<sup>228</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>229</sup> 'Women's Yearly Meeting', *The Friend* (13<sup>th</sup> June 1902): 385-87.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*: 387.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

her female contemporaries to prioritise work promoting the efficiency of local level education over the pursuit of elected status as educationalists within local government. She reiterated this message in a paper written for the National Council of Women on the subject of citizenship in which she encouraged women to engage in social service through work supporting education provision.<sup>233</sup> Taylor Cadbury advocated women's involvement in municipal schemes supporting educational welfare but remarked 'it does not necessarily mean that they must be elected members of Councils. Many important committees have co-opted members who can help'.<sup>234</sup> Evidence relating to Taylor Cadbury's decision to stand as Birmingham City Councillor for King's Norton in 1919 demonstrates similarly that she approached political participation with an agenda more directly focussed on contributing towards social welfare reform than pursuing political status and recognition. Kevin Dowd draws on Taylor Cadbury's membership of the Birmingham Society for Promoting the Election of Women on Local Governing Bodies to suggest that she actively pursued 'the limelight of municipal office'.<sup>235</sup> Taylor Cadbury concurred with the Society's emphasis on the right of women to representation, although she did not actively instigate her membership of this group.<sup>236</sup> Furthermore, she 'declined' the Society's political advocacy when their

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<sup>233</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Kevin William Dowd, 'The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family: A Study in Manipulative Capitalism' (PhD diss., University of Wales, Swansea: 2001), 129. See Minute Book of the Birmingham Society for Promoting the Election of Women on Local Governing Bodies, 1907-1921, MS 841 B/558, Records of the Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Women Workers/National Council of Women, BAHS. This group was later renamed the Birmingham Local Government Society. (Records of the Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Women Workers/National Council of Women cited hereafter as BBNUWW).

<sup>236</sup> For evidence of Taylor Cadbury's support for women's election within local government see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. The Society's Executive Committee drew up a list of prospective members to form its 'General Committee' in 1908 which included the names of prominent Birmingham families such as Albright, Kenrick, Sturge, Muirhead and Cadbury. Taylor Cadbury consented to have her name proposed for this committee, members of which attended the Society's Annual General Meeting but were not directly involved in transacting the ordinary business of the

Executive Committee approached her about standing for election to Birmingham City Council in July 1919.<sup>237</sup> When Taylor Cadbury took the decision to stand as City Councillor for King's Norton two months later, she remarked that she had done so in the belief that her election would raise the profile of her 'Educational work'.<sup>238</sup> She commented to her family that she had decided to stand as her election would serve to make her 'more definitely representative' for such work within the municipal structure of Birmingham City Council.<sup>239</sup> Taylor Cadbury was similarly hesitant to accept nomination by the King's Norton Liberal Association to stand for election as the constituency's Liberal Party MP at the 1923 General Election.<sup>240</sup> She acknowledged that, after much deliberation, she had been persuaded to stand by the encouragement she had received from societies and individuals 'interested in social questions'.<sup>241</sup> She emphasised that the agenda directing her political participation was providing 'better conditions and social reform for all'.<sup>242</sup> Taylor Cadbury's comments illustrate that she identified participation in politics as an opportunity to promote more

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Society. See Minute Book of the Birmingham Society for Promoting the Election of Women on Local Governing Bodies, 1907-1921, MS 841 B/558, BBNUWW, BAHS. See particularly pages 2-3, 6, 8, and 24-25.

<sup>237</sup> Meeting of the Executive Committee 15<sup>th</sup> September 1919, p. 264, Minute Book of the Birmingham Society for Promoting the Election of Women on Local Governing Bodies, 1907-1921, MS 841 B/558, BBNUWW, BAHS.

<sup>238</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 8<sup>th</sup> September 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid. Taylor Cadbury remarked 'for the Education work...I should feel more definitely representative'.

<sup>240</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1923, MS 466/1/1/15/3/20, CFP, BAHS; Untitled address about her experiences representing the Liberal Party at the General Election in 1923 by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, c. January 1924, MS 466/1/1/12/4/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>241</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1923, MS 466/1/1/15/3/20, CFP, BAHS. See also Untitled address about her experiences representing the Liberal Party at the General Election in 1923 by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, c. January 1924, MS 466/1/1/12/4/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>242</sup> Untitled address about her experiences representing the Liberal Party at the General Election in 1923 by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, c. January 1924, MS 466/1/1/12/4/1, CFP, BAHS. See also the further untitled address which she wrote about her experiences representing the Liberal Party, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1924, MS 466/1/1/12/4/2, CFP, BAHS.

effectively the maternal social causes such as ‘Health, Education, Child Welfare’ which she had supported practically through public service from the 1870s onwards.<sup>243</sup>

Taylor Cadbury’s views concerning women’s role within educational administration demonstrate that her own endeavours and her efforts to stimulate wider female involvement in educational work were concentrated to a greater degree on the work to be undertaken to support educational reform than promoting women’s elected authority as educationalists. Her comments to Women’s Yearly Meeting demonstrate that she publicly defined women’s educational work as a response to their religious duty for social service, engaging with a religious and social discourse of ‘service’ which studies identify was utilised by women to promote their claim to an enlarged role within educational administration.<sup>244</sup> Jane McDermid has observed that women who shared a ‘feminist’ outlook ‘tended not to claim rights but to define a public role for women in terms of duties owed to others’, emphasising women’s social responsibility for education as a means of extending their public and political influence as educationalists.<sup>245</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s public recognition that educational work offered ‘chances of service’ for women therefore served implicitly towards ‘the widening of women’s sphere’ in the field of educational administration.<sup>246</sup> However, as her comments to Women’s Yearly Meeting and the National Council of Women demonstrate, she sought to encourage

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<sup>243</sup> General Election poster featuring Mrs. George Cadbury’s Election Address, 1923, MS 466/1/1/12/3/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>244</sup> ‘Women’s Yearly Meeting’, *The Friend* (13<sup>th</sup> June 1902): 387; McDermid, ‘School Board Women and Active Citizenship’: 335. See also 345; Goodman and Harrop, “‘Within Marked Boundaries’”, 2-3. See also Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991), 306-07; Leach, ‘Religion and Rationality’: 71.

<sup>245</sup> McDermid, ‘School Board Women and Active Citizenship’: 335.

<sup>246</sup> ‘Women’s Yearly Meeting’, *The Friend* (13<sup>th</sup> June 1902): 387; Goodman and Harrop refer to ‘the widening of women’s sphere’ in “‘Within Marked Boundaries’”, 2.



her female contemporaries to become ‘able educationalists’ with the priority of enacting practical reforms in educational provision in response to religious social obligations.<sup>247</sup>

Indeed, Taylor Cadbury engaged with a religious discourse of citizenship through service from a different perspective related more closely to her commitment to work supporting educational reform. This becomes evident from analysis of views which she expressed in public addresses throughout the early twentieth century concerning the relationship between education and citizenship.

Taylor Cadbury consistently emphasised that the purpose of education was encouraging children to identify with a concept of citizenship grounded in a dynamic of social service.<sup>248</sup>

Her approach to education was informed by her personal experiences attending the North London Collegiate School for Girls during the 1870s under the leadership of educationalist Frances Mary Buss (1827-1894). In an address to students at the Park School in Preston during 1933, Taylor Cadbury remarked that Buss had ‘upheld ideals of service’ to her pupils and commented that in her own view the value of education lay in ‘giving capacity and opportunity for service’ in the wider world.<sup>249</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s recognition of the direct relationship between education and citizenship shaped her engagement with educational work. She defined her endeavours to support education provision as a response to the ideals of

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<sup>247</sup> Quotation taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Importance of Training’, 1899, MS 466/1/1/10/4/4, CFP, BAHS; ‘Women’s Yearly Meeting’, *The Friend* (13<sup>th</sup> June 1902): 387; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>248</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Whereunto?’, October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Continuation Schools’, 1920, MS 466/1/1/10/4/11, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury ‘Paper on Continuation Schools’, 1922, MS 466/1/1/10/1/22/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Application of the Moral Ideal to Education’, c. 1922, MS 466/1/1/10/1/22/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Changing World’, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/1/16/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Prize Day Speech’, 1933, MS 466/1/1/10/1/30, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>249</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Prize Day Speech’, 1933, MS 466/1/1/10/1/30, CFP, BAHS.

citizenship through public service which were fundamental within her own educational experience. Taylor Cadbury's approach to the reform of education provision suggests that she recognised educational work to be a particularly important form of social service as it supported efforts to foster such a practical interpretation of citizenship among future generations. Indeed, Taylor Cadbury's public support for initiatives to continue children's educational development beyond compulsory schooling was focussed on promoting children's education in citizenship expressed through public service. She endorsed continuation schools by emphasising that 'a wider education will make a finer type of manhood and womanhood' in terms of inspiring young students 'with a sense of their responsibility' which would 'train them to become thoughtful and useful citizens'.<sup>250</sup> Her aspiration to promote educational conditions conducive to children's development as 'useful citizens' is similarly evident in the educational policies which she worked to implement at the Bournville Village Schools.<sup>251</sup> Public addresses demonstrate that Taylor Cadbury recognised reduction in class size and an increase in staffing provision were essential elements for improving the ability of teachers to educate children about the social duties of citizenship.<sup>252</sup> She asserted that overcrowded classrooms and understaffing were amongst the most serious mistakes in the education system, remarking 'what chance has the teacher of really knowing and understanding the 50 or 60 children he undertakes to train for the serious duty of living!'<sup>253</sup> Taylor Cadbury's work to support children's education in the ethics of citizenship

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<sup>250</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Continuation Schools', 1920, MS 466/1/1/10/4/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid. The *Bournville Works Magazine* recognised that the Bournville Village Schools were aimed at training Bournville's children 'for their future duties as citizens of this great nation'. See *Bournville Works Magazine* 10, no. IV (August 1906): 354.

<sup>252</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Changing World', 1<sup>st</sup> February 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/1/16/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Application of the Moral Ideal to Education', c. 1922, MS 466/1/1/10/1/22/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>253</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Changing World', 1<sup>st</sup> February 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/1/16/1, CFP, BAHS.

by reducing class size and increasing staffing at the Bournville Village Schools involved educational policy negotiations with local and national education authorities during a period when Goodman and Harrop suggest women were relegated to the margins of educational administration.<sup>254</sup> Yet she did not engage with her work as a means to ‘open up “men’s sphere” of work and politics to women’, but sought to define endeavours focussed on enhancing children’s education in citizenship as evidence of an engagement with religious faithfulness.<sup>255</sup> This becomes apparent through analysis of the approach which Taylor Cadbury recommended towards encouraging children’s ‘deeper interest in citizenship’ in an address to the NUWW in 1910.<sup>256</sup> Taylor Cadbury recognised that the most effective method for achieving this ‘deeper interest’ was through schooling which encouraged ‘the cultivation of the spiritual impulse’.<sup>257</sup>

The Consultative Committee on Education last year reported of the children who had left school, that “through lack of training their mental outlook remains narrow, their sympathies uncultivated, their capacity for co-operation in civic welfare stunted and untrained”. Now all these are qualities that can be evolved, strengthened, matured mainly through the awakening of the spiritual faculties...the development of the intellectual and the spiritual life proceeding simultaneously.<sup>258</sup>

Taylor Cadbury’s emphasis on the importance of ‘spiritual life’ in endeavours to increase children’s awareness of their social responsibilities for ‘civic welfare’ illustrates that she promoted a direct relationship between an engagement with religious faithfulness and an ethic

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<sup>254</sup> Goodman and Harrop, “Within Marked Boundaries”, 7. See also Blackmore, “In the Shadow of Men”.

<sup>255</sup> Quotation taken from Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 145.

<sup>256</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Whereunto?’, October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Spiritual Side to Education’, *The Woman Teacher’s World* (March 1912), MS 466/1/1/10/4/5/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

of citizenship grounded in ‘a will to serve’.<sup>259</sup> Her comments demonstrate that she identified with work supporting the development of ‘efficient education’ as a response to the religious imperatives stimulating awareness of social obligation for ‘civic welfare’.<sup>260</sup> This is further evident in remarks which she made in the *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* in 1899 where she suggested that participation in educational work was a ‘religious and philanthropic’ responsibility.<sup>261</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s public presentation of educational work as an expression of citizenship shaped by religious faithfulness has implications for understanding the ways in which religious faith ‘stimulated women into educational activity’.<sup>262</sup> Detailed scholarship in this direction has concentrated on the period preceding the political developments in educational administration which form the focus of studies assessing women’s role in educational policy-making at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>263</sup> Ruth Watts and Camilla Leach identify that the Unitarian and Quaker women in their studies recognised religious inspiration underlying their educational work during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury refers to ‘a will to serve’ in her untitled article for *Cathedral Magazine*, May 1916, MS 466/1/1/10/4/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>260</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Whereunto?’, October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Spiritual Side to Education’, *The Woman Teacher’s World* (March 1912), MS 466/1/1/10/4/5/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>261</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Importance of Training’, 1899, MS 466/1/1/10/4/4, CFP, BAHS. See also the printed version of this article, Elsie M. Cadbury, ‘The Importance of Training’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* XXXIII (1899): 79-84. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Whereunto?’, October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Spiritual Side to Education’, *The Woman Teacher’s World* (March 1912), MS 466/1/1/10/4/5/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>262</sup> Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin, ‘Breaking Boundaries: Gender, Politics, and the Experience of Education’, *History of Education* 29, no. 5 (2000): 387. Goodman and Martin recognise that religion ‘often stimulated women into educational activity at home and abroad’.

<sup>263</sup> Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1750-1860* (Harlow: Longman, 1998); Camilla Leach, ‘“A Civil and Useful Life”: Quaker Women, Education and the Development of Professional Identities 1800-1835’, *Quaker Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 166-79.

centuries.<sup>264</sup> Leach remarks that Mariabella and Rachel Howard ‘saw their work in education as religiously motivated’.<sup>265</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury’s public addresses demonstrates that she actively sought to define women’s participation in educational activism as an expression of religious faithfulness.<sup>266</sup> As the scholarship cited above demonstrates, identification with a religious imperative to social service was utilised by some women to justify their pursuit of expanded opportunities within the arena of public education.<sup>267</sup> It is clear that Taylor Cadbury engaged with this religious dynamic with the priority of encouraging women to direct their energies towards practical work supporting educational reform. This illustrates the diverse ways in which religious discourses of citizenship and service shaped the identity and activism of female educationalists at the turn of the twentieth century.

### 3.6: Chapter Summary

Aspects of Taylor Cadbury’s educational work in Bournville and Birmingham demonstrate that women’s experiences as educationalists reflected their female identity and association with maternal skills in a domestic context.<sup>268</sup> However, her participation in educational policy

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<sup>264</sup> Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians*, 72; Leach, “‘A Civil and Useful Life’”: 167-68 and 176.

<sup>265</sup> Leach, “‘A Civil and Useful Life’”: 176.

<sup>266</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Whereunto?’, October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>267</sup> Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 28 and 30; McDermid, ‘School Board Women and Active Citizenship’: 335. See also Goodman and Harrop, “‘Within Marked Boundaries’”, 2; Leach, ‘Religion and Rationality’: 171; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 306-07.

<sup>268</sup> Minute Book for Mothers in Council/Parents National Education Union (PNEU), 1899-1913, MS 2143/1/1, BBPNEU, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (Elsie M. Cadbury) to Oliver Lodge, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1901, OL 226, Letters relating to the ‘Appointment of a Female Tutor’, January 1901-March 1903, Correspondence of Sir Oliver Lodge, OL 218-232, UC14/ii, UoBA, UoB; Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> October 1904, Minute 13, p. 4 and Committee Meeting 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1904, Minute 18, p. 6, Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> February 1907, Minute 49, pp. 145-6 and Committee Meeting 30<sup>th</sup> May 1907, Minute 580, p. 174, Bournville School Managers’ Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS.

negotiations, particularly concerning schooling provision in Bournville, suggest that she was also involved more widely in educational administration during the early twentieth century.<sup>269</sup> The scope of this chapter does not permit comparison of Taylor Cadbury with contemporary female educationalists and it is evident that she may have been unusually active in educational work given her role as co-founder of the Bournville Village Schools.<sup>270</sup> Yet Taylor Cadbury was subject to similar administrative constraints as her female peers in her school management work and, like women more widely, was limited to co-opted membership of local education authorities before 1907. Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's educational work does therefore suggest that women may have been able to engage in a broader range of educational activities than existing interpretations have suggested. This indicates that a focus on women's loss of elected status following the 1902 Education Act may have overshadowed women's practical contribution to educational policy-making as school managers and co-optees.

Taylor Cadbury identified that female participation in work supporting educational reform took precedence over the pursuit of elected authority for women within educational administration, forming a social responsibility of Christian citizenship.<sup>271</sup> Analysis of Taylor

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<sup>269</sup> See entries for committee meetings in June 1904 in Bournville Village Trust Minutes of the Committee No. 3, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1903-18<sup>th</sup> April 1905, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS and also Secretary's Quarterly Report September 1904, Bournville Village Trust Quarterly Reports No. 1, 1901-1923, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; South-East District School Managers' Minute Book No. 1, 1911-1912, BCC/BH/9/6/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>270</sup> In order to gain a more nuanced understanding of Taylor Cadbury's work in relation to the experiences of contemporary educationalists, comparison could be drawn between Taylor Cadbury's educational activities and the work of women such as Honnor Morten who championed educational reform within the London School Board and also shared a commitment to religious faithfulness. See Ellen Ross, 'Morten, (Violet) Honnor (1861-1913)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62035> (accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2010).

<sup>271</sup> 'Women's Yearly Meeting', *The Friend* (13<sup>th</sup> June 1902): 387; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Whereunto?', October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

Cadbury illustrates that women engaged with an interpretation of citizenship shaped by religious faithfulness and expressed through public service with different priorities in their educational work. Her approach demonstrates that religious concepts of duty and service informed women's practical involvement in work promoting educational reform during a period increasingly dominated by debate over the political profile of women within the administration of state education provision.



**Fig. 3.1.** George Cadbury, Elizabeth Ursula Cadbury and Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury laying the foundation stone for Bournville Infant School, c. 1910. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury is given a prominent position in this photograph, standing in the foreground in front of her husband and daughter. MS 466/3/2/30, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.





**Fig. 3.2.** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury presiding over a Christmas party for pupils at the Bournville Village Schools, c. 1920s. MS 466/3/1/15, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 3.3.** Bournville Junior School, Linden Road, Bournville, 2009.



**Fig. 3.4.** Bournville Infant School, Linden Road, Bournville, 2009.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ELIZABETH TAYLOR CADBURY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BIRMINGHAM'S SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE**

#### 4.1: Introduction

This chapter examines Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the development of school medical treatment services in Birmingham as Chairman of the City of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee, focussing on her work co-ordinating the initial implementation of treatment schemes after her appointment as Chairman in 1911. The chapter begins by providing insight into the origins of Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee before examining existing scholarship which evaluates women's participation in social welfare provision during the early 1900s. Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's agency in school medical work concentrates on the establishment of Birmingham's school dental treatment scheme and her role in municipal financial negotiations concerning expenditure on school medical treatment. The extent of her shaping influence over school medical provision in Birmingham is also assessed by examining her involvement in the establishment of the city's Central School Clinic. The chapter considers evidence of Taylor Cadbury's work as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee in relation to scholarship concerned with the space occupied by women in 'the mixed economy of welfare'.<sup>1</sup> It argues that Taylor Cadbury was actively involved in the formulation of state educational welfare provision through her local authority work overseeing the practical implementation of Board of Education recommendations

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<sup>1</sup> For analysis of 'the mixed economy of welfare' see Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 198; Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 12; Jane Lewis 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', in *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State*, ed. David Gladstone (London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1999), 10. For the role of women in this framework, see particularly Jane Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of States: The British Case', *Social History* 19, no. 1 (1994): 37-55; Pat Thane, 'Women in the British Labour Party and the Construction of State Welfare, 1906-1939', in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (London: Routledge, 1993), 359.

concerning school medical treatment. Taylor Cadbury's maternal approach to educational welfare work is explored with reference to studies which illustrate how women promoted maternal expertise as a means to enhance their social and political profile and research which emphasises that differing agendas motivated female engagement with maternalism.<sup>2</sup> The chapter demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury promoted maternal public service as a religious duty with the objective of encouraging her female contemporaries to apply their maternal expertise to social welfarism, engaging with maternal social reform as an expression of religious faithfulness.

#### 4.1.1: The Development of Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee

The school medical work undertaken by Taylor Cadbury and Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee was rooted in the social policy adopted by the Liberal government which sought to extend public health provision towards the improvement of health among the school-age population.<sup>3</sup> The 1907 Education (Administrative Provisions) Act introduced legislation which required local education authorities to undertake the medical inspection of children at public elementary schools.<sup>4</sup> The Board of Education recognised that expenditure on identifying health problems was ineffectual unless steps were taken towards preventing and

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<sup>2</sup> This scholarship includes Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood" and Women's Responses in Britain and France, 1750-1914', *Women's History Review* 8, no. 2 (1999): 201-18; Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, 'Introduction', in *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States 1880s-1950s*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London: Routledge, 1991, repr., 1994), 1-20; Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, 'Introduction: Mother Worlds', in Koven and Michel, *Mothers of a New World*, 1-42; Julia Bush, *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Julia Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism and the Forward Policy, 1908-14', *Women's History Review* 11, no. 3 (2002): 431-54.

<sup>3</sup> Pat Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1996), 72.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild: A History of the School Medical Service in England and Wales* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995), 2; Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debate* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2003), 80.

curing medical defects.<sup>5</sup> Local education authorities were subsequently empowered to ‘make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of children’.<sup>6</sup> The Board issued circulars recommending approaches to the implementation of school medical treatment which directed attention to the treatment of ear, nose and throat defects as well as child ophthalmic and dental problems.<sup>7</sup> However, local authorities were largely responsible for devising localised treatment schemes which were submitted to the Board of Education for approval.<sup>8</sup> Birmingham Education Committee’s School Medical Department was established on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1908 providing services to inspect children and to register both illness and school absence.<sup>9</sup> Following the incorporation of Aston, Erdington, Handsworth, King’s Norton and Yardley under the administrative jurisdiction of the City of Greater Birmingham, Birmingham Education Committee established a sub-committee ‘for the purpose of developing schemes of medical treatment’ across the city.<sup>10</sup> In December 1911 Birmingham’s Hygiene Sub-Committee was appointed with authority to oversee both the medical inspection and treatment of school-children,

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<sup>5</sup> Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 2 and 70; Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 80; Thane, *Foundations*, 72.

<sup>6</sup> Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 62, 48 and 57; John Welshman, *Municipal Medicine: Public Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), 251.

<sup>8</sup> Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 62. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury refers to ‘the efforts of the Local Education Authorities to provide facilities for the treatment of those school children under their charge’ in her public address ‘The Health of the Nation’. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Health of the Nation’, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>9</sup> Annual Report of the School Medical Officer, 1913, p. 5, Birmingham Education Committee: Reports of Medical Superintendent 1908-1914, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham’, *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 169, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS. See also Annual Report of the School Medical Officer, 1911, p. 5, Birmingham Education Committee: Reports of Medical Superintendent 1908-1914, LSC, BAHS.

comprising eleven members, including Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, who was elected as the Sub-Committee's Chairman.<sup>11</sup>

Bernard Harris identifies that one of the most significant issues to arise following the establishment of the school medical service was the government's reluctance to provide funding to local authorities for the implementation of inspection and treatment services, a hesitancy which provoked local concern over municipal expenditure.<sup>12</sup> A number of politicians campaigned to allow local authorities to impose charges for treatment, following which the 1909 Local Education Authorities (Medical Treatment) Act was introduced enabling education committees to charge parents for medical treatment received by their children.<sup>13</sup> Harry Hendrick has observed that this created a 'cumbersome bureaucracy' for local authorities who found the cost of providing services outweighed the charges they levied which themselves deterred parents from seeking medical treatment for their children.<sup>14</sup> In addition, Birmingham's local press continued to appeal for increased assistance from the government following the 1909 Act by arguing that the weight of financing education 'should be divided on a more reasonable basis' between the state and local education authorities.<sup>15</sup>

From 1912 the government provided financial assistance to local authorities supporting the

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<sup>11</sup> Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> December 1911, Minute 3539, p. 18 and Minute 3550, p. 24, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS; Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911, p. 2, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>12</sup> Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 64-65.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 66-67; Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 80.

<sup>14</sup> Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 80. See also Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 66; Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, p. 153, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>15</sup> *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 15<sup>th</sup> February 1913, pp. 159-60, City of Birmingham Education Committee Newspaper Cuttings, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1911-15<sup>th</sup> December 1913, MS 229, BCC, BAHS.

development of treatment schemes. Legislation was passed in August 1913 granting efficient local education authorities over fifty per cent of the costs for providing medical inspection and treatment services.<sup>16</sup> Birmingham Education Committee received increased financial support from the government during this period but continued to charge parents for school medical treatment in accordance with the 1909 Act, although the majority of these charges were revised and reduced or removed by the Education Committee from 1914 onwards.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4.1.2: Taylor Cadbury and Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was co-opted onto Birmingham Education Committee in November 1911 following the extension of the city's boundaries. Without elected status as a City Councillor, she remarked to her family that she had been surprised to find herself 'proposed as chairman of the Hygiene Committee'.<sup>18</sup> Evidence suggests that Taylor Cadbury's personal experiences of childhood illness may have shaped her interest in the development of medical treatment services for the school-age population, particularly effective child dental treatment provision. During her adolescence and into the early twentieth century Taylor Cadbury suffered from severe dental problems, requiring an emergency extraction and a protracted series of visits to dental surgeons.<sup>19</sup> She also faced difficulties locating reliable and hygienic dental practitioners to provide treatment to her own children.<sup>20</sup> Taylor Cadbury embraced her

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<sup>16</sup> Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 67-68; Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 81.

<sup>17</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53 and Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1914, p. 172, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>18</sup> Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), 106. Quotation taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Taylor to John Taylor and Mary Jane Taylor, 1876, MS 466/1/1/1/3/11/4, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 26<sup>th</sup> August 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

personal maternal responsibilities for overseeing the health of her children and was directly involved in their treatment and convalescence, remarking in family correspondence on her anxieties over their recovery.<sup>21</sup> Beyond her domestic role as a mother, Taylor Cadbury's engagement with the maternal philanthropy promoted by the NUWW may also have motivated her participation in aspects of municipal educational work which constituted what Bush describes as 'womanly contributions towards gendered social reform'.<sup>22</sup>

Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee was intended to oversee both medical inspection and medical treatment, but Taylor Cadbury's work principally involved the development and implementation of school medical treatment services.<sup>23</sup> She immediately adopted an active and practical approach to her role as Chairman, commenting in correspondence that she found her new responsibilities 'very interesting' and had 'written a number of letters to try and find out all I can about the matter'.<sup>24</sup> Taylor Cadbury worked closely with local medical authorities including Birmingham's School Medical Officer George Auden, negotiating the appointment of medical staff, financial estimates and the management of school clinics with Birmingham

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<sup>21</sup> For examples of this see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's family journal letters, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1905, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1905, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1908, MS 466/1/1/15/3/5, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>22</sup> Julia Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers and Women's Suffrage', in *Suffrage Outside Suffragism: Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. Myriam Boussahba-Bravard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 127.

<sup>23</sup> Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911, Minutes 4 and 5, p. 2, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>24</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS.



Education Committee and the Board of Education.<sup>25</sup> By January 1916 the Hygiene Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury's leadership was overseeing the provision of school medical treatment schemes for dental and ophthalmic problems as well as minor ailments, surgery for tonsils and adenoids and x-ray treatment for ringworm.<sup>26</sup> The Hygiene Sub-Committee's work employed nearly fifty staff and delivered treatment schemes at eight school clinics across the city including a Central School Clinic on Great Charles Street which was opened by Taylor Cadbury's friend, Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, the Quaker Sir George Newman (1870-1948) in 1915.<sup>27</sup> Taylor Cadbury's close and collaborative relationship with Newman in his capacity as Chief Medical Officer, responsible for overseeing 'the organisation and administration of the school medical service', supported her policy-making as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>28</sup> She recalled in 1948 that

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<sup>25</sup> Evidence of Taylor Cadbury's work in these areas runs throughout the minutes of the Hygiene Sub-Committee and her family correspondence in the years immediately following her appointment as Chairman. See City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 3, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, BCC/BH/10/1/1/3, BCC, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letters, 1912-1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9-10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham', *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 169-74, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Memoir of Sir George Newman, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1948, MS 466/1/1/2/1/27, CFP, BAHS. Quotation taken from Anonymous typescript account of Newman's career to 1919, M4/163, Newman Family of Leominster Papers, Herefordshire Archive Service. (Newman Family of Leominster Papers cited hereafter as NFLP. Herefordshire Archive Service cited hereafter as HAS.) Newman served as Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education from 1911 to 1935. The friendship between Newman and Taylor Cadbury began during Newman's youth when he met Taylor Cadbury in the home of mutual relatives. Their close relationship continued throughout their lives, reflected in the correspondence which they exchanged. See Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and Sir George Newman, September 1892-June 1948, MS 466/1/1/2/1, CFP, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury was the author of memorial tributes commemorating Newman's life following his death in 1948 in which she remarked on their 'deep friendship'. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Memoir of Sir George Newman, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1948, MS 466/1/1/2/1/27, CFP, BAHS. For evidence of the relationship between Newman and the Cadbury family see Notebook of Mrs. Whiting: notes of chronology, addresses, meetings, activities, copies from Sir George's notes on his life, M4/168, NFLP, HAS.

Newman 'was not only helpful, but encouraging and inspiring', remarking on her many visits to Whitehall 'for advice and practical help'.<sup>29</sup>

Taylor Cadbury served as Chairman of Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee until 1924 following her decision to retire from local government work which Scott attributes to the 'increased burden of duties' she had experienced as City Councillor for King's Norton since 1919.<sup>30</sup> Taylor Cadbury acknowledged that her role as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee involved 'an immense deal of work', yet correspondence suggests that she felt a sense of personal responsibility for the schemes which she developed to improve Birmingham's school medical service.<sup>31</sup> She remarked to her family on the frustration she experienced when her proposals for school medical treatment were defeated and commented that she 'really felt very pleased' at the success of the schemes being provided by her Hygiene Sub-Committee in 1914.<sup>32</sup> In a letter speculating on her retirement she wrote 'it is very sad to feel that I have given up the School Medical Service Committee, which I have run from the very beginning'.<sup>33</sup> Her comments reflect both her personal investment in her work and what

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<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Memoir of Sir George Newman, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1948, MS 466/1/1/2/1/27, CFP, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury suggested in these memoirs that Newman's support had assisted the Hygiene Sub-Committee in their establishment of a further four school clinics in Birmingham by 1919.

<sup>30</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 134. Taylor Cadbury makes no reference in her family correspondence to her reasons for retiring from her role as Chairman of Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letters, 1923-1924, MS 466/1/1/15/3/20-21, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>31</sup> Quotation taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS. Quotation taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 1<sup>st</sup> November 1924, MS 466/1/1/15/3/21, CFP, BAHS.

was described as the shaping influence of her ‘energetic leadership’ over Birmingham’s school medical service.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4.1.3: Women and Welfare Provision during the Early Twentieth Century

The majority of women involved in local level welfare provision during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came from a social network of wealthy middle-class ‘community women’ who were at the forefront of organised philanthropy and public committees supporting child welfare.<sup>35</sup> These women shared the advantage of social and economic resources which enabled them to play a leading role in public philanthropic initiatives and actively participate in aspects of local government work.<sup>36</sup> Analysis of the role played by women in the formulation of state welfare provision throughout this chapter therefore relates to women who possessed similar socioeconomic advantages and public opportunities to those experienced by Taylor Cadbury. Sheila Blackburn has observed that studies examining the relationship between such women and state welfare have focussed on female campaigns to secure ‘the introduction of maternity benefits’ and promote ‘a universal

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<sup>34</sup> Dr. P. D. Innes, Chief Education Officer of the City of Birmingham Education Authority, stated in 1924 that the efficiency of school medical services in Birmingham was largely due to Taylor Cadbury’s ‘energetic leadership’. See Resolution of thanks to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury from Birmingham Education Authority, 17<sup>th</sup> November 1924, MS 466/1/1/11/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>35</sup> Cathy Hunt refers to the ‘recognised tradition’ of ‘community women’ involved in public committees supporting maternity and child welfare in “‘Everyone’s Poor Relation’: The Poverty and Isolation of a Working-Class Woman Local Political in Interwar Britain’, *Women’s History Review* 16, no. 3 (2007): 426. Ruth Watts identifies that ‘organised philanthropy’ in Birmingham was led by a network of middle-class women from Edgbaston during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Ruth Watts, *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 182.

<sup>36</sup> Paula Bartley, ‘Moral Regeneration: Women and the Civic Gospel in Birmingham 1870-1914’, *Midland History* XXV (2000): 144-45 and 156; Ruth Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham 1902-1944’, in *History, Politics & Policy-Making in Education: A Festschrift Presented to Richard Aldrich*, ed. David Crook and Gary McCulloch (London: Bedford Way Papers, 2007), 75, 78 and 86; Watts, *Women in Science*, 181.

endowment of motherhood' rather than their role in shaping the welfare state.<sup>37</sup> Scholarship has contributed to redress this imbalance by demonstrating that women contributed substantially towards the development of state welfare provision through work 'in the voluntary or civic sector'.<sup>38</sup> Prior to state intervention into welfare administration, governments depended on welfare services provided by private voluntary social action, much of which was dominated by female philanthropists.<sup>39</sup> Jane Lewis observes that 'for women's agency, the crucial point is that until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the nature of the "mixed economy of welfare" was tilted firmly in favour of the voluntary sector and local government'.<sup>40</sup> Women were also able to play an active role in welfare provision as the state increasingly assumed responsibility for welfare services through voluntary, professional and municipal work including serving on the school care committees of local

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<sup>37</sup> Sheila Blackburn, 'How Useful are Feminist Theories of the Welfare State?', *Women's History Review* 4, no. 3 (1995): 382. For examples of this see Bock and Thane, 'Introduction', 6; Theda Skocpol and Gretchen Ritter, 'Gender and the Origins of Modern Social Policies in Britain and the United States', *Studies in American Political Development* 5 (Spring 1991): 74 and 92. Skocpol and Ritter focus on the 1908 Old-Age Pensions Act and the 1911 National Insurance Act in their argument that women were excluded from Britain's paternalist social policies. Ruth Lister and Birte Siim have also demonstrated the tendency within feminist analysis of the welfare state to focus on the provision of economic support for mothers. See Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 168-69 and Birte Siim, *Gender and Citizenship: Politics and Agency in France, Britain and Denmark* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 82 and 89. Susan Pedersen provides extensive analysis of developments in this direction later in the twentieth century. See Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>38</sup> Seth Koven, 'Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840-1914', in Koven and Michel, *Mothers of a New World*, 95. See also Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991), 311; Thane, 'Women in the British Labour Party', 344 and 360.

<sup>39</sup> Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, 'Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920', *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (1990): 1079 and 1082. See also Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency': 39-40. Lewis refers to initiatives such as the Charity Organisation Society and working women's organisations such as the Women's Co-operative Guild. For an insight into the operation of private welfare provision see also Christine Adams, 'Maternal Societies in France: Private Charity before the Welfare State', *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 1 (2005): 87-111.

<sup>40</sup> Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency': 40.

education authorities.<sup>41</sup> However, studies recognise that governmental intervention into welfare provision during the early twentieth century restricted women's agency in the formulation of state welfare provision by confining their work to the voluntary and local government sectors. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel suggest that 'women frequently found themselves at the bottom of the organizational hierarchies, their voices diminished in policy discussions with male bureaucrats, physicians, and politicians'.<sup>42</sup> The state continued to draw from the expertise of philanthropic and local authority bodies, although Pat Thane argues that central government maintained control by 'directing the key activities of state and supervising the delegation of functions defined as less essential' to local level bodies.<sup>43</sup> Women's agency in welfare provision is identified decreasing 'as the balance of the mixed economy shifted in favour of a centralised welfare state'.<sup>44</sup> Lewis claims that women were unable 'to cross the crucial boundary' between 'local provision, both voluntary and statutory, and welfare provided by central government', suggesting that 'women played little part in the construction of the British welfare state'.<sup>45</sup>

The assessments above illustrate that analysis of women's role in public welfare work is shaped by the concept of the 'mixed economy of welfare', in which social welfare provision

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<sup>41</sup> Koven and Michel, 'Womanly Duties': 1079; Thane, 'Women in the British Labour Party', 344 and 360; Pat Thane, 'Visions of Gender in the Making of the British Welfare State: The Case of Women in the British Labour Party and Social Policy, 1906-1945', in Bock and Thane, *Maternity & Gender Policies*, 102.

<sup>42</sup> Koven and Michel, 'Womanly Duties': 1108.

<sup>43</sup> Thane, 'Women in the British Labour Party', 343. See also 359. Lewis draws on Thane's assessment to support her argument that women's work in the voluntary and local government sectors was an important element of welfare provision but that it had little direct influence over the formation of the British welfare state at central government level. See Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency': 40.

<sup>44</sup> Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency': 40.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

is defined as being based upon ‘a flexible partnership’ between the statutory, municipal, private and voluntary sectors.<sup>46</sup> It is evident that the relationship between the different partners within this model has been interpreted in terms of a shifting balance of influence, leading to the conclusion that the increased intervention of central government served to marginalise the role played by local level agencies.<sup>47</sup> Scholarship suggests that women involved in local government welfare work were therefore excluded from the formulation and introduction of statutory policies concerning welfare provision.<sup>48</sup> However, Thane has demonstrated that the Liberal social welfare reforms introduced between 1906 and 1914 ‘created a state-controlled administrative framework’ in which central government depended on philanthropic and local government bodies for the implementation of welfare legislation at local level.<sup>49</sup> She suggests that the important role played by the voluntary and municipal sectors in the design and delivery of local welfare administration enabled women to exert a shaping influence over maternity and family-centred policy.<sup>50</sup> As Steven King has recently observed, studies of welfare provision at local level therefore provide an opportunity to reassess how far women were involved in ‘instigating, managing or facilitating welfare

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<sup>46</sup> Derek Fraser refers to ‘a flexible partnership between the individual, the family, employers, voluntary bodies and the state’. See Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, 12. See also Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare*, 198; Lewis ‘The Voluntary Sector’, 10.

<sup>47</sup> Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, 12; Lewis, ‘Gender, the Family and Women’s Agency’: 40.

<sup>48</sup> Skocpol and Ritter, ‘Gender and the Origins of Modern Social Policies’: 88; Bernard Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Social Welfare in England and Wales, 1800-1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 23. Georgina Waylen suggests that feminist analysis has focussed on women’s participation in voluntary initiatives ‘outside the formal arena’ rather than in relation to the state. See Georgina Waylen, ‘Gender, Feminism and the State: An Overview’, in *Gender Politics and the State*, ed. Vicky Randall and Georgina Waylen (London: Routledge, 1998), 2-3.

<sup>49</sup> Thane, ‘Women in the British Labour Party’, 343 and 359. Eleanor Gordon identifies that the concentration of scholarship on women’s political participation at national level has served to obscure female contributions to social reform through local government work. See Eleanor Gordon, ‘Women’s Spheres’, in *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. II 1830-1914*, ed. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 225.

<sup>50</sup> Thane focuses on the contribution made by women in the British Labour Party towards ‘maternal- and child-welfare policy’. See Thane, ‘Women in the British Labour Party’, 360.

reform'.<sup>51</sup> Analysis of the role played by women within local education authorities in terms of shaping school medical service provision has particular significance for determining the extent to which women were able to participate in the formulation of state welfare provision through their local government work. Scholarship examining the implementation of school medical services during the early twentieth century has identified an interdependent relationship between the private sector, local government and the state.<sup>52</sup> In contrast with notions of a shifting balance of power between central government and local level agencies, Marijke Giswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland demonstrate that 'state, local government, experts, families and children interacted in formulating discourses and practices of child health'.<sup>53</sup> It is evident that the introduction of government regulations concerning school medical services required close collaboration between the Board of Education and local education authorities.<sup>54</sup> The Board directed the 'timing, shape and extent' of local school medical services but their directives did not specify local procedures for school medical treatment provision.<sup>55</sup> This allowed for the development of treatment schemes which were 'regionally diversified', incorporating variations in practice across local education

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<sup>51</sup> Steven King, *Women, Welfare and Local Politics 1880-1920: "We Might be Trusted"* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), 4.

<sup>52</sup> Marijke Giswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland, 'Introduction: Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century', in *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Marijke Giswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 24; Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, 251; David Parker, "'A Convenient Dispensary: Elementary Education and the Influence of the School Medical Service 1907-39'", *History of Education* 27, no. 1 (1998): 59-60. Anna Brown has identified a similar relationship operating in the provision of 'special schooling'. See Anna Brown, 'Ellen Pinsent: Including the "Feeble-minded" in Birmingham, 1900-1913', *History of Education* 34, no. 5 (2005): 535; Anna Elizabeth Brown, 'Special Schooling and the "Feeble-Minded" in Birmingham, 1870-1914' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2008), 29.

<sup>53</sup> Giswijt-Hofstra and Marland, 'Introduction', 24.

<sup>54</sup> Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, 251; Parker "'A Convenient Dispensary'": 59-60; Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 62-63.

<sup>55</sup> Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, 251. See also Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 48 and 57.

authorities.<sup>56</sup> With procedure largely determined at local level, women involved in the municipal administration of school medical treatment were therefore able to shape the design and delivery of practical responses to statutory legislation concerning child welfare. This afforded such women a degree of ‘local autonomy in policy-making’ which enabled them to contribute directly towards the development of state welfare provision supporting the health of the school age population.<sup>57</sup> Watts has illustrated that women involved with Birmingham Education Committee were crucial in formulating and managing policies supporting the educational welfare of the city’s child population, drawing attention to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s work overseeing school medical services in the city.<sup>58</sup> The analysis which follows examines Taylor Cadbury’s work in the context of the interdependent relationship identified between the Board of Education and local authorities in the design of school medical treatment schemes, evaluating how far she was able to participate in state educational welfare provision through her local government role.

#### 4.2: Taylor Cadbury as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee: Opposition, Restriction and her Social Profile as a Cadbury

Family correspondence illustrates that Taylor Cadbury was able to seek advice directly from her friend and colleague Sir George Newman concerning school medical policy-making which demonstrates how her membership of an extensive middle-class Quaker kinship

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<sup>56</sup> Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 78. See also Parker, “‘A Convenient Dispensary’”: 59-60; Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, 251. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remarked in 1923 that school medical services differed ‘very largely in different localities’, depending on ‘the interest and initiative of Local Authorities’. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The School Medical Service’, 1923, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/5/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>57</sup> Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, 251.

<sup>58</sup> Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’, 84-85; Watts, *Women in Science*, 181-82. See also Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987), 425. Hollis’ analysis focuses largely on the agency of Birmingham City Councillor Ellen Pinsent (Mrs. Hume Pinsent).



network allowed her to acquire valuable contacts and access to prominent policy-makers.<sup>59</sup> However, Taylor Cadbury's familial status and social connections were insufficient to enhance her agency in local government policy-making concerning the development of school medical treatment services in Birmingham. The Cadburys' social capital did not afford her exceptional agency within the network of elite families who oversaw municipal policy-making in the city. Taylor Cadbury's proposals for school medical treatment provision were rejected by the wider membership of the Hygiene Sub-Committee and schemes recommended by the Sub-Committee under her leadership were contested by members of Birmingham Education Committee.<sup>60</sup> The Hygiene Sub-Committee was constrained to revise policies in response to objections raised by members of Birmingham Education Committee, including the elected City Councillor Ellen Pinsent, who served as a member of the Hygiene Sub-Committee and as Chairman of the Special Schools Sub-Committee.<sup>61</sup> Taylor Cadbury was not among Birmingham's first women councillors elected in 1911 and she appears to have failed to attract the same level of media attention in her work within Birmingham Education Committee as her elected colleague Pinsent.<sup>62</sup> Evidence suggests that the local press and

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<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. Ylva Hasselberg provides insight into these dynamics of social capital in 'Letters, Social Networks and the Embedded Economy in Sweden: Some Remarks on the Swedish Bourgeoisie, 1800-1850', in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945*, ed. Rebecca Earle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 101.

<sup>60</sup> For evidence of this see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1912, 7.

<sup>61</sup> For evidence of this see Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5; Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1913, p. 334, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1913, 3. For Pinsent's identity as a Birmingham City Councillor, see Brown, 'Ellen Pinsent': 536 and Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 74.

<sup>62</sup> Roger Ward, *City-State and Nation: Birmingham's Political History c. 1830-1940* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005), 179. For examples of this see particularly *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1912, 7. Taylor Cadbury respected Ellen Pinsent's work and the two women supported a scheme to establish an open air class-room at

Birmingham's Education Committee held the work of Pinsent and her Special Schools Sub-Committee in high esteem, celebrating the progressive achievements of the Sub-Committee under her leadership.<sup>63</sup> At a meeting of the Education Committee in May 1912 both Taylor Cadbury and Pinsent proposed important schemes concerning school medical services and special school provision.<sup>64</sup> An article in the *Birmingham Daily Post* featured a detailed report of Pinsent's recommendations concerning residential care for 'epileptic and mentally-defective children'.<sup>65</sup> In contrast, the report included only a brief account describing the plans presented by Taylor Cadbury for ophthalmic and dental treatment schemes, despite these recommendations forming the first major proposals regarding treatment provision since the inception of the Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Pinsent exerted agency in a meeting of Birmingham Education Committee to dispute a scheme proposed by the Hygiene Sub-Committee to provide free school medical treatment for minor ailments in March 1913.<sup>67</sup> The

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Cotteridge School. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> April 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. Kevin Dowd identifies a close relationship between Taylor Cadbury and Pinsent, although Taylor Cadbury's view that children could be 'evolved, strengthened, matured' by education clashed with Pinsent's belief that children's mental ability was 'fixed and innate'. See Kevin William Dowd, 'The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family: A Study in Manipulative Capitalism' (PhD diss., University of Wales, Swansea: 2001), 171 and 165. Quotations taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Whereunto?', October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Brown, 'Ellen Pinsent', 543.

<sup>63</sup> See particularly *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1913, p. 144 and also *Birmingham Gazette & Express*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1912, pp. 75-76, Birmingham City Council Education Committee Newspaper Cuttings, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1911-15<sup>th</sup> September 1913, MS 229, BCC, BAHS. A subsequent history of Birmingham Education Committee compiled during the 1930s and 1940s demonstrates the Committee's prioritisation of the work undertaken by their Special Schools Sub-Committee. See 'History of Education Department', Education Committee Reports 1934-1947, BCC, BAHS. Hollis has also focused on the work of Ellen Pinsent in her analysis of female agency on Birmingham Education Committee. See Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 425.

<sup>64</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1912, pp. 409-411, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 28<sup>th</sup> May 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>65</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1912, 7.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 28<sup>th</sup> May 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>67</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1913, p. 334, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1913, 3.

Hygiene Sub-Committee's Medical Treatment Sub-Committee proposed that no charge be made to the parents of children who were receiving treatment for external minor ailments.<sup>68</sup> On the presentation of this scheme to the Education Committee, Pinsent urged that the decision to provide treatment free of charge be referred back to the Hygiene Sub-Committee for further consideration.<sup>69</sup> She remarked that 'dealing with minor ailments was a much bigger thing than the Sub-Committee imagined'.<sup>70</sup> Pinsent's concerns engaged with the Education Committee's wider anxiety over their increasing expenditure during this period and the Committee resolved that the Hygiene Sub-Committee's proposal should be returned for revision.<sup>71</sup> Pinsent's agency in policy-making concerning expenditure on school medical treatment is evident in the Hygiene Sub-Committee's earlier decision to add her to their 'special sub-committee' responsible for devising a scale of charges for medical treatment in June 1912.<sup>72</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether Pinsent was co-opted to this sub-committee as

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid. See also Committee Meeting 6<sup>th</sup> February 1913, Minute 359, p. 28 and Committee Meeting 13<sup>th</sup> March 1913, Minute 374, p. 31, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>69</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1913, p. 334, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS. See also *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1913, 3. Both Taylor Cadbury and Pinsent were members of the Medical Treatment Sub-Committee which was chaired by Taylor Cadbury. See Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> November 1912, Minute 262, p. 4, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS. It would appear that it was not until the meeting of Birmingham Education Committee in her capacity as Chairman of the Special Schools Sub-Committee that Pinsent's objections to the scheme were raised and subsequently carried. The Medical Treatment Sub-Committee deliberated over whether to impose charges for the treatment of minor ailments during February and March 1913. See Committee Meeting 6<sup>th</sup> February 1913, Minute 359, p. 28 and Committee Meeting 13<sup>th</sup> March 1913, Minute 374, p. 31, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>70</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1913, 3.

<sup>71</sup> For evidence of this financial concern see *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1912, 78; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19<sup>th</sup> February 1913, 3; Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1913, p. 335, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1913, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Committee Meeting 13<sup>th</sup> June 1912, Minute 155, p. 71, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

a means to pacify her concerns over expenditure on school medical treatment or owing to her expertise in financial aspects of welfare policy-making having chaired the Special Schools Sub-Committee from 1903.<sup>73</sup> However, it may be significant that plans to revise and reduce the scale of charges for medical treatment were raised again by Taylor Cadbury in December 1913 following Pinsent's departure from Birmingham in October of that year.<sup>74</sup>

Taylor Cadbury's policy-making as Chairman of Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee was not only restricted by the competing priorities of her municipal colleagues within Birmingham Education Committee but also by the procedural policies of the Board of Education. Taylor Cadbury was able to liaise with Newman for information and advice, yet her collaboration with the Board's Chief Medical Officer did not afford her authority to sidestep Board regulations. The Hygiene Sub-Committee remained strictly obligated to abide by the legislative requirements which they imposed on local education committees.<sup>75</sup> The Board closely regulated schemes implemented at local government level, maintaining the authority to enforce modifications and, following the introduction of statutory grants for school medical

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid. Watts, *Women in Science*, 182. The original scale of charges devised by the special sub-committee was deferred for further consideration in June 1912 until the Hygiene Sub-Committee had seen the various scales of charges adopted by Birmingham Education Committee. Minutes do not record that Pinsent contributed to the Sub-Committee taking this decision, although she was subsequently added to the special sub-committee. Pinsent advocated acceptance of the revised scale of charges presented by the special sub-committee following her intervention in July 1912. See Committee Meeting 11<sup>th</sup> July 1912 'In accordance with Minute No. 155', pp. 78-79, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>74</sup> Brown, 'Ellen Pinsent': 536 and 545; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Committee Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> December 1913, Minute 606, p. 8, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 3, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, BCC/BH/10/1/1/3, BCC, BAHS. Pinsent left Birmingham on the retirement of her husband, the Birmingham solicitor Hume Pinsent. She later moved to London where she became a paid commissioner on the Board of Control and a Senior Commissioner in 1931. See Brown, 'Ellen Pinsent': 545.

<sup>75</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

services between 1912 and 1913, the power to withhold funding.<sup>76</sup> The extent of control which the Board exerted over local authority policy-making is evident in the dispute which emerged during this period over the school dental treatment scheme implemented by Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee. Under Taylor Cadbury's direction, the Sub-Committee introduced a scheme inviting the parents of children aged between six and eight to present their children at the Sub-Committee's school clinics where school medical staff would assess whether or not they required dental treatment.<sup>77</sup> Within weeks of its launch, the Board of Education criticised this scheme for being 'not in any sense a comprehensive handling of the problem' concerning child dental health.<sup>78</sup> The Board wrote to the Hygiene Sub-Committee ordering that mandatory inspection of all children be undertaken in local schools by professional dental surgeons.<sup>79</sup> The Hygiene Sub-Committee were required to modify their inspection procedures in deference to the directives of the Board which demanded that their dental scheme was revised along the guidelines they suggested in order to monitor dental defects amongst the majority of Birmingham's school-age population.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Thane, *Foundations*, 72.

<sup>77</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1913, p. 588, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*; See also Committee Meeting 6<sup>th</sup> February 1913, Minute 352, p. 27, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS. The Board's decision was based on an earlier inspection of the Hygiene Sub-Committee's temporary school dental treatment scheme by Dr. Crowley, a Medical Officer of the Board of Education, in July 1912. See Committee Meeting 11<sup>th</sup> July 1912, Minutes 171-172, pp. 77-78, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury remarked that Dr. Crowley was 'second in command to Sir George Newman' in her family journal letter, 24<sup>th</sup> June 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>80</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1913, pp. 589-90, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS; Committee Meeting 13<sup>th</sup> March 1913, 'With reference to Minute No. 352', p. 30, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS; Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> May 1913, Minutes 429-430, p. 43, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS.

Evidence of the close relationship between the school dental treatment scheme administered by the Hygiene Sub-Committee and earlier child dental initiatives established in Birmingham further questions the extent to which Taylor Cadbury and the Sub-Committee under her direction contributed towards devising school medical treatment services in the city. The Hygiene Sub-Committee's dental scheme followed the lead of a privately funded initiative which had been delivered through Birmingham Dental Hospital by the Hospital's Elementary Schools Sub-Committee since the early 1900s.<sup>81</sup> The Dental Hospital's scheme had provided treatment for over 5500 children in Birmingham elementary schools by 1910 and was recognised by Auden and the Dental Hospital's authorities as instigating the reform of child dentition in Birmingham.<sup>82</sup> The Hygiene Sub-Committee also drew support from initiatives launched by local manufacturers to promote dental welfare among school children which suggests that commercial incentives may have shaped the delivery of local authority school medical provision during this period. Cadbury Brothers had been working with King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee to promote 'the care of the teeth' to local school children from earlier in the twentieth century.<sup>83</sup>

John Welshman identifies that the relationship between poor eating habits and dental

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<sup>81</sup> Jonathan Reinarz, *Health Care in Birmingham: The Birmingham Teaching Hospitals 1779-1939* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 142-43.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 143; Dental Hospital Elementary Schools Sub-Committee Minutes No. 1, HC DH/1/1, BDH, BAHS; Ronald A. Cohen, *The History of the Birmingham Dental Hospital and Dental School 1858-1958* (Birmingham: United Birmingham Hospitals, 1958), 28; Reports of the Medical Superintendent of Elementary Schools & Superintendent of Special Schools, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1908-31<sup>st</sup> December 1908, pp. 26-27, Birmingham Education Committee: Reports of Medical Superintendent 1908-1914, LSC, BAHS; The Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-Second Annual Report 1911-1912, pp. 6-7, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS. Jonathan Reinarz illustrates the significance of this initiative where he suggests that Birmingham Dental Hospital was providing dental treatment to a substantial number of school children at a time when public dentistry provision was only commencing in London. See Reinarz, *Health Care in Birmingham*, 142-43.

<sup>83</sup> Committee Meeting 15<sup>th</sup> January 1907, Minutes of the School Hygiene Sub-Committee, King's Norton & Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1905-16<sup>th</sup> November 1909, BCK/ATg/1/1/2, KNNUDC, BAHS.

problems became an issue of public debate as concern arose over physical deterioration at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>84</sup> Between 1907 and 1911 the *British Medical Journal* featured articles and correspondence concerning the impact of the acid fermentation of sugar on tooth decay which recognised that the consumption of chocolate resulted in unhygienic oral conditions conducive to the development of dental caries.<sup>85</sup> Such findings had the potential to impact on Cadbury Brothers' commercial identity which, from the late nineteenth century onwards, was based on popular perceptions of the healthful properties of their cocoa and chocolate.<sup>86</sup> The firm's advertisements featured children consuming drinking chocolate, declaring that Cadbury's cocoa was 'absolutely pure, therefore Best' and citing recommendations from medical publications celebrating the 'wholesome, natural, health-giving character' of their products.<sup>87</sup> It is possible that Cadbury Brothers' efforts to subsidise dental education reflected a concern to sustain the reputation of their firm for producing healthy products amidst debate over child dentition, a concern which may have been shared by Taylor Cadbury's in her school medical policy-making. At the first meeting of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee, Taylor Cadbury reported that Cadbury Brothers had offered to continue this arrangement by presenting schools in the proximity of Bournville with information on the care of teeth, a proposal which the Sub-

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<sup>84</sup> John Welshman, 'Dental Health as a Neglected Issue in Medical History: The School Dental Service in England and Wales, 1900-1940', *Medical History*, 42 (1998): 308.

<sup>85</sup> 'Discussion on the Causes, Effects and Treatment of Dental Disease', *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 2447 (23<sup>rd</sup> November 1907): 1485-499; 'Sweets in Childhood', *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 2659 (16<sup>th</sup> December 1911): 1626-627. For discussion of chocolate, see particularly the comments of J. Sim Wallace in 'Sweets in Childhood': 1626.

<sup>86</sup> Deborah Cadbury, *Chocolate Wars: From Cadbury to Kraft, 200 Years of Sweet Success and Bitter Rivalry* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 70-1.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, 70-2; Volume of Advertisements, c. 1890s-1900s, Document Ref: 520/003587, KFU/CA; Graham Parker, revised and extended by Barbara Tilson, 'Cadbury Ltd at Bournville: Design & Packaging' in *Made in Birmingham: Design and Industry 1889-1989*, ed. Barbara Tilson, (Studley: Brewin Books, 1989), 237.

Committee ‘accepted with thanks’.<sup>88</sup> It is possible that the arrangement engineered between the Hygiene Sub-Committee and Cadbury Brothers in work supporting dental education was facilitated by Taylor Cadbury in her familial capacity and formed a means by which she utilised her municipal role to promote Cadbury’s commercial identification with child health.

Taylor Cadbury’s local profile as a Cadbury has further implications in terms of defining how far her agency in the development of school medical treatment provision reflected her administrative skills as a municipal policy-maker in the field of educational welfare. Her achievements in collaborating with local medical institutions can be attributed to some extent to her position within a familial and social network of wealthy middle-class industrialists with philanthropic inclinations. Recent research has contributed to elucidate ‘the complex web of interactions’ between hospital authorities and ‘a benevolent public’ which comprised middle- and upper-class families who provided subscriptions to fund the work of medical institutions.<sup>89</sup> These patrons, including female subscribers, maintained an investment in the administration of medical institutions through their sustained financial contribution, transforming their ‘economic capital into social and cultural capital’ through hospital subscription.<sup>90</sup> This dynamic is evident in the Cadburys’ relationship with Birmingham Dental Hospital during the early 1900s. George Cadbury, Edward Cadbury, George Cadbury Junior

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<sup>88</sup> Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911, Minute 26, pp. 12-13, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>89</sup> Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinartz, ‘Hospital and Asylum Visiting in Historical Perspective: Themes and Issues’, in *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*, ed. Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinartz (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 17.

<sup>90</sup> Jonathan Reinartz, ‘Receiving the Rich, Rejecting the Poor: Towards a History of Hospital Visiting in Nineteenth-Century Provincial England’, in Mooney and Reinartz, *Permeable Walls*, 33. Reinartz recognises the significance of female subscribers to Birmingham’s Women’s Hospital. See Reinartz, ‘Receiving the Rich’, 44. See also Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women Reports 32-40, 1902-1910, LSC, BAHS.



and his wife Edith, as well as Barrow, Joel and William Adlington Cadbury all provided financial support to the Dental Hospital, Edward Cadbury serving on the Hospital's Committee for the Election of Dental Staff.<sup>91</sup> It is important to note that the Cadbury family donated larger amounts of money to other hospitals in the city, such as the Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women, which demonstrates that they did not share an exceptional interest in the administration of the Dental Hospital.<sup>92</sup> Multiple members of the Cadbury family also provided considerable sums to support the provision of services and development of facilities at the Birmingham Hospital for Sick Children, Birmingham's Ear and Throat Hospital and Birmingham Eye Hospital.<sup>93</sup> Yet the economic influence wielded by the Cadburys within medical administration in the city may have created a productive basis from which Taylor Cadbury could negotiate collaboration between the Dental Hospital and a municipal sub-committee under her leadership. While Taylor Cadbury is not named as being a subscriber to the Dental Hospital herself, her identity as a Cadbury may have afforded her privileged access to the Hospital's authorities and assisted her policy-making concerning Birmingham's school dental treatment scheme. During 1912 Taylor Cadbury led a committee appointed by the Hygiene Sub-Committee to confer with Birmingham Dental Hospital

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<sup>91</sup> 46<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of Birmingham Dental Hospital 1905-1906, Birmingham Dental Hospital Reports 46-54, 1905/6-1913/14, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>92</sup> George Cadbury donated an annual subscription of fifty pounds to the Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women. Richard and Sarah Cadbury sat on the Committee of Management for this hospital. In addition, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (Mrs. George Cadbury), Mrs. Barrow Cadbury, Mrs. Edward Cadbury, Mrs. Richard Cadbury, Mrs. Joel Cadbury, Mrs. George Cadbury Junior and their husbands alongside other members of the Cadbury family donated substantial amounts of money to the hospital during the early twentieth century. See Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women Reports 32-40, 1902-1910, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>93</sup> George Cadbury became a Life Governor of Birmingham Hospital for Sick Children after donating £250 to the institution in 1901, maintaining a regular subscription of two pounds, two shillings. William Adlington Cadbury, Mr. and Mrs. Barrow Cadbury, George Cadbury Junior, Edward Cadbury and Joel Cadbury also subscribed to this hospital. See Birmingham Hospital for Sick Children Reports 1901-1911, LSC, BAHS. See also Birmingham Ear and Throat Hospital Reports 63-70, 1907-1914, LSC, BAHS; Birmingham Eye Hospital Reports 1899/1900-1906/1907, LSC, BAHS. See also Birmingham and Midland Skin and Urinary Hospital Reports 19-30, 1899-1910, LSC, BAHS.

concerning their collaboration in the provision of child dental treatment in the city.<sup>94</sup> Her preliminary negotiations were successful in engineering co-operation between the Dental Hospital and Birmingham Education Committee.<sup>95</sup> Taylor Cadbury reported in March 1912 that ‘the Dental Hospital people’ were willing to allow the Hygiene Sub-Committee ‘a whole floor with all their appliances five afternoons a week’ to provide school dental treatment.<sup>96</sup>

#### 4.3: Taylor Cadbury’s Agency as a Policy-Maker for School Medical Treatment Provision

The evidence above suggests that Taylor Cadbury exerted little agency in the development of educational welfare provision in her capacity as Chairman of Birmingham’s Hygiene Sub-Committee. Medical treatment schemes formulated by the Hygiene Sub-Committee under her leadership were contested by her local authority colleagues and subject to modification by the Board of Education. Her achievements in co-ordinating treatment provision with local medical institutions appear to have been influenced by her social profile as a Cadbury. Yet closer analysis of Taylor Cadbury’s work as Chairman demonstrates that she exerted a shaping influence over the development of school medical treatment services in Birmingham during the early twentieth century as a local government policy-maker for educational welfare. Taylor Cadbury faced opposition from within Birmingham Education Committee, but it is evident that she was invested with considerable authority by her municipal colleagues given their decision to appoint her as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>97</sup> Hollis

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<sup>94</sup> Committee Meeting 24<sup>th</sup> January 1912, Minute 42, p. 20, Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> February 1912, Minute 67, pp. 30-31 and Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> March 1912, Minute 78, p. 37, Committee Meeting 16<sup>th</sup> May 1912, Minutes 127-29, pp. 55-56, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>97</sup> Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> December 1911, Minute 3539, p. 18 and Minute 3550, p. 24, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS; Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup>

identifies that it was unusual for co-opted members of local authorities to chair sub-committees during the early twentieth century.<sup>98</sup> Taylor Cadbury was not only a co-opted member of the Education Committee, but was the sole non-elected female member of the Hygiene Sub-Committee in December 1911.<sup>99</sup> The reasons for Taylor Cadbury's selection as Chairman are unclear, although it is notable that a number of City Councillors on the Hygiene Sub-Committee had been involved with Taylor Cadbury in her capacity as Chairman of the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee since the early 1900s.<sup>100</sup> In her role directing this Committee, Taylor Cadbury had overseen the medical inspection of children at the Bournville Village Schools and dealt with the containment of childhood epidemics.<sup>101</sup> This suggests that her election may have been based to some degree on perceptions of her practical experience in public work supporting child health. As Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee from its formation, Taylor Cadbury was located in a position of responsibility both for organising the administrative procedures of a new sub-committee and for overseeing the effective introduction of school medical treatment services. The extent of her organisational responsibilities becomes apparent from comments which she made in a letter to

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December 1911, p. 2, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>98</sup> Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 425. Hollis refers to the work of Ellen Pinsent as a co-opted member of Birmingham Education Committee prior to her election as a City Councillor in 1911, remarking that 'unusually for a co-opted member, she chaired a sub-committee'.

<sup>99</sup> Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911, p. 2, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>100</sup> Committee Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904, Minute 1, p. 1, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS. No explanation is provided in Taylor Cadbury's personal correspondence or in the records of the Hygiene Sub-Committee for her election as Chairman. Councillor Mr. A. J. Kelley and Councillor Mr. George Shann, both of whom were members of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, were involved with the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee between 1904 and 1905.

<sup>101</sup> Committee Meeting 8<sup>th</sup> November 1906, Minute 414, p. 121, Bournville School Managers' Committee Minute Book No. 1, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1904-22<sup>nd</sup> July 1907, MS 1536, BVT, BAHS; Entry 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1908, p. 80, Bournville Infant School Log Book, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1905-21<sup>st</sup> July 1955, BIS.

her family in which she remarked on the future development of the Hygiene Sub-Committee suggesting ‘Birmingham is not at all decided as to what it will do’.<sup>102</sup> This suggests that her colleagues on Birmingham Education Committee identified that she possessed capacities for municipal policy-making in the arena of educational welfare. Taylor Cadbury could not rely on her social profile alone to facilitate her agency in the development of Birmingham’s school medical service. Such work required knowledge and skills sufficient to formulate policy with medical and municipal authorities. From the outset of her appointment as Chairman, Taylor Cadbury sought actively to develop expertise which would enhance her ability to lead the effective implementation of medical treatment schemes at local authority level. In the month following her appointment as Chairman she visited Auden’s offices where she ‘saw the children being examined for spectacles and went through some of his papers’ before meeting with Newman to gain insight into ‘the plans and systems of various medical authorities’.<sup>103</sup>

It is possible that Birmingham Dental Hospital was more receptive to a scheme whereby it supported the work of the Hygiene Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury’s leadership owing to her familial identity as a Cadbury. George Cadbury’s subscription of five pounds, five shillings to the hospital was considerably less than the annual subscriptions which he donated to other hospitals in the city during the early twentieth century, although it was among the largest private subscriptions to the Dental Hospital in this period.<sup>104</sup> However, it is

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<sup>102</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>103</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>104</sup> See the annual ‘List of Subscriptions’ featured in Birmingham Dental Hospital Reports 46-54, 1905/6 – 1913/14, LSC, BAHS. George Cadbury donated an annual subscription of fifty pounds to the Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women. He subscribed ten pounds and ten shillings to Birmingham’s Ear and Throat Hospital during the first decade of the twentieth century. See Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women Reports 32-40, 1902-1910, LSC, BAHS; Birmingham Ear and Throat Hospital Reports 63-70, 1907-1914, LSC, BAHS.

questionable how far the Cadburys' financial agency as hospital subscribers enabled Taylor Cadbury to engineer co-operation between Birmingham hospitals and the city's Education Committee. The Cadbury family's substantial donations to Birmingham Ear and Throat hospital did not prevent its authorities from responding with hostility to Taylor Cadbury's proposal that the hospital co-operate with the Hygiene Sub-Committee in the provision of localised child tonsil and adenoid treatment.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, evidence suggests that the Dental Hospital's decision to enter into collaboration with the Hygiene Sub-Committee may not have been based solely on the Cadburys' investment in the hospital, but related to the mutually beneficial partnership which Taylor Cadbury was able to propose as a representative of Birmingham Education Committee. The development of a scheme to improve child dentition was a priority to both Birmingham Education Committee and the Dental Hospital, particularly following the collapse of the Hospital's private school dental scheme in 1910 owing to a deficit in funding.<sup>106</sup> Taylor Cadbury negotiated an arrangement with the Dental Hospital whereby the Hygiene Sub-Committee assumed administrative and financial responsibility for the delivery of child dental treatment but maintained a working relationship with the hospital by utilising their facilities to provide a school dental clinic from within their premises.<sup>107</sup> The

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<sup>105</sup> Alongside George Cadbury's subscription to the Ear and Throat Hospital, a number of other members of the Cadbury family subscribed to the institution and Cadbury Brothers Limited provided an annual subscription of five pounds, five shillings. See Birmingham Ear and Throat Hospital Reports 63-70, 1907-1914, LSC, BAHS. For evidence of the Ear and Throat Hospital's hostile response to the Hygiene Sub-Committee, see Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> February 1912, Minute 79, pp. 37-8, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>106</sup> Reports of the Medical Superintendent of Elementary Schools & Superintendent of Special Schools, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1908-31<sup>st</sup> December 1908, p. 26, Birmingham Education Committee: Reports of Medical Superintendent 1908-1914, LSC, BAHS; Committee Meeting 7<sup>th</sup> September 1910, Minutes 66-68, Dental Hospital Elementary Schools Sub-Committee Minutes No. 1, HC/DH/1/1, BDH, BAHS.

<sup>107</sup> Committee Meeting 24<sup>th</sup> January 1912, Minute 42, p. 20, Committee Meeting 1<sup>st</sup> February 1912, Minute 67, pp. 30-31 and Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> March 1912, Minute 78, p. 37, Committee Meeting 16<sup>th</sup> May 1912, Minutes 127-29, pp. 55-56, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; Report of the Hygiene Sub-

Dental Hospital's compliance in agreeing to Taylor Cadbury's proposal that they support the work of her Hygiene Sub-Committee may therefore have been due to the advantages which their collaboration would afford in terms of meeting the demand for child dental treatment in Birmingham. Their willingness to work with the Hygiene Sub-Committee may also have been as a result of the financial benefits which the Dental Hospital would receive through working in partnership with Birmingham Education Committee. In negotiations overseen by Taylor Cadbury to secure practical support from the Dental Hospital, an arrangement was engineered by which the Education Committee subsidised the work undertaken at the Hospital by paying to rent their facilities as a school dental clinic.<sup>108</sup> This policy was significant in terms of both enhancing the stability and impact of the Hygiene Sub-Committee's school dental scheme but also by offering practical financial support to the Dental Hospital in their wider work improving dental health in Birmingham.<sup>109</sup> Annual reports reveal that the Hospital's financial situation had been 'causing anxiety' during the early twentieth century.<sup>110</sup> Hospital Chairman Lieutenant General Phelps remarked during 1911 and 1912 on 'the unfortunate condition of the finances of the institution' and appealed for an increase in subscriptions which had

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Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1912, pp. 409-411, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS. See also Committee Meeting 21<sup>st</sup> November 1912, Minute 72, Dental Hospital Elementary Schools Sub-Committee Minutes No. 1, HC/DH/1/1, BDH, BAHS.

<sup>108</sup> Committee Meeting 24<sup>th</sup> January 1912, Minute 42, p. 20 and Minute 43, pp. 20-21, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-Third Annual Report, 1912-1913, p. 8, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS; Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1912, pp. 409-411, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. See also Cohen, *The History of the Birmingham Dental Hospital*, 30.

<sup>110</sup> Cohen, *The History of the Birmingham Dental Hospital*, 29. See Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-Second Annual Report, 1911-1912, pp. 6-7, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS; Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-First Annual Report, 1910-1911, p. 9, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS.

previously been ‘inadequate to meet the demands made upon the hospital’.<sup>111</sup> Within a year following the commencement of the Hygiene Sub-Committee’s school dental treatment scheme, Chairman Alderman W. H. Bowater reported ‘a marked improvement’ in the hospital’s finances which he suggested was due ‘to some extent to the rent we now receive from the City of Birmingham Education Committee’.<sup>112</sup> Situated within this context, it is evident that Taylor Cadbury’s success in securing the support of Birmingham Dental Hospital depended to a considerable extent on her capacity for strategic negotiation as the municipal representative responsible for overseeing the delivery of school medical treatment provision in Birmingham. Her skills in this direction are further apparent in her efforts to obtain approval and funding for the dental scheme formulated with the Hospital from Birmingham Education Committee. The successful implementation of the Hygiene Sub-Committee’s dental treatment scheme relied not only on gaining the support of the Dental Hospital but required the sanction of the Education Committee. In May 1912 Taylor Cadbury engaged in debate with the Committee to secure authorisation for the scheme, negotiating with her municipal colleagues to allay fears over the potential costs of implementing her Sub-Committee’s proposed school dental treatment services in the city.<sup>113</sup>

Comments made by Chairman Phelps concerning the dental scheme directed by the Hygiene Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury’s leadership reveal that it was recognised as having an

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<sup>111</sup> Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-Second Annual Report, 1911-1912, pp. 6-7, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS; Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-First Annual Report, 1910-1911, p. 9, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS.

<sup>112</sup> Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-Third Annual Report, 1912-1913, p. 8, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS. See also Cohen, *The History of the Birmingham Dental Hospital*, 30.

<sup>113</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1912, pp. 409-411, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1912, 7.

important impact in terms of improving child dentition in Birmingham. Phelps acknowledged in 1912 that while the Dental Hospital had contributed to improve dental health ‘in several schools’, Birmingham Education Committee intervening to improve school dental provision was ‘a step in the right direction’ towards the reform of child dental health.<sup>114</sup> As Phelps’ comments suggest, beyond assuming control over the school dental programme previously delivered by the Dental Hospital, Taylor Cadbury and her Hygiene Sub-Committee devised a scheme which extended and improved upon the Hospital’s earlier private initiative. Dental provision administered by the Hygiene Sub-Committee enabled the delivery of treatment to a substantially larger proportion of Birmingham’s school age population, treating over 10, 600 children across Birmingham in 1914 alone.<sup>115</sup> The dental scheme which Taylor Cadbury proposed to Birmingham Education Committee in May 1912 employed the services of seven dental surgeons and six ‘women attendants’, recruiting four additional dental attendants by 1916.<sup>116</sup> Welshman has observed that dental health emerged as an essential feature within Board of Education proposals for school medical treatment provision from 1907 onwards.<sup>117</sup> The leading role played by Taylor Cadbury in co-ordinating practical responses to Board of Education recommendations concerning child dental health illustrates that she actively participated in the implementation and delivery of state educational welfare provision as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee. Her authority as Chairman for ensuring that Board

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<sup>114</sup> The Birmingham Dental Hospital, Fifty-Second Annual Report 1911-1912, pp. 6-7, Birmingham Dental Hospital Annual Reports, HC DH/1/4, BDH, BAHS.

<sup>115</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham’, *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 172, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS. This was a substantial statistical improvement on the number of children reported to have received treatment under the Dental Hospital’s earlier scheme. See Cohen, *The History of the Birmingham Dental Hospital*, 28; Reinartz, *Health Care in Birmingham*, 142-43.

<sup>116</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1912, pp. 409-411, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham’, *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 170, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>117</sup> Welshman, ‘Dental Health as a Neglected Issue’: 308-10.



of Education school medical policy was introduced and adhered to at local level is further evident in analysis of her municipal financial negotiations concerning expenditure on Birmingham's school medical treatment service.

Taylor Cadbury's public work as Chairman of Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee demonstrates that the growth of local authority school medical services served to create new opportunities for middle-class women in the field of welfare provision, although scholarship has identified limitations on women's participation in aspects of municipal policy-making.<sup>118</sup> Hollis draws attention to female exclusion from the work of finance committees, suggesting that it was male municipalists who 'argued where to draw the line' concerning expenditure on educational welfare services.<sup>119</sup> Taylor Cadbury was not directly involved in policy decisions concerning municipal expenditure which were administered by Birmingham City Finance Committee. However, she did engage directly in correspondence with this Committee, disputing their attempts to reduce the amount of money provided to the Hygiene Sub-Committee to deliver school medical treatment schemes.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, Taylor Cadbury utilised her position of responsibility for directing the practical implementation of Board of Education proposals to refute objections against municipal spending on school medical services. In January 1913 she opposed efforts by Birmingham Education Committee's Attendance, Finance and General Purposes Sub-Committee to abate her sub-committee's expenditure by arguing that it would be impossible to deliver the services required by

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<sup>118</sup> Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and Other Small Children: A History of the Infant Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918* (London: Tavistock, 1987), 186 and 202; Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 429.

<sup>119</sup> Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 429.

<sup>120</sup> Committee Meeting 12<sup>th</sup> June 1913, Minute 464, p. 48, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS.

statutory recommendation at a lower cost.<sup>121</sup> A year later, Taylor Cadbury again drew on her authority for promoting Board objectives concerning the effectiveness of school medical treatment provision to campaign to ‘give medical treatment to school children for free’.<sup>122</sup>

The introduction of government grants funding local authority provision of school medical services during 1912 and 1913 supported a ‘trend towards a free service’, with local authorities encouraged to supplement grants from their municipal budgets rather than charge parents.<sup>123</sup> Newman stated in his 1914 annual report as Chief Medical Officer that government subsidies aimed to provide local authorities with the stimulus to ‘extend schemes for the prevention and treatment of defects’, promoting the development of ‘a well-organised and effective school medical service at local authority level’.<sup>124</sup> While the Board of Education and a number of local education authorities supported the provision of free school medical treatment, the issue generated considerable controversy in Birmingham during the early twentieth century.<sup>125</sup> The expenses amounted by Birmingham Education Committee continued to provoke popular public debate during the 1910s, the *Birmingham Daily Post*

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<sup>121</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. For debate over expenditure preceding this meeting, see particularly Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> November 1912, pp. 3-4, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>122</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS. See Committee Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> December 1913, Minute 606, p. 8, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 3, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913 to 15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, BCC/BH/10/1/1/3, BCC, BAHS; Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

<sup>123</sup> Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 81. See also Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 68 and 71.

<sup>124</sup> Newman’s report is cited in Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 71.

<sup>125</sup> Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 80-81; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5 and 8.

describing the Committee as ‘the “naughty boy” of the family of spending committees’.<sup>126</sup> Anxiety over municipal expenditure caused reservations among the Education Committee concerning the amount of money which the Hygiene Sub-Committee required to provide school medical treatment services and encouraged the Committee to charge parents for medical treatment received by their children.<sup>127</sup> Taylor Cadbury reported to the Committee in January 1914 that charging for school medical treatment under the Local Education Authorities (Medical Treatment) Act of 1909 was generating insignificant revenue and impeding the effectiveness of school medical treatment provision in the city.<sup>128</sup> Evidence that she prioritised Board of Education objectives concerning the efficiency of school medical services over issues of municipal expenditure suggests that Taylor Cadbury disregarded ‘the pressure of the rates’ suffered by working-class people in Birmingham.<sup>129</sup> However, Taylor Cadbury recognised that the provision of free school medical treatment was beneficial to ratepayers. She argued that members of the Education Committee who opposed the reduction and removal of charges for medical treatment ‘forgot that the people whose children they were treating paid their share of the rates, and it was due to them that some return should be given’.<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, Birmingham Education Committee were willing to sanction extensive alterations to new school buildings at a cost to the tax payer which were deemed ‘elaborate’

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<sup>126</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19<sup>th</sup> February 1913, 3.

<sup>127</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5 and 8.

<sup>128</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

<sup>129</sup> The Birmingham and District Traders Association suggested that this financial pressure was ignored by the ‘wealthy men’ on the City Council. See *Birmingham Daily Post*, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1912, p. 105, Birmingham City Council Education Committee Newspaper Cuttings, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1911-15<sup>th</sup> September 1913, MS 229, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>130</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

and ‘totally unnecessary’ by a government auditor, yet they opposed a scheme to reduce and remove charges for school medical treatment.<sup>131</sup> This illustrates that their objections were not based wholly on their interest in reducing rates, but were a product of wider social concerns that the provision of free child welfare services would be ‘destructive of a proper sense of parental responsibility’, a view which Taylor Cadbury suggested had ‘no foundation in fact’.<sup>132</sup>

In December 1913 a small sub-committee led by Taylor Cadbury and including members of the Hygiene Sub-Committee who were opposed to the removal of charges for school medical treatment was formed to reassess the Sub-Committee’s charges for treatment and prepare a new scheme.<sup>133</sup> The Hygiene Sub-Committee’s revised scheme, which was presented by Taylor Cadbury to Birmingham Education Committee in January 1914, proposed to offer free dental treatment as well as free treatment for minor ailments and all types of ringworm.<sup>134</sup> Spectacles would also be provided at a flat rate of two shillings sixpence and an unspecified

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<sup>131</sup> *Despatch*, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1912, p. 55, Birmingham City Council Education Committee Newspaper Cuttings, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1911-15<sup>th</sup> September 1913, MS 229, BCC, BAHS. It is notable that this auditor, Mr. Estcourt, described himself as ‘the “ratepayers’ agent”’. Phillip H. Durant, Honorary Secretary of the Birmingham Branch of the National Conference for the Prevention of Destitution, complained about the City Council’s willingness to ‘vote thousands of pounds’ to the University of Birmingham yet oppose expenditure on school medical treatment. See Letter to the Editor, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1912, 70.

<sup>132</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 8; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Health of the Nation’, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>133</sup> Committee Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> December 1913, Minute 606, p. 8, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 3, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, BCC/BH/10/1/1/3, BCC, BAHS. It is notable that Mr. W. J. Harris called for an investigation at this meeting into ‘the whole scheme at present in operation’ by a small sub-committee including Taylor Cadbury and ‘formed as far as possible of members who up to now have been of opposed opinions upon the question of contributory payments’. Harris’ proposal received insufficient support from other members of the Hygiene Sub-Committee and was dismissed.

<sup>134</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

flat rate was proposed for surgical procedures on tonsils and adenoids.<sup>135</sup> Taylor Cadbury commended this scheme to the Education Committee by exerting her authority as someone who ‘had gone into the matter and knew something of the work’ involved in implementing the Board of Education’s recommendations concerning educational welfare.<sup>136</sup> She argued that charging for school medical services was deterring parents from seeking treatment for their children through the city’s school medical service which defeated the Board’s objective of providing services to support health among the majority of the school-age population.<sup>137</sup> Taylor Cadbury remarked to the Committee that the Board of Education ‘did not stand for the principle’ of charging parents for treatment and emphasised that ‘education authorities were not accomplishing the work on which they had set out if they failed to improve the physique of the children’.<sup>138</sup> The Hygiene Sub-Committee’s new scheme was received with hostility by members of Birmingham Education Committee. Mr. W. J. Harris, himself a member of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, suggested that the reduction or removal of charges for free school medical treatment would contribute towards ‘producing an unreliant race of citizens by removing from them the burdens which many ought to keep on their own shoulders’.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, *The Birmingham Daily Post* suggested that the provision of free school medical treatment would contribute to ‘encourage the defaulters’ who ‘try dishonourably to shuffle out’ of their responsibilities as parents.<sup>140</sup> Despite Taylor Cadbury’s efforts, the Education

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. For an insight into the Board’s objectives and the problems incurred by charging parents for treatment see Harris, *The Health of the School Child*; Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 80.

<sup>138</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 8.

Committee opposed her Sub-Committee's revised scheme, appealing to the 1909 Medical Treatment Act before moving that the Hygiene Sub-Committee be instructed to reinstate charges where necessary.<sup>141</sup> Taylor Cadbury and supporters of the scheme within the Hygiene Sub-Committee were obliged to concede defeat and revise their policy. However, evidence of subsequent revisions to their scale of charges demonstrates that proponents of the reduction and removal in charges continued to press for more accessible school medical treatment provision. The Sub-Committee's report for February 1914 reveals that they reintroduced only minor charges which would still 'bring the fees within the reach of most of the families concerned' and were consistent with the Board's aim of providing medical services to 'all the school children for whom the Education Authority are responsible'.<sup>142</sup> While members of Birmingham Education Committee moved that dental treatment should be charged at sixpence rather than one penny, the Hygiene Sub-Committee's scheme to introduce free treatment for minor ailments, all forms of ringworm and a reduced flat rate for surgical procedures on tonsils and adenoids was approved by the Committee.<sup>143</sup>

Taylor Cadbury and her Hygiene Sub-Committee were able to encourage the wider Education Committee to amend their charges for school medical treatment by referring to the Board's emphasis on the importance of local authorities aiming to improve health amongst the

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 5; Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, p. 153, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; Committee Meeting 5<sup>th</sup> February 1914, Minute 673, p. 21, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 3, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, BCC/BH/10/1/1/3, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>142</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1914, p. 172, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

majority of school children.<sup>144</sup> The Education Committee's response to these proposals demonstrates that an appeal to statutory objectives concerning child health reform was effective in terms of changing opinion amongst some members of the Education Committee.<sup>145</sup> Alderman Pritchett, who had previously objected to expenditure on the Hygiene Sub-Committee's dental treatment scheme in May 1912, supported the Hygiene Sub-Committee's proposals to reduce the cost of treatment.<sup>146</sup> In response to the Hygiene Sub-Committee's report presented by Taylor Cadbury in January 1914 he remarked that he was 'a convert to the principle of free medical treatment to school children', suggesting that 'he would like to see it made compulsory'.<sup>147</sup> Pritchett's reaction demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury was able to exert authority in municipal policy-making by emphasising the Hygiene Sub-Committee's responsibility for implementing Board of Education recommendations concerning the provision of effective school medical treatment at local level.<sup>148</sup> It is therefore possible to identify a relationship between the work which Taylor Cadbury was involved with overseeing on Birmingham's local education authority and the wider development of state educational welfare provision by the Board of Education. However, Taylor Cadbury's support

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<sup>144</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5. Taylor Cadbury remained a vocal advocate of free school medical treatment. She remarked to the Education Committee in May 1914 that 'the system of charges had been changed with beneficial results'. See *Birmingham Daily Post*, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1914, 45.

<sup>145</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1914, p. 172, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

<sup>146</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1912, pp. 409-411, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1911-25<sup>th</sup> October 1912, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1912, 7.

<sup>147</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

<sup>148</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

for a campaign to improve the economic accessibility of school medical treatment services also reflected her individual approach to educational welfare provision, particularly her empathy for working-class parents evident in her wider work on Birmingham Education Committee. As a member of the city's Education Committee, Taylor Cadbury was mandatorily required to serve on Birmingham's School Attendance Sub-Committee. She admitted to 'thoroughly dislike' this work, particularly being required to 'advise or censure' parents.<sup>149</sup> In a letter to her family she commented on the struggle which she experienced approaching work with parents in this way, remarking 'as I largely sympathise with them, this is very difficult'.<sup>150</sup> Evidence that Taylor Cadbury promoted Board recommendations which reflected her personal concern to improve educational welfare provision for parents suggests that she was able to exert a degree of individual influence over the design and delivery of Birmingham's school medical service. The extent of her agency in this work becomes apparent through analysis of her instrumental role in the development of Birmingham's Central School Clinic.

#### 4.4: Taylor Cadbury, Birmingham's Central School Clinic and her Shaping Influence over Educational Welfare Provision

Harris observes that there was a rapid increase in school clinics between 1908 and 1913 with the Board of Education sanctioning over two hundred and sixty proposals for clinics

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<sup>149</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>150</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury's comments here can be identified as reflecting her engagement with what Nicola Sheldon describes as the aspiring 'welfare role' adopted by progressive School Attendance Officers. See Nicola Sheldon, 'The School Attendance Officer 1900-1939: Policeman to Welfare Worker?', *History of Education* 36, no. 6 (2007): 745 and 735.



submitted by local education authorities during this period.<sup>151</sup> Taylor Cadbury was a prominent public advocate of such schemes which indicates her personal concurrence with wider views concerning the importance of school clinics. In June 1912 she represented Birmingham at a national conference debating public health and education where she spoke ‘urging the institution of a School Clinic’ as the most effective means of administering educational welfare.<sup>152</sup> Taylor Cadbury worked with Auden and the Hygiene Sub-Committee to establish seven school clinics across Birmingham during the first three years of her Chairmanship. Between 1912 and 1913 she was also personally responsible for devising and directing a scheme to establish ‘the largest and most central’ clinic in the city.<sup>153</sup> Birmingham’s Central School Clinic was designed to provide X-ray facilities, treatment for minor ailments and ophthalmic examinations in a building connected to Birmingham Dental Hospital.<sup>154</sup> The development of the Central School Clinic was identified by Taylor Cadbury as ‘my special School Clinic Scheme’.<sup>155</sup> She first proposed the establishment of this facility to her Hygiene Sub-Committee in June 1912, but her scheme was ‘postponed’ by the Sub-Committee owing to concerns over expenditure.<sup>156</sup> Taylor Cadbury admitted to her family that she had been ‘frightfully disappointed and very indignant’ at the Hygiene Sub-Committee’s rejection of her scheme which had come as ‘a very great blow’, reflecting the extent of her

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<sup>151</sup> Harris *The Health of the Schoolchild*, 65.

<sup>152</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury acted as the Birmingham representative in a debate about ‘Public Health & Education’ at the conference of the Societies for the Prevention of Destitution held at Caxton Hall in London in June 1912.

<sup>153</sup> ‘New Central Clinic for Birmingham’, *Birmingham Medical Review* LXXVIII, no. 445 (September 1915): 88.

<sup>154</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; ‘New Central School Clinic for Birmingham’, *Birmingham Medical Review* LXXVIII, no. 445 (September 1915): 88.

<sup>155</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>156</sup> Committee Meeting 13<sup>th</sup> June 1912, Minute 153, pp. 70-1, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

personal interest in the project.<sup>157</sup> Despite this initial setback, Taylor Cadbury continued to actively pursue the establishment of the clinic. She liaised with Auden and Dr. Crowley at the Board of Education concerning the scheme and met with Sir George Kenrick in his capacity as Chairman of Birmingham Education Committee ‘to survey some land, and go into particulars of its purchase for the purpose of building a School Clinic’.<sup>158</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s efforts to persuade the Education Committee of the viability of the Central School Clinic resulted in the Committee approving her plans in January 1913, Taylor Cadbury remarking on her ‘astonishment’ at this outcome.<sup>159</sup>

Before work on the Central School Clinic could commence, Taylor Cadbury’s scheme required the sanction of Birmingham City Council’s Finance Committee.<sup>160</sup> Although she was unable to attend the formal meeting of this Committee, evidence suggests that Taylor Cadbury was directly involved in encouraging their decision to approve the construction of the Central School Clinic. Taylor Cadbury utilised a meeting with Newman to gain information about the amount of money which Birmingham Education Committee would receive from the Board of Education to fund their school medical treatment schemes.<sup>161</sup> As Harris suggests, governmental debates concerning funding for school medical services culminated in August

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<sup>157</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>158</sup> Committee Meeting 12<sup>th</sup> September 1912, p. 91, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 17<sup>th</sup> December 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>159</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury remarked in this letter that her scheme for Birmingham’s Central School Clinic ‘to my astonishment went through without one dissentient voice being raised; it now has to pass the Council’.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> It is unclear at which meeting Taylor Cadbury obtained this information from Newman, although comments in her family journal letters suggest that they may have discussed this issue at their long meeting in February 1913. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

1913 with the decision that the government would provide substantial funding to local education authorities who were seen to be delivering efficient school medical services.<sup>162</sup>

Evidence of Taylor Cadbury's intervention in financial debates concerning the Central School Clinic reveals that, through her discussions with Newman, she received unofficial assurance that the Board would 'pay at least half of the current expenditure on medical treatment' prior to the official introduction of this policy.<sup>163</sup> In order to encourage the City Council's support for her Central School Clinic scheme, Taylor Cadbury wrote a letter communicating the outcome of her 'conversation with George Newman' to Norman Chamberlain in his capacity as Chairman of the Education Committee's Attendance, Finance and General Purposes Sub-Committee.<sup>164</sup> As Chairman of this Sub-Committee, Chamberlain actively participated in municipal financial policy-making and was able to present evidence of Newman's financial assurances to the City Council's Finance Committee.<sup>165</sup> The extent of Taylor Cadbury's agency in negotiations to secure the Finance Committee's approval for her Central School Clinic is evident in correspondence which she wrote to her family after the City Council passed her scheme in February 1913:

On Thursday morning I had a telegram from George [Cadbury Junior] to say our School Clinic Scheme had passed the City Council...it seemed to go through, largely, by means of a letter I wrote to Norman Chamberlain, reporting, unofficially, from my

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<sup>162</sup> Harris, *The Health of the School Child*, 67-68.

<sup>163</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. The quotation here is taken from comments made by Mr. Norman Chamberlain to the City Council Finance Committee which were reported in the *Birmingham Daily Post*. See Extract from a report of a City Council Meeting on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1913 from *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19<sup>th</sup> February 1913, Committee Meeting 19<sup>th</sup> June 1913, p. 445, City Council Finance Committee Minute Book No. 20, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1912-18<sup>th</sup> September 1913, BCC 1/AH/1/1/35, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>164</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*; Extract from a report of a City Council Meeting on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1913 from *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19<sup>th</sup> February 1913, Committee Meeting 19<sup>th</sup> June 1913, p. 445, City Council Finance Committee Minute Book No. 20, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1912-18<sup>th</sup> September 1913, BCC 1/AH/1/1/35, BCC, BAHS.

conversation with George Newman, what the Government would probably do for us in the matter.<sup>166</sup>

Taylor Cadbury's autobiographical assessment presents an inevitably subjective perspective which emphasises her personal involvement in encouraging the Council's decision to sanction the Central School Clinic. Yet an account of the City Council Finance Committee meeting held on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1913 reveal that her letter played a direct role in persuading the Committee to support her proposal for the Central School Clinic. An extract from the *Birmingham Daily Post* featured in the Finance Committee minutes states that the Finance Committee had originally 'made some rather adverse remarks' concerning Taylor Cadbury's scheme.<sup>167</sup> The article reports that, in response to these comments, Chamberlain had presented the Committee with Taylor Cadbury's letter which he suggested was 'sufficient to indicate the attitude of the Board of Education'.<sup>168</sup> On reading this correspondence, the Finance Committee had expressed recognition of the importance of the Central School Clinic scheme, stating that 'in view of the communication' Taylor Cadbury's scheme 'would be agreed unanimously'.<sup>169</sup>

The evidence above suggests that Taylor Cadbury's agency in municipal policy-making concerning the development of school medical service provision in Birmingham depended on her ability to cite the authority of the Board of Education in terms of the financial support which they would provide to municipal authorities for school medical treatment provision.

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<sup>166</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>167</sup> Extract from a report of a City Council Meeting on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1913 from *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19<sup>th</sup> February 1913, Committee Meeting 19<sup>th</sup> June 1913, p. 445, City Council Finance Committee Minute Book No. 20, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1912-18<sup>th</sup> September 1913, BCC 1/AH/1/1/35, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

This reflects the conclusion that ‘governmental intervention’ served to restrict the ‘political space’ in which women were able to exert agency in the formulation of social welfare programs.<sup>170</sup> However, it is evident that Taylor Cadbury was able to exercise considerable ‘local autonomy in policy-making’ from her position within the ‘political space’ between measures recommended by the Board of Education and their implementation at local level, mediating between the Board and Birmingham City Council.<sup>171</sup> In the case of the Central School Clinic, Taylor Cadbury actively sought financial assurances from Newman which she utilised to pacify the economic anxieties of the City Council and secure approval for the implementation of a facility which she was personally responsible for devising. Taylor Cadbury later commented in family correspondence on her work directing the Central School Clinic which she described as ‘a public building built with public money’, reflecting her shaping influence over local authority educational welfare provision in Birmingham.<sup>172</sup> Evidence of the active role played by Taylor Cadbury and her Hygiene Sub-Committee in the design and delivery of the city’s school medical treatment service illustrates the extent to which the Board of Education depended on local authorities for the practical implementation of statutory recommendations concerning the health of school children. Taylor Cadbury’s personal investment in Birmingham’s Central School Clinic reveals her authority and autonomy in leading the establishment of a facility which was recognised by the *Birmingham Medical Review* as an ‘urgently necessary’ part of national endeavours to secure ‘a healthy succeeding generation’.<sup>173</sup> This demonstrates that, through her work as Chairman of the

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<sup>170</sup> Koven and Michel, ‘Womanly Duties’: 1079-80.

<sup>171</sup> Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, 251; Koven and Michel refer to ‘political space’ in ‘Womanly Duties’: 1079.

<sup>172</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>173</sup> ‘New Central School Clinic for Birmingham’, *Birmingham Medical Review* LXXVIII, no. 445 (September 1915): 88.

Hygiene Sub-Committee, Taylor Cadbury was directly involved in the development of state educational welfare provision, formulating school medical treatment services which were recognised as an exemplar of good practice to other cities.<sup>174</sup>

#### 4.5: Taylor Cadbury and a Maternal Approach to School Medical Work

Given that scholarship has questioned the extent to which women were able to exert a shaping influence over state welfare provision during the early twentieth century, it is important to consider the relationship between Taylor Cadbury's female identity and her work as Chairman of Birmingham's Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>175</sup> Thane has observed that the introduction of legislation recommending medical inspection and treatment in 1907 was the product of the male bureaucrats who dominated central government.<sup>176</sup> Evidence of Taylor Cadbury's participation in negotiations to develop school medical treatment provision in Birmingham suggests that the administration of these statutory recommendations at local authority level was also perceived by some to be a task for male municipalists. In family correspondence written in March 1912, Taylor Cadbury commented that male medical authorities at Birmingham's Ear and Throat Hospital had expressed bemusement that a woman had been given responsibility for leading negotiations between the city's Education

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<sup>174</sup> Sir Oliver Lodge recognised this in the speech which he delivered when he presented Taylor Cadbury with her MA from the University of Birmingham for services to education in the city in July 1919. Newman similarly acknowledged the significance of Birmingham's school medical service in a wider national context. In November 1919 Taylor Cadbury remarked on a discussion with Newman concerning the future development of school medical provision under the Ministry of Health, remarking 'I was glad to find that in his opinion Birmingham still stands first'. For Lodge's comments see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS. For Newman's comments see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>175</sup> For examples of this scholarship, see Koven and Michel, 'Womanly Duties': 1107; Thane, 'Visions of Gender', 102-104; Lewis, 'Gender, the Family and Women's Agency', 40; Jane Lewis, 'Women, Social Work and Social Welfare in Twentieth-Century Britain: From (unpaid) Influence to (paid) Oblivion', in *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past*, ed. Martin Daunton (London: UCL Press, 1996), 205.

<sup>176</sup> Thane, 'Visions of Gender', 104; Thane, 'Women in the British Labour Party', 360.

Committee and local medical institutions.<sup>177</sup> She remarked that following an unproductive meeting between a small sub-committee of the Hygiene Sub-Committee and the Ear and Throat hospital, one doctor had ‘asked how I liked managing a Committee composed entirely of men’.<sup>178</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s identity as a woman was seen to be incongruous with her administrative authority as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee for overseeing the implementation of central government welfare legislation.<sup>179</sup> However, evidence suggests that her female identification with maternal expertise played an important role in shaping the practical design of school medical treatment policies which responded to statutory proposals concerning educational welfare provision.

In an article written for a journal entitled *The Child* in 1916, Taylor Cadbury provided an insight into the school medical services provided by the Hygiene Sub-Committee at their clinic for the treatment of child tonsil and adenoid defects which opened in Soho Hill, Handsworth, in 1913.<sup>180</sup> She suggested that ‘a useful feature’ of the tonsil and adenoid clinic was the provision of ‘toys and picture-books’ for children in its waiting room which ‘served to divert the impressionable child mind from the purpose in view’.<sup>181</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s emphasis on the importance of features to distract children from their impending medical

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<sup>177</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Taylor Cadbury herself noted that she had been ‘the only lady’ at the meeting convened by Birmingham Education Committee’s Attendance, Finance and General Purposes Sub-Committee to discuss municipal expenditure in January 1913 which had been dominated by ‘business men’. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>180</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham’, *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 173, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. This policy reflected Taylor Cadbury’s earlier personal endeavours to furnish the waiting rooms at the Hygiene Sub-Committee’s dental clinics for which she provided toys and books in January 1913. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 7<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

procedures related to her personal experience of childhood apprehension in medical environments. In a letter to her family in December 1911 Taylor Cadbury described how her youngest daughter, Elizabeth Ursula had been ‘overawed’ during her first visit to the dentist, remarking that she had insisted she sat on her mother’s knee to be examined.<sup>182</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s provision of toys became an important child welfare policy implemented at the Hygiene Sub-Committee’s tonsil and adenoid clinic. She suggested in *The Child* that owing to the presence of these amusing diversions at the clinic, there was ‘an entire absence of that manifestation of uneasiness and anxiety which usually characterizes a child for whom an operation is impending’.<sup>183</sup> The convalescence policy instated at the tonsil and adenoid clinic which directed that children should be kept under medical surveillance following treatment procedures corresponded similarly with Taylor Cadbury’s personal experience of childhood throat operations.<sup>184</sup> In letters to her family written in January 1905 Taylor Cadbury commented on her sons George Norman and Egbert receiving treatment for throat problems at home under the direction of a thoracic surgeon.<sup>185</sup> She remarked ‘the boys were very good and plucky, but they had a very miserable day on Saturday after the chloroform, and also with the pain’.<sup>186</sup> In subsequent correspondence concerning the development of the tonsil and adenoid clinic, Taylor Cadbury explained to her family that the Hygiene Sub-Committee’s

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<sup>182</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1911, MS 466/1/1/15/3/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>183</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham’, *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 173, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*:173-74. For Taylor Cadbury’s experience of child throat operations see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s family journal letters dated 11<sup>th</sup> January 1905 and 17<sup>th</sup> January 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>185</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>186</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.



clinic would ‘keep the children for 24 hours after the operation’.<sup>187</sup> This policy was maintained by the Sub-Committee following its introduction in 1913, Taylor Cadbury illustrating in her 1916 article for *The Child* that juvenile patients at the clinic were compulsorily ‘detained overnight’ while they recovered from their surgery under the medical surveillance of a female nurse.<sup>188</sup>

The examples above demonstrate how Taylor Cadbury’s personal maternal experiences of the difficulties experienced by her own children may have shaped her approach to medical policy-making in her work with Birmingham’s Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>189</sup> Evidence that children were observed by female nursing staff at the tonsil and adenoid clinic indicates that a maternal approach to child welfare work also informed the staffing policy adopted by the Hygiene Sub-Committee under her direction.<sup>190</sup> Debate promoting reform in the health of the child population combined with contemporary views of ‘the special relation between women and children’ led an increasing number of middle-class and educated working-class women into philanthropic work and professional employment supporting child welfare during the early

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<sup>187</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. The policy concerning children’s convalescence at the Hygiene Sub-Committee’s tonsil and adenoid clinic may have been particularly innovative. It was not until 1922 that the Medical Committee at Birmingham Children’s Hospital called for increased supervision of children under medical surveillance following operations on their adenoids. See Medical Committee Meeting, 29<sup>th</sup> December 1922, Birmingham Children’s Hospital Medical Committee Minute Book, 1921-1936, HC/BCH/11/4/6, Records of Birmingham Children’s Hospital, BAHS.

<sup>188</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham’, *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 173-74, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS. Female nursing staff are shown overseeing child patients in the ward at the Tonsil and Adenoid clinic in Fig. 4.2 of the images which follow this chapter.

<sup>189</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s work with the Birmingham and District Crippled Children’s Union and the Woodlands Hospital was shaped similarly by her maternal experiences of the orthopaedic problems suffered by her daughter Marion Janet Cadbury (Molly). See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>190</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham’, *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 173-74, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS.

twentieth century.<sup>191</sup> Watts demonstrates that Birmingham's Hygiene and Special Schools sub-committees were instrumental in appointing women doctors and medical personnel, the Hygiene Sub-Committee recruiting a number of female dentists in 1914.<sup>192</sup> Reports reveal that the Hygiene Sub-Committee's decision to appoint female practitioners during this period was undertaken 'in consequence of the absence on military service' of their male school dental surgeons.<sup>193</sup> Yet the Sub-Committee also actively recruited professionally qualified women to provide dental treatment to children when male dentists were available.<sup>194</sup> Nana Reid Donoghue was selected over three male applicants in 1915 to work as a full-time dental surgeon at the school dental clinic established by the Hygiene Sub-Committee at Birmingham Medical Mission on Floodgate Street.<sup>195</sup> Evidence that the Hygiene Sub-Committee appointed women to undertake professional work providing for the medical care of children demonstrates that the Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury's direction adhered to and perpetuated the 'maternalist assumptions' which identified women as specially qualified to

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<sup>191</sup> For discussion of this see Dwork, *War is Good for Babies*, 186. See also Eileen Janes Yeo, 'Social Motherhood and the Sexual Communion of Labour in British Social Science, 1850-1950', *Women's History Review* 1, no. 1 (1992): 68; Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood": 209; Harriet Jones, 'The State and Social Policy', in *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), 323; Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, 'Domestic Fathers and the Victorian Parental Role', *Women's History Review* 15, no. 4 (2006): 553-54.

<sup>192</sup> Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 84-85; Watts, *Women in Science*, 181-83. See also Ruth Watts, 'Gendering the Story: Change in the History of Education', *History of Education* 34, no. 3 (2005): 237. Edwina Kidd identifies that women were actively qualifying as dental surgeons during this period. See Edwina Kidd, 'Dental Suffragettes: Women in Dentistry', *Dental Update* (January-February 1974): 252. Watts identifies that the first female dentist appointed by the Hygiene Sub-Committee was Miss Wilhelmina Rosa Ayton. See Watts, *Women in Science*, 182.

<sup>193</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 25<sup>th</sup> September 1914, p. 452, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; Watts, *Women in Science*, 182.

<sup>194</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1915, p. 115, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1914-29<sup>th</sup> October 1915, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*; Committee Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> January 1915, Minute 1015, p. 16, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 4, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1914-14<sup>th</sup> October 1915, BCC/BH/10/1/1/4, BCC, BAHS.

support child health.<sup>196</sup> Studies observe that women capitalised on cultural perceptions of female maternal expertise to expand their influence in areas of social action and policy-making deemed to require the female qualities of nurturance and care.<sup>197</sup> Indeed, such assumptions formed a powerful ground from which women could pursue an enlarged social and political profile during this period. Koven and Michel identify that women ‘claimed new roles for themselves’ by using ‘political discourses and strategies’ which were drawn from notions of their maternal expertise.<sup>198</sup> Beyond utilising ‘the distinctive qualities and experiences of women to enrich and improve society’, Bock and Thane suggest that women were able to promote their maternal qualities as a ‘basis for the empowerment of women and for a change in the gender division of power’.<sup>199</sup> More conservative women, as well as those opposed to female suffrage, could also engage with maternalist ideals to extend women’s influence within local government.<sup>200</sup> Evidence of the politicised potential invested in ‘social maternalism’ raises questions concerning the extent to which the maternal outlook adopted by

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<sup>196</sup> Angela Woollacott refers to ‘maternalist assumptions’ in ‘Maternalism, Professionalism and Industrial Supervisors in World War I Britain’, *Women’s History Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 30.

<sup>197</sup> Yeo, ‘The Creation of “Motherhood”’: 207; Gordon and Nair, ‘Domestic Fathers’, 553-54; Megan Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 40; Bock and Thane, ‘Introduction’, 7-8. Watts refers to ‘the type of caring power particularly claimed by women’ in her study of Mary Carpenter. See Ruth Watts, ‘Mary Carpenter: Educator of the Children on the “Perishing and Dangerous Classes”’, in *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress, 1790-1930*, ed. Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), 38.

<sup>198</sup> Koven and Michel, ‘Introduction: Mother Worlds’, 2.

<sup>199</sup> Bock and Thane, ‘Introduction’, 7-8.

<sup>200</sup> Julia Bush, ‘“Special Strengths for their own Special Duties”: Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain’, *History of Education* 34, no. 4 (2005): 393 and 396; Lucy Delap, ‘Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters in Edwardian Britain’, *Historical Research* 78, no. 201 (2005): 381; Koven, ‘Borderlands’, 108.

Taylor Cadbury and her Hygiene Sub-Committee was focussed on female social and political advancement in these ways.<sup>201</sup>

It is evident that Birmingham offered positive opportunities for women within professional educational and medical work at the turn of the twentieth century although, as Watts illustrates, female participation within these arenas was ‘largely gender stereotyped’.<sup>202</sup> The Hygiene Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury’s direction recognised and endorsed women’s capacity for ‘the “caring” professions’.<sup>203</sup> However, they recruited female staff based on their perceived practical abilities for maternal caring which related closely to their domestic identification with motherhood. The Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury’s direction recognised that women’s aptitude for mothering was particularly suited for overseeing child medical treatment, nursing patients and interacting with parents.<sup>204</sup> In May 1913 the Sub-Committee resolved that a female school nurse would be more appropriate to occupy a role liaising with parents concerning their children’s medical treatment than a male school medical officer.<sup>205</sup> Taylor Cadbury adopted a similar maternal outlook concerning the role of women within professional school medical work. During November 1907 she accompanied her NUWW colleague Louise Creighton (1850-1936) to consult with the Board of Education in order to express the Union’s support for the appointment of women within the school medical

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<sup>201</sup> Bush refers to ‘the discourse of social maternalism’ in *Women Against the Vote*, 23.

<sup>202</sup> Watts, *Women in Science*, 192.

<sup>203</sup> Jones, ‘The State and Social Policy’, 329.

<sup>204</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1913, p. 482, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>205</sup> Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1913, p. 482, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-31<sup>st</sup> October 1913, LSC, BAHS.

service.<sup>206</sup> Taylor Cadbury described her intentions in attending this meeting in a letter to her family, remarking ‘we wanted the Board to remember in making their appointments that women doctors were often the best advisers for children’.<sup>207</sup> Her comments suggest that she viewed women to be the most suitable candidates for work supporting child health owing to their maternal capacities, an approach which was reflected in her attitude towards the female staff recruited by her Hygiene Sub-Committee. Writing to her family in January 1913 Taylor Cadbury commented that the Sub-Committee had appointed a ‘splendid’ female nurse attendant to support treatment at Birmingham Dental Hospital who ‘thoroughly understands the work, and will also be very nice and sympathetic with parents and children’.<sup>208</sup> Her remarks demonstrate that in evaluating the Sub-Committee’s female staff she prioritised the maternal empathy which women brought to school medical work, valuing aspects of female expertise which related closely to women’s personal maternal qualities. This is similarly evident in her approach to her own public responsibilities as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee. In her role as Chairman, Taylor Cadbury demonstrated the aptitude of middle-class women for educational welfare policy-making within local government and provided professional opportunities to women who were appointed to support the work of the Hygiene Sub-Committee.<sup>209</sup> However, she did not engage with her work as a means of promoting the profile of her female contemporaries as municipal administrators. In her visits to the Sub-Committee’s school clinics, Taylor Cadbury utilised her authority as Chairman to accompany children during their treatment, watching teeth extractions and surgical procedures on tonsils

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<sup>206</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 19<sup>th</sup> November 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>209</sup> See Watts, *Women in Science*, 183 for discussion of this. See also Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’.

and adenoids, as well as spending time ‘talking to the parents’.<sup>210</sup> She engaged with her school medical work from the perspective of her personal parental experience, remarking ‘I thought my being there might give the parents confidence’.<sup>211</sup> Taylor Cadbury defined her responsibilities as Chairman of the Hygiene Sub-Committee in terms of applying her practical maternal skills to support child patients and reassure anxious parents. Both her assessments of her Sub-Committee’s female staff and her personal work as Chairman suggests that her maternal approach was concerned with harnessing women’s motherly qualities to enact practical improvements in welfare provision supporting child health.<sup>212</sup> Evidence suggests that this agenda motivated and shaped her wider efforts to encourage working-class women and her contemporary female philanthropists to embrace their maternal familial and social duties.

Dowd suggests that middle-class female engagement with a social discourse emphasising women’s ‘traditional, gender specific role’ encompassed a ‘social engineering subtext’.<sup>213</sup> He argues that Taylor Cadbury and her peers sought to promote female responsibility to motherly duties among working-class women as a means of confining their lives within the sphere of domestic maternalism, whilst seeking ‘a greater degree of occupational and political

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<sup>210</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>211</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>212</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>213</sup> Dowd, ‘The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family’, 127.

enfranchisement' for themselves.<sup>214</sup> Taylor Cadbury sought opportunities in her school medical work to encourage awareness among working-class mothers concerning the importance of their domestic maternal responsibilities in work to improve child health. During the development of Birmingham's Central School Clinic she instigated the introduction of 'cooking apparatus, so that we may be able to supply waiting mothers with tea' and 'have simple cooking demonstrations and health talks'.<sup>215</sup> The *Birmingham Medical Review* reported that school nurses and assistant school medical officers would also provide talks for mothers at the clinic.<sup>216</sup> In support of Dowd's assessment, Taylor Cadbury's schemes to advise mothers about 'health, thrift and cookery' can be interpreted as embodying an elitist social outlook.<sup>217</sup> These talks and demonstrations prompted working-class women to prioritise their domestic responsibilities as mothers and encouraged them to shape their approach to mothering on a model advocated by municipal policy-makers and professional medical authorities. It is possible to detect a dynamic of 'social engineering' infiltrating a broad spectrum of philanthropic and municipal endeavours undertaken by middle-class women to support the maternal practices of their working-class contemporaries.<sup>218</sup> Yet Taylor Cadbury's emphasis on the practical importance of women's maternal skills within school medical work suggests that this was not the direct intention of the initiatives established at the Central

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid. This dynamic is also identified by Bartley with reference to female middle-class philanthropists involved with the reform of prostitution in Birmingham. See Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration': 149.

<sup>215</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>216</sup> 'New Central School Clinic for Birmingham', *Birmingham Medical Review* LXXVIII, no. 445 (September 1915): 89.

<sup>217</sup> Dowd, 'The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family', 127. Quotation taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Care of Defective School Children in Birmingham', *The Child* VI, no. 4 (January 1916): 174, MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>218</sup> Dowd, 'The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family', 127. See also Yeo, 'Social Motherhood': 76-80 and Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration'.

School Clinic. Giswijt-Hofstra and Marland observe that parents were identified as acting to ‘form a bridge between the state and the child’ during the early twentieth century by ensuring that children were ‘fit and able to attend school’.<sup>219</sup> The schemes developed by Taylor Cadbury can be identified as seeking to encourage co-ordination between domestic mothering and the public child health provision administered by the Hygiene Sub-Committee, supporting her wider municipal responsibilities for improving the effectiveness of Birmingham’s school medical service. The absence of material recording working-class mothers’ perceptions of these initiatives complicates attempts to assess how far they succeeded in fostering collaboration in this way.<sup>220</sup> Evidence relating to the development of these schemes does, however, demonstrate that Taylor Cadbury recognised the wider public significance of women’s maternal role. This suggests that she did not promote domestic motherhood as a means of ‘confining’ working-class women, but identified maternal expertise as an important element within public social welfare work to reform child health.<sup>221</sup> Indeed, Taylor Cadbury identified that maternal responsibilities were of fundamental importance for women of all social backgrounds, promoting the importance of domestic motherly duties among her female peers within the National Council of Women.<sup>222</sup> In a paper written for the Council on the subject of citizenship, Taylor Cadbury praised the domestic work undertaken by working-class women, remarking that ‘the right upbringing of a family’ was ‘the first and highest duty

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<sup>219</sup> Giswijt-Hofstra and Marland, ‘Introduction’, 21.

<sup>220</sup> Minutes and reports recorded by the Hygiene Sub-Committee make little reference to the parents and children who made use of their treatment schemes other than documenting statistical administrative and financial details relating to children receiving medical treatment. See City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 2, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1912-24<sup>th</sup> October 1913, BCC/BH/10/1/1/2, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee Minute Book No. 3, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, BCC/BH/10/1/1/3, BCC, BAHS; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, LSC, BAHS.

<sup>221</sup> Dowd, ‘The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family’, 127.

<sup>222</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.



of a citizen who has family responsibilities'.<sup>223</sup> In 1907 Taylor Cadbury advocated that her colleagues within the NUWW recognise the importance of their role supporting 'well-being and health' in 'home-life', identifying in her paper on citizenship that the daily domestic work involved in this endeavour 'may quite rightly be considered a form of public service'.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, Taylor Cadbury defined her own familial and social identity in relation to her responsibilities for supporting the welfare of her children and step-children, her maternal obligations at home taking precedence over her participation in public philanthropy. Although Taylor Cadbury invested much time into the re-development of the Beeches between 1907 and 1908, she cancelled her participation in public events celebrating the opening of the holiday home owing to the illness of her youngest daughter Elizabeth Ursula.<sup>225</sup> Bartley has observed that Taylor Cadbury advocated the importance of domestic maternalism more widely in publications written during the early twentieth century, particularly in an article entitled 'Women's Place in Family Life' which was published in 1926.<sup>226</sup> Taylor Cadbury remarked how the position of women in social and familial life had undergone considerable change since the nineteenth century, expressing concern over transformation in 'the primitive order of things'.<sup>227</sup> She claimed that women had 'neither the inclination nor the capacity to

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury describes such work as a form of public service in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>225</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1908, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/5, CFP, BAHS. Family correspondence reveals that both Taylor Cadbury and her family viewed caring for the Cadbury children's health to be her responsibility. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>226</sup> Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration': 156; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Printed version of 'The Gospel in Relation to Marriage', 13<sup>th</sup> August 1926, MS 466/1/1/10/4/15/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>227</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Typescript of 'The Gospel in Relation to Marriage', 1926, MS 466/1/1/10/4/15/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Printed version of 'The Gospel in Relation to Marriage', 13<sup>th</sup> August 1926, MS 466/1/1/10/4/15/2, CFP, BAHS.

become the wage earner for the family' and praised instead female abilities 'successfully to fulfil home duties' and 'the honourable gift of child-bearing'.<sup>228</sup> Taylor Cadbury's recognition of domestic motherhood as the defining element of female citizenship suggests that she shared what Bush describes as 'gender conservatism'.<sup>229</sup> Taylor Cadbury expressed 'conservative views on women's role in the family and the home' which contributed to shape her outlook concerning women's participation in public welfare reform.<sup>230</sup> Indeed, alongside the domestic duties of motherhood, Taylor Cadbury advocated that her contemporaries within the National Council of Women apply their maternal skills in the privileged opportunities which they shared for philanthropic and municipal work supporting 'the health and well-being of thousands of our fellow citizens'.<sup>231</sup> She recognised that there was scope for women to become involved with increasing municipal schemes supporting 'developments in the promotion of health and the prevention of disease' through work as co-opted members of local government bodies.<sup>232</sup> This work was presented by Taylor Cadbury to members of the Council not as a means by which to further enhance their political status within 'Municipal and County Councils', but as 'possible channels of service' through which they could fulfil the maternal duties of citizenship.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 313.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 318. See also Bush, 'National Union of Women Workers', 128.

<sup>231</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>232</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

The views which Taylor Cadbury expressed demonstrate that her interpretation of citizenship centred on a dynamic of maternal service both within and beyond the home which was ‘rooted in perceptions of womanly duty linked to ideas of Christian obligation’.<sup>234</sup> Taylor Cadbury defined her outlook concerning participation in social work which required a maternal perspective and the motherly qualities of care and nurturance with reference to a model of social service shaped on ‘the example of Christianity’.<sup>235</sup> Speaking on the subject of social service, she emphasised the agency of a spiritual motive which galvanised people to engage with their religious faithfulness through participation in ‘various types of philanthropic and charitable work’.<sup>236</sup> Taylor Cadbury identified that ‘Hospitals for the sick, asylums for the aged, hostels for the feeble’ emanated from ‘the Love of God’, remarking that ‘the followers of Christ have everywhere cared for the poor, the destitute’.<sup>237</sup> She recognised that statutory social reforms supporting the welfare of children and the elderly formed evidence of the State’s ‘obedience’ to the ‘Christian conscience’ which she emphasised was the fundamental motivation ‘stimulating men and women to genuine Social Service’.<sup>238</sup> Scholarship has illustrated that women were able to engage strategically with the Christian emphasis on ‘public spirit and personal service’ to justify seeking an enlarged role in social and political

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<sup>234</sup> Clare Midgley, ‘Women, Religion and Reform’, in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, ed. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 139. In making these remarks, Midgley refers to Lewis’s assessment of female social activism in *Women and Social Action*, 5.

<sup>235</sup> Taylor Cadbury refers to ‘the example of Christianity’ in social service in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>236</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>237</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-24.

<sup>238</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

activism.<sup>239</sup> This dynamic was embedded within social discourse which claimed that it was women's duty as Christian citizens to apply their 'maternal qualities to the world outside their homes'.<sup>240</sup> It is therefore possible to interpret Taylor Cadbury's emphasis on the maternal capacities and duties of her contemporary female philanthropists as a means by which she sought to encourage her peers to pursue social empowerment through maternal public activism.<sup>241</sup> However, Bush identifies that women involved with the maternal philanthropic work promoted by female groups such as NUWW did not necessarily engage with a dynamic of maternal social duty with the objective of obtaining social and political advancement for their female contemporaries. She suggests that women within the NUWW 'valued gender difference and generally prioritized women's social duties over their political rights', remarking that their religious commitment to moral and social welfare work took precedence in their engagement with maternal public service.<sup>242</sup> Bush demonstrates that 'the discourse of social maternalism' formed not only a means of promoting female social and political advancement but informed the practical social action undertaken by women from the late nineteenth century onwards.<sup>243</sup> Inciting a discourse of religiously inspired maternal duty

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<sup>239</sup> Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 12. See also Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 139; Sandra Stanley Holton, Alison Mackinnon and Margaret Allen, 'Introduction', *Women's History Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 3; Sue Morgan, 'Introduction: Women, Religion and Feminism: Past, Present and Future Perspectives', in *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain, 1750-1900*, ed. Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 13.

<sup>240</sup> Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service*, 101.

<sup>241</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>242</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 57. See also Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism': 434; Bush 'The National Union of Women Workers', 108. Lewis identifies that a commitment to social action transcended disagreement between female social activists over the suffrage debate. See Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 306-07.

<sup>243</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 23.

implicitly promoted the enlargement of women's public role and profile, yet women with different priorities could engage with the religious, social and political nuances of this discourse in different ways.<sup>244</sup> Bush's observations have implications for understanding Taylor Cadbury's identification with notions of women's religious responsibility for maternal social service. Taylor Cadbury's papers examining female social reform work illustrate that she publicly promoted notions of religious duty and female maternal ability which supported claims for female social and political empowerment.<sup>245</sup> However, as Bush has identified of women more widely, it was the enactment of maternal social action which took precedence for Taylor Cadbury over the social and political advantages for women afforded by undertaking such work.<sup>246</sup> The evidence above demonstrates that in her school medical work and her broader approach to female citizenship, Taylor Cadbury advocated the importance of women utilising their maternal skills with the aim of making practical improvements in child welfare provision. This suggests that her objective in promoting maternal social work as a duty of Christian citizenship was to encourage women more widely to apply their maternal expertise in the service of social welfarism.<sup>247</sup> By promoting the view that maternal social action constituted an expression of religious faithfulness, Taylor Cadbury sought to present her own work in the field of educational welfare as evidence of her identification with the

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid., 57; Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism': 434; Bush 'The National Union of Women Workers', 108.

<sup>245</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS; See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>246</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 57; Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism': 434. See also Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers', 105-08.

<sup>247</sup> This is particularly evident in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS and also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

religious motive which she recognised stimulated ‘genuine social service’.<sup>248</sup> In this sense, Taylor Cadbury informs analysis of the extent to which motherhood formed ‘an adequate identity’ for women by illustrating the importance of examining the different religious, social and political agendas which shaped women’s engagement with social maternalism.<sup>249</sup>

#### 4.6: Chapter Summary

Studies have uncovered how women involved in local level education and public health work were able to contribute towards the development of state welfare provision.<sup>250</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury’s work as Chairman of Birmingham’s Hygiene Sub-Committee demonstrates that she exercised authority and autonomy in municipal policy-making concerning the design and delivery of school medical treatment schemes in the city. Taylor Cadbury engaged in strategic negotiations with Birmingham Dental Hospital and Birmingham Education Committee to improve child dental treatment services and actively participated in municipal debate to secure funding supporting effective school medical treatment provision.<sup>251</sup> She exerted agency based on her position of responsibility for introducing practical responses to Board of Education recommendations but was also able to assert a degree of autonomy within the ‘political space’ between Board proposals and the implementation of treatment schemes at

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<sup>248</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>249</sup> Yeo, ‘The Creation of “Motherhood”’: 214.

<sup>250</sup> Thane, ‘Women in the British Labour Party’, 343 and 359; Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’; Watts, *Women in Science*, 181-83.

<sup>251</sup> Committee Meeting 24<sup>th</sup> January 1912, Minute 42, p. 20, City of Birmingham Education Committee Hygiene Sub-Committee, Minute Book No. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1911-16<sup>th</sup> October 1912, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1, BCC, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Report of the Hygiene Sub-Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1914, pp. 152-53, City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1913-31<sup>st</sup> October 1914, LSC, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5.

local level.<sup>252</sup> Through her leading role co-ordinating treatment services and negotiating local authority approval for school medical initiatives, Taylor Cadbury was able to contribute towards the formulation of state educational welfare provision.<sup>253</sup>

Taylor Cadbury adopted a maternal approach to her public role as Chairman and emphasised the importance of women's 'innate maternal qualities' in ensuring the effectiveness of school medical services.<sup>254</sup> Scholarship has identified that women were able to promote their maternal expertise to pursue increasing opportunities in public welfare work with the aim of advocating female social and political recognition.<sup>255</sup> Taylor Cadbury publicly recognised that it was women's duty to engage in maternal social work, identifying with religious and social discourses which formed the grounds from which women claimed enlarged roles in social and political life.<sup>256</sup> The chapter concluded that Taylor Cadbury embraced a dynamic of Christian obligation to maternal social action with the objective of harnessing women's maternal

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid.; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS. Koven and Michel refer to 'political space' in 'Womanly Duties': 1079.

<sup>253</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS; 'New Central School Clinic for Birmingham', *Birmingham Medical Review* LXXVIII, no. 445 (September 1915): 88.

<sup>254</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', October 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS. Bush refers to women's 'innate maternal qualities' in *Women Against the Vote*, 14.

<sup>255</sup> Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood"': 207; Gordon and Nair, 'Domestic Fathers', 553-54; Bock and Thane, 'Introduction', 7-8; Koven and Michel, 'Introduction: Mother Worlds', 2.

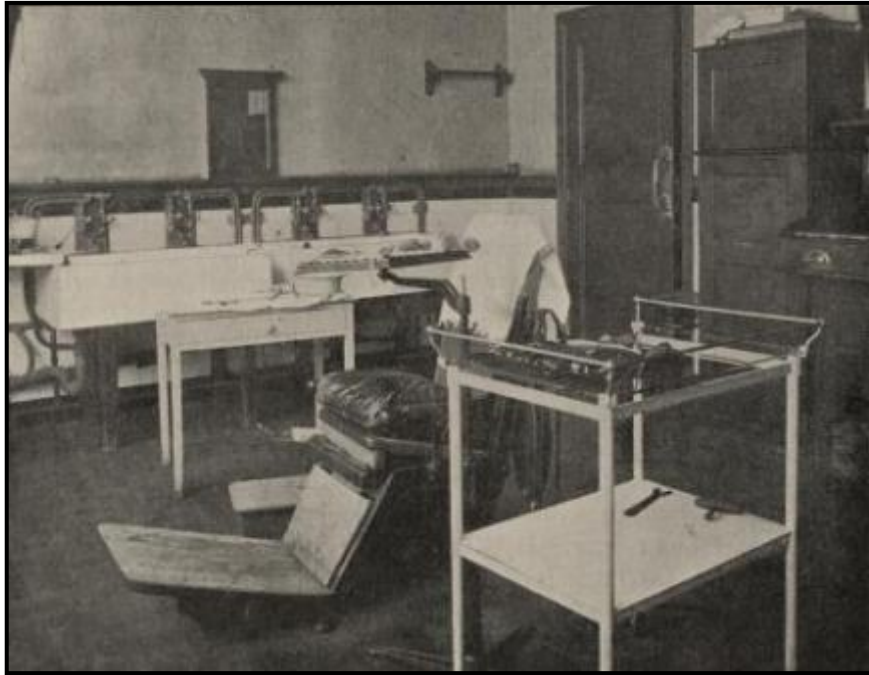
<sup>256</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS; See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 139; Morgan, 'Introduction', 13.

expertise in the service of social welfarism, shaping her identity and activism in relation to the religious motivation which she recognised inspiring social service.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.





**Fig. 4.1.** Photograph showing one of the school dental clinics established by the Hygiene Sub-Committee. The image was featured in an article written by Taylor Cadbury about Birmingham's school medical service for *The Child* in 1916. MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 4.2.** Photograph showing the ward at the Tonsil and Adenoid Clinic established by the Hygiene Sub-Committee at Soho Hill, Handsworth. The image was featured in an article written by Taylor Cadbury about Birmingham's school medical service for *The Child* in 1916. MS 466/1/1/10/4/8, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.



**Fig. 4.3.** Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury inaugurating a wireless installation at a children's hospital, 1925. MS 466/3/1/19, Cadbury Family Papers, Birmingham Archives & Heritage Service.

## **CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSION**

### 5.1: Introduction

This chapter examines the conclusions drawn from research exploring Taylor Cadbury's social reform work in Bournville and Birmingham by evaluating how analysis presented in the preceding chapters and the production of a revised catalogue of Taylor Cadbury's personal archive responds to the scholarship and research questions identified in Chapter One. It illustrates how archival work undertaken to catalogue Taylor Cadbury's personal papers has informed analysis of her life and work, particularly in terms of understanding how she interpreted her involvement in public social welfare reform. The chapter defines Taylor Cadbury's approach to social reform by situating her engagement with social maternalism and religious faithfulness in relation to existing interpretations of the ways that contemporary women identified with maternalism and religion in their public work. It also demonstrates the implications of research examining Taylor Cadbury's religious and social outlook for existing scholarship and considers the future research agenda to emerge from this thesis for studies exploring how gender and religion operated to shape female social action. Particular attention is paid to assessing how analysis of Taylor Cadbury informs interpretation of middle-class women's maternal social work and female engagement with Quakerism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The chapter concludes by considering how archival work with Taylor Cadbury's personal papers has highlighted directions for further research exploring the ways that personal archives contribute towards an understanding of female identity and activism.

## 5.2: Summary of Research Findings

The research findings presented in the preceding chapters illustrate Taylor Cadbury's substantial contribution towards housing reform, educational provision and the development of school medical services in Birmingham. As Chapter One demonstrated, existing accounts of Taylor Cadbury's social reform activities, particularly her work in Bournville, reflect the observations of women's historians who identify that female reformers are typically defined in terms of their relationship with a prominent male figure.<sup>1</sup> By combining research into Taylor Cadbury's public work as an individual with the production of a revised catalogue of her personal papers, the thesis offers a distinctive contribution towards research aimed at making Birmingham women more visible in the social history of the city.<sup>2</sup> Sustained analysis of Taylor Cadbury's social reform builds on previous biographical studies of her life and work by evaluating her public activities in the context of scholarship which assesses women's participation in social welfare reform during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This methodological approach supports observations concerning the importance of 'biographical treatment' in gaining a wider understanding of female social action.<sup>3</sup> By uncovering Taylor Cadbury's public work, the thesis contributes to illuminate the agency of middle-class female philanthropists within Birmingham's Nonconformist elite in promoting

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<sup>1</sup> Rt. Hon. Shirley Williams, 'Women Ninety Years On: A Quiet Revolution', *Women's History Review* 17, no.5 (2008): 808-09; Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 158; Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch, 'Introduction', in *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress, 1790-1930*, ed. Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), 1.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Ruth Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham 1902-1944', in *History, Politics & Policy-Making in Education: A Festschrift Presented to Richard Aldrich*, ed. David Crook and Gary McCulloch (London: Bedford Way Papers, 2007), 70-88. See also Paula Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration: Women and the Civic Gospel in Birmingham 1870-1914', *Midland History* XXV (2000): 143-58.

<sup>3</sup> Jane Martin, 'The Hope of Biography: The Historical Recovery of Women Educator Activists', *History of Education* 32, no. 2 (2003): 222 and 219. See also Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1.

and enacting social welfare reform at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury reveals that her identity as a Cadbury afforded her a prominent public profile and socioeconomic resources which facilitated her participation in philanthropic and municipal work in Birmingham. Yet, while Taylor Cadbury may have possessed a greater degree of authority and influence than some contemporary female philanthropists, she did not enjoy exceptional agency within municipal policy-making and was restricted from elected status on local education authorities during the early 1900s.<sup>5</sup> It is evident that Taylor Cadbury shared similarities with her female peers who were involved in local authority educational work and it is therefore possible that observations concerning her public social action may apply beyond this biographical study to a broader analysis of female philanthropy and social reform. In order to resist ‘the pitfalls of overemphasising individuals’ in terms of the conclusions which can be drawn from this thesis, it is important to clarify that evidence relating to Taylor Cadbury’s social reform work as an individual is insufficient to challenge existing conclusions concerning wider female activism.<sup>6</sup> The research findings which arise from analysis of her life and work are not identified here as grounds from which to invalidate alternative interpretations. However, evidence relating to Taylor Cadbury’s philanthropic and municipal work in Bournville and Birmingham does contribute valuable perspectives to existing scholarship examining female social action during this period.

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<sup>4</sup> This again builds on research undertaken by Bartley and Watts. See Bartley, ‘Moral Regeneration’ and Watts, ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’.

<sup>5</sup> See particularly chapters three and four of this thesis.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Watts refers to ‘the pitfalls of overemphasising individuals’ in Ruth Watts, *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 16.

Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's previously overlooked contribution to the development and promotion of Bournville offers a new perspective for studies examining the role played by female philanthropists in housing and planning schemes which aimed to provide improved environmental conditions. Taylor Cadbury's endeavours promoting 'the ideas of Garden Villages' among her female contemporaries demonstrate that despite a lack of female members in the Garden City Association, some women actively engaged with planning initiatives associated with the Garden City Movement.<sup>7</sup> Taylor Cadbury's largely unexplored social correspondence reveals that networks of women united by their membership of female philanthropic groups such as the NUWW exerted considerable influence in planning schemes to reform urban conditions, informing existing interpretations which have neglected women's contribution to such initiatives.<sup>8</sup> By recovering Taylor Cadbury's work in publicising Bournville, the thesis contributes a female dimension to existing narratives of the village's history and illustrates how women engaged with housing reform as a means of expressing their maternal responsibilities for reducing the impact of urbanisation on child health.

Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the establishment and management of elementary and infant schools in Bournville village during the early twentieth century supports scholarship which has identified that women's work as educationalists encompassed a range of educational

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<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Housing', [n.d.] c. after 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1904, MS 466/1/1/15/3/1/11, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/15/3/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>8</sup> For examples of this see Lily Sturge to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1905, MS 466/1/1/2/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Lady Portsmouth to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1901, LAdd 1179 and Mary Seton Watts to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1903, LAdd 1145, LAC, UoB; Letters from Henrietta Barnett to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and George Cadbury, 1897-1925, MS 466/1/1/2/2/1, CFP, BAHS.

activities, particularly those associated with their domestic maternal expertise.<sup>9</sup> However, evidence demonstrates that she was able to engage in aspects of educational administration from which studies suggest women were largely excluded, particularly following the 1902 Education Act.<sup>10</sup> Taylor Cadbury's work as a school manager and as a co-opted member of local education authorities indicates that restriction from elected authority as an educational administrator did not prevent her from participating in educational policy-making, encouraging a broader interpretation of women's experiences as educationalists. Her policy negotiations as a school manager, particularly her intervention in dialogue between the Board of Education and the local education authority, contributes to existing analyses of the ways in which women were able to exert agency within the political framework of educational administration during the early 1900s.<sup>11</sup>

Evidence of the extent to which Taylor Cadbury was involved in the formulation of school medical treatment services through her work as Chairman of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee has important implications for scholarship examining the delivery of social welfare services during the early twentieth century. Her ability to exert

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<sup>9</sup> Patricia Hollis, 'Women in Council: Separate Spheres, Public Space', in *Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914*, ed. Jane Rendall (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 192-213; Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987); Jane Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Jane Martin, 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women to Follow Along": Sex, Gender and the Politics of Education on the London School Board, 1870-1904', *Gender and Education* 12, no. 2 (2000): 165-81; Joyce Goodman, 'Women School Board Members and Women School Managers: The Structuring of Educational Authority in Manchester and Liverpool, 1870-1903', in Goodman and Harrop, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England: Authoritative Women since 1880*, ed. Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop (London: Routledge, 2000), 59-77; Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries": Women and the Making of Educational Policy Since 1800', in Goodman and Harrop, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration*, 1-13.

<sup>11</sup> Martin *Women and the Politics of Schooling*, 5; Goodman, 'Women School Board Members', 62; Felicity Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education: Schooling for Girls 1902-44*, (Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 11. See also Goodman and Harrop, "'Within Marked Boundaries'", 3.

authority and autonomy in the ‘political space’ between Board of Education recommendations concerning school medical treatment and the practical development of treatment schemes at local level informs analysis of the role played by women in welfare provision during this period.<sup>12</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s school medical policy-making also contributes a gendered dimension to scholarship which has examined the agency of local authorities in school medical treatment provision and studies evaluating how the ‘mixed economy of welfare’ operated during this period.<sup>13</sup> Her strategic negotiations with Birmingham City Council and local medical institutions demonstrates the importance of uncovering how middle-class women involved in municipal school medical work supported the ‘flexible partnership’ between national, local and private agencies in the delivery of state educational welfare provision.<sup>14</sup>

The summaries above illustrate that evidence of Taylor Cadbury’s social reform work uncovered in each of the preceding chapters has implications for scholarship concerned with their respective themes, particularly studies of housing reform, educational administration and welfare provision. However, research findings which emerge from all three chapters concerning Taylor Cadbury’s involvement in public social welfare work also present wider

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<sup>12</sup> Seth Koven and Sonya Michel refer to ‘political space’ in Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, ‘Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920’, *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (1990): 1079; Jane Lewis, ‘Gender, the Family and Women’s Agency in the Building of States: The British Case’, *Social History* 19, no. 1 (1994): 40.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.; Pat Thane, ‘Women in the British Labour Party and the Construction of State Welfare, 1906-1939’, in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (London: Routledge, 1993), 343-77; Marijke Giswilt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland, ‘Introduction: Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century’, in *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Marijke Giswilt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 24; John Welshman, *Municipal Medicine: Public Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), 251.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Derek Fraser uses the term ‘flexible partnership’ in Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 12.



implications for existing interpretations of middle-class women's participation in social reform during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Evidence of her work raises questions concerning how far notions of gender hierarchy and a lack of political status acted to define women's social action and the extent to which such generalisations can be applied to evaluate the experiences of individuals. Holton has contested the interpretative agency of 'dichotomous categories' in women's history, particularly the division between 'public' and 'private' life.<sup>15</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury suggests that 'broad generalisations' concerning women's participation in social work within the arenas of housing, education and child health, constitute an insufficient analytical framework 'for interpreting the lives of particular persons'.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, evidence of Taylor Cadbury's approach to social action has implications for interpreting the motivations underlying women's involvement with public social work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Taylor Cadbury was involved in aspects of housing reform, educational administration and welfare policy-making from which women have been identified as largely absent. She also publicly promoted the importance of women's maternal expertise for philanthropic and municipal schemes supporting social welfare reform. Indeed, Taylor Cadbury was posthumously recognised as an exemplar for young women seeking involvement in social activism, and evidence of her achievements in public welfare work served to demonstrate women's capacity for such endeavours.<sup>17</sup> However, the previous chapters illustrate that Taylor Cadbury's own public

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<sup>15</sup> Sandra Stanley Holton, *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780-1930* (Abingdon: Routledge 2007), 226.

<sup>16</sup> Kathryn Gleadle suggests that women's lived experiences 'are not readily reducible to broad generalisations'. See Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), 170-71; Holton, *Quaker Women*, 226. See also Jane Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', *Gender and History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 483 and 486.

<sup>17</sup> For evidence of this see tributes featured in the Memorial Number of the *Bournville Works Magazine* entitled 'Elizabeth Mary Cadbury: 1858-1951', c. January 1952, MS 466/1/1/18/5, CFP, BAHS.

work and her efforts to mobilise her female contemporaries in similar activities were not undertaken with the primary objective of promoting social and political advancement for women. Evidence of Taylor Cadbury's approach to social reform suggests that female participation in maternal work contributing towards the enactment of social welfarism took precedence for her over the pursuit of social empowerment and political status for women.<sup>18</sup> Conclusions drawn in the previous chapters illustrate that Taylor Cadbury engaged with a sense of religious duty for maternal social work as a means of encouraging female involvement in public service supporting welfare reform which she recognised formed an expression of religious faithfulness.<sup>19</sup> This thesis therefore supports scholarship which has emphasised that diverse religious, social and political motivations shaped women's identification with religious values and a 'gendered concept of citizenship obligations' during this period.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, this thesis contributes an archival dimension to such scholarship by incorporating work to produce a revised catalogue of Taylor Cadbury's personal archive

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<sup>18</sup> See analysis throughout chapters two, three and four. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>19</sup> See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, CXIX (July 1896): 417-24. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Whereunto?', October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>20</sup> Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991), 7. For such scholarship see Julia Bush, *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Julia Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism and the Forward Policy, 1908-14', *Women's History Review* 11, no. 3 (2002): 431-54; Julia Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers and Women's Suffrage', in *Suffrage Outside Suffragism: Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. Myriam Boussahba-Bravard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 105-31; Sue Innes and Jane Rendall, 'Women, Gender and Politics', in *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, ed. Lynn Abrams et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 59; Annemieke van Drenth and Francisca de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 46-47; Holton, *Quaker Women*. Phyllis Mack emphasises the importance of approaching the social and political activities of religious women from this perspective. See Phyllis Mack, 'Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency: Reflections on Eighteenth-Century Quakerism', in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 441 and 444; Phyllis Mack, 'Teaching about Gender and Spirituality in Early English Quakerism', *Women's Studies* 19, no. 2 (1991): 225.

which has uncovered that she created and collected papers defining maternal social action in relation to a religious imperative to enact welfare reform.

Chapter one illustrated how a lack of detail in the existing paper inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers has prevented researchers from identifying the valuable insight which papers written and preserved by Taylor Cadbury provide into her identity and activism. Taylor Cadbury's social correspondence was previously described as a file of miscellaneous 'thank you notes & replies to invitations'.<sup>21</sup> Extensive archival work examining her personal papers has resulted in the creation of detailed listings which describe the content and context of letters which she collected from colleagues with whom she was involved in philanthropic, educational and religious work, including Dame Henrietta Barnett, Sir Oliver Lodge and Herbert George Wood.<sup>22</sup> Yet the contribution made by the revised interpretative catalogue towards an understanding of the evidence on which analysis of Taylor Cadbury's life and work is based in this thesis goes beyond enhancing access to material within her archive. As Chapter One demonstrated, Caine has highlighted the importance within biographical enquiry of interrogating how subjects choose to represent themselves.<sup>23</sup> The mutually supportive process involved in cataloguing Taylor Cadbury's archive and examining her social action has illustrated the importance of her personal papers for understanding how she interpreted her public work. The production of the revised catalogue afforded a level of access to Taylor Cadbury's personal papers which was conducive to an awareness of 'the human actor' behind the events which 'archives memorialize' and involved approaching her archive from the

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<sup>21</sup> See the Appendix featured in Volume Two of this thesis for the description of papers within Taylor Cadbury's personal archive featured in the existing paper inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers MS 466, BAHS.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal and social correspondence, MS 466/1/1/2, 1892-1949, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>23</sup> Caine, *Biography and History*, 87 and 102.

perspective of an archivist concerned with ‘the nature and purposes of archival records’.<sup>24</sup> This encouraged awareness of the ways in which Taylor Cadbury’s personal papers reflect observations in recent scholarship concerning the agency of Quaker women ‘in the making of records and formation of archives’.<sup>25</sup> Records of personal and family life created and collected by Taylor Cadbury emphasised a familial commitment to religiously inspired social service, privileging the archivist and researcher with access to the identity and legacy which she wished to preserve in collective family memory and present for wider consumption.<sup>26</sup> This dynamic is particularly evident in the family correspondence written and preserved by Taylor Cadbury in which she chronicled her personal social welfare work and the charitable endeavours of her siblings and children.<sup>27</sup> Through the circulation of these constructed narratives, which she described variously as the ‘Circular Letter’, the ‘Family Letter’, and the ‘News Bulletin of the Family’, Taylor Cadbury supported the consolidation of a collective identity amongst the familial recipients of her correspondence which was grounded in what she described as their ‘service of a religious and social character’.<sup>28</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s

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<sup>24</sup> Michael Piggott, ‘Human Behaviour and the Making of Records and Archives’, *Archives & Social Studies* 1, no. 0 (2007): 237. Tom Nesmith refers to ‘the nature and purposes of archival records’ in Tom Nesmith, ‘Archives from the Bottom Up: Social History and Archival Scholarship’, *Archives & Social Studies* 2, no. 1 (2008): 44.

<sup>25</sup> Piggott, ‘Human Behaviour’: 237. For the agency of Quaker women in this endeavour, see particularly Sandra Stanley Holton, ‘Family Memory, Religion and Radicalism: The Priestman, Bright and Clark Kinship Circle of Women Friends and Quaker History’, *Quaker Studies* 9, no. 2 (2005): 156-75.

<sup>26</sup> See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s family journal letters written between 1904 and 1951, MS 466/1/1/15/3, CFP, BAHS. In this sense, the thesis engages with Liz Stanley’s deconstruction of the notion of ‘biographic truth’. See Liz Stanley, *The Autobiographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 155.

<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s family journal letters, 1904-1951, MS 466/1/1/15/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>28</sup> Taylor Cadbury referred to the family journal letter as the ‘Circular Letter’ in 1910, the ‘Family Letter’ in 1912 and the ‘News Bulletin of Family’ in 1942. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s family journal letters, MS 466/1/1/15/3, Cadbury Family Papers, BAHS. The quotation ‘service of a religious and social character’ is taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, *Historical Rhymes*, 1937, p. 66, MS 466/1/1/4/7, CFP, BAHS. For constructed narratives in accounts of public philanthropy see Ruth A. Miller, ‘The Missionary Narrative as Coercive Interrogation: Seduction, Confession and Self-Presentation in Women’s “Letters Home”’, *Women’s History Review* 15, no. 5 (2006): 753.

conservation of these letters demonstrates the function of her personal archive to preserve evidence of her own social reform work and the philanthropic achievements of her family which would promote their identity and legacy as Quaker philanthropists for future generations. Taylor Cadbury's 'authorial voice' is similarly evident in the public addresses featured in the Catalogue Extract in Volume Two of this thesis which were previously hidden from view by a lack of description in the existing inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers.<sup>29</sup> These annotated typescripts have a wider significance beyond illustrating the scope and diversity of Taylor Cadbury's philanthropic and municipal commitments by providing insight into the religious and social discourses which she identified stimulating social welfare reform. It is difficult to ascertain the criteria used by Taylor Cadbury in her selection of the public addresses which she preserved among her personal papers. However, many of these addresses reflect her efforts to encourage her female contemporaries into maternal work supporting social welfare and illustrate her recognition that social reform work was a response to religious duty and a form of religious observance.<sup>30</sup> Her focus in these addresses on the way in which religious impulse acted as the motivation underlying commitment to public welfare work suggests that she self-consciously defined her approach to maternal social reform in relation to a sense of religious faithfulness expressed through social service.<sup>31</sup> Analysis of the

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<sup>29</sup> Siân Roberts refers to issues of 'authorial voice' in Siân Lliwen Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief: Episodes in the Life of Francesca Wilson, Humanitarian Educator Activist' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2010), 2.

<sup>30</sup> See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Rough notes for an address entitled 'Women's Work in Local Government', [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/42, CFP, BAHS. For the religious dimension to social reform work, see particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Whereunto?', October 1910, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

context within which Taylor Cadbury located her social reform work has significant implications for evaluating how middle-class female philanthropists engaged with concepts of maternalism, religious faithfulness and social service during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter One examined the different perspectives from which scholarship has recognised that women identified with maternalism and religion in their public work, which included social and political agendas associated with maternal feminism and anti-suffragism. The following section examines Taylor Cadbury's engagement with maternalism and religious faithfulness in her social work with reference to these interpretations in order to define her approach to social reform and evaluate the conclusions that can be drawn from analysis of her religious and social outlook.

### 5.3: Taylor Cadbury's Approach to Social Reform: Social Maternalism and Religious

#### Faithfulness

The previous chapters demonstrated that Taylor Cadbury shared a religious sense of maternal duty to support public social welfare, combining her domestic responsibilities with extensive philanthropic work in a way which suggests that she engaged with the ideal of motherhood described in the literature reviewed in Chapter One.<sup>32</sup> Analysis has illustrated Taylor

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<sup>32</sup> See Taylor Cadbury's contributions to Women's Yearly Meeting noted in *The Friend* (12<sup>th</sup> June 1903): 396 and *The Friend* (30<sup>th</sup> May 1902): 362-63; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. Taylor Cadbury shaped her approach to maternal familial and social responsibilities in relation to that embraced by her own mother, Mary Jane Taylor. See her comments at the beginning of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by social service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. For analysis of this idealised interpretation of motherhood, see Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, 'Domestic Fathers and the Victorian Parental Role', *Women's History Review* 15, no. 4 (2006): 551-52; Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood" and Women's Responses in Britain and France, 1750-1914', *Women's History Review* 8, no. 2 (1999): 205-06; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson 1987, repr. 1988), 114, 55 and 57; F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 8; Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 101; Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 25; Jane Lewis, 'Women and Late-Nineteenth Century Social Work', in *Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality*, ed. Carol Smart (London: Routledge, 1992), 86.

Cadbury's recognition that women's most 'definite sphere of service' beyond the home was in public philanthropic and municipal work which was associated with their maternal abilities, her own social action relating closely to her identification with maternal caring.<sup>33</sup> Scholarship examined in Chapter One and throughout this thesis has emphasised the ways in which middle-class and upper-class women were able to identify with cultural perceptions concerning the importance of their maternal skills in home life and public welfare reform. Studies have demonstrated how maternal discourse could be utilised by these women to promote enlarged social opportunities, to pursue political enfranchisement and elected status within local government.<sup>34</sup> Existing interpretations of Taylor Cadbury have located her among Birmingham's 'convinced suffragists', situating her within networks of 'practical feminist friendship' which were populated by women who 'supported equal rights feminism'.<sup>35</sup> As

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<sup>33</sup> Taylor Cadbury refers to women's 'definite sphere of service' in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS. For the relationship between Taylor Cadbury's maternal identity and her public philanthropic and municipal work see particularly chapters two and four of this thesis. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>34</sup> Joan W. Scott, 'Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism', *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1 (1988): 48; See also Sandra Stanley Holton, *Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 11-12; Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), 135. See also Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, 'Introduction', in *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States 1880s-1950s*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London: Routledge, 1991, repr., 1994), 7-8; Carole Pateman, 'Equality, Difference, Subordination: The Politics of Motherhood and Women's Citizenship', in *Beyond Equality and Difference: Citizenship, Feminist Politics and Female Subjectivity*, ed. Gisela Bock and Susan James (Routledge: London, 1992), 18; Seth Koven, 'Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840-1914', in Koven and Michel, *Mothers of a New World*, 108-09.

<sup>35</sup> Watts suggests that Taylor Cadbury was among the 'convinced suffragists' within Birmingham Education Committee. See Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 77. Liz Stanley refers to networks of 'practical feminist friendship' in Liz Stanley, *Feminism and Friendship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 10. Bartley refers to the network of female philanthropists who 'supported equal rights feminism' in Birmingham in 'Moral Regeneration': 149 and Paula Bartley, 'Preventing Prostitution: The Ladies' Association for the Care and Protection of Young Girls in Birmingham, 1887-1914', *Women's History Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 39. Kevin Dowd defines Taylor Cadbury's motivation in politicised terms in Kevin William Dowd, 'The Social and Political Activity of the Cadbury Family: A Study in Manipulative Capitalism' (PhD diss., University of Wales, Swansea: 2001), 129. See also Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), 117-18.

these studies suggest, Taylor Cadbury responded with enthusiasm to legislation sanctioning women's election to municipal authorities in 1907 and was an active supporter of 'the extension of the franchise to women'.<sup>36</sup> She participated in early twentieth-century debates and events concerning the 'Suffrage position', including a Suffrage Garden Party at the Botanical Gardens and a national conference of the Women Suffrage Societies in London.<sup>37</sup> However, analysis demonstrates that her political views concerning the role and rights of women did not form the central influence shaping her engagement with social maternalism and her outlook concerning female participation in social reform. Research findings indicate that while Taylor Cadbury recognised the importance of female maternal skills in public work supporting social welfare reform, she did not embrace cultural perceptions of women's maternal expertise with the direct aim of promoting female enfranchisement or political status at local or national level. Taylor Cadbury acknowledged that political participation was an important aspect of citizenship, but she consistently prioritised female involvement in 'useful and altruistic work' supporting social welfare and argued 'it is mainly to individual well-doing that we must look for most reforms'.<sup>38</sup> As the previous chapters illustrated, she prioritised galvanising what Bush describes as the 'special social value of womanly, maternal

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<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. Quotation taken from the typescript of a biographical article about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury written for *Edgbastonia*, 1914, MS 466/1/1/10/4/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 118. Taylor Cadbury remarked in family correspondence on chance meetings with 'Mrs. Fawcett' and 'Lady Horsely' with whom she had discussed 'the prospects of the granting of the suffrage'. See Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 24<sup>th</sup> June 1914, MS 466/1/1/15/3/11, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>37</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1907, MS 466/1/1/15/3/4, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's family journal letters dated 4<sup>th</sup> November 1913 and 9<sup>th</sup> December 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 422. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.



qualities' in practical work supporting welfare reform over the active pursuit of positions of political authority for women.<sup>39</sup>

There is a distinction between Taylor Cadbury's interpretation of social maternalism which was focussed on mobilising female maternal expertise in the service of social welfarism and the agenda of women who identified with maternalist assumptions to enhance women's social and political profile from the perspective of 'maternal feminism'.<sup>40</sup> There are similar divergences between Taylor Cadbury's approach to maternal social action and the ways in which the anti-suffragist women described in the scholarship outlined in Chapter One engaged with maternalism in their public work.<sup>41</sup> Although it is clear that Taylor Cadbury supported women's suffrage, her focus on encouraging women to apply their maternal skills to support areas of social work 'most directly relevant to motherhood' also relates closely to the social outlook which Bush identifies was characteristic of female anti-suffragists during this period.<sup>42</sup> Yet Bush observes that women associated with 'positive female anti-suffragism' regarded 'putting social welfarism into practice' as 'relatively humdrum work' when divorced from their politicised agenda of advancing women's citizenship in terms of intervention in local and national government'.<sup>43</sup> This contrasted with the viewpoint of Taylor Cadbury for

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<sup>39</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 66. See also Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers'.

<sup>40</sup> Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science*, 135.

<sup>41</sup> Julia Bush, "'Special Strengths for their own Special Duties': Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain', *History of Education* 34, no. 4 (2005): 393 and 396; Lucy Delap, 'Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters in Edwardian Britain', *Historical Research* 78, no. 201 (2005): 381; Koven, 'Borderlands', 108-09.

<sup>42</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 74. See also Koven, 'Borderlands', 108-09. This supports Bush's observations concerning the ways in which a commitment to maternal social action transcended political division between women who supported and opposed the campaign for parliamentary suffrage. See Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 66; Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers', 113; Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism': 449.

<sup>43</sup> Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism': 445.

whom the practice of social welfare reform constituted the objective of female social action and the mainstay of female citizenship. The disparity between Taylor Cadbury's outlook and the approach to social maternalism embraced by these women becomes apparent when comparing her outlook with that of her NUWW colleague the anti-suffragist Mary Ward (1851-1920), with whom she promoted the work of the Personal Service Association between 1908 and 1909.<sup>44</sup> While Ward concurred with Taylor Cadbury's view that local government was an area in which women's maternal expertise was required, she identified with local government involvement as a means of advancing female political influence.<sup>45</sup> Throughout the early twentieth century Koven observes that Ward pursued 'the extension of women's formal political powers within local government' as an alternative means of asserting female claims in Parliamentary politics.<sup>46</sup>

Evidence uncovered in the preceding chapters suggests that Taylor Cadbury's approach to maternal social reform can be defined most appropriately in relation to the religious and social outlook shared by women who Delap and Bush identify occupied 'the moderate middle ground' within the NUWW, such as Louise Creighton (1850-1936).<sup>47</sup> Bush suggests that, like Taylor Cadbury, the 'mainly middle-class, socially conservative' female membership of the

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<sup>44</sup> 'Personal Service Among London Poor', *Times*, 12<sup>th</sup> November 1908, 8; 'Personal Service Among London Poor', *Times*, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1909, 10.

<sup>45</sup> Mrs. Humphrey Ward, *A Writer's Recollections (1856-1900)*, (London: W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1918), 152-53; Mary Ward, letter to the editor, *Times*, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1908, 10; Mary Ward, letter to the editor, *Times*, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1910, 10.

<sup>46</sup> Koven, 'Borderlands', 108-09. See particularly Mary Ward, letter to the editor, *Times*, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1908, 9 and Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, 152-53.

<sup>47</sup> The phrase 'moderate middle ground' is taken from Delap, 'Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters': 383-84; Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers', 127; Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), 176. See also Bush, *Women Against the Vote*.

NUWW recognised that women's maternal philanthropy was 'a distinctive and valuable contribution to British society' and prioritised their 'shared programme of gendered duty and gendered achievement' over debate concerning female political recognition.<sup>48</sup> Taylor Cadbury's approach to women's participation in maternal social action related directly to that of her close friend Creighton who had inspired her to join the NUWW in the late 1890s following her leadership of a conference focussing on 'the duties of citizenship' for women.<sup>49</sup> Creighton remarked in 1901 that 'the great call to women is to show how they can use the privileges that they have got, what they are willing and able to do in the service of mankind, to think of their duties rather than their rights'.<sup>50</sup> Creighton's comments illustrate a social outlook concomitant with the emphasis of Taylor Cadbury's public addresses and which Bush identifies transcended her conversion in political affiliation from anti-suffragism to suffragism during the early 1900s.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, Bush demonstrates that for Creighton, like Taylor Cadbury, 'the franchise issue was not the fulcrum of her beliefs about women's role in society'.<sup>52</sup> However, differences are evident between Creighton's self-conscious approach to female social action and Taylor Cadbury's focus on mobilising women in the service of social welfarism which further elucidate Taylor Cadbury's approach to female participation in

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<sup>48</sup> Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers', 106; Bush, *Edwardian Ladies*, 176-77. See also Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers', 127.

<sup>49</sup> Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury*, 82; Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers', 114.

<sup>50</sup> Louise Creighton, *A Purpose in Life* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1901), 19, quoted in Bush, "'Special Strengths'": 397.

<sup>51</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 43.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* See also Bush, "'Special Strengths'": 404. Creighton recalled that she took no 'active part' in suffrage work. See *Memoir of a Victorian Woman: Reflections of Louise Creighton, 1850-1936*, ed. James Thayne Covert (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 146.

maternal social reform.<sup>53</sup> Creighton engaged with ‘a strong sense of duty’ to public work, but, unlike Taylor Cadbury, she defined her involvement with the NUWW with reference to the advantages which it had afforded her to increase her profile as an accomplished public figure.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Taylor Cadbury’s prioritisation of maternal public service over debate concerning female political rights appears to have surpassed that of her friend and colleague. Whilst Creighton publicly asserted that the NUWW was not a suffrage society and sought to ‘transcend political divisions’ in her work with the Union, she occupied a leading position opposite Mary Ward in ‘a special meeting’ called to consider the NUWW’s position with regard to the issue of women’s suffrage in November 1912.<sup>55</sup>

Bush identifies that both Ward and Creighton ‘shared a deep interest in Christian religion and a commitment to moral and social issues which they prioritised over the suffrage debate’, yet the approach of both of these women towards the maternal activism promoted by the NUWW was more politicised than that embraced by Taylor Cadbury.<sup>56</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury’s response to the incursion of suffrage debate into the NUWW demonstrates that her outlook cannot easily be defined in relation to that of her two colleagues and provides valuable insights for interpreting her approach to female participation in maternal social reform. In a letter remarking on the Union’s ‘special meeting’ in November 1912 she wrote ‘we had a

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>54</sup> Creighton described her membership of the NUWW by suggesting ‘it added greatly to my opportunities for public speaking of all kinds’, remarking ‘I enjoyed it and enjoyed the credit I won, and the praises and compliments showered upon me’. *Memoir of a Victorian Woman: Reflections of Louise Creighton, 1850-1936*, ed. James Thayne Covert (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 113 and 90.

<sup>55</sup> Bush, ‘The National Union of Women Workers’, 113; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS; Bush, ‘British Women’s Anti-Suffragism’: 448.

<sup>56</sup> Bush, ‘British Women’s Anti-Suffragism’: 434.

prolonged debate, but at last passed a resolution in favour of suffrage, 199 to 59'.<sup>57</sup> She added 'a good many of the 59 were also in favour of the suffrage, but thought that our Union was not the place to discuss it'.<sup>58</sup> As the evidence above illustrates, Taylor Cadbury was an enthusiastic supporter of woman suffrage, but her account of the Union's 1913 conference reveals that she shared the view that the NUWW 'was not the place' for political debate.<sup>59</sup> Taylor Cadbury disapproved of the Union's work being overshadowed by suffrage politics, criticising attempts by anti-suffragists to disrupt a conference featuring 'very practical papers' concerning 'various aspects of children's health and education' with dispute concerning 'the suffrage question'.<sup>60</sup> Taylor Cadbury's assessment of this conference demonstrates that while she engaged with the NUWW's debate over suffrage, she defined her membership of the Union in terms of enabling her to participate in maternal work supporting social welfare reform which took priority over the issue of the female franchise or pursuing female status within local or national politics.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, analysis of Taylor Cadbury's social maternalism provides insight into the religious and social outlook of women who approached the maternal public service advocated by the NUWW as a means of enacting social welfarism in response to religious obligations and as an expression of religious service.

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<sup>57</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS. For a detailed account of this meeting, see Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism': 448-49.

<sup>58</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1912, MS 466/1/1/15/3/9, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>60</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913, MS 466/1/1/15/3/10, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

The relationship which Taylor Cadbury identified between religious faithfulness and social service explored in the preceding chapters reveals that rather than identify ‘womanly social action’ as a means of pursuing advancement for women, she defined maternal welfare work as response to religious imperatives and a form of service to God.<sup>62</sup> The previous chapters illustrate how Taylor Cadbury engaged with an interpretation of citizenship expressed through public service to less fortunate citizens, recognising that this dynamic of duty to service formed the foundation of her sense of religious faithfulness.<sup>63</sup> Taylor Cadbury concentrated on the opportunities which public welfare work supporting maternal causes offered for women to engage with an ‘ideal of social service’ which she identified had ‘roots in strong religious faith’.<sup>64</sup> Anne Summers and Jane Lewis have identified a ‘specifically female tradition of social action’ which was characterised by a religious ‘sense of duty’ and ‘the predominance of the concept of obligation over the concept of rights’.<sup>65</sup> Midgley suggests that this religious and social outlook was embraced most intensely by female reformers operating during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>66</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s approach to social welfare work related closely to the tradition described by Summers and Lewis, supporting observations that a religious engagement with maternal social welfare work extended into the

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<sup>62</sup> Bush refers to ‘womanly social action’ in ‘The National Union of Women Workers’, 113. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS. For her views on the religious dimensions of social reform more generally, see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-24; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>65</sup> Anne Summers, *Female Lives, Moral States: Women, Religion and Public Life in Britain 1800-1930* (Newbury: Threshold Press, 2000), 119 and 135; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 11.

<sup>66</sup> Clare Midgley, ‘Women, Religion and Reform’, in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, ed. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 139-40.

early twentieth century.<sup>67</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's public addresses to both religious audiences and philanthropic groups during the early 1900s reveal that she consistently invoked an approach to social action grounded in 'the precepts of Christ' and expressed in 'service to others'.<sup>68</sup> She identified that the instigation of public welfare schemes and participation in work supporting social reform reflected engagement with 'the command of Christ to feed the hungry, visit the sick, clothe the naked, reform the criminal'.<sup>69</sup>

Chapter one demonstrated that appealing to religious imperatives as the mandate for participation in maternal social welfare work formed a significant source of authority for women by enabling them to justify broader involvement in public activism and enlarged social influence from which they could claim political recognition.<sup>70</sup> Bush has observed how both suffragists and anti-suffragists argued that their 'shared faith in motherhood and in wider social maternalism' was 'grounded in Christian teaching'.<sup>71</sup> She identifies that these women claimed 'religious sanction' in support of their political agendas and drew connections 'between their religious faith and their views on the vote'.<sup>72</sup> Analysis demonstrates that

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid; Summers, *Female Lives, Moral States*, 119 and 135; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, 11.

<sup>68</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 419. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>70</sup> Sandra Stanley Holton, Alison Mackinnon and Margaret Allen, 'Introduction', *Women's History Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 3; Sue Morgan, 'Introduction: Women, Religion and Feminism: Past, Present and Future Perspectives', in *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain, 1750-1900*, ed. Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 13; Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 139.

<sup>71</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 74 and 66.

<sup>72</sup> Bush *Women Against the Vote*, 66.

Taylor Cadbury shared this sense of the direct relationship between Christian teaching and maternal qualities in terms of recognising a religious duty to maternal social service. Yet she engaged with a notion of religious inspiration with a focus on promoting female participation in welfare reform which she advocated took priority over the pursuit of social and political advantages for women, forming an expression of religious faithfulness.<sup>73</sup> In an address entitled ‘Women in Religious Life’ written for the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) in 1913, Taylor Cadbury criticised women who appropriated the motive of religious stimulus to justify claims for more secular forms of equality and authority.<sup>74</sup> She remarked on ‘what seems to me a weak spot in what is called today the “religious side of the Woman’s Movement”’, expressing concern that a religious dimension had been ‘linked on for the sake of attracting some of those who still hold back’.<sup>75</sup> Taylor Cadbury was critical of the outlook of women who appropriated notions of female ‘moral and spiritual’ qualities for religious service with preconceived ‘motives’, ‘self-conscious posing’ and ‘obtrusive demands’.<sup>76</sup> She contrasted this agenda with the religious approach to social action embraced by female Quaker forebears who had been inspired to undertake social reform by ‘the Spirit of the Lord’ and who ‘were led into service without analysing their motives, without thought of results’.<sup>77</sup> In an address examining the position of female Friends, she drew comparison between the religious and social outlook of these women and the modern tendency ‘to live more for self

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<sup>73</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, October 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>74</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Position of Women in the Society of Friends’ [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS.



and the things of this world'.<sup>78</sup> Taylor Cadbury's interpretation of the Quaker belief in the spiritual equality of women Friends demonstrates similarly that she did not engage with religious faithfulness as justification for enlarged female social and political authority. Helen Plant has observed that the Quaker belief in women's capacity 'for holiness and divine service' afforded female Friends a position of influence which 'stood in marked contrast to the attitudes of other contemporary English Protestant denominations'.<sup>79</sup> A number of studies have examined how far Quaker women were able to exploit this 'degree of freedom and responsibility' to subtly challenge religious and social gender hierarchy.<sup>80</sup> Taylor Cadbury's public addresses reveal that she engaged with debate concerning the role of Quaker women within the Religious Society of Friends, advocating that women members of other denominations should share the 'privileges' enjoyed by female Friends.<sup>81</sup> Yet she dissuaded women from actively pursuing greater equality or authority in church life 'by any war of words'.<sup>82</sup> While Taylor Cadbury recognised that women's 'simple, faithful discharge of such duties as are allowed them' would prove their 'capacity for other and higher work' within

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<sup>78</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Position of Women in the Society of Friends' [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS. The underlining of the word 'self' appears in Taylor Cadbury's transcript of this address. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>79</sup> Helen Plant, "'Subjective Testimonies': Women Quaker Ministers and Spiritual Authority in England: 1750-1825", *Gender & History* 15, no. 2 (2003): 298 and 296. See also Helen Plant, 'Gender and the Aristocracy of Dissent: A Comparative Study of the Beliefs, Status and Roles of Women in Quaker and Unitarian Communities, 1770-1830', with particular reference to Yorkshire' (PhD. diss., University of York, 2000), 47 and 240.

<sup>80</sup> Elizabeth O'Donnell refers to Quaker women's 'degree of freedom and responsibility' in Elizabeth A. O'Donnell, 'Women's Rights and Women's Duties: Quaker Women in the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to Newcastle Monthly Meeting of Women Friends', (PhD diss., University of Sunderland, 1999), 10. See particularly Plant, 'Gender and the Aristocracy of Dissent', 8; Morgan, 'Introduction', 2 and 13. Scholarship has also argued that moves towards civil sexual equality in wider society were responsible for provoking demands for female constitutional equality within the Religious Society of Friends. See Plant, 'Gender and the Aristocracy of Dissent', 45; Sandra Stanley Holton and Margaret Allen, 'Offices and Services: Women's Pursuit of Sexual Equality within the Society of Friends, 1873-1907', *Quaker Studies* 2 (1997): 3 and 5.

<sup>81</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Position of Women in the Society of Friends', [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

their religious community, she emphasised the importance of women following ‘the Holy Spirit’, and undertaking their ‘share’ in ‘whatever position may be accorded to us by the religious body to which we belong’.<sup>83</sup> Taylor Cadbury engaged with notions of women’s religious equality from a perspective focussed on Quaker women’s capacity to receive the ‘Divine impulse’ which inspired selfless public service.<sup>84</sup> She defined her identity as a Quaker woman in terms of the Quaker ‘commitment to moral reform, philanthropy and humanitarianism’ in addresses to female philanthropists during a period infused with debate over women’s political rights.<sup>85</sup> This is evident in the Presidential Address which she wrote for the NUWW in 1906 in which she remarked on the relationship between her role overseeing a female philanthropic organisation and her religious identity as a Quaker:

I felt that it was not only as an individual that you invited me to take this post, but that you recognised that I was a representative of the Society of Friends, which, from its earliest days, has acknowledged the right & capacity of women for social work, giving her a dignified position & opportunities for service.<sup>86</sup>

Taylor Cadbury’s comments demonstrate that she identified more directly with the spiritual privileges accorded Quaker women as recognition of women’s capacity to serve God by

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>85</sup> Holton refers to Quakers’ active participation in ‘moral reform, philanthropy and humanitarianism’ in Holton, *Quaker Women*, 55. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Position of Women in the Society of Friends’ [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>86</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

employing their maternal skills in the service of social welfarism than as a foundation from which to promote female religious and social authority.<sup>87</sup>

Research examining Taylor Cadbury's identification with religious values in her social action responds to scholarship which has emphasised the importance of analysing women's 'own understandings of their motivations' and supports observations that women engaged with 'religious motives' beyond appropriating such concepts for 'self-interest'.<sup>88</sup> Evidence that Taylor Cadbury defined social reform activities in relation to religious faithfulness suggests that she relates to the female reformers identified by Midgley whose 'whole outlook' was informed by religious values, including their 'humanitarian ethics' and their interpretation of women's social role.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, public addresses preserved by Taylor Cadbury demonstrate that she publicly promoted recognition that participation in social welfare reform was inspired by spiritual impulse among female philanthropic groups.<sup>90</sup> In her address to the NUWW in 1906 she remarked:

We have not evolved our ideals of social reform & justice from our own consciousness, unaided by the Divine. He who gave the word: that the man "who says

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Position of Women in the Society of Friends' [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>88</sup> Quotations taken from Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 139; Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 41. Mack also advocates this approach. See Mack 'Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency'; Mack, 'Teaching about Gender and Spirituality': 225-26; Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 87-88. For studies of this dimension within Quakerism see O'Donnell, 'Women's Rights and Women's Duties', 250 and 310 and Jonathan Mood, 'Women in the Quaker Community: The Richardson Family of Newcastle, c. 1815-60', *Quaker Studies* 9, no. 2 (2005): 212.

<sup>89</sup> Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 154.

<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

he loves God & yet does not love his brother is a liar” – gave the impulse from which radiates all our best works.<sup>91</sup>

Taylor Cadbury emphasised that religious faith both stimulated and was expressed through practical endeavours promoting ‘social reform & justice’, presenting her own social welfare work as a product of her sense of religious faithfulness expressed through social service.<sup>92</sup> Mack observes that religious values were fundamental to the ‘psychology and achievements’, of eighteenth-century Quaker women.<sup>93</sup> She suggests that a scholarly focus on ‘a secular liberal concept of agency’ has served to obscure the agency of Quaker women which was grounded in their ‘capacity for self-transcendence’ in the belief that their public philanthropic work was inspired by spiritual impulse.<sup>94</sup> It is evident that promoting a dynamic of self-transcendence in terms of religious inspiration could be applied with particular effectiveness to vindicate women’s enlarged participation in social activism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However analysis of Taylor Cadbury suggests that this dynamic was also recognised by women for whom female participation in the enactment of social welfarism took priority over the pursuit of advancement for women. Taylor Cadbury engaged with an agency grounded in self-transcendence to galvanise women in social reform, identifying that ‘energy to act in the world’ through such work was ‘generated and sustained’

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<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Mack, ‘Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency’, 442.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 434 and 445.

by the belief that such activism was responding to spiritual impulse and fulfilling the duties of Christian citizenship.<sup>95</sup>

By situating Taylor Cadbury in relation to existing interpretations of women's engagement with maternalism and religious faithfulness in their public work, it is evident that she relates to the 'religiously-inspired female philanthropists' identified by Morgan and de Vries, whose public work Summers, van Drenth and de Haan suggest was undertaken out of 'a religious, rather than a political nature'.<sup>96</sup> In order to define Taylor Cadbury's approach to social action, it is significant to consider how she relates to the 'coherent framework' proposed by van Drenth and de Haan to distinguish between 'women's very diverse social and political activities'.<sup>97</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan divide female social action into three categories which they define as 'women's activism, the women's movement, and feminism', suggesting that 'the goal was different' within each type of organized activity.<sup>98</sup> They define 'women's activism' as philanthropic work undertaken to enact social reform, motivated by a 'religiously inspired social responsibility for the welfare of "others"'.<sup>99</sup> 'The women's movement' is

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<sup>95</sup> Quotations taken from Mack, 'Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency', 439. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 422; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'What do we mean by Social Service?', June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>96</sup> Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries, 'Introduction', in Morgan and de Vries, *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures*, 5; Summers, *Female Lives, Moral States*, 119 and 135. Quotation taken from van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 43. See particularly 46-47.

<sup>97</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 46. While van Drenth and de Haan's study focuses on women operating during the nineteenth century, the distinctions which they draw in this framework are useful for defining Taylor Cadbury's approach to maternal social reform. Indeed, Watts identifies that the "'caring power'" explored by van Drenth and de Haan which embodied 'humanitarian and religious connotations, was reinforced by women in the early twentieth century'. See Watts, 'Gender and Policy in Birmingham', 73.

<sup>98</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 47.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-47.

identified as incorporating ‘activities of women on behalf of other women’, informed by a dynamic of gender solidarity, while they describe ‘feminism’ as being ‘characterized by the fight for women’s equality or changes in the gender hierarchy’.<sup>100</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury reveals difficulties in attempting to define her in relation to the concept of ‘feminism’ described by van Drenth and de Haan. As the evidence above illustrated, her social action was not characterised by a politicised agenda in the sense which they outline in this framework.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, while Taylor Cadbury actively engaged with a sense of ‘religiously inspired social responsibility’, much of her social action functioned to support other women.<sup>102</sup> This suggests that Taylor Cadbury bridges the categories of ‘women’s activism’ and ‘the women’s movement’.<sup>103</sup> However, in defining ‘the women’s movement’, van Drenth and de Haan suggest that neither ‘domesticity’ or ‘maternalism’ were invoked by the women they locate within this category, and cannot be seen as ‘adequately explaining their activities or motives’.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, Taylor Cadbury’s approach to female social action resists straightforward definition within the model proposed by van Drenth and de Haan.<sup>105</sup> Similar divergences become apparent when examining Taylor Cadbury’s engagement with maternal social service as an expression of religious faithfulness in relation to Koven’s notion of women’s ‘civic maternalism’ which operated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. See particularly Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

centuries.<sup>106</sup> Koven defines this as ‘a set of rhetorical strategies, attitudes, and ideas about the ways in which women’s motherly capacities to love, nurture and care for others were linked to the imperative to deploy these gifts within their local communities and municipalities’.<sup>107</sup> Koven makes little reference to the conviction that maternal social work formed service to God as the motivation underlying ‘women’s obligation to extend the values of motherliness to society as a whole’ which suggests that Taylor Cadbury’s public service cannot easily be defined in the terms of ‘civic maternalism’.<sup>108</sup>

A dynamic of religious stimulus and assumptions of female maternal expertise were integral in formulating Taylor Cadbury’s approach to women’s participation in social welfare reform. Research findings supported by archival work cataloguing her personal papers demonstrate that she shaped her identity and legacy in terms of a religiously inspired commitment to maternal social welfarism, identifying spiritual fellowship with God as the impulse obligating women to apply their maternal expertise in social service.<sup>109</sup> The analysis above demonstrates the difficulties encountered when defining Taylor Cadbury in relation to existing models developed to describe female social action. Her religious and social outlook encourages a broader interpretation of women’s engagement with maternalism and religion in their public social welfare work. Indeed, Taylor Cadbury’s response to a dynamic of Christian duty through maternal social service can be more appropriately characterised as ‘religious service maternalism’. This concept reflects Taylor Cadbury’s conviction that maternal service to

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<sup>106</sup> Koven, ‘Borderlands’, 108.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

fellow citizens formed ‘the gauge of our Christianity’, a belief which she engaged with to define the motive for her own social action through the amassing of a personal archive illustrating her religious commitment to social welfarism.<sup>110</sup> Evidence of the ways that religious faith and maternalism coalesced to stimulate and shape Taylor Cadbury’s social work demonstrates the importance of scholarship exploring the agency of religious values in motivating women’s commitment to social maternalism as a form of religious service.<sup>111</sup> The following section examines the implications of Taylor Cadbury’s approach to social reform for scholarship examining the relationship between religion and gender within female social action during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The section considers the distinctive perspectives which analysis of Taylor Cadbury contributes to interpretations of middle-class maternalism, women’s engagement with Quakerism and analysis of Quaker women’s archives, identifying the future research agenda which arises from the research findings uncovered in this thesis.

#### 5.4: Implications for Existing Scholarship and Future Research

Chapter One made reference to scholarship which has recognised that a commitment to maternal social action transcended political discord between female philanthropists, examining how female identification with social maternalism challenged the division between

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<sup>110</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 422. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>111</sup> Studies which have emphasised the agency of religious values in female social reform include Summers, *Female Lives, Moral States*; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*; Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*; Bush, *Women Against the Vote*. Midgley and Mack have identified the importance of this approach in terms of understanding female motivation. See Midgley, ‘Women, Religion and Reform’, 139-40; Mack, ‘Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency’, 438 and 441.



feminism and anti-feminism, suffragism and anti-suffragism.<sup>112</sup> Research findings concerning Taylor Cadbury's approach to maternal social action build on this work by demonstrating the importance of scholarship moving beyond an interpretation which defines women's engagement with social maternalism as an expression of a political agenda. Bush's extensive analysis of the NUWW has uncovered the religious and social outlook of women for whom maternal social welfare work took priority over debate concerning female political rights.<sup>113</sup> This analysis of Taylor Cadbury engages with Bush's observations and builds on her analysis of the relationship between religion and maternalism by exploring how an interpretation of religious faithfulness expressed through social service shaped women's engagement with maternal social welfarism.<sup>114</sup> In this sense, the thesis illustrates the significance of studies examining the diverse ways in which women identified with and re-shaped discourses of gender and religion in relation to their personal beliefs. Mack and Midgley have observed the scholarly reluctance to acknowledge the agency of religious values in motivating and shaping women's public social work.<sup>115</sup> Midgley recognises that this is particularly the case for female social reformers operating in the early twentieth century during a period when state intervention assumed responsibility for welfare services previously provided through religious philanthropy.<sup>116</sup> Evidence that Taylor Cadbury defined women's engagement with opportunities for philanthropic and municipal work supporting welfare provision in relation to

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<sup>112</sup> Koven, 'Borderlands', 108; Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers' 113 and 127. See also Bush, 'British Women's Anti-Suffragism': 432-34; Bush, "'Special Strengths'": 392 and 405; Delap, 'Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters': 381 and 383; Bush, *Women Against the Vote*.

<sup>113</sup> See particularly Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers' and Bush, *Women Against the Vote*.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Mack, 'Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency', 441; Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 139.

<sup>116</sup> Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 139.

a religious imperative for social service demonstrates scope for future research examining the overlooked ‘relationship between religion and female reform’ during the early 1900s.<sup>117</sup>

The research questions outlined in Chapter One were primarily concerned with evaluating how Taylor Cadbury’s maternal social welfare work reflected her sense of religious faithfulness expressed through social service as a means of examining how women identified with maternalism and religion in their social action. However, Taylor Cadbury’s approach to philanthropic and municipal work also has significant implications for existing interpretations of the social dynamics which shaped middle-class women’s participation in maternal social reform. Morgan observes that increasing awareness of ‘the constructed nature of gender identities’ has not prevented scholarship from adhering to notions of ‘a pre-existing coherent female identity’.<sup>118</sup> As Chapter Two demonstrated, assessments of middle-class maternal philanthropy emphasise the elitist aspects of such work by drawing attention to the ways in which middle-class women enforced maternal superiority over working-class mothers.<sup>119</sup> Analysis of Taylor Cadbury highlights that female participation in maternal social welfarism was more complex than a process of consolidating maternal authority. In her study of ‘middle-class women’s interpretations of social motherhood’, Eileen Janes Yeo presents a

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>118</sup> Sue Morgan, ‘Introduction: Writing Feminist History: Theoretical Debates and Critical Practices’, in *The Feminist History Reader*, ed. Sue Morgan (London: Routledge, 2006), 15.

<sup>119</sup> Lewis, ‘Women and Late-Nineteenth-Century Social Work’, 98; Pamela K. Gilbert, ‘Producing the Public: Public Medicine in Private Spaces’, in *Medicine, Health and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1600-2000*, ed. Steve Sturdy (London: Routledge, 2002), 51. See also Bartley, ‘Moral Regeneration’: 157; James Hinton, *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2, 4-5; Ellen Ross, ‘Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives before the First World War’, in *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power*, ed. Kathleen McCarthy (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 174; Yeo, ‘The Creation of “Motherhood”’: 206; Gerry Holloway, ‘“Let the Women be Alive!”: The Construction of the Married Working Woman in the Industrial Women’s Movement, 1890-1914’, in *Radical Femininity: Women’s Self-Representation in the Public Sphere*, ed. Eileen Janes Yeo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 175.

more nuanced analysis of maternal social action which emphasises the different approaches adopted by middle-class female philanthropists.<sup>120</sup> She identifies that middle-class women could exert a disciplinarian approach towards their working-class contemporaries, but also recognises that they viewed such women as ‘powerless victims or defenceless children’ who ‘required protection and advocacy’.<sup>121</sup> Evidence demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury distanced a ‘punitive’ approach to maternal philanthropy from the late nineteenth century, publicly promoting the reform of working-class living and working conditions in a way which reflects Yeo’s concept of ‘protective’ social motherhood.<sup>122</sup> However, her approach to maternal social welfare work cannot be easily reconciled within the framework proposed by Yeo. Notions of class hierarchy remained within Taylor Cadbury’s assumptions of social responsibility for working-class welfare, but she expressed a more perceptive social outlook which extended beyond what Yeo describes as ‘a tendency to infantilise’ working-class families.<sup>123</sup> Taylor Cadbury recognised the practical difficulties faced by working-class parents and defended their right to welfare provision in debate with a hostile Education Committee who were accused of exercising ‘bias on the side of the wealthier classes’ and ‘contempt for the poorer’.<sup>124</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s approach demonstrates the presence of a more complex social

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<sup>120</sup> Eileen Janes Yeo, ‘Social Motherhood and the Sexual Communion of Labour in British Social Science, 1850-1950’, *Women’s History Review* 1, no. 1 (1992): 76.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-80.

<sup>122</sup> Yeo, ‘Social Motherhood’: 77-80. For evidence of this see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 418; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Health of the Nation’, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1919, MS 466/1/1/15/3/16, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>123</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Health of the Nation’, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS; Yeo, ‘Social Motherhood’: 78.

<sup>124</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Riddle of Circumstance’, October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS. See her comments to Birmingham Education Committee reprinted in *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1914, 5. Quotations taken from ‘Scholars’ Free Breakfasts’, *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1912, p. 54,

dynamic between middle-class female philanthropists and working-class families during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this sense, the thesis argues for a broader concept of social motherhood, particularly for interpreting middle-class women's participation in philanthropic and municipal social welfare provision. As Chapter Four suggested, research examining how working-class mothers responded to middle-class maternal philanthropy in Birmingham is hindered by a deficit in evidence. However, analysis of Taylor Cadbury's social action indicates that further work examining the diverse approaches to welfare reform embraced by female philanthropists may contribute valuable insights into the relationship between middle-class and working-class women.

Taylor Cadbury's approach to maternal social work has further implications for existing scholarship which has identified that middle-class women defined their identity in opposition to the 'more frivolous and hedonistic' women of the upper-classes and 'the ignorance, brutishness and vice of working-class femininity'.<sup>125</sup> Taylor Cadbury criticised the minority of negligent working-class mothers and the irresponsible wealthy, yet her sense of identity appears to have been more complicated than a middle-class social model defined in opposition to these social categories.<sup>126</sup> Smitley has recently illuminated the ways in which

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Birmingham Education Committee Newspaper Cuttings, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1911-15<sup>th</sup> September 1915, MS 229, BCC, BAHS.

<sup>125</sup> Yeo, 'The Creation of "Motherhood"': 206. Krista Cowman and Louise Jackson identify that middle-class female identity was forged 'in opposition to a decadent aristocracy and a corrupt poor'. See Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson, 'Middle-Class Women and Professional Identity', *Women's History Review* 14, no. 2 (2005): 170.

<sup>126</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Health of the Nation', 29<sup>th</sup> January 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/12, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Training for Citizenship', *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 422; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Citizenship', 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/7/6/1, CFP, BAHS. For middle-class identity, see Hinton, *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War*, 4-5; Megan Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). See also Simon Gunn, 'The Public Sphere, Modernity and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the English Middle Class,' in *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940*, ed. Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 24.

middle-class women acted as ‘agents of middle-class identity’ through their ‘commitment to civic life and public service’ expressed through maternal social action.<sup>127</sup> While Taylor Cadbury was complicit in this, she did not express the ‘confident self-assertion of the superior usefulness of the middling sort’ which James Hinton identifies characterised the sensibility of middle-aged, middle-class women later in the twentieth century.<sup>128</sup> Chapter Two illustrated that Taylor Cadbury criticised middle-class employers and reformers who attempted to enforce social superiority, emphasising instead their religiously inspired ‘social responsibility’ for welfare reform.<sup>129</sup> Her public addresses indicate that she concentrated on advocating how women’s participation in social welfare work reflected engagement with a sense of Christian citizenship founded on recognition of one’s religious obligations for supporting the welfare of those less fortunate.<sup>130</sup> Smitley has identified that ‘Christian faith’ was an essential element in shaping middle-class women’s ‘determination to pursue a public life’, although her study focuses on the ways in which women’s maternal work contributed towards ‘a middle-class identity rooted in public service’.<sup>131</sup> Evidence that Taylor Cadbury defined her participation in maternal social reform as evidence of her religious values emphasises the importance of

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<sup>127</sup> Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere*, 1 and 3.

<sup>128</sup> Hinton, *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War*, 11. See particularly Taylor Cadbury’s comments in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 417-24. Indeed, Taylor Cadbury was involved in social reform with aristocratic and middle-class women who Bush illustrates were united by their membership of the NUWW in the early twentieth century. See Bush, *Edwardian Ladies*, 178.

<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Training for Citizenship’, *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* CXIX (July 1896): 422. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.* See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Citizenship’, 1924, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>131</sup> Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere*, 56 and 129.

future research examining the relationship which middle-class female philanthropists and reformers identified between their social action and their religious identity.

Analysis of Taylor Cadbury's religious and social outlook contributes valuable perspectives to studies which have focused on examining women's engagement with Quakerism in the context of wider political debate concerning gender equality, indicating future research agendas for scholarship exploring the identity and activism of female Friends. Existing analyses of female Quakerism have concentrated on debating how Quaker women identified with Friends' belief in women's spiritual equality and the Quaker imperative to public philanthropy as a means of pursuing self-advancement.<sup>132</sup> Quaker theology and Church culture have been assessed in terms of the extent to which they fostered 'a radical, progressive outlook on social and political issues' amongst Quaker women which encouraged their commitment to the women's suffrage movement and wider feminist activism.<sup>133</sup> However, studies have identified that the relationship between female Friends' religious experience and civil debate over women's social status and political rights was more complicated.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Mack refers to such studies in 'Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency', 439 and 441-42. See also Holton and Allen, 'Offices and Services': 1, 3 and 5; Sandra Stanley Holton, 'Kinship and Friendship: Quaker Women's Networks and the Women's Movement', *Women's History Review* 14: nos. 3&4 (2005): 366-67, 374 and 378. See Roberts' discussion of this in Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief', 268-9 and particularly O'Donnell's observations in 'Women's Rights and Women's Duties', 250, 278 and 307, 310. See also Elizabeth A. O'Donnell, "'On Behalf of all Young Women trying to be better than they are": Feminism and Quakerism in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Anna Deborah Richardson', *Quaker Studies* 6, no. 1 (2001): 37-58; Elizabeth A. O'Donnell, "'Separate and Unequal": The Struggle for Gender Equality in Quaker Meetings for Discipline in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of the Centre for Quaker Studies* 1, no. 2 (1996): 25.

<sup>133</sup> Morgan, 'Introduction', 3. See also Plant, 'Gender and the Aristocracy of Dissent', 244; Plant, "'Subjective Testimonies'", 298; Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 142; Holton and Allen, 'Offices and Services': 5; Pam Lunn, "'You Have Lost Your Opportunity": British Quakers and the Militant Phase of the Women's Suffrage Campaign: 1906-1914', *Quaker Studies* 2 (1997): 31; O'Donnell, 'Women's Rights and Women's Duties', 250 and 310.

<sup>134</sup> Holton and Allen, 'Offices and Services': 5, 3 and 1; Morgan, 'Introduction', 2; Morgan and de Vries, 'Introduction', 8; Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief', 269; Midgley, 'Women, Religion and Reform', 141-42; O'Donnell, 'Women's Rights and Women's Duties', 310; Holton, 'Kinship and Friendship': 378; Lunn, "'You Have Lost Your Opportunity": 30-1. See also Ruth Watts' discussion of the complexities of

Assumptions of the connection between feminism and Quakerism have been contested by evidence that the liberal theology of the Religious Society of Friends was insufficient to promote ‘an advanced position on women’s rights’, or to facilitate enhanced public opportunities and entry into radical politics.<sup>135</sup> Perceptions that Quaker women were ‘at the forefront of “women’s issue” campaigns in society at large’ are attributed to ‘a tightly-knit network of radical women Quakers’, whose prominence in numerous campaigns led to conclusions that they represented the outlook of female Friends more widely.<sup>136</sup> Based on this evidence, scholarship has concluded that the relationship between Quakerism and feminism, particularly Quaker women’s social action and ‘the development of feminist consciousness’, was ‘ambivalent’ during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>137</sup>

As the evidence above suggests, Taylor Cadbury’s engagement with Quakerism supports this conclusion by illustrating that her recognition of female Friends’ spiritual equality and the Quaker interpretation of ‘citizenship as public service’ was not focussed on promoting such concepts as a means by which women could pursue social and political advantages for themselves.<sup>138</sup> Yet situating Taylor Cadbury in relation to existing studies exploring the lived experience of Quaker women reveals that scholarship has largely interpreted female Friends’

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such a dynamic within Unitarian culture in Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1750-1860* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), 8.

<sup>135</sup> Holton and Allen, ‘Offices and Services’: 3. See also O’Donnell, ‘Women’s Rights and Women’s Duties’, 310; Holton, ‘Kinship and Friendship’: 378; Lunn, “‘You Have Lost Your Opportunity’”: 30-1.

<sup>136</sup> O’Donnell, ‘Women’s Rights and Women’s Duties’, 310; O’Donnell, “‘Separate and Unequal’”, 25. See also Lunn, “‘You Have Lost Your Opportunity’”: 30 and 52.

<sup>137</sup> O’Donnell, ‘Women’s Rights and Women’s Duties’, 250 and 310. See also Holton and Allen, ‘Offices and Services’; Holton, ‘Kinship and Friendship’; Lunn, “‘You Have Lost Your Opportunity’”.

<sup>138</sup> Holton, *Quaker Women*, 54. For evidence of this see Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Position of Women in the Society of Friends’ [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS.

participation in ministry and philanthropy from the perspective of ‘modern feminism’.<sup>139</sup>

While recent studies acknowledge that notions of Quaker women’s prominence within feminist causes are reliant upon a minority of radical women Friends, analysis remains focussed on debating the relationship between Quakerism and the politicised agenda of ‘women’s equality’.<sup>140</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s interpretation of female Friends’ spiritual equality demonstrates that Quaker women’s identity, activism and engagement with religion was shaped in relation to wider religious and social issues than deliberations concerning female social and political equality within and beyond the Religious Society of Friends. Analysis of Taylor Cadbury draws attention to the outlook of Quaker women who separated political debate from their engagement with the ‘religious and ethical values’ of Quakerism during the early twentieth century.<sup>141</sup> In 1906 Taylor Cadbury criticised ‘the average Nonconformist’ for combining ‘politics and religion too much together’, suggesting that in her view ‘the Quaker position is rather different’.<sup>142</sup> A number of female Friends who corresponded with *The Friend* concerning the incursion of suffrage debate into the Religious Society of Friends during the early twentieth century expressed a similar outlook. These women suggested that the question of women’s suffrage was ‘a political view, which has nothing to do with our

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<sup>139</sup> For studies which have approached analysis in this way, see Holton and Allen, ‘Offices and Services’: 1-29; Plant, ‘Gender and the Aristocracy of Dissent’. Bush suggests the need to study ‘women’s associations’ of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ‘from the perspectives of contemporary social conservatism rather than those of modern feminism’. See Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 318.

<sup>140</sup> Lunn, “‘You Have Lost Your Opportunity’”: 30. See also, 36 and 52. O’Donnell, ‘Women’s Rights and Women’s Duties’, 310; O’Donnell, “‘Separate and Unequal’” 25. For studies which have approached analysis in this way see Holton and Allen, ‘Offices and Services’: 1-29; Plant, ‘Gender and the Aristocracy of Dissent’.

<sup>141</sup> Holton refers to the ‘religious and ethical’ values of Quakerism in *Quaker Women*, 54. Elizabeth O’Donnell has identified this dynamic in the religious and social outlook of female Friends during the early nineteenth century. See O’Donnell, ‘Women’s Rights and Women’s Duties’; O’Donnell, “‘Separate and Unequal’” 25; O’Donnell, “‘On Behalf of all Young Women trying to be better than they are’”: 37-58.

<sup>142</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.



religious Society'.<sup>143</sup> The viewpoint of Quaker women who opposed woman suffrage has been explored by Pam Lunn who has considered the relationship between Quakerism, feminism and anti-suffragism.<sup>144</sup> Research examining Taylor Cadbury demonstrates scope for further studies exploring the identity and activism of female Friends who defined their engagement with Quaker faithfulness through the enactment of maternal social welfarism which took priority over suffrage politics and the pursuit of female political status. In this sense, the thesis promotes a future research agenda focussed on contributing a Quaker dimension to scholarship seeking 'to restore conservative dimensions to British women's history'.<sup>145</sup>

Evidence of the relationship which Taylor Cadbury identified between her maternal social reform and religious faithfulness also has implications for existing scholarship and further research exploring how Quaker women envisaged their public welfare work engaging with the Liberal Quaker imperative to participate in resolving 'the social causes of distress'.<sup>146</sup> Studies have struggled to define Taylor Cadbury's sense of Quaker faithfulness in relation to the differing interpretations of Quakerism operating during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>147</sup> As Sara Delamont has observed in her work on Taylor Cadbury, it is

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<sup>143</sup> Priscilla A. Fry, letter to the editor, *The Friend*, 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1911, 145. See also Mariabella Fry, letter to the editor, *The Friend*, 17<sup>th</sup> February 1911, 11; Henrietta Goodbody, letter to the editor, *The Friend*, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1911, 128.

<sup>144</sup> Lunn, "'You Have Lost Your Opportunity'": 30-56.

<sup>145</sup> Bush, *Women Against the Vote*, 319. See also Bush, 'National Union of Women Workers', 105.

<sup>146</sup> Elizabeth Isichei refers to Quaker engagement with 'the social causes of distress' during the nineteenth century. See Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 256.

<sup>147</sup> Adrian R. Bailey and John R. Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning: George Cadbury and the Construction of Bournville Model Village', *Quaker Studies* 11, no. 1 (2006): 92; Thomas C. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 8-9, 273-74 and 285.

‘extremely hard to recreate the religious belief of past generations’.<sup>148</sup> Yet Delamont identifies that Taylor Cadbury’s sense of Quaker faithfulness has been unanimously defined as ‘a faith producing practical activity in this world’, an interpretation supported by analysis in the preceding chapters which reveals her religious engagement with social welfarism.<sup>149</sup> The evidence above illustrates how Taylor Cadbury defined the motivation underlying her social action in relation to the religious stimulus which she identified was shared by ‘the early Quaker Social Reformers, especially in those who protested against slavery and worked for the improvement in the condition of prisoners and of child labour’.<sup>150</sup> Taylor Cadbury’s ‘active and practical Christianity’ combined with her efforts to promote the ‘spiritual heritage of Quakerism’ as a model for contemporary social reform relates her engagement with Quakerism to existing interpretations of the Liberal Quakerism which emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>151</sup> Indeed, public addresses in which Taylor Cadbury identified work towards social reform emanating from a conviction that ‘God dwells in every man’ reflected ‘the underlying belief that there was something fundamentally good and divine in every human being’ which scholarship identifies with the ‘Inward Light theology’ central to Liberal Quakerism.<sup>152</sup> Brian Phillips demonstrates how, informed by liberal theological

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<sup>148</sup> Sara Delamont, ‘Cadbury, Dame Elizabeth Mary (1858-1951)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45784> (accessed 27th October 2008).

<sup>149</sup> Ibid. See also Watts’ comments on the religious motivation underlying Taylor Cadbury’s social reform activities in ‘Gender and Policy in Birmingham’, 76.

<sup>150</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>151</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 15; Thomas C. Kennedy, ‘History and Quaker Renaissance: The Vision of John Wilhelm Rowntree’, *Journal of the Friends’ Historical Society* 55, no. 2 (1984): 40. See particularly Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, 8-9;

<sup>152</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury refers to the recognition that ‘God dwells in every man’ in Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS. See also Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS

enquiry, Friends engaged more profoundly with social reform at the turn of the twentieth century, inspired by a revival in the sense of expectation embodied by their seventeenth-century forefathers.<sup>153</sup> He argues that the confidence in the potential to enact reform which characterised Liberal political culture at the turn of the twentieth century evoked a spiritual conviction among civic-minded Quakers that the testimonies of their religious society afforded them an important role in ‘a project of national regeneration’.<sup>154</sup> This renewed emphasis on social reform was accompanied by ‘a new historical self-awareness’ within Quakerism from the 1890s onwards which was manifested in what Alice Southern describes as the ‘liberal boom in historiography’ that sought to reconnect Friends with the religious and social outlook of their predecessors.<sup>155</sup> Quaker historians are identified depicting their ancestors in relation to an interpretation of Christian citizenship shared by Liberal Quakers, constructing historical narratives which related the history of Quakerism to the direction in which they envisioned its future lay.<sup>156</sup> This dynamic is evident in the Rowntree History Series which emphasised ‘aspects of early Quakerism which were most compatible with

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466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. Quotations taken from Alice Southern, ‘The Rowntree History Series and the Growth of Liberal Quakerism: 1895-1925’ (MPhil diss., University of Birmingham, 2010), 7; Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, 8-9. See also Brian Phillips, ‘Friendly Patriotism: British Quakerism and the Imperial Nation, 1890-1910’ (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1989), 59-60.

<sup>153</sup> Brian Phillips, ‘Apocalypse Without Tears: Hubris and Folly among Late Victorian and Edwardian British Friends’, in Pink Dandelion et al., *Towards Tragedy/Reclaiming Hope: Literature, Theology and Sociology in Conversation*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 58-60.

<sup>154</sup> Phillips, ‘Apocalypse Without Tears’, 58-62.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 60; Southern, ‘The Rowntree History Series’, 69. See also Kennedy, ‘History and Quaker Renaissance’, 44-45.

<sup>156</sup> Phillips, ‘Friendly Patriotism’, 59-60; Richenda Scott, ‘Authority or Experience: John Wilhelm Rowntree and the Dilemma of Nineteenth Century British Quakerism’, *Journal of the Friends’ Historical Society* 49, no. 2 (1960): 90. See also Southern, ‘The Rowntree History Series’; Kennedy, ‘History and Quaker Renaissance’, 44. Catherine Brace, Adrian R. Bailey and David C. Harvey examine the relationship between religious narratives and the formation of historical identity in ‘Religion, Place and Space: A Framework for Investigating Historical Geographies of Religious Identities and Communities’, *Progress in Human Geography* 30, no. 1 (2006): 31.

Liberal Quakerism’, particularly Friends’ ‘emerging sense of public culture and civic responsibility’.<sup>157</sup>

Analysis of Taylor Cadbury contributes an overlooked female dimension to scholarship examining the religious and social influences shaping Quakerism at the turn of the twentieth century by providing insight into female Friends’ engagement with social reform and the ‘historical self-awareness’ which studies have identified characterised Liberal Quakerism.<sup>158</sup>

Taylor Cadbury’s appeal to Quaker heritage as a model both for her own and for wider social action supporting welfare reform illustrates her participation in the ‘historically contingent processes of identity formation’ associated with Quakerism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>159</sup> However, while Taylor Cadbury alluded to biographical histories of male Quakers in her public addresses, her identification with Quaker history is particularly evident in her employment of exemplary anecdotes celebrating the lives of female Quaker forebears in her addresses to female religious and philanthropic groups.<sup>160</sup> Taylor Cadbury advocated an approach to religious social service which she portrayed was shared by Quaker women including Anne Audland (1627-1705), Mary Dyer (d. 1660), Margaret Fell (1614-1702) and Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845) who believed that ‘life is a gift from God to be spent,

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<sup>157</sup> Southern, ‘The Rowntree History Series’, 71 and 69.

<sup>158</sup> Phillips, ‘Apocalypse Without Tears’, 60. See also Southern, ‘The Rowntree History Series’.

<sup>159</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Position of Women in the Society of Friends’ [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’, June 1931, MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS. Quotation taken from Brace, Bailey, and Harvey, ‘Religion, Place and Space’: 38.

<sup>160</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘Women in Religious Life’, October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, ‘The Position of Women in the Society of Friends’ [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS.

not for ourselves, but for Him who died and rose again'.<sup>161</sup> Taylor Cadbury's 'collecting, selecting, interpreting omnipresence' is evident in such anecdotes which illustrate her efforts to create a dialogue between contemporary debate concerning women's approach to social action and the religious inspiration to social service which she identified inspired female Quaker forebears.<sup>162</sup> Taylor Cadbury's public addresses also reveal a gendered approach to Friends' renewed engagement with social issues during the early twentieth century. Phillips has examined Quaker identification with prospects for social reform through evidence of male Friends' eagerness to secure positions of political influence following the victory of the Liberal Party in 1906.<sup>163</sup> Analysis demonstrates that Taylor Cadbury enacted a gendered response to this sense of optimism by undertaking and promoting female participation in social reform through opportunities for maternal philanthropic and municipal work which she recognised formed an expression of religious faithfulness.<sup>164</sup> A significant future research agenda therefore emerges from evidence of Taylor Cadbury's engagement with the Liberal Quaker imperative to social action. Research findings illustrate the importance of studies exploring Liberal Quakerism moving beyond accounts of male Friends' political participation

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<sup>161</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS. Quotation taken from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Position of Women in the Society of Friends' [n.d.], MS 466/1/1/10/1/43, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>162</sup> Stanley, *The Autobiographical I*, 54-55.

<sup>163</sup> Phillips refers to the 181 Nonconformist politicians elected to the House of Commons in the 1906 General Election, remarking that the nine Quaker Members of Parliament within this group were 'quick to claim their share in the victory'. See Phillips, 'Apocalypse Without Tears', 61-62. The 'spirit of confidence' described by Phillips is evident in Taylor Cadbury's political support for the Liberal Party in 1906. Taylor Cadbury remarked in family correspondence that the Liberals' 'keen desire to help the people' meant that 'there was much more hope than there has ever been before'. See Phillips, 'Apocalypse Without Tears', 60; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, family journal letter, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1906, MS 466/1/1/15/3/3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>164</sup> Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, Presidential Address to the National Union of Women Workers, October 1906, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'The Riddle of Circumstance', October 1907, MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/2, CFP, BAHS; Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 'Women in Religious Life', October 1913, MS 466/1/1/10/1/13, CFP, BAHS.

to uncover how Quaker women embraced the renewed emphasis on public activism through maternal social service, informed by the example of their female Quaker ancestors.

As the evidence above illustrates, archival work cataloguing Taylor Cadbury's personal papers has supported analysis of her life and work by revealing the agency which she exerted in creating a personal archive through which she sought to define her approach to social reform in relation to a sense of religious faithfulness expressed through social service. By exploring Taylor Cadbury's archival agency in the context of her religious and social outlook, it becomes evident that the process of writing and preserving personal papers was invested with a material significance for Taylor Cadbury and members of her family whose Quaker faithfulness was manifested in 'Christlike service to others'.<sup>165</sup> Taylor Cadbury's creation and collection of documents which recorded her own and her family's participation in Quaker philanthropy became a means of forging a physical legacy of their lives devoted to serving God. Archival work interpreting Taylor Cadbury's personal papers within their wider context as part of the Cadbury Family Papers has highlighted important directions for future research examining the extent to which her relations were complicit in constructing their family's archive as a managed repository perpetuating their Quaker legacy.

From the perspective of both an archivist and researcher, the production of detailed catalogues listing and describing the papers accumulated by the Cadbury family more widely would form a substantial contribution towards elucidating the role played by both female and male Friends in shaping the construction and function of their family archives. In a letter to her cousin William Adlington Cadbury (1867-1957) in 1946, Alice Gibbins remarked that she was

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<sup>165</sup> Van Drenth and de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power*, 15.

sending him ‘a collection of old Cadbury letters’ assembled by her mother who she added ‘has read & marked many of them’.<sup>166</sup> Although Gibbins suggested that the letters would be ‘of little value or interest’ given her mother’s annotations, evidence of endeavours to preserve Quaker family heritage within the Cadbury Family Papers has significant implications for scholarship examining Quaker family archives.<sup>167</sup> Adlington Cadbury actively accumulated, organised and circulated genealogical papers relating to the early generations of the Cadbury family during the twentieth century.<sup>168</sup> While Adlington Cadbury’s papers have been catalogued in more depth than those of his familial contemporaries, further research into his role in the collection and dissemination of historical family papers would illuminate the agency of male Friends in compiling archival evidence of Quaker family heritage.<sup>169</sup> However, work with the Cadbury Family Papers has revealed that it was Taylor Cadbury’s female predecessors and contemporary relations in the Cadbury family who were most prolific in the self-conscious production of family histories and the collection of personal papers as a means of shaping their identity in relation to their family’s Quaker inheritance.<sup>170</sup> Elizabeth Head Cadbury and Ann Head collected newspaper cuttings and obituaries which supported the creation of family histories through which they forged a connection with the

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<sup>166</sup> Alice Gibbins to ‘Cousin’ (William Adlington Cadbury), 21<sup>st</sup> April 1946, MS 466/317/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> See Papers relating to William Adlington Cadbury (1867-1957), MS 466G, CFP, BAHS. See also William Adlington to Anonymous Recipient, June 1944, MS 466/317/2; Printed Schedule ‘Letters in the Possession of Maria C. Fairfax’ [n.d.] distributed by William Adlington Cadbury, MS 466/345/1, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>169</sup> See Papers relating to William Adlington Cadbury (1867-1957), MS 466G, CFP, BAHS in the catalogue of the Cadbury Family Papers, MS 466, BAHS.

<sup>170</sup> For evidence of this see Papers relating to Elizabeth (Head) Cadbury, 1822-1851, MS 466/114-118, CFP, BAHS. See also genealogical notebooks and papers created by Elizabeth (Head) Cadbury and Anne Head in MS 466A Genealogical Papers relating to the Cadbury Family, particularly Elizabeth Head’s Notebook, 1700s-1800s, MS 466A/76/1, CFP, BAHS and Ann Head’s Genealogical Notes, 1796, MS 466A/74/1-3, CFP, BAHS. See also Papers relating to Maria (Cadbury) Fairfax, 1830-1908, MS 466/340-345, CFP, BAHS. See particularly Maria Cadbury, Manuscript book of Childhood Reminiscences, 1898-1900, MS 466/344, CFP, BAHS.

Quaker heritage of their kinship circle in the Wheeler, Head, Cadbury and Warder families during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>171</sup> Taylor Cadbury's sister-in-law, Maria Cadbury Fairfax (b.c.1836), also collected family correspondence exchanged with her parents and brothers and produced an illustrated account of her childhood reminiscences which served to memorialise her relationship with the philanthropic culture embraced by the Cadbury family during the nineteenth century.<sup>172</sup>

Given the extensive evidence of archival self-representation within the Cadbury Family Papers, it is intriguing that recent revisionist work seeking to access 'the family ideology and Quaker values' of the Cadburys during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has focussed on deconstructing idealised narratives of Bournville's history.<sup>173</sup> Studies have overlooked the Cadbury Family Papers as a resource for understanding how the Cadburys shaped their identity amidst growing commercial success and increasing public presence in social reform. The conscious efforts of the Cadbury women to forge an identity and legacy for themselves and the Cadbury family grounded in their Quaker heritage has significant implications for these studies by demonstrating the importance which they accorded to their religious identity. As the evidence above illustrates, Taylor Cadbury collected material which defined her maternal social reform activities in relation to a Quaker precedent of religious service expressed through female philanthropy and with reference to contemporary interpretations of Quaker faithfulness which centred on an engagement with social concerns.

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<sup>171</sup> Papers relating to Elizabeth (Head) Cadbury, 1822-1851, MS 466/114-118, CFP, BAHS. See genealogical notebooks and papers created by Elizabeth (Head) Cadbury and Anne Head in MS 466A Genealogical Papers relating to the Cadbury Family, particularly Elizabeth Head's Notebook, 1700s-1800s, MS 466A/76/1, CFP, BAHS and Ann Head's Genealogical Notes, 1796, MS 466A/74/1-3, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>172</sup> Papers relating to Maria (Cadbury) Fairfax, 1830-1908, MS 466/340-345, CFP, BAHS. See particularly Maria Cadbury, Manuscript book of Childhood Reminiscences, 1898-1900, MS 466/344, CFP, BAHS.

<sup>173</sup> Bailey and Bryson, 'A Quaker Experiment': 90.



Her efforts to promote an identity and legacy grounded in her religious values through her personal archive demonstrates the importance of future research examining how female philanthropists and social reformers more widely sought to shape interpretation of their lives through the personal papers which they amassed.

### 5.5: Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated how research exploring Taylor Cadbury's social action alongside the production of a revised interpretative catalogue of her personal archive enacts a distinctive contribution towards uncovering her agency in social welfare reform in Birmingham. Summaries of research findings illustrated how analysis of Taylor Cadbury has uncovered that women were actively involved in planning initiatives associated with the Garden City Movement, while her educational policy-making informs interpretations of female agency in educational administration during the early 1900s. Evidence of Taylor Cadbury's authority and autonomy in the local level implementation of school medical treatment services was shown to contribute towards illuminating the important role played by women in the administrative framework of welfare provision in this period. The chapter demonstrated the wider relevance of research findings concerning Taylor Cadbury's social work in terms of understanding the experiences and motivations of individual female philanthropists. The process of re-cataloguing Taylor Cadbury's personal archive was evaluated, revealing how archival work has functioned to enhance the accessibility of her personal papers and provided insight into ways that she defined her participation in maternal social reform as a response to her religious values.

Taylor Cadbury's engagement with social maternalism and a sense of religious faithfulness expressed through social service was examined in relation to existing interpretations of women's identification with maternalism and religion to interpret her approach to female social reform. The chapter demonstrated how analysis of Taylor Cadbury contributes towards understanding the approach of women for whom the enactment of maternal social welfarism took precedence over the pursuit of female social empowerment and political objectives, forming an expression of religious faithfulness. Taylor Cadbury's religious engagement with social maternalism was defined as 'religious service maternalism', a concept which illustrates the significance of scholarship exploring women's commitment to maternal social action as a form of religious service during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The chapter demonstrated how analysis of Taylor Cadbury provides insight into the complex social dynamics within middle-class maternal philanthropy and the role of religion in shaping the social identity of female philanthropists. Exploring Taylor Cadbury's Quaker faithfulness in relation to existing studies of women and Quakerism drew attention to the importance of future scholarship examining the outlook of female Friends who identified with the Quaker belief in female spiritual equality as motivation for social welfarism. Taylor Cadbury's maternal work supporting social reform and her identification with the exemplary lives of female Quaker forebears was shown to reveal scope for further research exploring how women Friends engaged with Liberal Quakerism. The chapter concluded that combining research into Taylor Cadbury's social action with work cataloguing her personal archive has demonstrated the importance of future scholarship assessing how Quaker women and female social reformers more widely amassed personal papers as a means of shaping their identity and legacy.

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951):  
Religion, Maternalism and Social Reform  
in Birmingham, 1888-1914

By

Helen Victoria Smith

Volume 2

# CATALOGUE EXTRACT

## Introduction

This volume contains an extract taken from the revised interpretative catalogue of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal archive within the Cadbury Family Papers, MS 466/1/1 Papers relating to Dame Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951).

Taylor Cadbury's personal papers have been arranged and re-numbered into eighteen separate series which are as follows<sup>1</sup>:

MS 466/1/1/1 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's childhood, schooling and adolescence

MS 466/1/1/2 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal and social correspondence

MS 466/1/1/3 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's early public philanthropic work and interests up to 1888

MS 466/1/1/4 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's unpublished personal papers and privately published documents

MS 466/1/1/5 Papers relating to the death of George Cadbury (1839-1922)

MS 466/1/1/6 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's notable birthdays

MS 466/1/1/7 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.)

MS 466/1/1/8 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the centenary of the North London Collegiate School for girls, 1950

MS 466/1/1/9 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Religious Society of Friends

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<sup>1</sup> The Cadbury Family Papers also contain a large number of photographs including a box of images relating directly to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury dating from 1874 to her death in 1951. While these have not been catalogued as forming part of Taylor Cadbury's personal archive, my collaborative work included producing interpretative entries describing these images which will form part of the wider catalogue of the Cadbury Family Papers. See MS 466/3/1 for photographs of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Taylor and Cadbury families during this period. Taylor Cadbury also features throughout photographs contained within the box of images relating to her husband George Cadbury which have also been re-catalogued as part of my collaborative work. See MS 466/3/2 for photographs of George Cadbury and the Cadbury family for these images.

MS 466/1/1/10 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's public addresses, broadcasts, reminiscences, publications and related correspondence

MS 466/1/1/11 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's role as Chairman of Birmingham City Council Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee

MS 466/1/1/12 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's campaign to be elected the Liberal Party Member of Parliament for King's Norton

MS 466/1/1/13 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's visit to India for the World Congress of the International Council of Women and her public work supporting international relations

MS 466/1/1/14 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and Cadbury's jubilee and centenary anniversaries

MS 466/1/1/15 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's personal diaries and family journal letters

MS 466/1/1/16 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's family correspondence

MS 466/1/1/17 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and George Cadbury

MS 466/1/1/18 Papers relating to the illness and death of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

The catalogue extract provided in this volume shows the entries created to describe public addresses written and preserved by Taylor Cadbury among her personal papers which form a sub-series of series MS 466/1/1/10 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's public addresses, broadcasts, reminiscences and related correspondence, entitled MS 466/1/1/10/1 Public Addresses, 1890-1949. Taylor Cadbury's public addresses were previously listed in the existing paper inventory of the Cadbury Family Papers as:

MS 466/152/1-132 Series of addresses, speeches etc. given by Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury covering many subjects e.g. religion, disarmament, education, social service, temperance, health & welfare. (1885-1949).

This descriptive overview suggests that there are one hundred and thirty two public addresses contained within Taylor Cadbury's personal archive. However, examination of these documents revealed that they comprise a variety of typescripts for public speeches and broadcasts as well as reminiscences, memoirs and manuscripts prepared by Taylor Cadbury for publication. The revised interpretative catalogue features four separate sub-series which distinguish where possible between these different types of document: MS 466/1/1/10/1 Public Addresses, 1890-1949; MS 466/1/1/10/2 Broadcasts, 1926-1958; MS 1/1/10/3 Reminiscences and Memoirs, 1896-1959 and

MS 466/1/1/10/4 Publications, 1885-1951. Whereas the existing inventory provides only a brief summary of the subjects which Taylor Cadbury engaged with in her public addresses, the revised catalogue incorporates individual entries which describe the content and context of each different public address.

The layout of the catalogue follows the style conventions of Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service and archival cataloguing standards such as International Standard Archival Description (ISAD (G)).

## **Public Addresses, 1890-1949**

**Series Reference Number:** MS 466/1/1/10/1

**Title:** Public Addresses

**Date:** 1890-1949

**Level:** Sub-Series

**Extent:** 91 Items

### **Description:**

This section contains public addresses written and delivered by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury to various public philanthropic, religious, social, literary and political groups between the early 1890s and 1949. The variety of topics explored in these addresses, including housing reform, education and international relations, reflects the scope of Taylor Cadbury's public work promoting social welfare reform.

Taylor Cadbury's public addresses consider participation in public philanthropic and local government work, religious life and the spiritual motivation underlying social service, as well as social and political issues surrounding the outbreak and resolution of war during the first half of the twentieth century. She also examines the importance of increased unity between religious denominations and promotes work to support improved relationships between different countries such as Britain and India. A number of Taylor Cadbury's addresses relate to her educational work and her views on the development and purpose of education for children and adults, such as the importance of continuation schools. Other addresses reflect her involvement in public work supporting the development of hospitals and health services, particularly her experiences overseeing school medical treatment services in Birmingham and her work with the city's hospitals. In addition, the addresses here provide an insight into Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the National and International Councils of Women, the Parents' National Education Union (P.N.E.U), the Child Study Association and the National Free Church Council. Taylor Cadbury's work supporting the Girls' Club Movement, the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) and the League of Nations is also represented among her public addresses, many of which reflect her religious outlook as a member of the Religious Society of Friends. Annotations on these documents reveal that Taylor Cadbury actively edited, collected and preserved copies of her public addresses as part of her personal archive throughout her life. This illustrates their function as records of her participation in a diverse range of public works and her engagement with contemporary debate concerning religious and social issues.

A number of the public addresses in this section are undated. Where it has been possible to suggest an approximate date for these documents, they have been listed in sequence with the dated addresses which are catalogued here in chronological order. Undated addresses which provide little or no indication of their dating have been listed together following the dated addresses. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/41-49 for these undated public addresses.

[Access:](#) Open. [Condition:](#) Good.

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remarks at the beginning of this typescript that she had been 'till lately a stranger in Birmingham'. This suggests that the address was written shortly after her marriage to George Cadbury and move to Selly Oak in 1888. Consequently, the address has been dated as originating from the early 1890s.

In this address Taylor Cadbury examines the work carried out by the Band of Hope, a social group which supported temperance societies by promoting abstinence from alcohol amongst young people. Taylor Cadbury remarks that her mother Mary Jane Taylor (1833-1887) had begun one of the earliest of these groups in London. She considers the value of Band of Hope work with reference to public opinion that temperance campaigning was becoming out-dated and unnecessary. Taylor Cadbury suggests that lessons in 'self-denial, self-restraint, & care for the well-being of others' were of continuing benefit to individuals and the wider community. She also refers to the important work which Band of Hope Sunday Schools were doing for the children of alcoholics.

Taylor Cadbury argues that women were the 'best workers in the Band of Hope', stating that 'the training of children' was 'essentially Woman's Work, and Woman's Right'. She provides a detailed description of her own work overseeing a boys' club in the East End of London during the 1870s. Taylor Cadbury suggests that the most effective way of teaching children about temperance was to focus less on abstinence and to provide 'a variety of instruction' in subjects such as geography and history. She also remarks on the benefits of sending temperance lecturers to Board Schools around the country to reach children who did not attend Band of Hope groups. She concludes her address with a scriptural reference to the Gospel of Saint Paul to encourage Band of Hope workers and give them strength in their Christian work.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/103](#)



MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
2

Typescript of 'Our Influence as Neighbours' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

14/04/1896

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury delivered this address to Women's Monthly Meeting with the aim of contributing 'a few thoughts' relating to 'the influence we may exercise on our neighbours'. Her address concerns the responsibilities of individuals to the wider community through their personal actions.

Drawing on the writings of Elihu Burritt, Taylor Cadbury explains her view that each human being was responsible for having an impact on the happiness of humanity and the moral destiny of the world. She asks her audience to consider their influence on people in their daily social interaction. Taylor Cadbury suggests that her audience's attendance at Women's Monthly Meeting reflected their commitment to leading Christian lives and exerting 'a right influence in greater questions'. She argues that this should also be demonstrated in daily life. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by commenting that as inhabitants of towns, villages or cities, Christian people were obligated to raise the tone of their community. She suggests that people's actions within a narrow circle had the potential to exert a much wider influence.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/4](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
3

Typescript of 'The Moral and Intellectual Training of Women' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.  
c.1899]

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury explores the importance of the 'cultivation of the intellect' among women. She begins her address by remarking that 'the day has gone by when it would have been necessary to advocate the advantages of a full and generous education for women', commenting on the 'commendable improvement in the standard of women's attainments'. She describes how intellectual training 'strengthens our moral perceptions' by engendering humanity and considers the value of teaching women to 'differentiate between emotion and experience'.

Taylor Cadbury also explores how intellectual training could aid religious faith, particularly by encouraging appreciation for the ‘wonderful literary excellence’ of the Bible. She remarks that intellectual training would benefit women by promoting ‘a higher, nobler life that is only possible through fellowship with our Lord Jesus Christ’. Taylor Cadbury encourages women ‘to pass on the training and culture’ they had enjoyed, suggesting that establishing a ‘bond of sympathy’ through ‘common interest’ had the potential to lead people towards a knowledge of Christ.

Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by considering ‘why the training of the intellect is especially beneficial for women’. She remarks that greater emphasis was needed on cultivating a thinking mind and criticises the previous emphasis on female emotional development. Taylor Cadbury also refers to the valuable experiences of Quaker women who held an ‘active part in the business of their church’ before emphasising the value of the simple teachings of Jesus Christ.

This address relates closely to a paper written in 1899 by Taylor Cadbury for the *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* entitled ‘The Importance of Training’. See MS 466/1/1/10/4/4 for this paper. Similar themes recur in Taylor Cadbury’s 1906 address to the National Union of Women Workers. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/1 for this address.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/89

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
4

Typescript of ‘The Eyes of the Heart & the Eyes of the Understanding’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. c. early  
1900s]

Although this address is undated, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s reference to the recent publication of Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree’s study of poverty in York, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (1901), indicates that it dates from the early 1900s.

Taylor Cadbury begins this long address by remarking that 'in order to have an intelligent point of view & to avoid the danger, by no means remote, of passing through the world as a blind automaton - the eyes of the understanding must be enlightened'. She emphasises the importance of developing 'mental eyesight' and understanding different points of view 'to form an opinion on any of the social questions of the day'. Taylor Cadbury refers to the studies of poverty in York undertaken by Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954), encouraging people to 'look below the surface'. She also includes different examples of seeing and understanding in relation to astronomy and botany, suggesting 'our faith may be strengthened by the possession of cultivated sight'.

Taylor Cadbury's address includes many literary, artistic and scientific examples with references to William Wordsworth (1770-1850), Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) and a long account of the contribution made by John Ruskin (1819-1900). She suggests that Ruskin was responsible for opening up 'new visions' to people 'whose life must be lived out within narrow walls & in dull soul-depressing streets'.

In the final section of her address, Taylor Cadbury considers how 'members of the Society of Friends need quite specially this spiritual insight', remarking 'if the eyes of the heart or understanding are unenlightened the whole fabric of our mode of worship falls to the ground'. She concludes her address by emphasising the importance of enlightening the eyes of the soul to gain an appreciation of 'the love of God', encouraging her audience to recognise the higher spiritual dimension of life.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/100](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
5

Typescript of 'Manchester Conference' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. c. 1903-  
1940]

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's reference to the death of Wesleyan Methodist Minister Hugh Price Hughes in 1902 and references to the development of Woodbrooke suggest

that this address was written during the early 1900s. Further references to the life of the Religious Society of Friends fifty years ago suggest that the address was written between the 1920s and 1940s. Consequently the document has been given a wide date range to avoid inaccuracy.

Taylor Cadbury wrote this address for an unspecified conference of the Religious Society of Friends. She begins by reflecting on the large attendance of Quakers at the conference which was 'a hopeful sign' of 'renewed life' amidst fears over the falling membership of the Society. Taylor Cadbury describes the 'renewed life' of the Society in terms of the practical Christian work being undertaken by Quakers for the good of others.

Taylor Cadbury's address considers ways of encouraging people to become members of the Religious Society of Friends and attend Quaker Meeting for Worship. She describes the importance of a 'helpful and strengthening' ministry and considers the organisation of Meeting, commenting on the success of adult classes and emphasising the importance of a sense of 'fellowship' amongst attendees. Taylor Cadbury argues that more time should be devoted by members of the Society to 'the spread of the Gospel, to the building up of the Church and to the fellowship which is essential to both'.

Taylor Cadbury also advocates union and co-operation between the Religious Society of Friends and other religious denominations. She suggests that 'on such questions as Peace, Temperance, Social Reform, etc., we shall do more good by uniting with those of other Churches who are like minded with us'. She emphasises the importance of 'encouraging Christian fellowship' and describes Quaker Sunday Schools organised for children as 'a source of strength'. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by suggesting that the arrangements of Quaker Meeting for Worship should be adapted to 'the needs of those who assemble in the living Spirit of the Master'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/101

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/6 Addresses written for the National Union of Women Workers (later the National Council of Women) and the International Council of Women by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 1906-1936**

Administrative History

The National Union of Women Workers (renamed the National Council of Women in 1918) was founded in 1895 forming an organisation through which female philanthropists could debate and co-ordinate public efforts to improve the working and living conditions of women. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury joined the Union in 1896, serving as Honorary Treasurer from 1898 and then as President from 1906 to 1907. The National Union, which was chiefly concerned with issues relating to housing, education and industrial welfare, comprised a number of regional branches and held a national conference each year. Taylor Cadbury was involved in the work of both the Birmingham and Malvern branches of the Union, acting as Vice-President and as President of the Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Women Workers during the early twentieth century. In 1905 she assisted in the organisation of the Union's annual conference which was held in Birmingham, co-ordinating a visit to Bournville which enabled delegates to experience the reforms in working and living conditions implemented in the suburb. Taylor Cadbury was also closely involved with the International Council of Women which was formed in 1888. The National Union of Women Workers established a Peace and International Relations Committee (also known as the Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee) in June 1914, shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. Taylor Cadbury was appointed Convenor of this Committee and was also elected Convenor of the International Council of Women's Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee during the same year. In 1936 Taylor Cadbury represented the British delegation of the International Council of Women at the World Congress of the International Council held in India.

Description:

This section contains typescripts and printed copies of addresses written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for the National Union of Women Workers and the International Council of Women during the early twentieth century. The papers refer variously to educational reform, the improvement of industrial working conditions for women, the development of international relations, housing reform and child welfare. In addition, a number of addresses focus on the subject of citizenship and provide an insight into Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the implementation of school medical services as Chairman of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee. One address also relates to Taylor Cadbury's visit to India in 1936 for the World Congress of the International Council of Women. Taylor Cadbury's addresses reflect her active involvement in debate concerning contemporary social issues and reveal the extent to which her religious faithfulness as a Quaker served to motivate and shape her participation in public philanthropic work towards social welfare reform.

### Related Material:

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, the National Union of Women Workers and the International Council of Women taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), pp. 81-82, p. 122, p. 125 and p. 162. Information about the National Union of Women Workers (National Council of Women) taken from Julia Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers and Women's Suffrage', in *Suffrage outside Suffragism: Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. Myriam Boussahba-Bravard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 105-131. Information about the International Council of Women taken from Katherine Storr, 'Thinking Women: International Education for Peace and Equality, 1918-1930', in *Women, Education, and Agency, 1600-2000*, ed. Jean Spence, Sarah Jane Aiston, and Maureen M. Meikle (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 168-186. See MS 466/1/1/2/6 for letters sent to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury relating to the National Union of Women Workers' annual conference which was held in Birmingham in 1905. See MS 466/1/1/6/3/3 for formal ninetieth birthday greetings sent to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury by the Malvern Branch of the National Council of Women in 1948. See MS 466/1/1/10/4/7 for a typescript of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's contribution to the Bulletin of the International Council of Women.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/1

Typescript of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's untitled  
Presidential Address to the National Union of Women  
Workers

October 1906

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury wrote this address for the 1906 Annual Conference of the National Union of Women Workers. At the opening of her address Taylor Cadbury refers to the Union's 1905 conference which had been held in Birmingham, remarking that much was being 'attempted to relieve suffering' in the city, to 'remove the disabilities of the poor' and to 'establish progressive educational conditions'. She adds, however, that poverty, drunkenness and poor housing still existed in the city, encouraging enthusiasm for continued efforts to reform life in industrial centres like Birmingham.

Taylor Cadbury contradicted the view that the Union's conferences were 'the beginning & end' of their work, emphasising that members of the Union were 'keen & busy workers' and stating that their annual conference was an opportunity to share and develop ideas concerning their public philanthropic endeavours. She comments on the 'excitement & educational stimulus' of the recent General Election remarking that 'the enthusiasm & energy of

women were factors in nearly every campaign’.

Taylor Cadbury refers to progress which had been made in international democracy, the Old Age Pension Scheme and women’s suffrage since the Union’s 1905 conference. She also remarks on the Exhibition of the Sweated Industries which had been held earlier in 1906. The Exhibition had been organised by the newspaper the *Daily News* which was owned by Taylor Cadbury’s husband George Cadbury. Taylor Cadbury comments that the Exhibition had revealed ‘the terrible struggle for bare existence’ that existed ‘in the dark places of our great cities’.

Much of Taylor Cadbury’s address reflects on the pioneering role of Quaker women in changing the lives of England’s female population. She refers to her position as President of the Union, remarking that she felt her election had been due to some extent to her identity as a Quaker woman. She describes the ‘emphasis on the equality of women’ within the Religious Society of Friends in terms of ‘the right & capacity of women for social work’ and ‘opportunities for service’. Taylor Cadbury also contrasts women of ‘recent times’ who were involved in ‘most departments of useful work & social reform’ with ‘the self-centred life’ led by the women described in the novels of Jane Austen (1775-1817).

Taylor Cadbury warns against the dangers of materialism and emphasises the need for social reform with reference to women’s involvement in efforts ‘for housing reform, to provide good sanitation, hygienic conditions, good food’ and ‘efficient education’. Reflecting her address ‘Whereunto?’ which she delivered at the Union’s 1910 conference, Taylor Cadbury also emphasises the equal need for spiritual development. Revealing the importance of her own religious faith in motivating her public philanthropic work, Taylor Cadbury describes how early Quakers ‘made practical use’ of the spiritual enlightenment which they achieved through their ‘union and fellowship’ with God. In a handwritten attachment to page eight of her address Taylor Cadbury writes ‘we have

not evolved our ideals of social reform & justice from our own consciousness, unaided by the Divine'. She explains that 'the impulse' behind good works came from God, emphasising the importance of spiritual enlightenment in ensuring 'the onward march of progress & reform'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/10](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/2

Typescript of 'The Riddle of Circumstance' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

October 1907

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury wrote this address for the Annual Conference of the National Union of Women Workers held in Manchester in 1907. Describing Manchester, Taylor Cadbury writes 'we are almost overwhelmed by the evidence of enormous enterprise & keen competition, & by the continuous stream of hurrying masses of people'.

Taylor Cadbury's address provides an overview of developments affecting women which had occurred since the Union's 1906 conference. Referring to the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act of 1907, Taylor Cadbury remarks that 'the Government has restored women to their proper place in local government'. She also comments that the government had begun work towards 'raising the standard of physical life for our children'.

The theme of the Union's 1907 conference was the economic position of women, focussing on the lives of women who were involved in paid employment. Taylor Cadbury considers the work of female teachers and school inspectors, home workers, factory workers and children forced on to the labour market through poverty. She defines teaching as 'one of the most honourable & important of professions' but expresses concern about the salaries paid to female secondary school teachers. Taylor Cadbury also refers to the low salaries received by female sanitary inspectors and health visitors and provides a harrowing account of women employed in the sweated industries, revealing her anger and contempt for 'the



owners of slum property'. She expresses concern about children being forced into employment to supplement their parents' poor wages. Taylor Cadbury also remarks on the debilitating influence of industrial urbanisation on child health, promoting the benefits of living in a healthy rural environment with reference to 'garden villages'.

Taylor Cadbury suggests measures to improve the circumstances of life through a revived emphasis on God's teachings of brotherly love amongst humanity and emphasises the importance of providing for the welfare of employees. She draws on the employee welfare initiatives implemented at the Cadbury chocolate factory in Bournville to advocate changes in the ventilation of factory rooms, reduced working hours and the provision of dining rooms and lavatories equipped with hot pipes for drying wet clothes. She also refers to the provision of gardens and recreation grounds, educational opportunities, bathing facilities and physical training to 'improve the physique' of female Cadbury employees.

The final part of Taylor Cadbury's address examines issues surrounding the provision of working class housing. She considers 'the houses & courts built for the industrious, self-respecting, working men & women' suggesting that these 'dreary, unhealthy, crowded quarters' were 'a menace to the health & morals' of a large proportion of the population. Taylor Cadbury expresses her concern that whilst slum areas were being cleared in cities they continued to appear in the suburbs, appealing to Town and District Councils to provide improved housing through municipal enterprise.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/11](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/3

Printed copy of 'Whereunto?' by Elizabeth Taylor  
Cadbury (Mrs. George Cadbury)

October  
1910

Annotations on this address state that it was delivered to the National Union of Women Workers at the Union's Annual Conference which was held in Birmingham in October 1905. However, Taylor Cadbury's references to

the Board of Education Consultative Committee Report 'Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools' (1909) and her citation of extracts from H. G. Wells' 1910 novel *The History of Mr. Polly* suggest that it was written in 1910. Indeed, a report of the Union's annual conference for the year 1910 featured in *Women Workers* reveals that Taylor Cadbury delivered the address in a concluding session of this conference. See *Women Workers* XX, no. 3 (December 1910): 68.

Taylor Cadbury's address focuses on the issue of education provision for children. She refers to *The History of Mr. Polly* by H. G. Wells, remarking on the insights which Wells provided into 'the modern system of average education' through his portrayal of 'dull mediocre lives, in dull or sordid surroundings'. Taylor Cadbury describes Mr. Polly's experiences, asking why England's educational methods should 'choke the imagination and destroy originality'. She refers to recent developments in the English educational system, remarking on the 1909 report of the Consultative Committee on Education and the debate surrounding the teaching of religious education in schools.

Taylor Cadbury emphasises the importance of developing the spiritual aspects of human nature. She remarks 'if with the development of the intellectual faculties, and the rightly growing demand for more physical comfort, for better conditions, for more equal chances, we do not cultivate the spiritual side of our complex nature, the result will be a dwarfed, crippled product'.

Taylor Cadbury later advocates counteracting the growth of materialism 'by stimulating the spiritual impulse'. This theme occupies much of her paper and is examined in relation to the need for 'spiritual awakening' in Britain and overseas. Taylor Cadbury also provides examples to illustrate how 'Divine illumination' was 'the chief condition of human progress', referring to the lives of historical figures. She concludes her address by stating that 'the greatest stimulus to our own spiritual life is to try to foster it in others. The greatest need of England to-day

is the revival of spiritual life’.

Three printed copies of this address are featured here.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 3 Items

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/5-7](#)

MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/4 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s addresses to the International Council of Women and the National Union of Women Workers, October 1915

This section contains notes relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s address to the International Council of Women’s Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee and an annotated typescript of Taylor Cadbury’s address to the National Union of Women Workers’ Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee. Written during the First World War, Taylor Cadbury emphasises the importance of practical work and prayer supporting peace and international co-operation to prevent future warfare.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/4/1

Typescript of notes for an address to the International Council of Women’s Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

October 1915

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s notes refer to letters received by the International Council of Women from women in Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Argentina, America, Canada and Australia. Her notes reveal that many of the letters expressed women’s ‘horror and detestation’ at the First World War following its outbreak in 1914. Taylor Cadbury provides an overview of the content of the letters and the work that was being done in England ‘to care for prisoners, and also for the wives and children of aliens’. Taylor Cadbury notes that the International Council had received ‘warm acknowledgements’ for their work.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/19](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/4/2

Typescript of an address to the National Union of Women Workers’ Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

October 1915

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury describes the formation of the Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee, and informs members that the committee had received

communications from other societies including useful literature which had been disseminated to their branches. She refers to the 'deeply diverging differences' in opinion about obtaining lasting peace between nations and advocates the importance of educating public opinion and developing a wider understanding of international relationships.

Taylor Cadbury's address describes the emphasis on liberty and justice in the first months of the First World War which had recently fallen silent. She suggests that the purpose of the Peace & Arbitration Sub-Committee would be 'to work and pray' that war did not return in the future, and to support the development of an effective federation of interests between European countries. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by stating 'we stand at the crisis of the war today, and the crisis of human history', emphasising the importance of liberty and warning against the future arming of nations.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/20](#)

MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/5 Two versions of a paper about the work of the school medical service by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, October 1923

Following the enlargement of Birmingham's administrative boundaries in 1911 which incorporated King's Norton, Northfield and Selly Oak under the jurisdiction of Birmingham City Council, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was invited to serve on the City Council Education Committee. She was subsequently appointed Chairman of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee, a post which she served in until 1924. During this period Taylor Cadbury implemented medical treatment services for school children across Birmingham. Her work included introducing dental clinics in collaboration with Birmingham Dental Hospital and the development of the city's Central School Clinic which was opened by her friend and colleague Chief Medical Officer Sir George Newman (1870-1948) in September 1915. Taylor Cadbury also led the establishment of school clinics across Birmingham which treated minor ailments and provided spectacles. In addition, she oversaw the development of a clinic for the treatment of tonsils and adenoids which opened in October 1913.

This section contains two copies of an address about initiatives supporting the health of school children which was written for the annual conference of the National Council of Women held in Edinburgh in 1923. Taylor Cadbury's address describes the work of the school medical service, focussing particularly on the provision of services in Birmingham.

A pencil annotation in the top right hand corner of the first document reads ‘Mrs. Laurence Cadbury’, suggesting that the finished copy of Taylor Cadbury’s address may have been given to her daughter-in-law Joyce Cadbury. The second document is an annotated working typescript of this address.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the school medical service taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), pp. 105-106. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/12 for Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s address ‘The Health of the Nation’ which she delivered at a public health meeting in 1913. This address includes similar details relating to Taylor Cadbury’s involvement in the development of Birmingham’s school medical service. See also MS 466/1/1/11 for papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s role as Chairman of Birmingham City Council Education Committee’s Hygiene Sub-Committee.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/5/1

Typescript of ‘The School Medical Service’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1923

At the beginning of this address, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury suggests that the school medical service had ‘raised the standard of health of the child’ and ‘educated its parents’. She provides a statistical overview of children receiving school medical treatment and a survey of the work carried out in different localities. Taylor Cadbury describes the services available to school children in Birmingham, referring to the work of the Tonsil and Adenoid Clinic established at Soho Hill in Handsworth and the use of X-Ray apparatus to treat ring-worm. She also provides an overview of the work undertaken at school clinics across Birmingham including ophthalmic examinations and dental treatment. In addition, Taylor Cadbury refers to the establishment of clinics for remedial exercise, open-air schools and a residential school for crippled children which formed part of Birmingham’s School Medical Service.

Taylor Cadbury remarks on further advances in welfare provision for school children, stating that ‘the paramount necessity of sending children out into the world, mentally well-equipped and physically fit, should be recognised by all local authorities’. She adds that ‘to really benefit by the Education provided by the State, the school children must

be healthy and live in decent homes'. Taylor Cadbury advocates the further development of dental treatment and the implementation of clinics for children suffering from deafness. She adds that services could be improved through the establishment of convalescent homes for school children and an increase in support for children suffering from malnutrition. Drawing on the words of her friend and colleague Chief Medical Officer Sir George Newman, Taylor Cadbury reiterates Newman's argument that the child had become 'the starting point' of preventive medicine.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/30](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/5/2

Annotated typescript of 'School of Health' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

October 1923

This typescript is an edited and annotated version of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address entitled 'The School Medical Service'. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/5/1 for a full description of the content of this address. Pencil notes on this document include details which Taylor Cadbury added to the typescript emphasising the importance of good food and open air in efforts to improve child health.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/31](#)

MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6 Two versions of a paper entitled 'Citizenship' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 1924

This section contains two copies of an address by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury entitled 'Citizenship' which was written for the Annual Conference of the National Council of Women held in Brighton in 1924. The first document appears to be the final version of this address. Annotations on the front cover of this document state that Taylor Cadbury referred to the typescript again in 1928 and in 1931, suggesting that she used the ideas expressed in this address as the basis for future speeches. The second typescript is an annotated working copy of this address which was preserved by Taylor Cadbury as an additional copy.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

At the opening of this address, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury suggests that 'the subject of Citizenship is a favourite topic at the moment'. She states that the aim of her address was to consider the meaning of citizenship, its implications, the responsibilities which it entailed and its limitations, as well as its difficulties and appeal. Taylor Cadbury also refers to historical examples, exploring how the meaning of citizenship differed across cultures and time periods.

Expressing 'national pride', Taylor Cadbury remarks that England was amongst the great civilisations, with men and women devoted to serving their country. She refers to contemporary views of citizenship as embodying 'a moral attitude' or appreciation of justice and emphasises the importance of judgement, mercy and truth and an acceptance of the 'high ideal of Citizenship' taught by Jesus Christ.

Taylor Cadbury considers the role of education in teaching citizenship, both in America and England, referring to the work of the President of the Board of Education Mr. H. A. L. Fisher. Following this, she provides an account of existing opportunities to enter the field of 'National Affairs' such as membership of municipal and county councils, noting particular opportunities for women in 'schemes for developments in the promotion of health and prevention of disease'. Taylor Cadbury's address reveals her maternal approach to women's public service and demonstrates that she based her interpretation of citizenship on practical participation in philanthropic work rather than political recognition. Indeed, Taylor Cadbury remarks that women did not have to be elected members of councils to exercise citizenship. She comments that 'many important Committees have co-opted members who can help in the administrative and detailed work connected with Child Welfare, Public Health, School Medical Service, the care of the Mentally and Physically defective, Housing, and Recreation'. Taylor Cadbury also refers to the important work of the Board of Guardians in terms of

Poor Law Administration and prison reform.

Taylor Cadbury suggests that 'decent and industrious citizens' involved in 'honest work' for a livelihood to bring up a family were undertaking 'the first and highest duty of the Citizen who has family responsibilities'. She remarks that this work should be considered 'a form of public service' and considers opportunities to undertake the responsibilities of citizenship through international work.

Taylor Cadbury emphasises the deficit in people willing to 'serve on either voluntary or public bodies'. She encourages more people to become 'engaged in some kind of useful and altruistic work' and advocates a scheme by which people would only be able to serve on a limited number of committees which would encourage a larger percentage of the population to participate in public social service. Taylor Cadbury also emphasises the importance of people voting 'at Municipal and Parliamentary Elections' which she identified was a way by which people exercised 'their Citizen's duty'. She concludes her address by criticising the division between political and municipal groups and condemning class warfare which she suggests was 'opposed utterly to the spirit of our great Social Reformer, Jesus Christ'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/33](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/6/2

Annotated typescript of 'Citizenship' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1924

This document is an edited and annotated version of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address entitled 'Citizenship'. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1 for a full description of the content of this address. This version of the address includes many amendments, pencil annotations and pieces of attached text.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/34](#)



MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/7

Typescript of 'Control of Armaments' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1934

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury delivered this address to the National Council of Women in 1934. She begins by referring to the birth of Saint Bernard who devoted his life 'to the service of his fellow-men'. She relates Saint Bernard's efforts to overcome the 'terrible devils' envy, greed, suspicion and murder with 'earnest prayer' to the European political situation in 1934 when countries were attempting to 'challenge' the threat of war by encouraging disarmament.

Taylor Cadbury examines the issue of disarmament by providing an overview of political efforts to encourage an international policy, remarking that these had culminated in 'no concrete results'. She blames 'the failure of human endeavour' and 'the pressure of conflicting interests' across countries for this lack of resolution. She also provides an account of recent disarmament campaigns, commenting on the significance of 'the unofficial movement for disarmament' which had been led by international groups of women and emphasises the centrality of such work to the National Council of Women.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/65](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
6/8

Typescript of an account of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's lecture on India

1936

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury delivered a lecture about India to the National Council of Women's Committee for International Affairs and the Promotion of Peace at University College, London, on 23rd April 1936. Her lecture provided an account of her recent visit to India to attend the Joint Conference of the International Council of Women and the Indian National Council (World Congress of the International Council of Women.) Her address was illustrated with photographs and cinema films. This anonymous printed report provides a detailed account of Taylor Cadbury's lecture.

The report states that Taylor Cadbury had spoken about Indian history with reference to the British rule of India during the 1930s. Taylor Cadbury had also remarked on the diversity of 'religion, custom and history' in India, commenting on the role of Indian women in national affairs. In addition, the account reveals that Taylor Cadbury had emphasised the similarities between the concerns of the Indian and British National Councils of Women, such as their interest in public health, the medical inspection of school children and infant welfare.

Taylor Cadbury's lecture provided an account of the Joint Conference, which had focussed on poverty, malnutrition and housing conditions as well as debate concerning effective education in India. The report also includes a detailed description of the photographs and films used by Taylor Cadbury to illustrate her address and remarks on her invitation to deliver a broadcast on Indian radio. See MS 466/1/1/13 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's visit to India for the World Congress of the International Council of Women and her public work supporting international relations, 1935-1947, to learn more about Taylor Cadbury's visit to India in 1936.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/70](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
7

Typescript of 'Housing' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. c. after  
1906]

Although this address is undated, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's references to the development of 'Garden Villages' instigated by private individuals indicate that it was written during the early twentieth century. In addition, she cites reports relating to investigations into housing conditions undertaken during 1904 and 1906 suggesting that the address was written in or after 1906.

Throughout this address Taylor Cadbury emphasises the detrimental effects of 'unhealthy homes'. She remarks on poor urban living conditions and the number of people who were 'housed in close, dirty, evil-smelling lanes & courts, deprived of fresh air & sunshine, strangers to the

sight of grass, flowers & trees' and 'without opportunity for healthy recreation'. She suggests that poor environmental conditions caused illness and forced people into crime. Taylor Cadbury cites international statistics relating to housing, referring to the work of Sir Walter Foster and also German, American and French surveys relating to 'bad & unhealthy' housing. Reflecting on this evidence, Taylor Cadbury calls for people to 'move more quickly in the direction of improvement', stating:

'No greater work awaits the reformer, no higher task the administrator, than the transforming of slums & rookeries, & the turning of fresh air & sunshine & the beauty of grass & trees & flowers - now too often the privilege of the few - into the birthright of the poor, & those who cannot help themselves'.

Taylor Cadbury draws on her experiences participating in the development of Bournville village to provide an overview of efforts towards housing reform, remarking on the emerging development of 'Garden Villages, Garden Cities' and 'Garden Suburbs' in Britain and abroad. She suggests that 'the movement will need in the future to be the work of the State & of Municipalities' and emphasises the importance of educating public opinion before remarking on various planning schemes aimed at housing reform such as the Tenants Co-Partnership Building Association. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by stating 'we shall work on for a happier home life for all our people'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/83](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
8

Typescript of 'Education' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

November  
1909

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury describes the origins of the Birmingham Branch of the Parents' National Education Union (P.N.E.U.) which developed from an earlier group established in the city called Mothers in Council. Richenda Scott comments on Taylor Cadbury's involvement with this informal group 'who

were concerned with the difficult question of the right and healthy upbringing of their children'. President of the Birmingham Branch of the P.N.E.U. in 1909, Taylor Cadbury was also associated with the Birmingham Branch of the Child Study Association. She delivered this address at the Annual Conference of the Parents' National Education Union which was held in Birmingham in 1909. The theme of the 1909 conference was 'The Relation in Education between the Ideal and Practical'. Taylor Cadbury presided over this conference, delivering an address and inviting delegates to stay at her home, the Manor House in Northfield. Delegates were also given a tour of Bournville during the conference to demonstrate the reforms in industrial working and living conditions which had been implemented in the village. The Conference featured a number of evening talks, including a lecture delivered by the Principal of the University of Birmingham, Sir Oliver Lodge (1851-1940), entitled 'Parents and Children'.

Taylor Cadbury provides an overview of educational institutions in Birmingham 'interested in progressive education'. She refers particularly to the new University of Birmingham under the 'guidance' of its 'far-famed Principal', her friend and colleague Sir Oliver Lodge. Taylor Cadbury highlights the contemporary emphasis on the child in political legislation and the role of child welfare in the reform of housing, remarking on voluntary work to establish clubs for young people. She suggests 'it may sometimes occur to us to question whether the child of to-day is not too much observed', expressing her concern that being the subject of intense study would cause children to become too self-conscious and self-centred.

Taylor Cadbury refers to the dangers of materialism and an education focussed on obtaining professional positions and wealth. She advocates educating children 'to be good, upright citizens' who would 'take their part worthily in the work of the world and give their contribution to the enrichment of the race'. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by emphasising the importance of cultivating

children's spiritual engagement.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's association with 'Mothers in Council' and the Parents' National Education Union (P.N.E.U.) taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1951), p. 102. See MS 466/1/1/2/9 for further details and correspondence relating to the Annual Conference of the Parents' National Education Union held in Birmingham in 1909.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/13

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
9

Typescript of 'Adult Schools' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

November  
1909

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was involved in adult school work from a young age. She worked with girls engaged in professional employment in Paternoster Row in London and taught adult classes of women and men whilst undertaking voluntary work at a medical mission in Belleville, Paris during 1885. Following her marriage to George Cadbury (1839-1922) and subsequent move to Selly Oak, Taylor Cadbury began a class for the wives of the men who attended her husband's class at the Severn Street Adult School in Birmingham. Taylor Cadbury remained closely associated with the work of her women's class at Severn Street throughout her life.

Taylor Cadbury delivered this address describing the work of adult schools to a meeting of the Workers Educational Association which was held at the University of Birmingham in November 1909. Addresses delivered at this meeting, including Taylor Cadbury's, were later published by J. H. Muirhead in his book *Birmingham Institutions: Lectures given at the University* (1911).

In her address Taylor Cadbury describes the 'distinctive marks' of the Adult School Movement, remarking on the brotherly spirit which united members of adult school classes and the mutual helpfulness of the work undertaken in the schools. She provides a history of the Adult School

Movement, tracing its origins to Birmingham and the work of the Methodist William Singleton in 1798. She also refers to the Quaker Samuel Fox who opened a Sunday School for adults in Nottingham and the work of other Quakers in Leeds before Joseph Sturge established the British School in Severn Street, Birmingham, in 1845. In addition, Taylor Cadbury remarks on the opening of the first Women's School in Ann Street, Birmingham, in 1848 and the class started by William White in the city during the same year. She comments that it was 'impossible to estimate' White's value to the growth of adult schooling, adding that her husband George Cadbury had been one of the three earliest adult school teachers in Birmingham alongside Samuel Price and Alfred Southall.

Taylor Cadbury comments on developments in adult schooling, referring to the Friends' first-day schools. Her address also features extracts from letters bearing testimony to the 'temporal and spiritual' benefits of the schools. She provides an account of buildings in Birmingham used to house the growing classes of students, such as the Bristol Street Council School, and describes the various clubs which had grown out of adult school work including social clubs, cycling clubs, sick clubs and coal clubs.

Taylor Cadbury's address also provides an insight into Birmingham politics during the late nineteenth century. She includes remarks about William White's role as Chairman of the 'Improvement Committee' appointed by the Town Council to oversee the implementation of Joseph Chamberlain's improvements to central Birmingham in 1875. Her address emphasises how men associated with adult schooling in Birmingham were aided in their public work by their adult teaching experiences.

Reflecting her own involvement in adult school work, Taylor Cadbury's address features a long section examining the work of adult classes established for women in which she describes the Central Women's School at the Priory Rooms in Birmingham. She also alludes to the importance of her cousin Hannah Cadbury

(1830-1904) in this work, as well as the role of the Midland Union.

Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by stating that ‘all new schools open with the idea that they stand for education in the highest sense, of heart and mind and soul, which ultimately must be returned to the community in service’. She emphasises that the ‘very centre’ of adult school work was ‘the development of the spiritual side of man’.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and adult schooling taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), pp. 34-35 and p. 68.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/12

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
10

Typescript of ‘Youth Clubs’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

June 1910

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury explores the work being undertaken by youth clubs to improve the conditions of life for children living in industrial cities. She begins her account with reference to the work of The Beeches, the children’s country holiday home first established in Bournville during the 1890s and redeveloped in 1908. Taylor Cadbury contrasts the healthy environment offered at The Beeches with the insanitary life experienced by children living in urban Birmingham.

Taylor Cadbury’s address provides an insight into the clubs for boys and girls established as ‘counter attractions to the streets’. She uses the Bermondsey Settlement Club as an example and refers to the important character forming work of the Birmingham Street Children’s Union. She states that the majority of youth clubs were connected with religious bodies and offered ‘opportunities for wholesome recreation and development’. Taylor Cadbury describes the activities available at the Bermondsey Settlement Club which included gymnastics, a library of books and a weekly Bible Class. She suggests that a ‘great feature’ of the youth clubs was ‘the encouragement of outdoor sports such as football, cricket, running and

swimming'. She also comments on the youth clubs established for girls, suggesting that they catered for girls working in skilled jobs within factories, as well as those 'who would otherwise make the streets their playground'.

Taylor Cadbury's address emphasises the need for municipal authorities to provide children with amenities 'for healthy recreation', supported by the religious influence of the Church. She argues that the general establishment of clubs whose management was partially entrusted to the youths themselves would 'be very successful in competing with the music halls'.

Taylor Cadbury also refers to the work of the Boy Scouts and provides a detailed account of the work undertaken at Continuation Schools with reference to the institutions established for young workers at the Cadbury chocolate factory in Bournville. A report of courses offered at the local Evening Schools & Technical Classes issued by the Bournville Works Education Committee is enclosed within her address. The report indicates that boys could take classes in a variety of subjects including English, arithmetic, history and geography with additional classes in cookery, laundry and housewifery for girls. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by appealing for volunteers to support efforts 'to help the children'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/14](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
11

Typescript of 'Criminal Amendment Bill' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1911

This address relates to the Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Bill which was passed in 1911, amending the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 and the Vagrancy Act of 1898 to protect women and girls from human trafficking.

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury delivered this address to an unspecified gathering of people who she states shared 'real and deep sympathy' with the object of the Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Bill. She comments that the Bill had previously failed to obtain a



second reading by Parliament owing to lack of public support, remarking that ‘many people are still unaware of the extent of this infamous traffic’. Acknowledging that it was difficult to speak publicly about the issues addressed in the Bill, Taylor Cadbury states that ‘only a strong and overwhelming sense of duty’ had encouraged women to speak out on the subject, ‘risking criticism and misunderstanding’.

Taylor Cadbury's address provides an account of the different groups supporting the Bill, including the Ladies' National Association for the Promotion of Social Purity. She emphasises that both men and women ‘representing almost every shade of political and religious opinion’ were supporting the Bill. The typescript features a handwritten annotation added by Taylor Cadbury which states ‘though we emphasise the importance of woman's influence in this cause we recognise the noble work done by many men: it is a cause in which men & women must act together’.

Taylor Cadbury refers to statistics from London and New York which revealed ‘the existence of this terrible White Slave Traffic’ and considers the ways in which the Bill would ‘help this state of things’. She emphasises the importance of empowering the police to deal with suspected offenders and the need to improve social conditions to prevent women from being ‘driven to a life of ill-fame’. Taylor Cadbury attributes blame for women entering this way of life to the bad living conditions of girls within ‘crowded and unwholesome dwellings’, remarking also on the ‘decadence, love of wealth, luxury, self indulgence’ and ‘declining power of self-control’ which she identified in twentieth century life. Criticising the ‘inefficient religious and ethical training’ of the modern day, Taylor Cadbury encourages her audience to play an active role in improving social conditions. She remarks on the need for a ‘spiritual atmosphere’ in ‘social, political, and home life’ which would ‘enable us to live above the material compromises of to-day’.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/114](#)

Following the enlargement of Birmingham's administrative boundaries in 1911 which incorporated King's Norton, Northfield and Selly Oak under the jurisdiction of Birmingham City Council, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was invited to serve on the City Council Education Committee. She was subsequently appointed Chairman of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee, a post which she served in until 1924. During this period Taylor Cadbury implemented medical treatment services for school children across Birmingham. Her work included introducing dental clinics in collaboration with Birmingham Dental Hospital and the development of the city's Central School Clinic which was opened by her friend and colleague Chief Medical Officer Sir George Newman (1870-1948) in September 1915. Taylor Cadbury also led the establishment of school clinics across Birmingham which treated minor ailments and provided spectacles. In addition, she oversaw the development of a clinic for the treatment of tonsils and adenoids which opened in October 1913. Taylor Cadbury's experiences of industrial welfare provision and housing reform through her work in Bournville also provided her with an insight into modern advances in public health.

This address was delivered by Taylor Cadbury at a meeting of Manchester Public Health Society held on 29th January 1913. The typescript includes introductory notes as well as the main content of Taylor Cadbury's address. The typescript reveals that those present at the public health meeting were particularly interested in the 'health of the worker, and more especially of the women and children who work'. Taylor Cadbury remarks that health was 'a very important factor in efficiency as regards good work, on which the prosperity of the nation depends'. She provides an account of the International Hygiene Exhibition at Dresden, an exhibition of scientific and technological advances held in October 1912, which she

suggests had been ‘a unique opportunity for all engaged in any side of administration that bears on care and maintenance of human health and welfare’. Taylor Cadbury also examines the conditions of life for women and children at home and work, providing statistics about the number of children working in industry and exploring issues surrounding juvenile employment. She expresses her concerns about children leaving school early and entering employment without adequate guidance or safeguarding.

Reflecting her experiences working with Birmingham Education Committee’s Hygiene Sub-Committee, Taylor Cadbury emphasises the need for medical care for children in industry, providing a statistical overview demonstrating the lack of fitness amongst young people. She considers the work of the Board of Education in relation to developments in the medical inspection and treatment of school children, reporting that ‘real progress’ was being made in ‘rendering medical inspection effective’. Taylor Cadbury emphasises the importance of ‘careful, systematic and periodical medical inspection and treatment’ for children to improve defective eyesight, uncleanliness and disease. She also refers to dental disease and dental treatment as well as the relationship between housing and public health, remarking that overcrowding was detrimental to child welfare.

Taylor Cadbury’s address considers conditions in factories and outlines changes which were required to improve the welfare of female workers. She remarks on the importance of hygiene, healthy environments for eating, efficient ventilation and healthier working hours. Taylor Cadbury also provides an overview of recent accidents in factories before advocating safety measures such as the fencing of machines. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address with examples of measures taken at the Cadbury chocolate factory in Bournville to improve the welfare of workers. She suggests that welfare improvements would create a more efficient workforce and increase national prosperity in terms of both the wealth and health of the nation.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the school medical service taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), pp. 105-106. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/5 for Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address entitled 'The School Medical Service' which she wrote for the National Council of Women's annual conference held in Edinburgh in 1923. This address also includes details relating to Taylor Cadbury's involvement in the development of school medical services in Birmingham. See also MS 466/1/1/11 for papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's role as Chairman of Birmingham City Council Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/16](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
13

Typescript of 'Women in Religious Life' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

October 1913

Sara Delamont refers to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's lifelong interest in the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) which began in the late nineteenth century and continued until her death in 1951. The Y.W.C.A. was formed in 1855 and had fifteen branches in Birmingham by the late 1880s. Shortly after her marriage to George Cadbury in 1888, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was invited to become the District Referee for all branches of the Association in Birmingham and the wider County of Warwickshire. As the organisation developed, Taylor Cadbury was appointed the first President of the Warwickshire District Council of the Y.W.C.A. in 1913. Following a reorganisation of the national Y.W.C.A., Taylor Cadbury was appointed President of the new Midland Division, a post which she occupied until 1936 when she became President of the new Birmingham Division. In 1946 the Birmingham Division became the City Association in a newly formed West Midland Division. Taylor Cadbury served as President of both until her death in December 1951.

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury wrote this address for the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.)

conference in Edinburgh in October 1913. A pencil annotation on the typescript reveals that the Bishop of Edinburgh chaired the conference. Her address considers the position of women in religious life with particular reference to Quaker women. She explores the importance of religion and its influences on collective and individual life within society. Taylor Cadbury suggests that religion 'is a greater, older, more divine fact than any of the Churches', promoting an interpretation of religious faith which exceeded denominational boundaries. She emphasises the importance of 'free, spontaneous Christianity' based on 'a direct revelation from God to the soul', suggesting that the development of the ecclesiastical system had imposed doctrine over this 'immediate response'. Her address criticises the exclusion of women from religious life in the ecclesiastical structure, drawing on the devotion and steadfastness evident in the records of early female Christians and martyrs.

Taylor Cadbury refers to the spiritual equality of men and women within the Religious Society of Friends, expressing her 'Quaker interpretation of the Divine message' by referring to the importance of 'a simple interpretation of God's will' detached from 'ritual and priestly authority'. Her address provides historical examples of women playing an important role in the development of Quakerism, featuring short biographies of Ann Audland (1627-1705), Mary Dyer (d. 1660) and Margaret Fell (1614-1702) to demonstrate that 'from the very first, women took their share in the proclamation of the message'. Taylor Cadbury also emphasises the importance of religious faith in motivating women's participation in public service. She criticises women who undertook religious social service with 'obtrusive demands' for themselves and comments on the need for a religious foundation within the 'women's movement'. She concludes her address by stating that a 'fundamental principle of equality' must be conceded and a return to a 'simpler and more elastic form of worship' for women to hold their rightful position in religious life.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the

Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) taken from Sara Delamont, 'Cadbury, Dame Elizabeth Mary (1858-1951)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45784>], accessed 27th October 2008. See also Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), pp. 77-78. See MS 466/1/1/7 for papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's involvement with the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.)  
[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)  
Extent: 1 Item  
[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/17](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
14

Typescript of 'Primitive Education' or 'Modern Developments in Education' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

January 1914

This address was written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for a meeting of the Friends' Economic Circle. The address examines the practical and theoretical education of primitive man. Pencil annotations on the typescript state that it was renamed 'Modern Developments in Education' and delivered at Wyddrington in January 1914.

Taylor Cadbury describes practical education from its early stages within the family, referring to the division of labour between the sexes and the role of fathers in leading family worship. She also examines the history of education across the world, beginning with 'Oriental Education', including Confucianism and exploring the school system and the examination system. She then considers elements in Greek education including the political, moral, intellectual and aesthetic development of the personality before examining the results of this educational system. Taylor Cadbury's address also explores Roman education, Renaissance and Humanistic Education as well as education during the Reformation. Towards the end of her paper, Taylor Cadbury considers naturalistic and psychological tendencies in education.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)  
Extent: 1 Item  
[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/18](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
15

Typescript of 'An Answer to Bernhardi' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. c. 1914-1918]

This paper forms Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's response to the ideas of Prussian general and military historian Friedrich von Bernhardi (1849-1930). Bernhardi's published works, particularly his book *Germany and the Next War* published in 1911, advocated aggressive warfare and the disregard of treaties. This conflicted with many of the Christian and pacifist views which Taylor Cadbury supported through her Quakerism and international peace work.

Taylor Cadbury dismisses Bernhardi's simplistic interpretation of warfare, emphasising the 'unimaginable misery' and brutality of military aggression with reference to the German invasion of Antwerp in 1914. She argues for a 'change of heart' based on 'new ideals' and opposes war as 'ignominious and brutal'. Taylor Cadbury emphasises the importance of the Christian Church in spreading a message of peace and unity, referring to the 'world-wide Kingdom of God' which required all nations with 'their racial differences and historical individualities' to come together 'in a deeper unity in God'.

Although this typescript does not form part of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address about Belgium during the First World War, her remarks concerning Germany's military aggression towards neutral Belgium in 1914 relate closely to this address. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/19 for papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address about Belgium during the First World War.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/121](#)

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/16 Typescript and Printed Copy of 'The Changing World' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, February 1916**

Relating closely to her involvement with the Birmingham Branch of the Parents' National Education Union (P.N.E.U.), Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury served as President of the Birmingham Branch of the Child Study Association in 1916.

This section contains a typescript and a printed copy of Taylor Cadbury's Presidential Address to the Birmingham Branch of the Child Study Association, entitled 'A Changing World'.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Child Study Association taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), p. 111.

Access: [Open](#). Condition: [Good](#).

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
16/1

Typescript of 'The Changing World' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

01/02/1916

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remarks how the First World War was 'checking all progress' in England's schools, referring to public criticism of the education system. She outlines the increased focus in recent times on the home life, education and health of young people and remarks on the numerous educational societies which had emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She explores the impact of the First World War on children and education and refers to the influence which utilitarian considerations may have in post-war schooling.

Taylor Cadbury emphasises the importance of children continuing their education beyond the age of fourteen when many children entered employment. She advocates the extension of opportunities for further education by promoting the character forming influences of education on older children. Taylor Cadbury remarks on the German education system to support her argument for the extension of the school-leaving age. She suggests that the return of servicemen following the end of the war would decrease the need for children in the labour market.

Taylor Cadbury's address also considers improvements in the staffing of schools and the reduction of class size. She states that 'overcrowding and understaffing' were amongst the 'most serious' mistakes in the education system, remarking 'what chance has the teacher of really knowing and understanding the 50 or 60 children he undertakes to train for the serious duty of living!'

Taylor Cadbury expresses criticism of the amount of



money spent on England's military campaign against Germany, advocating a larger economic investment in education. She emphasises the importance of teaching which she praises as 'one of the noblest' and most 'patriotic' of professions. She also refers to the ideas concerning education explored in *The History of Mr. Polly* (1910) by H. G. Wells. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by suggesting that the story of the First World War could be utilised to encourage children's interest in history and to promote a broader understanding of international relations, creating a healthy sense of patriotism which would prevent future warfare.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/21a](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
16/2

Printed copy of 'The Changing World' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1916

This document is a printed copy of Taylor Cadbury's address 'The Changing World' delivered to the Birmingham Branch of the Child Study Association on 1st February 1916. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/16/1 for a full description of the content of this address.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/25](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
17

Rough typescript of an address about Lent by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. 1918-  
1931]

This typescript consists of a series of heavily annotated notes relating to an address about the Christian calendar in which Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remarks on Christian days of remembrance and celebration. Taylor Cadbury considers why the Religious Society of Friends excluded religious festivals from the 'spiritual life' of Quakers. She suggests that Christian festivals formed 'times for the renewal of faith and courage and strength'. Taylor Cadbury focuses particularly on the period of Lent during which Christian people reflect on the sacrifice made by Jesus Christ and prepare for the celebration of his resurrection with the festivities of Easter. Considering the marking of days celebrating the lives of Saints, Taylor

Cadbury remarks on the equal importance of the experience of contemporary Christian people in gaining a 'real and vital' sense of faith.

It is possible that this rough typescript formed the basis of an address about Lent written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury in 1931. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/28 for this address.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/123

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
18

Typescript of 'Jews & Christians' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. post  
1918]

Although this address is undated, references to political developments following the First World War indicate that it was written after 1918.

This address was delivered by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury at a conference of Jewish and Christian people which she was invited to attend. Taylor Cadbury begins her address by acknowledging 'the enormous debt of gratitude' owed to the Jewish people with reference to the Ten Commandments and their understanding of 'the Divine revelation' which had become the Christian 'inheritance'. She also examines scriptural references to Jerusalem remarking that 'men and women living in cold, drab Northern countries have had their lives enriched and their imagination kindled by the beauty and oriental splendour of the Hebrew Scriptures'.

Taylor Cadbury considers the emerging recognition of similarities between the 'fundamental religious belief and moral standards' of Christianity and Judaism. Referring to the growing co-operation and fellowship between Christian religious denominations, Taylor Cadbury considers arguments supporting 'a movement towards a wider fellowship' incorporating Jewish communities, advocating that 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ' should form the basis of this 'contact'. She remarks:

'Political interests we already share; we work together on

Public Bodies, and in Civic Work; we are mutually concerned for Public Health...and for all forms of social betterment. But the suggestion now is that we find some point of contact from the Religious side’.

Taylor Cadbury comments that an acknowledgement of both the Old and New Testaments, the ‘high standard of morality advocated by Jewish Law’, support for temperance reform and the preservation of the Sabbath day would form a sufficient basis for union and co-operation. She emphasises that ‘the great ideal on which we might concentrate our united efforts, is the task of bringing PEACE to the World’, suggesting that religious union and co-operation had the potential to consolidate international peace.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/102](#)

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/19 Papers relating to an address about Belgium during the First World War by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, n.d. post 1918**

The papers which make up this address are not dated and may have been written during the First World War, between 1914 and 1918. However, owing to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s emphasis on reconstruction, it is probable that the address was written following the conclusion of the conflict in 1918.

Although there is no indication given of the purpose for which Taylor Cadbury produced this address, it is possible that it was written as part of her international peace work during the early twentieth century. Taylor Cadbury was closely involved in work supporting refugees who came to England from Belgium following the outbreak of the First World War. Two thousand five hundred Belgium refugees arrived in Birmingham between September 1914 and January 1915. Taylor Cadbury served on the Executive Committee of the group which co-ordinated the support of these refugees in the city, acting as Chairman of the Allocation Committee which found suitable housing for Belgian families.

This section contains a number of papers relating to an address written by Taylor Cadbury about the German invasion of Belgium in 1914 during the early period of the First World War. The address considers Belgium’s political identity as a neutral country and the devastating impact of the German invasion. Taylor Cadbury emphasises the importance of looking to the future and provides an overview of plans for the reconstruction of Belgium and the new international bond recognised between Belgium and Britain.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's work supporting the welfare of Belgian refugees during the First World War taken from Richenda Scott, Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951 (London: Harrap, 1955), pp. 126-127.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
19/1

Typescript providing an overview and introduction to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's paper including details about the history of Belgium and a section entitled 'Treatises'

[n.d. post  
1918]

A page attached to the front of this typescript provides an outline of the structure of Taylor Cadbury's address which included sections relating to the history of Belgium and its people, treatises, events leading to the war, the Belgian Grey Book, defence, the martyrdom of Belgium and its reconstruction.

The main body of this typescript, entitled 'Treatises', considers historical treaties formed between Belgium and other countries in 1831 and 1839. Following this, Taylor Cadbury provides an introduction to Belgium referring to the country's size, geography, its people and its politics. Taylor Cadbury's address also includes an overview of Belgium's history, focussing on Belgium's international status in the nineteenth century and considering its identity as an independent neutral state.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/115](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
19/2

Typescript of 'Events Leading to the War: Belgium' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. post  
1918]

In this typescript Taylor Cadbury provides an account of events concerning Belgium in the period leading up to the First World War in 1914. She considers the political and military situation in Belgium between July and August 1914 with reference to specific dates and events.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/20](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
19/3

Typescript of 'Belgian Grey Book' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. post  
1918]

In this typescript Taylor Cadbury includes extracts from telegrams, notes and letters exchanged between regal and political authorities in Belgium during August 1914. The extracts refer to German attempts to invade Belgium and Belgium's foreign policy as a neutral state in the event of an invasion. Taylor Cadbury includes extracts from letters and telegrams sent by the Belgium Minister of Foreign Affairs. These declared Belgium's decision 'to resist' German invasion 'by all means in its power', and called on England, France and Russia to support Belgium's decision, recognising the German invasion as 'a violation of the laws of nations'.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/119](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
19/4

Typescript of 'Defence' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. post  
1918]

In this short typescript Taylor Cadbury considers Belgium's defence strategy in the event of German invasion in 1914, suggesting that the intention had been for Belgian forces to 'delay the German advance and to give the Allied Armies time to come to the rescue'. Taylor Cadbury examines the losses incurred by Belgium in their fight against Germany and the reasons why Belgium was not assisted earlier owing to a lack of preparation by their French and English allies. She refers specifically to the capturing of Antwerp and 'the heroic conduct of the Belgian King'.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/118](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
19/5

Typescript of 'The Martyrdom of Belgium' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. post  
1918]

Following her examination of Belgium's defence strategy against German invasion, Taylor Cadbury considers contemporary perceptions of Belgium's action against German forces in 1914, remarking that 'the methods employed for subduing, terrorising and crushing the

Belgian people have horrified the civilised world'. Taylor Cadbury provides an interpretation of the ways in which German military strategy went 'in direct defiance' of the rulings of the Hague Conference. She also includes a brief account of events during the early period of the First World War, focussing on the destruction of Belgium, particularly the 'richly endowed and ancient University town' of Louvain.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/116](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
19/6

Typescript of 'Reconstruction' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. post  
1918]

Taylor Cadbury begins this section of her paper by referring to the inestimable losses incurred by Belgium during the German invasion, emphasising the importance of looking forward 'with every confidence to the work of reconstruction'. She remarks particularly on the role of Britain in the rebuilding of Belgian trade and industry and the 'intellectual and moral' bond formed between the two countries. Taylor Cadbury concludes her paper by stating that 'from the crumbling ruins of the Belgium of today, a new and nobler Belgium will arise'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/117](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
20

Eulogy for George Shann by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

January 1919

George Shann was closely associated with the Cadbury family through his contribution towards adult schooling in Selly Oak and his work as a lecturer at Woodbrooke Quaker College. Shann was involved with Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury in educational administration in Bournville and Birmingham during the early twentieth century. A member of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, Shann served on the Bournville Village Schools Management Committee which was chaired by Taylor Cadbury. He was also an elected Birmingham City Councillor and served on Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee under Taylor Cadbury's leadership.

This eulogy was written by Taylor Cadbury to pay tribute to her friend and colleague George Shann. Taylor Cadbury provides an insight into Shann's contribution to social and cultural life in Birmingham, remarking particularly on his association with adult schooling in Selly Oak and his initiatives to raise wages and improve conditions in the district. Taylor Cadbury comments on Shann's efforts 'stimulating interest in civic life' and provides a detailed account of his intellectual, spiritual and political values.

Biographical information about George Shann taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), p. 99. See also Records of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Education Committee, BCK/AT; Bournville Village Schools Management Committee Minute Books, MS 1536, Archive of the Bournville Village Trust and Minute books of the City of Birmingham Education Committee's Hygiene Sub-Committee, BCC/BH/10/1/1/1-3 for material relating to Shann's involvement in educational administration.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/26

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
21

Typescript of an introductory address about the work of the League of Nations by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d. c. 1920s]

Although this address is undated, references in the text indicate that it was written during the 1920s.

Richenda Scott suggests that following the formation of the League of Nations Union, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury became 'a leader in the local branch'. See Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), 132.

This paper was delivered by Taylor Cadbury at an unspecified conference relating to the work of the League of Nations. Taylor Cadbury's paper functioned to summarise the three addresses which had been heard so far at the conference and to encourage 'lively' discussion.

These papers included an address by Mr. Pelissen entitled 'The Responsibility of the Churches', an address by Reverend P. Merrill considering the American view on disarmament and a paper presented in French by Monsieur de Fabres concerning French disarmament.

Taylor Cadbury's paper summarises the main points of each of these three papers, raising questions of her own about the meaning of security, fear and peace. She asks 'has not the Church in the past lost Spirituality and Influence by playing for Security?' Taylor Cadbury also refers to issues of neutrality in warfare, moral obligation and the abolition of slavery before considering the role and influence of the Church in work towards peace and unity. In addition, she draws attention to the importance of 'young people' who she describes as 'popular and effective' and 'eager for service to humanity' in work supporting a policy of international peace. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by outlining the future work of the Church in cultivating a 'sense of Communion and Fellowship' between different nations who were sent into war by their governments. She suggests that 'all those who stand for Peace and Justice and Righteousness, are followers of Christ'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/104-106](#)

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/22 Two addresses by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury entitled 'Paper on Continuation Schools' and 'The Application of the Moral Ideal to Education', c. 1922**

Following the implementation of educational schemes for workers at the Cadbury factory in Bournville, a Day Continuation School was opened in the village in 1913. Richenda Scott remarks on Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's keen interest in the school which was maintained by Birmingham Education Authority and later renamed the Day Continuation College. A number of Taylor Cadbury's addresses and publications reflect her concern about the young age at which children left school to enter employment, a belief which motivated her efforts to promote the opportunities for extended education offered by continuation schools.

This section contains two papers written by Taylor Cadbury about the important work of continuation schools. An annotated paper entitled 'The Application of the Moral Ideal to Education' is attached to Taylor Cadbury's 'Paper on Continuation Schools', suggesting that she developed and re-organised 'Paper on Continuation Schools' into this final titled address. In both



of these papers Taylor Cadbury advocates the work of continuation schools, demonstrating their practical value to young people through the teaching of traditional academic subjects and training in physical exercise and hygiene. Taylor Cadbury also emphasises the benefit of continuation schools in encouraging a public spirit and sense of citizenship among young people.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Day Continuation School in Bournville taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), p. 110. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/25 for an annotated account of a Meeting of Ex-Day Continuation School Girls including an address entitled 'Leisure' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury in which she emphasises the importance of continued education. See also MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/3 'Whereunto?'; MS 466/1/1/10/1/8 'Education'; MS 466/1/1/10/4/11 'Continuation Schools' and MS 466/10/1/16/1 'The Changing World' for further papers relating to Taylor Cadbury's views concerning education and the provision of schooling.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
22/1

Typescript of 'Paper on Continuation Schools' by  
Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1922

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury states that the aim of this paper was 'to show how Education may help to raise the Moral Standard'. Promoting the work of continuation schools, Taylor Cadbury expresses concern about the young age at which children left school to enter employment. Her paper provides an overview of the curriculum offered at continuation schools and includes extracts from 'The Young Industrial Worker' and 'Girls' Club News' supporting the work undertaken by the schools to ensure the continued development of children into adulthood. Taylor Cadbury argues that continued education should be made compulsory and emphasises the practical value of the lessons offered at the schools which included physical training and hygiene lessons. She describes how continuation schools offered not only traditional academic subjects but served to foster 'public spirit' through lectures on citizenship and vocational visits. She also remarks on the effective relationships established between teachers and students. Taylor Cadbury concludes her paper by appealing directly for a 'National system of Part Time Secondary Education'.

An additional annotated typescript entitled 'The Application of the Moral Ideal to Education' is attached to

this paper, reiterating many of its ideas, statistics and arguments.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/28](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
22/2

Typescript of 'The Application of the Moral Ideal to Education' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[c. 1922]

Annotations at the top of this paper suggest that it was delivered 'to the Continuation School', possibly the Day Continuation School established in Bournville in 1913. The address is a developed and re-organised version of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's 'Paper on Continuation Schools'. Taylor Cadbury emphasises the value of continuation schools to 'the work of moral regeneration', repeating many passages from her 'Paper on Continuation Schools'. She examines the importance of establishing schools which actively contributed towards young people's 'preparation for the duties of citizenship'.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/29](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
23

Typescript of 'Italian Tour' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

May 1923

This address, which provides an insight into Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's travels in Italy, was delivered by Taylor Cadbury to an unnamed Quaker literary society. Taylor Cadbury remarks that 'now-a-days everyone travels and everyone has experiences of their own', noting that she was reluctant to bore the society with stories of her visits abroad.

Taylor Cadbury recalls her experiences touring Italy with her son Norman (George Norman Cadbury) and daughter Ursula (Elizabeth Ursula Cadbury). She also refers to meeting her daughter Dorothea (Elsie Dorothea Cadbury) in Florence. Her address describes the party's experiences visiting Paris and their journey to Rome where they had attended High Mass at St. Peter's in Vatican City on Easter Sunday. Taylor Cadbury also provides an account of visits to the Coliseum and comments on a gathering she had attended with Signora Santillana and other people

‘interested in politics and social questions’. The address indicates that Taylor Cadbury and her children had also attended the Opera and visited the Church of St. Pudentia whilst in the city. In addition, Taylor Cadbury describes visits to Assisi, Florence, the Monastery at Fiesole, Venice and Milan.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/32](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
24

Typescript of ‘Homes and Houses’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1925

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury begins this address by remarking on ‘the profound importance of a high standard of thought and conduct in the Home’, stating that the focus of her talk would be ‘the Provision of Houses’. She comments that ‘good Housing conditions for all members of the community must rank as the first and most urgent social need of today’.

Taylor Cadbury comments on the increasing number of people becoming interested in the housing question, referring to housing legislation and providing an overview of the causes of a shortage in housing with reference to the impact of the First World War. She also describes work undertaken following the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 and considers the importance of Public Utility Societies with reference to the Bournville Estate.

Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by stating that it was the duty of the Church ‘to endeavour to turn that heterogeneous mass of houses...into a community, with a sense of responsibility and a desire for fellowship’.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/40](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
25

Annotated account of a Meeting of Ex-Day Continuation School Girls including an address entitled ‘Leisure’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1925

An annotation in the top right hand corner of this account suggests that it was written in 1919. However, references

to Taylor Cadbury's appointment as the first female President of the National Free Church Council (Federal Council of the Free Churches) which occurred in 1925 suggest that the account was written during this year.

Following the implementation of educational schemes for workers at the Cadbury factory in Bournville, a Day Continuation School was opened in the village in 1913. Richenda Scott remarks on Taylor Cadbury's keen interest in the school which was maintained by Birmingham Education Authority and later renamed the Day Continuation College.

This printed account provides a report of the fourth annual meeting of girls who had recently left the Day Continuation School in Bournville. The meeting included a tea and featured an address by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury. This copy of the account includes a section relating to Taylor Cadbury's address which was entitled 'Leisure'. This is annotated with ink alterations, suggesting that Taylor Cadbury proof-read the account before it was distributed or published. The account offers an overview of Taylor Cadbury's public achievements, including her presidency of the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) in Birmingham and her appointment as the first female President of the National Free Church Council (The Federal Council of the Free Churches).

The annotated report of Taylor Cadbury's address summarises her comments concerning the importance of continued education. Taylor Cadbury also remarked on the freedom open to girls in terms of their recreation, encouraging her female audience to make their lives 'strong and active' and to 'spend some of it in service for others'. Taylor Cadbury suggested that her husband George Cadbury had inspired her and many other people into public service, adding that her own happiness came from the feeling that she had been able to help others.

Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, continuation schools and the National Free Church Council taken from

Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955) p. 110 and p. 156. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/22 for two addresses by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury entitled 'Paper on Continuation Schools' and 'The Application of the Moral Ideal to Education' relating to her support for the development of continuation schools.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/25b](#)

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/26 Papers relating to addresses written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury relating to the National Free Church Council, June 1925–1949**

In 1925 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was appointed the first female President of the National Free Church Council (Federal Council of the Free Churches). Taylor Cadbury's husband George Cadbury had been largely responsible for the foundation of the National Free Church Council in the 1890s which aimed towards a closer alliance between different Nonconformist churches. George Cadbury maintained a close interest in the Council until his death in 1922. Following the period of her presidency during the 1920s, Taylor Cadbury served as President of the National Free Church Women's Council between 1930 and 1931 and delivered an address about her work with the Free Church Council in 1949.

This section contains an address written by Taylor Cadbury for the conference of the National Free Church Council in July 1925 and an address which she was invited to deliver at St. Martin's Parish Church in Birmingham in October 1925 in her capacity as President of the Federal Council of the Free Churches. The section also features an address written by Taylor Cadbury to be delivered in her absence at the Annual Conference of the National Free Church Council in March 1926. In addition, the section contains the typescript of Taylor Cadbury's Presidential Address to the National Free Church Women's Council and a small printed booklet entitled 'This Wonderful World' which was published to commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of the Council. Taylor Cadbury's address entitled 'Free Church Council' written in 1949 is also featured in this section.

See MS 466/1/1/10/4/14 for papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's presidency of the National Free Church Council (Federal Council of the Free Churches). See also MS 466/1/1/2/13 for a letter written to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury by Herbert George Wood in January 1924 concerning her acceptance of the presidency and MS 466/1/1/9/1/4, a copy of Minute 910 of Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting recording Taylor Cadbury's invitation to deliver an address at the Parish Church of St. Martin in Birmingham. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/35 for Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address 'Violence shall no more be Heard in thy Land' which was based on the address which she wrote for the conference of the National Free Church Council held in Rugby on 1st July 1925.

Access: [Open](#). Condition: [Good](#).

MS 466/1/1/10/1/26/1 Typescripts of an address given by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury to the National Free Church Council and the Parish Church of St. Martin in Birmingham, June 1925-October 1925

This section contains four typescripts of an address written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for the Annual Conference of the National Free Church Council between June and July 1925 and St. Martin's Parish Church in Birmingham in October 1925. Taylor Cadbury's address focussed on modern perceptions of Jesus Christ. Each typescript includes slight variations in content and features annotation, suggesting that the address was adapted to suit the different audiences and edited to meet varying requirements.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/1/1      Typescript of an address written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for the National Free Church Council      15/06/1925

Following a brief introductory passage, Taylor Cadbury explores Christian perceptions of God and Jesus Christ. She emphasises the need for religious guidance, remarking that religious thought was woven into all literature and the history of civilisation. Taylor Cadbury examines 'the means whereby we may learn to know' Jesus Christ, examining the ways in which Jesus imparted his doctrine to the world through his twelve disciples and emphasising his human attributes.

Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by remarking on the notion that an understanding of God had been easier for the disciples who had lived in Jesus' presence. She emphasises that the Holy Spirit, the 'invisible, intangible' Spirit of God, was ever present in modern times, forming 'a Guide in these days of difficulty and unrest'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Fair.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/42](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/1/2      Typescript of an address marked 'Parish Church Address' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury      09/10/1925

This typescript is a developed version of Taylor Cadbury's address which she delivered to the National Free Church Council in July 1925. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/26/1/1 for this address. Taylor Cadbury delivered this revised version of her address to the congregation at St. Martin's Parish Church in Birmingham. Similar in focus to her earlier

address, Taylor Cadbury considers how Christian people 'accepted, through lack of knowledge, a mistaken opinion of the character of God, and His Son, Jesus Christ'. She asks the congregation if they had read the Bible as a biography to gain an understanding of God based on 'the interpretation of those who lived and talked with Him'.

This version of Taylor Cadbury's address concludes with a quotation by Whittier which is not featured in the other three copies of this paper surviving amongst her public addresses. This illustrates how Taylor Cadbury developed her addresses to suit different audiences.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/43](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/1/3

[Typescript of an address given by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury to the Parish Church of St. Martin in Birmingham](#)

October 1925

This is a copy typescript of the address which Taylor Cadbury delivered at St. Martin's Parish Church in Birmingham in October 1925. However, the quotation by Whittier featured at the conclusion of MS 466/1/1/10/1/26/1/2 is not included in this typescript, suggesting that this may be a later edited version of the address. The inclusion of an additional introductory passage also indicates this.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Fair.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/44](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/1/4

[Typescript of an address given by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury to the Parish Church of St. Martin in Birmingham](#)

October 1925

This is a copy typescript of the address which Taylor Cadbury delivered at St. Martin's Parish Church in Birmingham in October 1925. Like MS 466/1/1/10/1/26/1/3, the quotation by Whittier featured at the conclusion of MS 466/1/1/10/1/26/1/2 is not included in this copy of the typescript and the additional introductory passage has also been included. Pencil annotations on this address and the inclusion of the

introductory passage featured in MS 466/1/1/10/1/26/1/3 suggest that the typescript may be the finalised version of Taylor Cadbury's address.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Fair](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/45](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/2

Typescript of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address for the Annual Conference of the National Free Church Council

March 1926

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury was unable to attend the Annual Conference of the National Free Church Council held in Llandrindod in March 1926 owing to illness. However, she sent this typescript to be read in her absence, noting that she looked forward to the 1927 conference of the Council which would be held in Birmingham.

Taylor Cadbury's address provides an account of events during her year as President of the National Free Church Council (Federal Council of the Free Churches), remarking on her visits to different federations and churches across the country. Taylor Cadbury also comments on her international work as President of the Council, referring particularly to her visit to Washington in the United States of America where she had been given a private interview with President Coolidge and had discussed 'the influence of Christianity in World Politics'.

Taylor Cadbury comments on the many articles for journals and newspapers which she had written during her year as President. She also refers to the two Summer Schools which she had held at Woodbrooke Quaker College, supported by her friend and colleague Herbert George Wood. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by noting that her successor as President of the National Free Church Council would be the Reverend Elvet Lewis.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/51](#)

MS 466/1/1/10/1/26/3 Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the National Free Church Women's Council, 1930-1931

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury served as President of the National Free Church Women's Council



between 1930 and 1931.

This section contains a typescript of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's Presidential Address to the National Free Church Women's Council and a small printed booklet entitled 'This Wonderful World' which was published to commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of the Council.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/3/1      Typescript of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address to the Women's Free Church Council      1930

In this address Taylor Cadbury provides an account of her experiences as President of the Women's Council of the Free Churches during 1930 which was also the 21st anniversary of the National Executive of the Women's Council. Taylor Cadbury describes the social occasions, celebrations and Council events which she had been involved with as President, including the first National Rally of the Mothers' Guild. She also refers to her visits across the country as President of the Council, remarking on annual gatherings and 'Executive Meetings'.

Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by stating that 'the work of the Women's Council is eminently useful and thoroughly worthwhile', before announcing that Mrs. Mary Cant would succeed her as President.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/56](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/3/2      'This Wonderful World' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury      1931

This small blue printed booklet features a short address written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury commemorating the twenty-first anniversary of the National Free Church Women's Council. Taylor Cadbury refers to the birth of her latest grandchild, the first daughter of her youngest daughter Elizabeth Ursula Lambert. Taylor Cadbury's address considers the responsibilities of parents and the opportunities for children in modern times, remarking on the work of the Mothers' Guild. A poem entitled 'Christ and the Little Ones' by Julia Gill is featured at the end of this booklet.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/59

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
26/4

Typescript of 'Free Church Council' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1949

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remarks on the interest which she and her late husband George Cadbury had shared in the work of the Free Churches and the Religious Society of Friends. She describes the origins of the National Free Church Council in the late nineteenth century and provides a summary of men and women from different denominations who had 'stood for righteousness and liberty'. Taylor Cadbury also examines the public perception of Nonconformists in literary history before providing an account of her experiences as President of the National Free Council (Federal Council of the Free Churches) in 1925. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address with some words from her 1925 Presidential Address, remarking on the importance of 'a spiritual interpretation of life'.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/81

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
27

Printed version of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's Presidential Address to the Midland Adult School Union

1931

This address, entitled 'The Historical Background of the League of Nations', was written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury in collaboration with John S. Hoyland, possibly her nephew, the step-son of her sister Josephine Taylor who married John William Hoyland in 1906. It was originally printed in *One & All*, the official journal of the Adult School Union, in May 1931.

Drawing on the 'brotherhood' which existed within the Adult School Movement, Taylor Cadbury defines the League of Nations as the culmination of 'this movement towards world-brotherhood'. Her address provides a historical account of past movements towards international federation 'out of which the idea of internationalism has developed'. Taylor Cadbury also refers to the impact of the First World War on efforts

towards international peace, emphasising the importance of the Adult School Movement and the League of Nations in work to oppose the destructive force of ‘anarchic nationalism’.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/57](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
28

Typescript of ‘Paper on Lent’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1931

In this address, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury refers to her ‘great interest’ in Lent as a member of the Religious Society of Friends. She examines the significance of Lent ‘as a special season for Self-examination, self-denial, fasting and prayer’ and explores its meaning and implications for those of Christian faith. Taylor Cadbury considers the relationship between religion and science with reference to historical figures who had experienced ‘the reality of Religion’, concluding with remarks on the ‘reassuring miracle of resurrection’.

Taylor Cadbury’s comments here are particularly interesting when examined in relation to one of her earlier addresses in which she considers why the Religious Society of Friends excluded religious festivals from the ‘spiritual life’ of Quakers. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/17 for this address. It is possible that the address featured here is a later, developed version of this earlier paper.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/60](#)

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/29 Address and article entitled ‘What do we mean by Social Service’ written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for The Rotary Conference and *The Rotary Wheel*, June 1931**

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s published article ‘What do we mean by Social Service?’ has been included here alongside her public addresses rather than with her publications as it is directly related to her public addresses.

This section features the typescript for an address entitled ‘What do we mean by Social Service’ which was delivered by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury at the annual Rotary Conference held in Llandudno in North Wales in 1931. The section also features a short printed article written by

Taylor Cadbury based on this theme and drawing on one of her earlier public addresses entitled 'Citizenship' which she wrote for the National Council of Women in 1924. This article was printed in the journal *The Rotary Wheel* following the conference. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1 for Taylor Cadbury's 1924 address entitled 'Citizenship'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
29/1

Typescript of 'What do we mean by Social Service?' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

June 1931

Taylor Cadbury begins this address by referring to her mother Mary Jane Taylor's teaching that 'the stronger and better-equipped shall help the weaker and more poorly-equipped'. She states that her mother had held up this belief as an 'incentive and ideal' for her children to follow. Taylor Cadbury explores the historical origins of social service with reference to the first provision of hospitals, prison reform, the emancipation of slaves and the 'awakening of the public conscience on moral questions'. She emphasises the influential importance of the Christian Church in terms of stimulating social service and considers the teachings of 'other religions and cultural systems'. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by stating 'in my own belief nothing less than a religious motive can supply this needed spirit of the true Social Service'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/91](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
29/2

Article entitled 'What do we mean by Social Service?' written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for *The Rotary Wheel*

June 1931

In this article, featured within an edition of *The Rotary Wheel*, Taylor Cadbury considers the increase in public services supporting 'the health and well-being' of the population, remarking on the importance of 'the right people' coming forward to occupy 'Municipal Posts'. She suggests that amidst the proliferation of 'schemes for developments in the promotion of health and prevention of disease' that there was 'special scope for the talents of capable women'. Taylor Cadbury concludes her short article by emphasising the importance of the promotion of positive international relations. This article features

extracts from an address by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury entitled 'Citizenship' which she wrote for the National Council of Women in 1924. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/6/6/1 for this address.

A pencil annotation on the front cover of this article draws the reader's attention to page ten of *The Rotary Wheel* which shows a photograph of a group of women, including Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, at the 1931 Annual Rotary Conference in Llandudno in North Wales. Taylor Cadbury delivered an address similarly entitled 'What do we mean by Social Service?' at this conference. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/29/1 for this address.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/58

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
30

Copy of the Park School Magazine featuring a printed version of 'Prize Day Speech' delivered by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1933

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's 'Prize Day Speech', delivered at the Prize Day of the Park School in Preston in 1933, was reprinted on pages 15 to 17 in this edition of the School's magazine. Taylor Cadbury refers to her experiences at the North London Collegiate School and the importance of education in teaching children to be useful in the world. She describes her view of education as giving 'capacity and opportunity for service', remarking on the importance of 'service for others' and of developing wisdom and knowledge 'if we are to be of service to the world'.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/61

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
31

Typescript of 'Haydn' and 'Music' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

17/12/1934

It is possible that these two short addresses which appear to have been written separately were combined to form one longer address. The typescript of 'Music', which is attached following 'Haydn', is heavily annotated in pencil.

In her address entitled 'Haydn', Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury considers the religious dimensions of 'the gift of music' with reference to the Austrian composer Joseph Haydn (1732-1809), particularly his oratorio 'The Creation'. She also remarks on the history of musical development leading to the eighteenth century when she suggests music began 'to take its place in the world as a supreme source of pleasure and uplift'.

Taylor Cadbury explores the work of Haydn and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) before referring to the achievements of the Stradivari family in perfecting the violin. She examines how 'their faith in God' gave them guidance in their work, suggesting that their musical gifts came 'from a divine source'. Taylor Cadbury describes the greatness of 'spiritual Light' and its power to unite mankind in 'great comradeship and fellowship'.

In her address entitled 'Music', Taylor Cadbury considers the practical value of music which she suggests had the power 'to improve the health, to increase the working capacity, to provide companionship, to strengthen the character and enrich the mind'. She remarks that 'great music arouses the same spiritual enthusiasm as can be awakened by prayer'.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/64

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
32

Copy of the *Bournville Works Magazine* featuring two printed copies of an address entitled 'Europe: The Sport of Kings and Warriors' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

May 1935-  
July 1935

This address was delivered by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury at the Cadbury's Staff Lunch in May 1935. A detailed account of her attendance at the lunch and the content of her address was printed in the *Bournville Works Magazine* in July 1935. This edition of the magazine features here with an additional copy of Taylor Cadbury's address enclosed between pages 228 and 229.

The *Bournville Works Magazine* states that Taylor Cadbury was the chief guest at the Cadbury's Staff Lunch

and provides a brief biography of her work in Bournville. This is followed by a detailed overview of her address which 'took the form of a rapid survey of the history of Europe during the last 2,000 years'.

In her address Taylor Cadbury explores 'the constant changes' in Europe's 'territorial frontiers' resulting from warfare, demonstrating 'the waste involved in the past by these clashing claims for power and wider boundaries'. Taylor Cadbury also refers to the situation in Europe during the 1930s, illustrating her talk with maps of Europe before and after the Great War of 1914-1918. Reflecting her involvement in efforts towards international peace, Taylor Cadbury's address promotes improved international relations and emphasises the disadvantages of warfare.

The *Bournville Works Magazine* records that, in a vote of thanks following Taylor Cadbury's address, Miss P. B. Muscott had remarked that despite Taylor Cadbury's many national and international activities, people associated with Cadbury 'always felt that she belonged primarily to Bournville'.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 2 Items

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/69](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
33

Typescript of 'The Disadvantages of Junior Membership'  
by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

August 1935

This address was written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury in the form of a report following an enquiry into the introduction of a scheme of Junior Membership within the Religious Society of Friends. Taylor Cadbury suggests that the implementation of this system would lead to 'the loss of a large number of potential Friends'. She remarks that Junior Membership would 'require every young person in the Society to go through tormenting indecisions that are a burden to the sensitive adolescent mind'. Taylor Cadbury advocates the Society's 'tie of Birthright Membership' which she describes as 'a stabilising pillar in a very difficult religious building'. She emphasises the importance of allowing young Friends to grow into the

religious life of the Society, suggesting that young peoples' 'desire for freedom in independence' would prevent them from becoming Quakers and therefore 'drain the Society of useful members'.

Annotations at the bottom of this typescript suggest that Dr. H. E. Collier and Amy E. Sturge were involved in the development of this report. The annotations also indicate that Taylor Cadbury's relatives in the Cadbury family took a keen interest in its conclusions.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/68

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
34

Typescript of 'Education for Pleasure' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

October 1935

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury served as President of the Union of Educational Institutions during 1935.

Taylor Cadbury delivered this address to the Union at their fortieth annual meeting which was held in the Council House in Birmingham on 19th October 1935.

Taylor Cadbury begins her address by remarking on the 'distinguished men' who had held the office of Union President in the past before referring to her long association with the 'progressive' Birmingham Education Authority and with Worcestershire County Council. Taylor Cadbury suggests that her experience working with local education authorities had given her 'insight as to the opportunities, advantages, limitations, and possible future developments of State education'.

Taylor Cadbury's address considers how people could 'add interest and pleasure to their lives by continued study'. She remarks on the profitable use of leisure time which was important for both the individual and community so that 'each may contribute to the common good'. Taylor Cadbury provides a brief overview of local opportunities for further education such as libraries, art galleries and museums. She refers to her own childhood and education, remarking that 'in those days, most parents



were only just beginning to agree that girls might make as good use of a liberal education as they provided for their boys'. Describing her parents as 'in advance of their time', Taylor Cadbury comments on her schooling in Germany during the early 1870s.

Taylor Cadbury recommends interesting historical periods to research and advocates the study of art and music for pleasure. She refers specifically to opportunities to pursue these interests in Birmingham, providing an insight into the cultural life of the city during the 1930s. She also remarks on the advantages of foreign travel and literature, concluding her address with quotations from the Bible.

Two copies of this address are featured here. The final printed version of Taylor Cadbury's address is included alongside an annotated typescript showing the address during its earlier stages of development. Information about Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and the Union of Educational Institutions taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), p. 112. See MS 466/1/1/10/4/17/9 for newscuttings relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's role as President of the Union of Educational Institutions.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 2 Items

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/66-67](#)

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/35 Two copies of 'Violence shall no more be Heard in thy Land' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury, 1942**

This section contains two revised typescripts of an address which was originally written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for the conference of the National Free Church Council held in Rugby on 1st July 1925. Taylor Cadbury also delivered this earlier address at a conference considering international relations held in October 1925. Annotations on the front covers of the typescripts reveal that these copies of the address were revised between 1941 and September 1942 following the outbreak of the Second World War.

Access: [Open](#). Condition: [Good](#).

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
35/1

Typescript of 'Violence shall no more be Heard in thy Land' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

September  
1942

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's address begins with the full

quotation from Isaiah 60:18-19 from which the title of her paper is taken. She refers to attempts by nations to build walls of defence, stating that walls 'to secure separation and isolation' were not 'the Walls of Salvation'. Much of Taylor Cadbury's address is concerned with the ways by which nations could build 'Walls of Salvation'.

Taylor Cadbury suggests that 'Christian judgment, mutual toleration, and goodwill between nations' was required amidst 'the problems of the times'. She explores the role of the Churches and the 'Social Gospel' taught by Christ in building these 'Walls of Salvation', emphasising the importance of loving our enemies and believing in 'the Kingdom of God and His righteousness'. Taylor Cadbury advocates applying these beliefs to national affairs 'to solve the problems of poverty, of unemployment, of the terrible shortage of houses, of remediable inequalities'.

Taylor Cadbury argues that 'practically all efforts' to ameliorate poverty, sickness, and suffering and to improve social conditions 'have had their origin in religious faith'. She emphasises the importance of the churches in work towards peace on earth before considering the issues of arbitration, disarmament and security. She also explores changing international relations with Eastern countries. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by stating that the Churches must take part in 'the stupendous and important work of uniting the peoples of the many Nations and the varied races of the earth, in a bond of mutual understanding and trust, fellowship and love'.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/47](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
35/2

Typescript of 'Violence shall no more be Heard in thy Land' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

September  
1942

This document is a further copy of Taylor Cadbury's address which was revised between 1941 and September 1942. See MS 466/1/1/10/1/35/1 for a full account of the content of this address.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/48

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
36

Typescript of 'A Municipal Grandmother' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[c. 1948]

The opening paragraphs of this address are very similar to a section of Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's reminiscences written between 1948 and 1949 in which she considers her interest in writing. See MS 466/1/1/10/3 to learn more about Taylor Cadbury's reminiscences and memoirs.

Taylor Cadbury begins this address by remarking on her travels to the French coast, commenting that she had been 'amused and somewhat exasperated at the paternal care exercised over its citizens by the civic authorities'. Taylor Cadbury's address features amusing anecdotes about her attempts to purchase gooseberries, a policeman apprehending a man because his dog was not wearing a collar and restrictions imposed on her family's travelling plans, illustrating the 'extreme' bureaucracy of French municipal government.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/130

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/37 Typescript of 'The Girls' Club Movement' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and related notes, 1948**

In 1898 Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and Miss Gittins of Leicester founded the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs which provided healthy recreation for girls, leading to the development of the National Council of Girls' Clubs in 1911. In 1916 the clubs became part of the Civic Recreation League. Following the failure of this initiative in 1920, Taylor Cadbury instigated the re-establishment of the former Birmingham Union, working alongside the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) in the city. In 1935 the National Council of Girls' Clubs became affiliated with the National Association of Boys' Clubs, forming the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs, the Birmingham division of which was chaired by Taylor Cadbury's daughter-in-law Joyce Cadbury, the wife of her eldest son Laurence John Cadbury (1889-1982). The work of this new National Association flourished, and in 1948 Taylor Cadbury delivered an address commemorating its success by celebrating fifty years since the foundation of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs which had initiated its development.

Taylor Cadbury worked closely with her friend Eveleen Downes in efforts to establish girls' clubs in Birmingham. Downes was originally employed by the Cadburys as a governess to their

children before becoming Taylor Cadbury's personal secretary. She was involved with Taylor Cadbury in the administration of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs, serving as secretary for the Midland Division and later the Birmingham Division from 1920 onwards. In addition, Downes was actively involved alongside Taylor Cadbury with the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) and eventually resigned her post as personal secretary to pursue her Y.W.C.A. work. Taylor Cadbury and Downes also worked together on the Executive Committee established to support the welfare of Belgian refugees who came to Birmingham following the German invasion of Belgium in September 1914.

This section contains three documents relating to an address delivered by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury in 1948 celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Girls' Club Movement. Two of the documents present a summarised history of the Girls' Club Movement and were used by Taylor Cadbury to write her address entitled 'The Girls' Club Movement'. The name of Taylor Cadbury's close friend and colleague Eveleen Downes appears on one of the typed documents, suggesting that Downes may have prepared notes on the history of the movement to assist Taylor Cadbury in the writing of her address.

Biographical information about Eveleen Downes taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), p. 57, p. 78 and p. 126.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition: Good.](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
37/1

Typescript entitled 'Brief synopsis of the history of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs'

1948

These typed notes were prepared by Taylor Cadbury to assist in the writing of her address celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs in 1948.

The notes provide a brief chronological history of the Union's development with particular emphasis on Taylor Cadbury's central role in its establishment. The notes refer to Taylor Cadbury's efforts to rescue the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs following the dissolution of the Civic Recreation League in July 1920 and remark on her meeting with Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) concerning the future of the Union. Comments are also included relating to Taylor Cadbury's collaboration with the Midland Division of the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), whose offices were shared by the Union during the 1920s. In addition, the notes include the names of women who acted as secretaries for the Union

and a copy of a letter written by Taylor Cadbury to the Chairman of the Union, Mrs. Eden, in 1926. The role of Eveleen Downes in the work of the Union is also mentioned towards the end of these notes.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/84](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
37/2

Typescript entitled 'Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs'

1948

Annotations on this short document which provides a summarised history of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs suggest that it was prepared for Taylor Cadbury by her friend and colleague Eveleen Downes. The notes emphasise the close association between the Union and the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.). Details relating to the early history of the Union and its relationship with the Civic Recreation League are also included.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/85](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
37/3

Typescript of 'The Girls' Club Movement' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1948

In this address, commemorating fifty years since her foundation of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs, Taylor Cadbury provides a detailed history of the Girls' Club Movement and remarks on its future work. She begins her address by noting that Birmingham had been among the first city 'to grasp the opportunity' of co-ordinating clubs for girls. Describing her role in the foundation and early development of the Union, Taylor Cadbury remarks on the growth of the National Council of Girls' Clubs.

Taylor Cadbury refers briefly to the Civic Recreation League, focussing on how she 'came to the rescue' of the Union following the dissolution of the League and considering the Union's subsequent development alongside the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) during the 1920s. Taylor Cadbury also remarks on the foundation of the National Association of

Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs in 1935 and the important work undertaken by her daughter-in-law Joyce Cadbury in connection with the Birmingham Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs. In addition, Taylor Cadbury provides an overview of the Association's activities, remarking on a pageant called 'Keeping Fit Throughout the Ages' which was held in Birmingham's Central Hall in March 1939. She also refers to the opening of Windmill House in Weatheroak, an extension of the Bournville Estate, in 1943 which was founded by the Association as a holiday home. Taylor Cadbury comments on the organisation of festivals, study weekends, training courses and sports at the home. She concludes her address with a quotation from a speech delivered by Joyce Cadbury marking the fiftieth anniversary, remarking on her hopes for the future development of the Association.

This typescript includes two copies of this address which are attached together. The first copy features pencil annotations, suggesting that the second copy is the final version of the address.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/86](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
38

Typescript of 'The Point of View' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1948

In this paper Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury calls on her audience to remember 'that each one of us has a different outlook on life'. She examines 'the different ways in which two people look at the same object or action', remarking on the difficulties caused by 'the impossibility of various people judging from each other's point of view'. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by encouraging people to cultivate their point of view.

An additional sheet of paper is enclosed inside this typescript featuring a further passage which Taylor Cadbury wrote to be included in her address. The passage is based on a letter which Taylor Cadbury had received from one of her sisters about the different ways of viewing overseas conflict.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/113

**MS 466/1/1/10/1/39 Typescript of 'Hospitals' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury and related correspondence, 1949**

Administrative History

Throughout her lifetime, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remained closely involved with the work of The Woodlands, a hospital referred to by Taylor Cadbury in her address entitled 'Hospitals' as the 'Crippled Children's Home', which was founded by her husband George Cadbury in 1909. In 1929, following the merger of the Birmingham & District Crippled Children's Union and the Royal Orthopaedic and Spinal Hospital in 1925, Taylor Cadbury donated land to extend The Woodlands in order to develop a new Royal Orthopaedic Hospital on the site. Taylor Cadbury chaired the Hospital's House Committee and served as President of the Education Committee at the Woodlands until 1948, conducting regular visits to the hospital throughout her life. She also donated a nurses' lecture hall to the hospital and provided financial support for the extension of the Hospital's wards during the late 1930s and 1940s. Taylor Cadbury served as President of the United Hospitals in Birmingham which incorporated the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, the Medical School at the University of Birmingham in Edgbaston and the city's General Hospital between 1941 and 1948.

Description

This section contains two annotated typescripts of a public address written by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury entitled 'Hospitals'. A letter written by Taylor Cadbury to a Miss Whitlock about the history of the Woodlands Hospital in Northfield is also featured here, enclosed between the two typescripts.

Although the purpose for which this address was written is not stated, it is possible that Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury delivered the paper at a public meeting relating to the work of the United Hospitals in Birmingham following their take over by the National Health Service in 1948.

Related Material

Information about the Woodlands Hospital taken from Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury: 1858-1951* (London: Harrap, 1955), pp. 114-115 and p. 145.

Access: Open. Condition: Good.

MS 466/ 1/1/10/1/ 39/1	<u>Typescript of 'Hospitals' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury</u>	1949
	In this address, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remarks that her interest in hospital work was awakened by Florence	



Nightingale's appeal to educated girls asking them to take up nursing during the late 1870s. She writes that her younger sister Janet Taylor 'was one of the twelve girls who about 1878, responded to the call'.

Taylor Cadbury notes that her family had long been interested in the National Temperance Hospital which was established in 1880 by her uncle Thomas Cash. Taylor Cadbury herself became President of this hospital in 1935. She also remarks on her interest in the work of the Birmingham & District Crippled Children's Union, commenting on the visits which she helped to organise for children associated with the Union who were regularly invited to the Manor Farm in the grounds of her home in Northfield.

Much of Taylor Cadbury's address concerns the establishment of 'the Woodlands', which later developed into Birmingham's Orthopaedic Hospital in November 1929. Taylor Cadbury remarks that her lifelong association with hospitals had led to her election as President of the United Hospitals in Birmingham in 1941. Two annotated typescripts of this address are featured here.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 2 Items

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/82](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
39/2

Letter to Miss Whitlock from Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

1949

In her letter to Miss Whitlock enclosed alongside these typescripts, Taylor Cadbury provides a brief history of the development of the Woodlands Orthopaedic Hospital. She writes that the Woodlands, referred to here as the 'Crippled Children's Home', arose out of the annual visits made to the Manor Farm by the Birmingham & District Crippled Children's Union. Taylor Cadbury notes that after the house opposite the Manor Farm had become vacant, the Cadbury family had secured it for the establishment of the Home. She also comments on the history of the 'Cripples Hospital' in Newhall Street in Birmingham, remarking on how its merger with the Woodlands had led to the foundation of the Royal



Orthopaedic Hospital.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/82](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
40

Papers relating to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury's message to the City of Birmingham Training College

May 1949

These papers have been included here alongside Taylor Cadbury's public addresses rather than with her publications as her message to the City of Birmingham Training College relates directly to the content of her earlier public addresses.

This item incorporates two letters sent to Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury by Howard C. Cooksey, the Principal of the City of Birmingham Training College, and the typescript of a message sent by Taylor Cadbury to students at the College. The City of Birmingham Training College provided training for new teachers before they began working in schools. These three documents are attached together.

On 4th May 1949 Howard C. Cooksey wrote to Taylor Cadbury to ask if she would write a message to feature in the programme for the College's Presentation Day. Taylor Cadbury's short message is attached to Cooksey's letter and provides an account of her own schooling. Remarking on her interest in the scope and possibilities of education, Taylor Cadbury emphasises the importance of teachers in the 'changing and troubled world'. Reiterating an idea which featured in many of her public addresses, Taylor Cadbury's message asks:

'Can we find opportunity in our present educational system to counteract the growth of materialism - to bring beauty into sordid lives by stimulating the spiritual impulse that is latent in every soul?'

Taylor Cadbury concludes her message by remarking that children's spiritual impression was deepened by the influences around them, emphasising the importance of teachers in this work.

A further letter from Howard C. Cooksey is attached to the front of these two documents, thanking Taylor Cadbury for her 'gracious message'.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 3 Items

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/80](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
41

Typescript of 'Recreation' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.]

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury explores the subject of holidays, suggesting that a 'change of occupation' and 'change of scene' often served to restore 'tired faculties and rusty energies'. She begins her address by commenting on her enjoyment of long railway journeys which she suggests were 'tinged with light from the holiday halo', remarking on how 'our mode of life changes' whilst on holiday.

Taylor Cadbury provides entertaining reflections on Cadbury family holidays in Bordighera in Italy. She refers to the popularity of Bordighera which had become more 'fashionable' following the building of a casino. She includes an amusing story about the Italian chef at the villa where the Cadbury family stayed who had baked ham into their jam sponge. Taylor Cadbury remarks that 'the real recreation & true enjoyment, comes from the charm of the place itself, and the Italian atmosphere'. She concludes her address with remarks on Italian history and the country's struggle for freedom, adding 'the truest recreation after all is to enter into sympathy with the aspirations of the past and the present'.

Two copies of this address are featured here. A typewritten copy of this address is attached after the handwritten copy.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 2 Items

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/107](#)

This annotated typescript was prepared by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury for an address about the history of women's involvement in local government and more recent opportunities for women to participate in such work. The typescript is divided into six separate sections entitled 'Introduction', 'Municipal Councils', 'District and Parish Councils', 'London Government', 'Political Influence of Women' and 'Poor Law'.

1. 'Introduction':

Taylor Cadbury's address begins with the following statement:

'In England there is a rooted distrust of extreme measures: it is usual to proceed towards the end desired by gradual stages without ever breaking the link that connects the past with the present'.

She continues with an outline of the structure of central government and local government bodies, explaining the responsibilities of authorities such as county councils. Annotations in pen stating 'women wanted' or 'w.w.' appear next to specific aspects of each authority's work, revealing areas in which she viewed women to be particularly important. These annotations feature in relation to work within the education authority, the provision of asylums, the Housing and Town Planning Act, isolation hospitals and the allocation of old age pensions. Taylor Cadbury also provides a detailed description of the work of county councils in relation to the 1908 Children's Act, suggesting that the contribution of women had been particularly important to this aspect of local government work.

2. 'Municipal Councils':

In this section Taylor Cadbury describes the structure of municipal councils and women's right to vote in municipal elections. She outlines the areas of work in which women were involved, including work with

hospitals and housing. Taylor Cadbury also refers to the work of women sanitary inspectors, health visitors and opportunities for women to become involved in work supporting infant welfare through initiatives such as mothering classes and milk depots.

### 3. 'District & Parish Councils':

In this section Taylor Cadbury explains the structure of urban and rural district councils and parish councils. She describes the work which these councils were involved in as well as remarking on the voting qualifications required to vote in District and Parish Council elections.

### 4. 'London Government':

Taylor Cadbury explains the structure of the city's government remarking on women's involvement as freemen of the city's livery companies and the role of women serving on London County Council and the Metropolitan Borough Councils. Taylor Cadbury describes the areas of practical work where women were involved, such as in 'lunatic asylums' and sanitary inspection.

### 5. 'Political Influence of Women':

In this section Taylor Cadbury considers women's indirect influence on politics from the Saxon period onwards, referring particularly to Boudicca. She also remarks on other prominent women including Selina, Countess of Huntingdon and the Duchess of Devonshire. In addition, Taylor Cadbury considers female petitioners to Parliament and women's involvement in 'election times'. A second part of this section follows entitled 'Le Roi'. This section is written in French and explores the influence of prominent French women.

### 6. 'Poor Law':

In this largely handwritten section, Taylor Cadbury provides an overview of the history of the poor law, remarking that women had been 'essential' to poor relief work with reference to Louisa Twining. She also refers to the work of women relieving officers. These notes include a newscutting relating to Louisa Twining's work and

conclude with a short section entitled 'women in times of difficulty, danger government' which includes the names of the women that Taylor Cadbury intended to examine, such as Joan of Arc.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 6 Items

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/90, 92-95](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
43

Typescript of 'The Position of Women in the Society of Friends' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.]

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury explores the position of women within the Religious Society of Friends, examining the history of female spiritual equality within Quakerism.

Taylor Cadbury describes the position of women within the Society, referring to their 'liberty of action and equality of position' alongside male Quakers, and also remarking on 'the beneficial influence' of these responsibilities 'in the foundation of character'. She then considers the place of women Friends within the Society with regard to the ministry of the Gospel and their share in the business of the Church, examining the effect of this 'position of privilege' on female Quakers.

Taylor Cadbury includes many references to Quaker women who lived during the seventeenth century, including Margaret Fell (1614-1702) and Anne Audland (1627-1705), remarking on female ministry. She also draws examples from historical accounts of women Quakers included in written histories of the Religious Society of Friends. Quotations from the Book of Discipline and papers published in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* are also featured throughout Taylor Cadbury's address. Taylor Cadbury considers 'the result of this freedom and equality of position', on Quaker women, remarking that both men and women were inspired equally by 'the Spirit of the Lord' to 'take up any work which they believed God called them to do'. Taylor Cadbury comments that 'women thus obeying the call to service have, to a large extent increased the possibilities of usefulness, as well as the capacity of the individual'.

Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by remarking ‘may the Women Friends of today, and of the future, prove themselves worthy of their great heritage’. She also expresses a wish that women in other denominations may become equally involved in the religious life of their churches.

Access: Open. Condition Note: Good.

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: MS 466/152/88

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
44

Typescript of ‘Congregational Worship’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.]

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury remarks that solitary communion with God was only ‘good’ when ‘coupled with a universal spirit, a sense of brotherhood’ and ‘an acknowledgement of the interdependence of the human soul’. She suggests that whilst meditation and solitude were necessary ‘for the health and development of the soul’, at times it was necessary to merge one’s individuality ‘in the life of the community, of the nation, or of the congregation’, becoming ‘one great voice’ in worship.

Taylor Cadbury considers the political and spiritual force of ‘great gatherings of people’ with reference to biblical and historical examples. She describes the positive instances but also the negative forces of large gatherings with reference to meetings during the French Revolution and ‘the evils of the Music Hall and the modern drama’. She contrasts these examples with the electric atmosphere created by ‘meeting together in the right spirit for congregational worship’. Taylor Cadbury examines the ‘effect of thought contact’ amongst an audience and considers ‘the recognition of the need of general assemblies, for the exercise of spiritual faculties’ in the histories of different religions. She also refers to examples from the Psalms.

Taylor Cadbury provides an account of different forms of congregational worship, suggesting that ‘the Meeting for Congregational Worship’ was central to Quakerism. She

states that Meeting offered ‘the widest field for spiritual growth, & gives scope for most interesting developments’. Taylor Cadbury describes the environment at Quaker Meeting in terms of an ‘electric current passing from one to another’. She also remarks on the requirements for effective Quaker congregational worship, exploring the experience of hearing the ‘Divine Voice’.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/97](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
45

Typescript of ‘Thoughts of Spring’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.]

Taylor Cadbury begins this address with reference to the growth and development of the modern urban landscape. She considers how weariness with ‘the rush of great cities’ encouraged a love for rural and natural scenery. Examining the power of poetic representations of rural springtime, Taylor Cadbury suggests that ‘only busy people & people from towns, can fully enjoy the witchery of the country or of the sea’.

Taylor Cadbury’s address includes quotations from the poetry of Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) and Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861) before concluding with Biblical references.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/109](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
46

Handwritten copy of ‘A Cursory Glance at some American Poets’ by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.]

Intended as a brief review of American poetry, Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury’s address includes extracts to illustrate the ‘different styles & various phases of thought’. She questions criticism of foreign literary works, suggesting that the writings of Walt Whitman (1819-1892), William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) and James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) were equal to those of Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) and William Wordsworth (1770-1850). Taylor Cadbury provides a short biography of Whitman with reference to his literary works which includes lengthy

extracts from his poetry. She compares the poetry of Bryant with that of Wordsworth, referring particularly to Bryant's 'Forest Hymn' and providing a detailed description of his poem 'Sella'. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address with a short section exploring the poetry of Lowell.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/110](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
47

Typescript of 'Harriet Beecher Stowe' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.]

In this paper Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury examines the life and work of American author and anti-slavery campaigner Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896). Assuming the character of Beecher Stowe and writing in the first person, Taylor Cadbury provides an account of Beecher Stowe's life and the experiences which informed her writing. She refers to the death of Beecher Stowe's son, the writing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and her religious faith. It is possible that the content of this paper was based on letters and diaries written by Beecher Stowe herself.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/111](#)

MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
48

Typescript of 'Italian Leaders' by Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury

[n.d.]

In this address Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury explores the lives of the Italian patriots Giacomo Mazzini (1805-1872), Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) and Victor Emmanuel (1820-1878). The typescript of this address consists of brief notes relating to the biographies of these men which emphasise their involvement with one another. Taylor Cadbury's paper also includes quotations from various public addresses written by these men.

[Access: Open.](#) [Condition Note: Good.](#)

Extent: 1 Item

[Order using the following number: MS 466/152/124](#)



MS 466/  
1/1/10/1/  
49

Typescript of 'The Holiday Problem' by Elizabeth Taylor  
Cadbury

[n.d.]

Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury begins this address with remembrances of her own family holidays as a child and of her experiences holidaying with her husband George Cadbury and their children. She writes that 'the annual visit to the Sea was a joy looked forward to for weeks'. Taylor Cadbury provides suggestions for holiday plans to suit the different tastes of people within a family, advocating separate holidays for 'the young people of the family' and a joint holiday for husband and wife which she saw as particularly important. Taylor Cadbury concludes her address by remarking again on her many happy holiday memories.

Access: [Open](#). Condition Note: [Good](#).

Extent: 1 Item

Order using the following number: [MS 466/152/129](#)

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## **APPENDIX:**

THE PREVIOUS CATALOGUE OF ELIZABETH TAYLOR CADBURY'S  
PERSONAL PAPERS IN THE EXISTING INVENTORY OF THE  
CADBURY FAMILY PAPERS

Elizabeth (Adlington) Cadbury, contd...

MS 466/112/1-12 Series of letters from Elizabeth (Adlington) Cadbury to Martha Gibbins. 22 July 1857 - 1 April 1861.

/113/1-2 2 letters from Elizabeth to her husband Richard Cadbury. 10 July 1862 - 12 July 1862.

Elizabeth [Head] Cadbury

/114 Letter from Elizabeth Cadbury to her Son, John Cadbury on the occasion of his 21st birthday. 28 July 1822.

/115 Letter to Elizabeth Cadbury from a sister, unsigned, giving an account of the presentation of the Society of Friends' address to King William IV. 30 July 1830. *Missing at stock exchange of Cadbury archive 10/9/1920*

/116/1-2 2 letters from Elizabeth to her daughter, Maria Cadbury. 1850.

/117/1-10 Letters from Elizabeth Cadbury to her husband Richard Tapper Cadbury. May 1850 - October 1851.

/118 Letter from Elizabeth [Head] Cadbury to her sister-in-law, Sarah Moon [Cadbury] Cash. no date.

Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury

/119/1-3 2 letters to her mother and father from Elizabeth Taylor [later Cadbury], written at the ages of 7 and 8 years. 1865-1866

/120 Account for Elizabeth dated April 1863 to C. Rand for 5 shillings.

/121 School timetable book. 1867-1869.

/122 Elizabeth Taylor's reading book, "The Three Useful Giants, Wind, Water & Steam".

Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury contd..

- MS 466/123/1-107 Series of letters from Elizabeth Taylor to her parents whilst at school in Saxe-Meiningen, Germany.  
c.1871 - 1874.
- /124/1-4 Letters from Elizabeth to her sisters Janet and Annie, from school in Saxe-Meiningen. 1872.
- /125 Letter addressed to Uncle Joe & Aunt Bessie from Elizabeth in Meiningen. 1872.
- /126 Elizabeth Taylor's passport to the Continent. 5 July 1872.
- /127/1-37 School essays and exercises of Elizabeth Taylor, together with an essay, "Personal Duty" by Edward R. Pease.  
c.1870s.
- /128/1-3 French, German & English exercise books of Elizabeth Taylor, whilst at school in Meiningen, Germany. 1874.
- /129/1-8 School reports whilst at Meiningen, and the North-London Collegiate School for Girls. 1872-1876.
- /130/1-5 School bills whilst at Meiningen, Germany. 1872-1874.
- /131/1-2 Scrapbook of poems etc. & souvenir autograph book collected mainly in Germany whilst at school by Elizabeth Taylor.  
1868-1874.
- /132/1-6 Water colour sketches of scenes in Germany by Elizabeth Taylor.  
1873-1874
- /133/1-11 Letters from Elizabeth to her parents whilst on a visit to Stockton etc. c.1870s.
- /134 Letter to Uncle Tom [Thomas Cash] from his niece, Elizabeth whilst in Darlington. c.1870's.

- Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury, continued..
- MS 466/135/1-6 Letters from Elizabeth to her grandmother, Elizabeth Taylor.  
1874-1888.
- /136/1-3 3 letters from Elizabeth to her aunt, Caroline Barrow.  
c.1875.
- /137/1-6 Collection of early letters addressed to Elizabeth from  
friends & relatives. 1864-1883
- /138 Poem written by Elizabeth Taylor [?], "The Fishes' Parliament".  
Typescript. March 1875.
- /139 Cambridge Local Exam Papers of Elizabeth Taylor. 1875.
- /140/1-5 Memorial to 'Olver Twist', Elizabeth Taylor's dog, who died  
September 1875, together with a lock of Twist's hair and letter  
from sister Annie. September 1875.
- /141 Friends Fist Day School class register for 1876. Teacher  
Elsie Taylor [later Cadbury].
- /142 Invitation from the Portfolio Society to Elizabeth Taylor for  
a meeting on 15 May 1877.
- /143/1-8 Letters to Elizabeth, congratulating her on her 21st birthday  
on 23 June 1879.
- /144 Leaflet from Peckham centre of the London Society for the  
Extension of University Teaching for a course of twelve  
lectures. 1882.
- /145 Concert programme of Memorial Hall Temperance Choir with  
Elizabeth Taylor as soloist and conductor. 1882.
- /146/1-14 Letters from Elizabeth to her mother, whilst on a tour of  
Switzerland. August-Sept. 1883.



Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury, continued..

MS 466/147

Postcard from Elizabeth to her sister Margaret [?] from  
Switzerland. 5 Sept. 1883.

/148/1-41 Letters from Elizabeth to her mother from Belleville, France.  
March-July 1885.

/149/1-4 Picture postcards addressed to Elizabeth from Switzerland and  
Germany. August 1886.

/150/1-3 Invitation card and booklets re the Scandinavian Sailors'  
Temperance Home. 1883-1888.

/151/1-4 Letter from Elizabeth Cadbury to her father, John Taylor.  
26 June 1892.

/152/1-132 Series of addresses, speeches etc. given by Elizabeth [Taylor]  
Cadbury covering many subjects e.g. religion, disarmament,  
education, social service, temperance, health & welfare.  
1885-1949.

/153/1-4 Typed extracts from letters of sympathy sent to Elizabeth  
Cadbury on the death of her husband George.  
October-November 1922.

/154/1-35 Parliamentary candidature (Liberal). Letters sent to Elizabeth  
Cadbury before and after her unsuccessful attempt to win the  
King's Norton seat. November-December 1923.

/155/1-2 Parliamentary Candidature. List of speakers & workers for  
Elizabeth Cadbury's Liberal candidature of King's Norton.  
1923.

/156/1-2 Two General Election posters featuring Elizabeth Cadbury as  
King's Norton Liberal candidate. 1923.

/157/1-2 Two papers re the election at King's Norton. 1924.

/158/1-2 Letter, with reply, from Miss Picton-Turbervill to Elizabeth  
Cadbury re political situation in Birmingham. March 1924.

- Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury continued..
- MS 466/159/1-14 Various newscuttings of a political nature relating to Elizabeth Cadbury & the Cadbury family. 1895-1949.
- /160/1-2 Letter signed by the Chief Education officer giving a resolution of thanks to Elizabeth Cadbury for her chairmanship of the Hygiene Sub-committee, with covering letter. Nov. 1924.
- /161/1-3 Script of a religious talk by Elizabeth Cadbury broadcast by the B.B.C. in January 1926.
- /162/1-115 Series of correspondence sent to Elizabeth Cadbury as a result of the above broadcast. Includes messages of sympathy re eye operation. January-March 1926.
- /163/1-32 File of correspondence re Society of Friends. 1902-1956.
- /164/1-2 Elizabeth Cadbury's Y.W.C.A. membership card, together with a photograph of the Y.W.C.A. Dame Elizabeth House, Stechford. 1926.
- /165/1-2 Paper read on September 29th 1929, at 50th anniversary of the firm of Cadburys move from Bridge St. to Bournville, by Elizabeth Cadbury. 2 copies with covering letter. 1929.
- /166/1-2 Copy of programme & Elizabeth Cadbury's address given at the firms centenary luncheon, 1831-1931. September 1931.
- /167 Typed list of people who received a centenary booklet.
- /168 Newscutting re gift given to employees on the occasion of the Centenary of the firm of Cadbury 1831-1931. June 1931.
- /169/1-59 Papers re Elizabeth Cadbury's visit to India as head of a delegation of 20 British women, attending the World Conference of Women, convened by the International Council of Women in India, during Jan.-Feb. 1936 in Calcutta: Diary notes of visit with follow up letters re a travelling dispensary and scholarship together with newscuttings re the visit. 1935-1937.

MS 466/170/1-29

Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury continued..

File of correspondence between Elizabeth Cadbury and the various Indian bodies, the India League etc. of a political and social nature. 1935-1947.

- /171 A poem to Elizabeth Cadbury on the occasion of her 80th birthday from H. G. Wood. 1938.
- /172/1-6 Personal memoir of George Cadbury by Elizabeth Cadbury his wife, entitled "How did the garden grow?." Typscript, with covering letter from Elizabeth Cadbury. 1942.
- /173/1-2 Letter & copy of early photograph of George Cadbury sent by Elizabeth Cadbury to her son and daughter-in-law, Laurence & Joyce. 1943.
- /174/1-3 Memoir by Elizabeth Cadbury of the life of George Newman, Chief Medical Officer and personal friend. June 1948.
- /175/1-3 Formal birthday greetings to Elizabeth Cadbury on her 90th birthday. 24 June 1948, from her sons, the Board of Directors of Cadbury and the National Council of Women, Malvern Branch. June 1948.
- /176/1-2 90th birthday greetings from the school children of Bournville. June 1948.
- /177/1-6 Family letters etc. re Elizabeth Cadbury's 90th birthday. June 1948
- /178/1-6 Lists of presents, cards and telegrams received by Elizabeth Cadbury on her 90th birthday.
- 179/1-11 Reminiscences of Elizabeth Cadbury, looking back over her 90 years, sent to the B'ham Mail. 21 June 1948.

Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury, continued...

MS 466/180/1-30 File of newscuttings re Elizabeth Cadbury's 90th birthday.  
June 1948.

- /181 Letter from Elizabeth Cadbury to Wilson Harris re an article  
entitled "life at 90". 7 February 1949.
- /182/1-3 Written invitation from K. Anderson, together with thankyou note  
after the event, to attend the centenary celebrations of the  
North London Collegiate School founded by Frances Mary Buss of  
which Elizabeth Cadbury, at the age of 91, is the oldest surviving  
pupil.  
27 Nov. 1949 - 6 April 1950.
- /183/1-2 Official invitations to centenary celebrations and service of  
commemoration at St. Paul's Cathedral re above function.  
30-31 March 1950.
- /184/1-3 Programmes of the Centenary entertainments, dinner and service of  
commemoration re above. March-April 1950.
- /185/1-4 Correspondence with Elizabeth Cadbury from friends re above  
centenary. March-April 1950.
- /186/1-4 Newscuttings re Elizabeth Cadbury's appearance at above celebrations.  
April 1950.
- /187 Invitation from Miss Buss to Miss E. Taylor (later Dame Elizabeth)  
for the afternoon of 14 July 1875.
- /188 Greeting sent from the Bournville Meeting to Elizabeth Cadbury  
on the occasion of her 92nd birthday.  
23 June 1950.
- /189 Rough copy of Elizabeth Cadbury's New Year message to the  
Birmingham Post. 1950.

- MS 466/190 File of newscuttings re the illness and death of Elizabeth Cadbury at the age of 93 on 4 December 1951.  
Nov. 1951 - Jan. 1952.
- /191 Copy of memorial service of Elizabeth Cadbury at Bournville.  
16 December 1951.
- /192 Copy of memorial number of Bournville Works Magazine - Elizabeth Mary Cadbury 1858-1951.
- /193/1-3 Copies of 'Forum', 'Women in Council' and 'One World', periodicals containing obituary articles re Elizabeth Cadbury.  
Feb.-March 1952.
- /194/1-16 Letters of condolence sent to Mrs. Hoyland, Miss Fox, Miss Cook & Mr. Laurence Cadbury, on the death of Elizabeth Cadbury.  
December 1951-January 1952.
- /195/1-12 2 printed biographical sketches (with typescript notes) of Elizabeth Cadbury in Edgbastonia, December 1914, and the 'Liberal Women's News', April 1925.
- /196/1-4 2 scripts of radio broadcasts given by Mrs. L. J. Cadbury re Dame Elizabeth Cadbury for Woman's Hour and the Midland Home Service. [2 copies of each]. 25-26 June 1958.
- /197 File of miscellaneous newscuttings re Elizabeth Cadbury. [47 items]  
1929-1951.
- /198/1-31 File of Christmas cards - early ones to Elizabeth Taylor, later ones from Mr. & Mrs. George Cadbury & subsequently Elizabeth Cadbury.  
c.1887 - 1951.
- /199 Book of Historical Rhymes and other poems, with reminiscences, by Elizabeth Cadbury, composed when a young woman and privately printed in 1937.

Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury continued..

MS 466/200 Analysis of Elizabeth Cadbury's character from a sample of her handwriting. undated.

/201 Temperance poem, written by Elizabeth Cadbury [?]. Undated.

/202 Notebook of Elizabeth Cadbury, "Books I have read".  
1931 - 1948.

/203 Notebook containing extracts from poems and notes re Italy.  
undated.

/204/1-37 File of miscellaneous letters to Elizabeth Cadbury from various people including Queen Mary (in secretary's hand), Barbara More Nightingale (niece of Florence Nightingale), Lily Sturge, Mrs. Albert Schweizer, Princess Frederick Leopold of Prussia, Lady Cobham etc. Mostly thankyou notes & replies to invitations.  
1896 - 1948.

/205 Personal Diaries

/1	1880 - 1888	/205/21	1913 - 17
/2	1888 - 1894	/22	1918
/3	1895	/23	1919
/4	1896	/24	1920
/5	1897	/25	1921 - 25
/6	1898	/26	1926 - 30
/7	1899	/27	1931 - 35
/8	1900	/28	1936 - 40
/9	1901	/29	1941 - 45
/10	1902	/30	1946 - 50
/11	1903	/31	1951
/12	1904	/32	Extracts from diaries re Yearly Meetings 1895 - 1905
/13	1905		
/14	1906		
/15	1907	/33	Extracts from diaries re Christmas 1888 - 1943
/16	1908		
/17	1909	/34	Extracts from diaries - general 1880 - 81, 1895.
/18	1910		
/19	1911		
/20	1912		

Elizabeth [Taylor] Cadbury continued..

Holiday & Travel Diaries

MS 466/206/1

Elizabeth Taylor's journal/diary re tour of Switzerland. 1883.

/2 Elizabeth Taylors journal re Coombeswell Hall holiday excursion.  
1885.

/3 Holiday journal jointly written by Elizabeth & George Cadbury  
& family, whilst on a tour of Scotland. August 1889.

/4 Journal of family holidays in Tarbert, Scotland. Jointly written  
by Elizabeth & George Cadbury. 1891 - 1892.

/5 Holiday journal written by Elizabeth & George Cadbury whilst  
on holiday in Switzerland. Aug. - Sept. 1893.

/6 Series of loose letters written to the children from George  
and Elizabeth Cadbury whilst on a tour of Rome and Cairo.  
[21 items]. Feb.-March. 1895.

/7 Letters from George & Elizabeth Cadbury to the children from  
Biarritz, France whilst on holiday there.  
[10 items] Sept. - October 1902.

and see /431 - 440

Emma Cadbury

/207/1-2 Letter from Emma Cadbury of Moorestown, New Jersey U.S.A. to her  
cousin, Barrow Cadbury, in England (newscutting enclosure).  
22 Oct. 1918.

/208/1-2 Photograph of Emma Cadbury taken in June 1959, with covering  
note from Paul S. Cadbury. (22 March 1960).

(Taylor)

Family Journal [by Elizabeth <sup>Taylor</sup> Cadbury, wife of George C.

MS 466/431

25 August 1904 - 28 December 1910 { - Aug 1904 - Dec 1906  
 - Jan 1907 - Dec 1909  
 - Jan 1910 - Dec 1910 }

/432

3 January 1911 - 22 December 1914 { - Jan 1911 - Dec 1911  
 - Jan 1912 - July 1913  
 - Aug 1913 - Dec 1914 }

/433

4 January 1915 - 26 May 1920

/434

4 June 1920 - 20 December 1923

/435

4 January 1924 - 29 December 1926

/436

11 January 1927 - 16 December 1930

/437

2 January 1931 - 29 December 1936

/438

23 January 1937 - 22 December 1942

/439

27 January 1943 - 29 December 1948

/440

Misc. addition to family journal 1914 to 1952.

Genealogical Papers.

Adlington Family

/441/1-3

Notes on Adlington Pedigree from George Adlington etc.  
 1908 - 1922

Barrow Family

/442/1-3

Genealogical notes re Barrow family with covering letter from  
 Thomas Barrow of Baldrand, Lancaster. 1905.

Brewster Family

/443/1-10

Notes re the Brewster family and the connections with the Head  
 family.